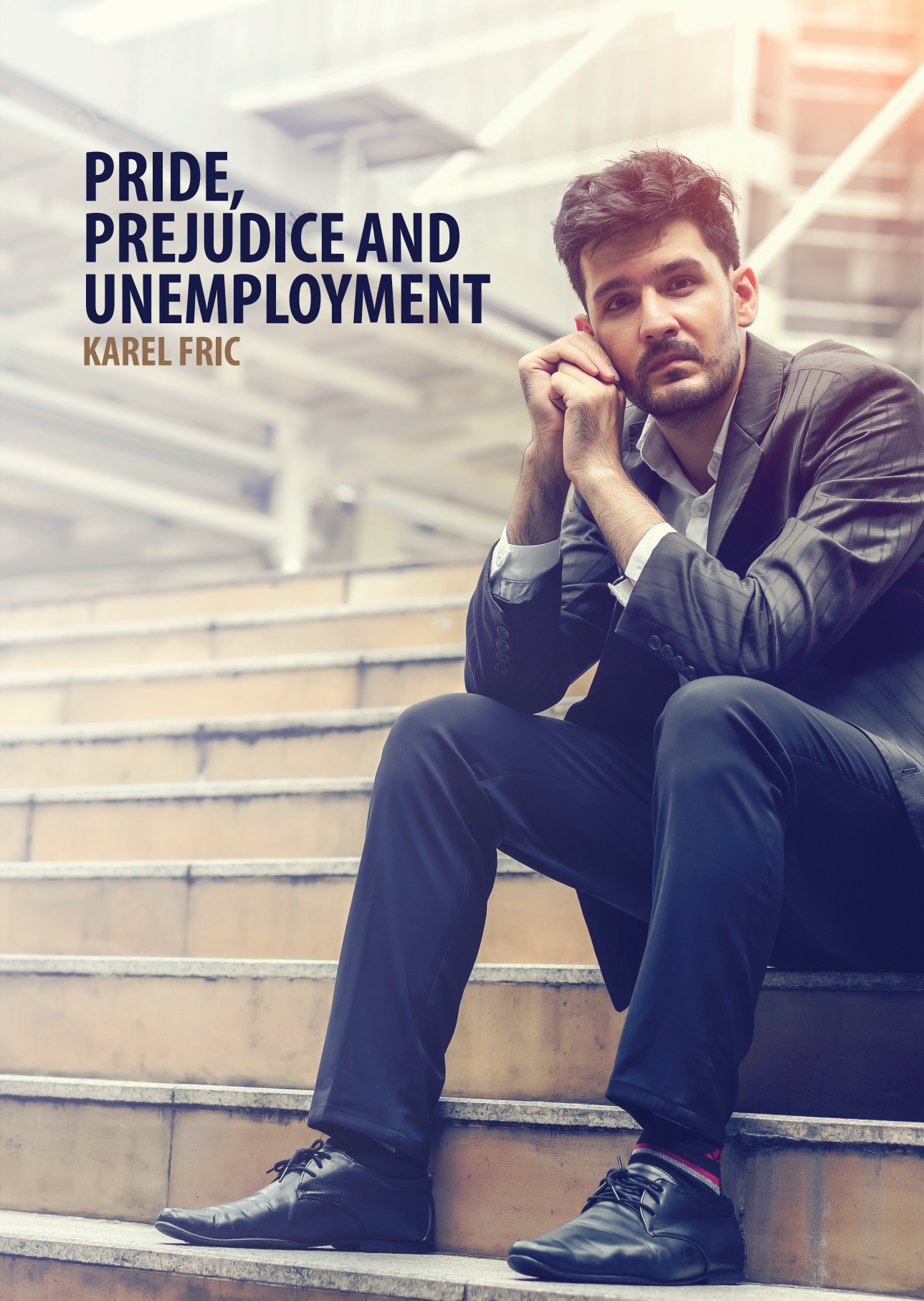
PRIDE, PREJUDICE AND UNEMPLOYMENT

KAREL FRIC



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Karel Fric

This dissertation was written under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Ferry Koster and Prof. Dr. Romke van der Veen and I would like to thank them for their advice and support. I was very fortunate that Ferry gave me the chance to write a dissertation about the topic that I am passionate about. It is thanks to his advice and his constructive feedback that I was able to finalize this research. I would also like to thank all members of the Assessment and Doctoral Committees for the time and attention they have devoted to my dissertation. Last but not least, I am very grateful to my paranymphs Jolinda and Tjarda who have provided me with great help and support.

Photo cover: Shutterstock.com

Printing: Optima Grafische Communicatie, the Netherlands
Layout Design: Optima Grafische Communicatie, the Netherlands

Pride, Prejudice and Unemployment

Trots, vooroordeel en werkloosheid

Thesis

to obtain the degree of Doctor from the
Erasmus University Rotterdam
by command of the
Rector Magnificus
Prof.dr. A.L. Bredenoord
and in accordance with the decision of the Doctorate Board.

The public defence shall be held on
Friday 8th October 2021 at 10.30 hours

by

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CONTENTS

Chapter 1:	Introduction	7
Chapter 2:	Access to the labour market for gay men and lesbians – Literature review	27
Chapter 3:	Do gay men and lesbians experience more frequent and longer unemployment?	75
Chapter 4:	Employer tenure in gay men, lesbians and their straight counterparts	99
Chapter 5:	How does being out at work relate to discrimination and unemployment of gay men and lesbians?	125
Chapter 6:	Conclusion	155
References, Summaries, About the author		179

1 Introduction

CONTEXT

This dissertation focuses on discrimination of gay men and lesbians in the labour market in the European Union and how it relates to the unemployment experienced by this group. Empirical evidence suggests that gay men and lesbians experience discrimination and harassment in the European workplace. In 2019, 20% of lesbians and 19% of gay men said to have felt discriminated against at work because of their sexual orientation during the year preceding the survey. In the same period, 8% of lesbians and gay men felt discriminated against during their search for employment. These figures are remarkable because colleagues, superiors and/or subordinates are not always aware of the sexual orientation of their gay co-workers – 14% of lesbians and 19% of gay men always hide their sexual orientation at work (FRA, 2020b).

(Potential) discrimination against lesbians and gay men in the labour market concerns a sizeable part of the population. Cross-country studies from the U.S., the U.K. and France found that, depending on the country, 5-11% of males and 2-4% of females reported same-sex sexual behaviour within the last five years. The percentage of people reporting same-sex attraction or behaviour since the age of 15 was higher, i.e. 16-21% in males and 18-19% in females (Sell, Wells & Wypij, 1995). The true number of gay men and lesbians within a given population is, however, unknown due to difficulties with estimating the incidence of homosexuality (Fischer, 2016). Anti-gay discrimination may also be targeted at straight people who are perceived or suspected to be lesbian or gay.

Discrimination against sexual minorities is not a new phenomenon. The gay and lesbian population has largely been invisible over the past centuries due to predominant hostility and condemnation in Western societies. Same-sex sexual activity was criminalised and in some cases punishable by death (Atkinson & Hackett, 1988). France was the first country (in the current EU territory) to decriminalise same-sex sexual activity, in 1791. Only a handful of countries followed its example during the course of the subsequent decades, but the process of decriminalisation accelerated in the second half of the 20th century. The last EU country to decriminalise same-sex sexual activity was Cyprus, in 1998[1] (Carroll & Mendos, 2018).

Western attitudes towards homosexuality have become more tolerant in the past decades (Atkinson & Hackett, 1988; Fassinger, 1991; Herek, 2004). This allowed the adoption of anti-discrimination laws that helped to further improve the social acceptance of lesbians and gay men (M. M. Klawitter & Flatt, 1998). Since the year 2000, the European Union law (Council Directive 2000/78/EC) provides protection for LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) people from discrimination in the area of employment. At the

1 Only the Republic of Cyprus; decriminalization in Northern Cyprus followed in 2014.

time of writing, all 28 EU Member States have implemented anti-discriminatory provisions into their national legislation that align with the directive (Carroll & Mendos, 2018).

Despite decriminalisation, the social stigma of homosexuality still prevails. The available evidence suggests that legal protection didn't fully eradicate discrimination against gay men and lesbians in the area of employment. The EU LGBT survey revealed considerable differences in experienced discrimination within the EU. In general, the Member States in the northern and western part of the Union seem to be more accepting than those in the south and east. No research study was found that explained the differences between the EU countries in terms of discrimination towards lesbians and gay men and how it affects their unemployment rate. However, several studies were conducted that compared regional differences in areas outside of the EU (mostly in the U.S.). A number of factors have been suggested in order to explain the spatial variation. Different attitudes towards homosexuality can affect the incidence of discrimination in the labour market (Horvath & Ryan, 2003). Differences in national legislation, law enforcement or corporate rules and provisions may lead to variation of costs of discriminatory behaviour for the perpetrators between countries and regions (see the deterrence theory by Becker (1968) or research by Barron & Hebl (2013); Hebl, Barron, Cox & Corrington (2016) or Lloren & Parini (2017)). Someone's readiness to express their prejudice towards lesbians and gay men may also vary between countries if they differ in social norms, values and beliefs (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Finally, the variation in attitudes and incidence of discrimination can also be caused by compositional and contextual factors, such as the different relative representation of sectors, occupations and employees with certain educational attainment in countries' economies.

So far, the research into labour market differences between lesbians, gay men and their heterosexual counterparts has focused on investigating potential barriers regarding access to the labour market, differences in unemployment probability and labour market participation and outcomes related to treatment at work (such as wages and promotions). There are, however, several gaps in the current literature. Firstly, research has indicated the existence of discrimination towards lesbians and gay men in access to employment but (to my knowledge) no study has addressed whether this affects the length of their unemployment. Secondly, the literature indicates that gay men and lesbians are treated differently and have different employment outcomes (especially wages) than their straight counterparts. No research study has been identified that compared the probability of and reasons for job termination in lesbians, gay men and straight people. It is thus unknown whether and how differential treatment affects job separation probabilities for these groups. In other words, I do not know whether lesbians and gay men are ceteris paribus more likely to lose their job or not. Thirdly, current research has not answered how perceived sexual orientation discrimination and disclosure of sexual orientation affect the probability of unemployment and whether the mechanism

differs between lesbians and gay men. This is an intriguing question –the literature suggests that both lesbians and gay men experience negative bias with regard to access to employment. While gay men seem to be disadvantaged in the labour market outcomes, the position of lesbians in comparison to straight women is less clear (Drydakis, 2014a; M. Klawitter, 2015; Ozeren, 2014).

This dissertation consists of four studies and endeavours to address these gaps in the literature. It will examine whether the perceived discrimination and disclosure of sexual orientation by lesbians and gay men translates into adverse labour market outcomes and whether lesbians and gay men have different labour market outcomes as compared to straight women and men.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Interpreting the differentials in labour market outcomes between two or more groups imposes a number of challenges. Are the observed differentials in the outcomes caused by a differential treatment of certain groups (i.e. discrimination or nepotism) or by other factors that affect labour productivity (individual/group differences in characteristics)? In the research done so far, the ability to distinguish between these sources of inequality has depended upon the research design. Studies using experimental design have been able to pinpoint the labour demand effects. In contrast, studies utilizing naturally occurring data identify the combined effect of labour demand and labour supply factors. Section Research Design in the first study discusses this problem in more detail. This dissertation uses naturally occurring data and therefore the observed differentials in the outcomes between straight women, straight men, lesbians and gay men will result from both labour demand and labour supply factors.

In the case of discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation, the framework gets even more complex than in the case of e.g. racial discrimination. This is because additional concepts have to be considered – sexual orientation is usually not a directly observable trait. Gay men and lesbians can decide whether they disclose information that would trigger others' awareness of their sexual orientation. Awareness of someone's sexual orientation is a necessary condition for (direct) sexual orientation discrimination.

Figure 1.1 shows a graphical representation of the conceptual framework for this dissertation. This framework applies some concepts from the theoretical work of B.R. Ragins (2004) on the career experiences of gay, lesbian and bisexual workers. Someone's labour market outcomes are presumably affected by their sexual orientation and by other factors, for example educational attainment, age or occupation. The second and third study of this dissertation will investigate whether sexual orientation indeed affects individuals' labour market outcomes.

Figure 1.1 shows that the effect of sexual orientation on labour market outcomes is mediated by a number of concepts. Each concept – an individual's sexual orientation, disclosure of one's sexual orientation, awareness of someone's sexual orientation, treatment of an individual and an individual's labour market outcomes – is represented by a cube. Three dimensions of each cube symbolize three dimensions of each concept – actual, perceived and measured. The actual dimension refers to the state of things as they exist in reality. The perceived dimension concerns the state of things as they are perceived by the subject(s) of the research. The measured dimension is how a researcher observes the situation. These three dimensions are distinct and are not necessarily congruent due to measurement errors, observer bias, cognitive bias, etc. The fourth study addresses how these concepts (represented by the measured dimension) mutually relate to individuals' labour market outcomes.

The following paragraphs will discuss in more detail the concepts and challenges related to discrimination, sexual orientation, identification of gay people and identity management. The first study will provide a review of if and how these concepts have been operationalised in the literature so far.

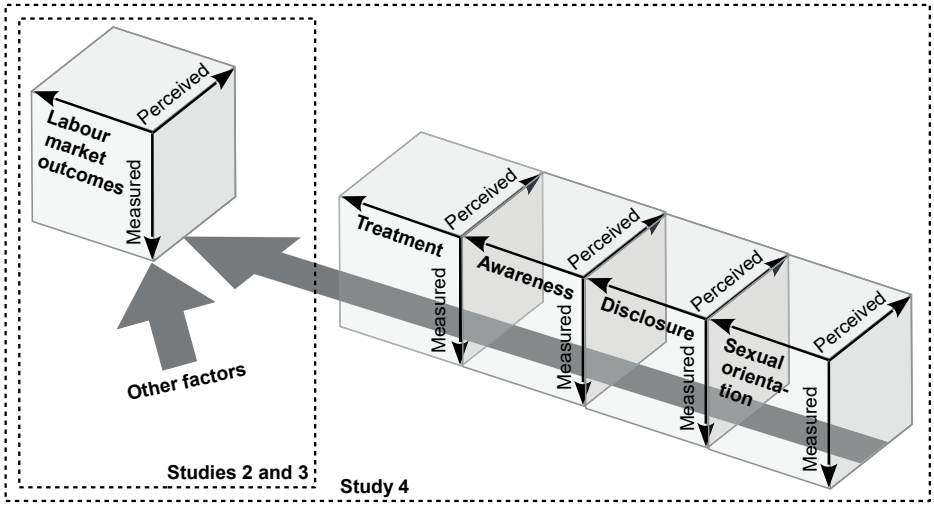

Figure 1.1: *Conceptual framework for research of differentials in the labour market outcomes based on sexual orientation*

Discrimination

Discrimination is a special case of treatment. Chung (2001, p. 34) defines discrimination as inequitable and negative treatment of applicants or employees based on personal attributes that are irrelevant to job performance. Within the context of my research, I speak of discrimination when two equally qualified individuals are treated differently in

the labour market on the basis of sexual orientation, assuming that sexual orientation itself is unrelated to productivity (Arrow, 1973). While the difference in treatment of "identical" persons constitutes evidence of discrimination, not every case of differential treatment constitutes discrimination. Thus, differentiation does not necessarily constitute discrimination (Andriessen, Dagevos, Nievers & Boog, 2007).

Labour market discrimination can occur in different forms and settings. Employers may decide not to employ a job applicant whom they suspect to be gay, offer lower salaries or lower ranked / less challenging jobs or tasks, not promote these employees or even fire them. Policies may include discriminatory provisions, for example the exclusion of same-sex partners from health insurance and other benefits. Discrimination may occur at an interpersonal level and include (systematic) oppression, harassment, terror, insults, transgression of personal boundaries, defamation, bullying, name-calling, verbal abuse, reproaching, physical threats, belittling or emotional insults. Discrimination can also take more subtle forms. Employees facing discrimination may be avoided by some colleagues, experience shorter interactions, decreased friendliness or, in a worse case, face social exclusion. The perpetrators can be superiors, colleagues, clients or subordinates. Gay and lesbian employees may suffer even if the actions are not directed at them due to the presence of a hostile environment (Bell, Berry, Marquardt & Green, 2013; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001; Singletary & Hebl, 2009).

The variety of contexts and forms makes discrimination a rather complex concept. An early attempt to classify forms of discrimination by Brown & Ford (1977) distinguished between discrimination in *access* (during the hiring process, for example denial of a job offer or a lower starting salary) and *treatment* (after the person is hired, for example a promotion or salary-raise decisions). Later conceptualizations became more elaborate.

Chung (2001) introduced a conceptual model of work discrimination with three dimensions:

1. Formal vs. Informal. Formal discrimination subsumes Brown and Ford's categories and refers to differential institutional policies and decisions such as hiring, firing, promotion, salary decisions, and job assignments. Informal discrimination involves interpersonal dynamics and work atmosphere, such as verbal and nonverbal harassment, lack of respect, hostility, and prejudice. This distinction resembles the categorization by Levine & Leonard (1984) into formal discrimination (covering institutionalised procedures) and informal discrimination (unofficial actions and non-institutionalised policies enabling harassment). Similarly, Hebl, Foster, Mannix & Dovidio (2002) differentiate between formal and "interpersonal" discrimination, pointing out that while formal discrimination can be tracked and exposed, interpersonal discrimination is difficult to prove and almost impossible to take legal action against.

2. Potential vs. encountered makes the distinction between the hypothetical extent of discrimination in situations where the surrounding parties were fully aware of someone's sexual orientation, and discriminatory practices that are factually encountered by the person.
3. Perceived vs. real. The real opportunity structure may include various kinds of work discrimination in access, treatment and opportunities. Perceived discrimination is a judgment that one has been treated unfairly because of their social group membership (Major, Quinton & McCoy, 2002). It is a personal opinion that individuals form based upon their perceptions. Even though perceptual measures of workplace discrimination are entirely valid and, in fact, central to predicting variables such as work attitudes and morale, they are conceptually distinct from actual patterns and practices of workplace discrimination (Button, 2001). The perceptions may be different from reality and may not reflect objective forms of workplace discrimination, resulting in an overly optimistic or pessimistic assessment. The uncertainty about whether someone's outcomes are indicative of their personal deservedness or of social prejudices against their social group is referred to as attributional ambiguity (Crocker & Major, 1989).

Some types of discrimination defined in earlier research are equivalent to intersections of dimensions in Chung's model. For example, perceived potential discrimination is equivalent to *anticipated discrimination* as discussed by Levine & Leonard (1984), which is particularly important to people with concealable stigmas because they may not exactly know how others will react when they reveal their identity.

Additionally, Ragins (2004) distinguishes three types of discrimination. Disparate treatment refers to an intentionally different treatment of individuals on the basis of their group membership. Adverse impact (also disparate impact) concerns cases in which a seemingly neutral employment practice has an adverse effect on a given group. Social discrimination covers various issues such as differential access to social networks, relationships and activities that can improve an employee's job performance and promote their careers.

Chung (1998) and Ragins (2004) theorize that discrimination can be experienced either directly (targeted at an individual herself/himself) or indirectly (a discriminatory or hostile work atmosphere experienced by lesbian and gay workers whose sexual identities are unknown).

Detecting and gauging discrimination is complicated due to the multi-faceted nature of this concept. For this reason it is important to clearly define what type of discrimination one is attempting to measure. The operationalisation of discrimination in the current literature generally ties in with the research method used. Studies with experimental design usually gauge discrimination as a difference in call-back rates or hirability ratings for candidates who are otherwise comparable but differ in sexual orien-

tation. This corresponds to formal, real and encountered discrimination dimensions[2] in the classification of Chung (2001). Studies using naturally occurring data conceptualise discrimination as part of an unexplained differential in (un)employment rates or labour market participation rates between gay / lesbian and heterosexual people after statistically controlling for relevant characteristics. This method captures the consequences of encountered discrimination, be it formal or informal and real or perceived. The first study within this dissertation discusses this topic in more detail. The second and third study operationalise discrimination in line with other research using naturally occurring data. The fourth study uses a composite measure of discrimination as reported by the subjects. This concept of discrimination can be seen as formal and informal, encountered and perceived.

Sexual orientation

A central issue of research into discrimination of lesbians and gay men in the labour market is defining (and demarcating) homosexual individuals. The nature of sexual orientation is rather complex and needs to be considered when investigating differences in labour market outcomes between straight and gay people. Sexual orientation has been conceptualised in several ways.

Kinsey, Pomeroy & Martin (1948) conceptualised sexual behaviour as falling on a 7-point continuum from exclusively heterosexual to exclusively homosexual. Shively & De Cecco (1977) expanded the concept of sexual orientation in line with the conceptualisation of masculinity and femininity by Bem (1974). They suggest that sexual orientation can be seen on two continuous scales – heterosexuality and homosexuality. This allows differentiation between e.g. individuals who have a high degree of both heterosexual and homosexual interest, and those who have a high interest in only one of these dimensions. Shively, Rudolph & De Cecco (1978) view sexual orientation along three dimensions (physical sexual activity, interpersonal affection and erotic fantasy), each of which is rated on a Kinsey-type continuum. Klein, Sepekoff & Wolf (1985) conceptualise homosexuality in a grid along seven dimensions: sexual attraction, sexual behaviour, sexual fantasies, emotional preference, social preference, self-identification and heterosexual/gay lifestyle. Each of these dimensions is rated as it was in the past, as it is in the present and as it should ideally be. Similar to Shively et al. (1978), Laumann, Gagnon, Michael & Michaels (1994) rate individuals on three dimensions – attraction, behaviour and identity. Attraction refers to one's sexual appeal, fantasies and thoughts and the sex of the people to whom the respondent is attracted. Behaviour encompasses sexual behaviour referring to the gender of sexual partners and specific sexual acts or

2 Some experimental studies also address informal discrimination (Gorsuch, 2014; Hebl et al., 2002; Singletary & Hebl, 2009).

techniques and the time frame during which these sexual relationships or activities took place. Identity concerns self-identification of individuals as heterosexual, bisexual, gay, lesbian, etc.

Determining a person's sexual orientation is not a straightforward task because the dimensions of sexual orientation seem to be non-binary. Instead, they present on a continuous scale and are not necessarily congruent – an individual may have both male and female sexual partners and identify as heterosexual. One's positioning with regard to a given dimension is fluid over time and experience, and may change over one's life span. Some people may deny their same-sex or opposite-sex feelings. Cultural factors also play a role. Some societies do not conceptualise diversity in sexual behaviour along dimensions of homosexual/heterosexual (Gonsiorek, Sell & Weinrich, 1995).

Sexual identity is often seen as the most central dimension of sexual orientation in the context of labour market discrimination research. It reflects how workers see themselves and how they are treated by colleagues and employers if their sexual orientation is disclosed (Tilcsik, Anteby & Knigh, 2015; Ueno, Roach & Peña-Talamantes, 2013). Because gay men and lesbians usually grow up in a heteronormative society, most of them initially perceive themselves as non-homosexual. To develop a homosexual identity, they need to progress through a number of stages (Cass, 1979). The formation of a sexual identity is a continuous, interactive process where an individual interacts with the environment (Ragins, 2004).

The operationalisation of the concept of sexual orientation has a considerable impact on the distribution of individuals into groups and possibly also on the outcomes of research into labour market discrimination. For example, defining homosexuality based on self-identification is likely more exclusive than definition based on sexual behaviour. However, the operationalisation of sexual orientation is constrained by available techniques and data.

In this dissertation, two types of operationalisation are used. In the second and third study respondents' sexual orientation is identified according to the behavioural dimension. Due to data limitations, sexual orientation is seen as binary and an individual can be classified as either heterosexual or homosexual. In the fourth study, the sexual orientation is determined based on subjects' self-identification. Subjects can identify as gay, bisexual, heterosexual/straight and other. Only those who answered gay and heterosexual/straight are kept in the analysis.

Identification of gay people

Successful identification of gays, lesbians and heterosexuals is a critical requirement for research into differences linked to sexual orientation. In practice, a proper assessment of someone's sexual orientation is usually not readily available. Measuring whether an individual is homosexual is complicated by the stigma associated with homosexuality. The

stigma provides incentive for respondents to not reveal true information (Powdthavee & Wooden, 2014). Cultures vary in the degree of negative sanctions associated with same-sex behaviour. These sanctions can affect the way sexual orientation is conceptualised, expressed and reported by a member of a given group (Gonsiorek et al., 1995). Individuals expecting a negative reaction from others are less likely to report homosexual activity (Ross, 1985). Hereby, a proper operationalisation of sexual orientation becomes problematic, also complicating the generalisability of the research findings to the whole population of heterosexuals, lesbians and gay men. Misclassification of individuals can introduce bias into the results. I identify two primary methods of identification of sexual orientation: self-labelling and observation-based labelling (this is a modified categorization based on Ragins & Wiethoff, 2005).

Self-labelling involves asking subjects for their own evaluation of their sexual orientation. Self-labelling can provide valuable information, especially if certain preconditions are met (for discussion of a suitable survey mode with regard to social desirability bias, see Robertson, Tran, Lewark & Epstein, 2017). The drawback of this method is that the information collection format needs to include (an) additional (set of) specific questions to determine subjects' sexual orientation. Respondents may decide not to disclose their sexual orientation for a number of reasons, such as anxiety or discomfort. Depending on the target group, self-labelling may yield suboptimal results for subjects who don't identify themselves as gay even if they engage in homosexual behaviour or for those who are in the process of coming out (Gonsiorek et al., 1995). Self-labelling could also yield different results based on the reference time frame (for example questions about their situation in the past 5 years versus since the age of 15).

An alternative to self-labelling is observation-based labelling. Observation-based labelling involves estimating subjects' sexual orientation indirectly based on (a set of) features that are assumed to be correlated with sexual orientation, such as subjects' sexual history, the gender of subjects' cohabiting partners (so-called cohabitation method) or number of subjects' male siblings (see the use of the fraternal birth hypothesis by Mueller-Smith, 2013). The advantage of observation-based labelling is that it allows the utilization of surveys or registers that do not explicitly address the sexual orientation of respondents. The method may misclassify sexual orientation of subjects if the underlying assumptions are not correct. For example, classification based on sexual history data may exclude self-identified subjects whose behaviour is not congruent with their sexual attraction because of choice or lack of opportunity.

The choice of identification method is indirectly linked to the generalisability of the data. Self-labelled data usually originate from specific surveys targeted at the LGBTI community and often have a non-random, convenience sample. Different propensities to participate in such surveys between strata of the gay / lesbian population may skew the distribution of answers and the results may not be representative of the whole

target population (Badgett, Sears, Lau & Ho, 2009). On the other hand, surveys using nonprobability samples may include a stronger measure of respondents' sexual orientation. Observation-based methods may lead to a systematic exclusion of respondents with certain characteristics from the sample, for example non-cohabiting subjects or subjects with no sexual history.

The second and third study in this dissertation use observation-based labelling – more specifically the cohabitation method – to determine the sexual orientation of the subjects. The fourth study uses self-labelling by the subjects.

Identity management

Sexual orientation cannot be reliably identified solely based on physical appearance and is traditionally viewed as a non-observable type of diversity (Milliken & Martins, 1996). The potential to discriminate against gay men and lesbians depends on an ability to distinguish them from heterosexuals (Drydakis, 2009). An employer with a strong distaste for gay people will not treat gay employees differently if he has no knowledge or suspicion of their homosexuality. The non-observable nature of sexual orientation provides lesbian / gay employees with a choice to (partly) disclose or conceal their sexual orientation at the workplace. The decision whether to reveal one's sexual orientation in the workplace, combined with the fear that its revelation might occur against a gay person's will, is often described as "the most difficult career challenge" and an "ongoing process that occurs with each interaction" in the workplace (Ragins, Singh & Cornwell, 2007; Tilcsik et al., 2015). Controlling information about one's sexual orientation is referred to as identity management.

Chung (2001) conceptualises identity management – along with vocational choice – as coping strategies to deal with potential discrimination. Based on Griffin (1992), he distinguished five strategies that an employee can use in the workplace to manage their identity:

1. Acting - engaging in a heterosexual relationship to be perceived as heterosexual;
2. Passing - fabricating information to be seen as heterosexual;
3. Covering - censoring information to avoid being identified as homosexual;
4. Implicitly out - being open and honest in sharing information without labelling oneself as lesbian or gay;
5. Explicitly out - openly identifying oneself as lesbian or gay.

Jones & King (2013) include an additional strategy, called signalling, which involves information seeking behaviour by "testing the waters" and signalling a potential stigma. A given employee may use various strategies with different co-workers or in different situations. When deciding which strategy to pursue, the employee compares positive

outcomes (e.g. greater intimacy, acceptance, understanding) and negative outcomes (e.g. social distancing, anxiety, discrimination) of each strategy (Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010). The identity management will vary not only as a function of situational characteristics (within-person level) but also between people in general (between-person level). This means that some employees will generally tend to be more open about their sexual orientation than others (Jones & King, 2013).

Through identity management, gay employees attempt to control awareness about their sexual orientation in the workplace. They may not be fully successful in doing so because awareness or suspicion of their homosexuality can spread via other channels, such as rumours or inference based on their appearance or behaviour. Research indicates that people infer someone's sexual orientation based on body movements (Johnson, Gill, Reichman & Tassinary, 2007), voice (Fasoli, Maass, Paladino & Sulpizio, 2017) or facial cues (Freeman, Ambady, Johnson & Rule 2010) and even during a mock job interview (Sylva, Rieger, Linsenmeier & Bailey, 2010). While the accuracy of such inferences remains questionable, they may evoke suspicion which can trigger discriminatory behaviour.

Determining the awareness of a subject's sexual orientation at the workplace is not straightforward. The subject's own assessment may deviate from the real state. An employee may believe that her colleagues don't know she is a lesbian, while the information has spread by word of mouth without her knowledge. Or she could perceive that all of her colleagues know, while some may have missed or misinterpreted her clues and believe that she's heterosexual. A reliable measure of awareness of subjects' sexual orientation would imply collecting information from their colleagues. For practical reasons, researchers may assume that the awareness is fully determined by employees' identity management or rely on employees' own assessment. Because of a lack of data on awareness of employees' sexual orientation I will make this assumption throughout this dissertation.

The issues of identity management and awareness are central to researchers' ability to gauge the incidence and/or extent of labour market discrimination. A potential discrepancy between the identified sexual orientation of research subjects and awareness about their sexual orientation in the workplace can bias the results of the analysis. The studies using naturally occurring data so far haven't methodologically addressed the issue of identity management and awareness in the workplace because the researchers didn't have data on these issues. The estimated extent of discrimination is likely to be an underestimate of the potential discrimination that would exist if everybody in the workplace was aware of subjects' homosexuality.

The second and third study suffer from similar data limitations as other studies using naturally occurring data – the available data don't address the concepts of identity management and awareness, so these issues are not controlled for in the analysis. I make an assumption that respondents who are open about their same-sex partner to the survey

interviewer will also be open about this in their workplace. I also assume that this will establish awareness of their sexual orientation among their colleagues.

The fourth study addresses the gap in the current knowledge and investigates how disclosing/concealing one's sexual orientation relates to perceived discrimination and subjects' labour market outcomes. Subjects' identity management is measured on a one-dimensional scale (from fully concealing to fully disclosing) depending on subjects' own assessment of how open/closed they are about their sexual orientation in the workplace and their opinion on how many of their colleagues are aware of their sexual orientation. Due to a lack of information, I make an assumption that subjects' identity management fully determines and has a perfect positive linear relationship with the workplace awareness.

Labour market outcomes

This dissertation concentrates on the differentials in the labour market outcomes. The concept of labour market outcomes is broad and can include labour market status, occupational ranking, income from work, etc. I look at the individual's labour market status and more concretely I concentrate on the individual's probability of being unemployed. Unemployment is one of three labour force statuses – employed, unemployed and inactive – as distinguished by Laurent & Mihoubi (2017). I assume that the subjects of my research are mobile between these statuses and with a certain probability are likely to have a given status. I have chosen to look at unemployment because it has a large negative effect on subjective wellbeing (Powdthavee & Wooden, 2014).

This dissertation will (generally) not consider subjects who are inactive. People who are defined as inactive may not be looking for a job and may choose to stay unemployed due to various factors such as caring for children / elderly, etc. The probability of individuals taking up such responsibilities may considerably differ between gay men, lesbians and their heterosexual counterparts due to a different composition of households in terms of gender (and consequently due to a different distribution of market and household labour) or the presence of children, and possibly due to differences in preferences or personality traits. These factors could obscure the interpretability of the results because the differentials in probability of inactivity cannot be easily attributed to discrimination. While detected differences in unemployment probability suffer from the same methodological issues, I assume that people will be less likely to be voluntarily unemployed than voluntarily inactive.

In the first place, I operationalise the concept of unemployment as the unemployment probability. Unemployment probability differentials between groups can be caused by:

- different unemployment lengths due to differences in the probability of flow from unemployment to employment;

- a different probability of flow from employment to unemployment due to a different employer tenure (i.e. time working for a given employer);
- a combination of the above.

Figure 1.2 illustrates this idea. Discrimination during one's employment can shorten the employer tenure. This leads to a higher individual probability of transition from employment to unemployment. Discrimination in access to employment lengthens the job search duration and unemployment duration of discriminated individuals. Ceteris paribus, a person will be more likely to be unemployed if he is more likely to become unemployed and/or less likely to find a job.

Prior research studies have looked into the differences in (un)employment probability or in labour market participation between gay men, lesbians and heterosexual men and women. However, not enough is known about how the observed (lack of) difference came into existence. I haven't identified any research that compared the unemployment length and employer tenure between these groups while controlling for relevant characteristics. I operationalise the labour market outcomes as the unemployment probability, the unemployment length and employer tenure. To better understand the potential (lack of) differentials in the unemployment probability between lesbians, gay men and their heterosexual counterparts, this dissertation will also control whether there are any differences in the unemployment length and employer tenure between the concerned groups. The second study looks into the unemployment probability and unemployment length, the third study into the employer tenure and the fourth study into the unemployment probability.

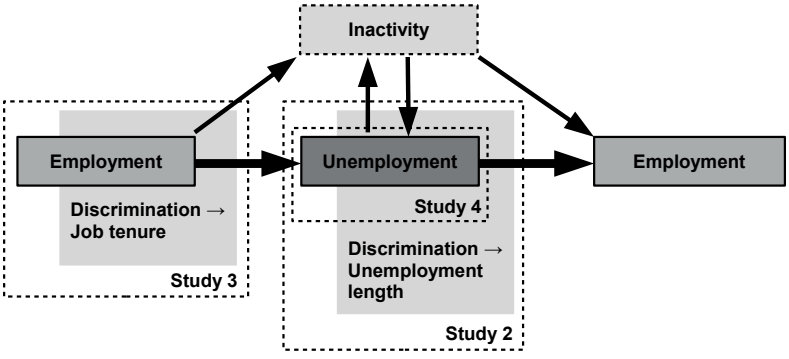

Figure 1.2: *Flows between labour force statuses and hypothesised effects of discrimination*

OBJECTIVES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

As mentioned earlier, the main objective of this dissertation is to measure the differentials in the labour market outcomes of lesbians, gay men and their heterosexual counterparts. I attempt to detect potential differences in unemployment rate, unemployment length and employer tenure. To do so, I use EU Labour Force Survey data. The novelty is that this dataset allows comparison of several EU countries and provides a sufficient sample to test differences in unemployment length and employer tenure. I am not aware of previous studies that have analysed differences in unemployment length and employer tenure between people of different sexual orientations.

Detecting potential discrimination is complex when sexual orientation is involved, due to the concealable nature of sexual orientation. This gives gay employees the chance to hide information about their sexual orientation. Thus they can avoid experiencing direct discrimination while potential discrimination prevails. However, even fully closeted gay employees or straight employees may become targets of discrimination if they are perceived or suspected to be gay. In this dissertation I aim to address these conceptual challenges (by providing empirical evidence on the relationship between the concepts of interest) and to shed more light on the relationships between the disclosure of sexual orientation, perceived discrimination and unemployment. I will test the analytical model with EU LGBT Survey data. This dataset provides information on subjects' sexual orientation, workplace experiences and identity management and its sample size allows us to empirically test theorised relationships. The novelty of this approach is that it relates unemployment probability with identity management and perceived discrimination. Moreover, it allows us to test its relationship on respondents from all EU countries.

This dissertation will help to address a number of shortcomings in the current literature. I briefly discuss these shortcomings in the following paragraphs.

Sources of differentials in unemployment probability

Labour market outcomes can be conceptualised in a number of ways, as discussed in the previous section. This dissertation operationalises labour market outcomes as unemployment probability, unemployment length and employer tenure. While the research has looked into differences in unemployment probabilities between gay men, lesbians and straight people, I am not aware of any study that has compared the length of joblessness or employer tenure between people of different sexual orientations. Even though the information about differentials in unemployment probabilities is indicative, it does not provide insight into how these differentials arose. Is it because some groups experience factors that lead to a shorter employer tenure and possibly an earlier and/or more frequent transition from employment to unemployment? Or is it because they face barriers with regard to access to employment and thus longer periods of unemploy-

ment? The first study maps the literature that has looked into the differences in (un) employment and labour market participation of straight people, lesbians and gay men. The second study compares the unemployment probability and length between the groups of interest. The third study compares the employer tenures.

The position of lesbians

Another intriguing issue with regard to labour market outcomes of sexual minorities is the relative labour market position of lesbians as compared to straight women. So far, the research has provided mixed evidence. This dissertation will seek to replicate some of the findings of earlier research (comparison of unemployment probabilities) and extend the knowledge with a comparison of lesbians and straight women in terms of length of unemployment and employer tenure. While testing the relationships between the concepts of sexual orientation, identity management, workplace treatment and unemployment probability, I will look for potential differences between gay men and lesbians. Such differences could indicate distinct mechanisms of how homosexuality affects labour market outcomes between men and women. All studies in this dissertation take gender into account by creating separate models for women and men or by including statistical controls for gender. The first study summarises the evidence provided by the research done so far. Studies 2 and 3 help to shed light on the mechanisms that are behind the (lack of) differentials in unemployment rates between lesbians and straight women. The fourth study shows whether the relationships between disclosure of sexual orientation, discrimination and unemployment are similar for lesbians and gay men.

The role of identity management

The section on the conceptual framework discussed the role of identity management in mediating the relationship between sexual orientation and labour market outcomes. A remarkable gap in the current literature is that I have found no study that has looked into the relationship between disclosure of sexual orientation, (perceived) discrimination at work and unemployment. Survey data show that a considerable part of lesbians and gay men in European workplaces at least sometimes conceal their sexual orientation. In this context, research should address how coming out in the workplace affects individuals' perception of discrimination, whether it relates to their unemployment probability and how workplace attitudes moderate this relationship. This finding is relevant for practical reasons because extensive evidence suggests that identity management can have important implications for subjective well-being and health (see for example a model by Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010). From a theoretical point of view it is desirable to test what role identity management plays in the relationship between sexual orientation, workplace treatment and labour market outcomes. This can provide a clue to the interpretation of labour market differentials in various contexts. For example, a lack of observed dif-

ferentials in labour market outcomes between gay and straight men can either indicate a lack of discrimination or it can suggest pervasive discrimination, prompting gay men to decide to be invisible in the workplace. These issues will be addressed in the fourth study by means of an empirical model.

The role of attitudes towards homosexuality

There is a wide variance in the attitudes towards homosexuality between societies and between different groups within them (Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009; Herek, 2002; Ratcliff, Lassiter, Markman & Snyder, 2006; Weichselbaumer, 2015).The literature suggests that negative attitudes of the general population towards gay people may be mirrored in the attitudes of employers and in turn will affect the incidence (or severity) of labour market discrimination (Hammarstedt, Ahmed & Andersson, 2015; Patacchini, Ragusa & Zenou, 2015; Ragins, 2004). In this dissertation I will provide further empirical evidence on the role of general attitudes (or perceived general social discrimination) towards gay people in explaining the differentials in their labour market outcomes. I will also test how workplace attitudes towards gay people relate to disclosure of sexual orientation, perceived discrimination and unemployment. All studies in this dissertation look at the role of attitudes in the labour market outcomes of lesbians and gay men. The empirical models in studies 2 and 3 were selected based on their explanatory power from pre-selected sets of variables that also include a variable summarising attitudes towards gay people.

Reporting discrimination

Data show that in some EU countries very few official reports are made of workplace discrimination based on sexual orientation. Such observations are sometimes interpreted to mean that discrimination against gay men and lesbians is scarce or non-existent. This happens despite a high incidence of perceived discrimination at work reported by gay men and lesbians in an EU LGBT survey (Eurofound, 2016). The literature that is discussed in study 4 suggests that individuals from stigmatised groups may not report discriminatory incidents due to related (social) costs such as retaliation from the accused, being labelled as a complainer, feelings of embarrassment or worsened chances of finding another job (Kaiser & Major, 2006; Major & Kaiser, 2008; Stangor et al., 2003; Stangor, Swim, Van Allen & Sechrist, 2002). When the victim is discriminated against because of traits that are not readily observable (such as homosexuality), reporting discrimination may involve additional costs related to revealing said victim's sexual orientation. The fourth study will empirically test how reporting discrimination relates to identity management in lesbians and gay men.

RESEARCH OUTLINE

To reach the objectives of my dissertation, I have split my research activities into four studies. Each study has resulted in an independent research article. These studies are compiled in this dissertation and presented as separate chapters.

In the first study (Chapter 2), I systematically map the literature on barriers that lesbians and gay men encounter when accessing the labour market. In this study I also try to collect existing knowledge on individual and contextual factors that may affect one's chances of (un)employment. This results in a literature review that tries to answer the question whether *gay men and lesbians face barriers in access to the labour market and what factors affect their probability of being (un)employed*. All subsequent studies build on the literature review and aim to extend current knowledge.

The second study (Chapter 3) partly replicates existing research – it measures whether there are differences in unemployment rates between gay men, lesbians and straight men and women after controlling for relevant individual and contextual characteristics. It expands my understanding of differentials in unemployment rates by comparing the unemployment lengths between the groups of interest. The resulting study addresses the question whether *lesbians and gay men have a different probability of being unemployed and a different length of unemployment than comparable heterosexual women and men*.

The third study (Chapter 4) looks at the length of employer tenure and potential differences in this respect between straight people, gay men and lesbians. It tests if an eventual (lack of) difference in unemployment rates between groups can be (partly) attributed to a different propensity of transition from employment to unemployment. It seeks to find an answer to the question whether *gay men and lesbians have a different employer tenure than comparable straight men and women*.

The fourth study (Chapter 5) investigates the role of identity management and perceived treatment in the workplace with regard to the relationship between sexual orientation and unemployment. Not all differentials that are observed in the labour market outcomes between gay men, lesbians and straight people in the first three studies can be attributed to discrimination. Some gay men and lesbians may (partly) avoid discrimination based on sexual orientation by managing the information that they share about their sexual orientation. The fourth study seeks answers to multiple questions in this regard. *How is identity management related to workplace attitudes towards gay people, perceived discrimination, reporting discriminatory incidents, the probability of reporting discriminatory incidents and the probability of being unemployed? And how does perceived discrimination relate to workplace attitudes and the probability of being unemployed?*

2 Access to the labour market for gay men and lesbians – Literature review

A slightly modified version of this chapter was published as: Fric, K. (2017). Access to the Labour Market for Gays and Lesbians – Research Review. Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services, 29(4), 319–361. https://doi.org/10.1080/10538720.2017.1365671

INTRODUCTION

After being a subject of marginal attention, research into the position of gay men and lesbian women in the labour market has gained momentum in recent years. A considerable body of literature has investigated whether gay men and lesbians face differential treatment in the labour market. This chapter provides the theoretical background, important insights and an empirical overview of outcomes of scientific studies that deal with access to the labour market for gay men and lesbians. To the author's knowledge, this study provides the most extensive insight into literature on this topic. In this chapter I first discuss the main theoretical mechanisms and formulate a number of hypotheses. Then I introduce the methodology of the review. This is followed by an overview of the research scope and research designs of the articles that are included in this review. I also discuss the concept of sexual orientation and its operationalisation. Finally, I present the findings of the reviewed research and contrast them with my hypotheses.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This section addresses the theories that aim to explain possible differences in access to the labour market between heterosexuals and gay men and lesbians. Generally speaking, the differences can be caused by factors related to the labour supply (see section Labour supply) and labour demand sides (see section Labour demand). The reviewed literature also proposes specific relationships directly related to the distinct context of homosexuality. A brief overview of these hypothesised relationships and related theoretical considerations is provided in the section Overall moderators hypothesised by the reviewed literature. Following the presented theories and proposed relationships, I formulate 11 hypotheses. To a large extent they resemble the hypotheses of the reviewed articles. The hypotheses are tested against the findings of the reviewed studies and the results are presented under General findings and the following sections.

Labour supply

Differences in labour supply between heterosexuals and gay men/lesbians can be caused by the inherent differences across sexual orientation and sexual orientation bias in society or in the labour market. The former is mostly derived from labour supply theories taking into account the **different household composition** in terms of gender. This is probably the most important inherent difference affecting labour market behaviour. According to Becker's neoclassical theory of family, biological differences between men and women have an impact on the traditional division of tasks in different-sex couples. While women traditionally specialized in household production, men were involved in

market production (Becker, 1981). No such biological differences exist within same-sex couples. However, same-sex partners may still face incentives to divide labour between household and market production because such specialisation is economically beneficial (Becker, 1981). Since heterosexual men specialise in labour market work, they tend to invest more into labour market human capital. Because of limited specialisation in same-sex couples, gay men are expected to invest less into labour market human capital (Black, Sanders & Taylor, 2007), which is thought to negatively influence their labour market outcomes. For women, the situation is reversed (Becker, 1981).

Hypothesis 1: *I hypothesise that partners in same-sex couples will exhibit less specialisation in household and market production than partners in heterosexual couples. This will influence the extensive margin and lesbians (gay men) will have higher (lower) labour force participation and employment rates, thus resembling the labour market outcomes of heterosexual men (women)*.

England and Farkas (1986) postulate that **specialisation** becomes more desirable once the partners are married because marriage provides more security for the non-working spouse. Additional incentives to specialise come when **children** are present in the household (Verbakel, 2013). Accordingly,

Hypothesis 2: *I expect that marriage or the presence of children in same-sex couples will strengthen the division of labour in the sense that one partner will take up the role of primary earner and the other will become a secondary earner*.

The labour market outcomes of primary (secondary) earners will then more closely resemble the labour market outcomes of heterosexual men (women).

The human capital strategy of lesbians and gay men described above has one more implication. Due to reduced (higher) pressure to take on the breadwinner role, gay men (lesbians) may be more willing than heterosexuals to sort into female (male)-typical and lower (higher)-paying occupations (Ueno et al., 2013). Differences in the **choice of occupation** between gay men/lesbians and heterosexuals can also be attributed to gender-atypical behaviour of gay men and lesbians and to family-status discrimination. As for the former, research suggests that gay men and lesbians are more likely to develop interests in gender-atypical activities in early life stages, which increases their chance of obtaining gender-atypical occupations in adulthood (Ueno et al., 2013). As for the latter, family-status discrimination refers to the phenomenon where employers tend to perceive fathers (mothers) more (less) committed to work than women and men without children (Ueno et al., 2013). Because gay men and lesbians are more often childless than their heterosexual counterparts (Jaspers & Verbakel, 2012), for lesbians (gay

men) this entails that they will have a higher (lower) chance of holding a male-typical job than their heterosexual counterparts (Ueno et al., 2013).

Career decision making of gay men and lesbians is also influenced by the existence of sexual orientation bias in society (and in the labour market). Gay men and lesbians usually grow up in a heteronormative society and most of them initially perceive themselves as non-homosexual (Cass, 1979). They need to progress through a number of stages to develop a lesbian/gay identity as a relevant aspect of self (see, for example, the model by Cass, 1979). The age of awareness of homoerotic feelings, the age of self-labelling as gay and the period between these two events vary across individuals (McDonald, 1982). During this time, gay men and lesbians may be unaware of or may reject a critical piece of their self-concept. This period often coincides with adolescence - the developmental stage when one evaluates academic and career directions. At the same time, the inclination of gay men and lesbians to pursue non-traditional occupations (Chung, 1995) may conflict with the gender-role expectations imposed by society, as a result of which gay men and lesbians may not enjoy the support and activities that heterosexuals do (Trau & Härtel, 2007). Those who pursue a non-traditional career are often devalued or stigmatized. Those who respond to social pressure, pursue traditional – but less fulfilling - careers. To avoid bias, some gay men and lesbians prefer to sort into occupations that they perceive as more "gay-friendly" (Chung, 1995). Because of limited self-awareness, constriction of self-concept and less social support, gay men and lesbians may prematurely foreclose on career choices (Hetherington & Orzek, 1989; Prince, 1995), possibly leading to a suboptimal choice of field of education and career. Moreover, in adolescence the primary context for validation, self-esteem and autonomy involves acceptance by a peer group. Many gay/lesbian adolescents develop a "false identity", based on peers' and others' validation. These factors often negatively affect self-esteem and self-value of lesbians and gay men and may severely inhibit their development (Prince, 1995). Hull (2005) postulates that a deficit of self-confidence and emotional inhibition resulting from internalization of society's homophobia negatively affects lesbians and gay men in the hiring process and lowers their hiring probability. Altogether, the internalised social bias and labour market bias can leave gay men and lesbians with a comparative disadvantage as compared to their heterosexual counterparts and can have a negative impact on their labour market outcomes, such as career progress, occupational status, income, and employment level. This can in turn lead to a reduction in labour supply of lesbians and gay men.

Labour demand

Differences in labour demand for various groups are traditionally attributed to discrimination. Labour market discrimination exists when two equally qualified individuals are treated differently in the labour market on the basis of personal characteristics unrelated

to productivity (Arrow, 1973). **Sexual orientation discrimination** is suspected to be an important factor, causing differences in access to employment between heterosexuals and gay men and lesbians. Two major economic theories try to explain the mechanisms of discrimination.

First, Becker's (1971) **theory of discrimination** relates discriminatory behaviour to people's preferences. One may prefer being associated with persons with a certain trait and may feel disutility from association with individuals who do not possess this trait. An employer maximising their utility (instead of profit) will choose to hire employees with preferred characteristics, even if they have lower productivity and/or a higher reservation wage. The extent of employers' distaste for a particular trait will influence their willingness to discriminate against persons with such a trait. Similarly, tastes play a role in workers' willingness to be associated with certain colleagues and in customers' choice of a service provider.

Second, according to the theory of **statistical discrimination** (Arrow, 1973; Phelps, 1972) employers don't have perfect information on a job applicant's real productivity but they believe that productivity varies between different groups of employees. When assessing a gay / lesbian job applicant, an employer may use his beliefs about how productive gay men and lesbians are as a proxy for estimating the applicant's productivity. This can result in different hiring probabilities of heterosexuals and lesbians/gay men.

However, the discriminatory behaviour observed in the real world may be subject to a more complex interplay of factors than what is suggested by the aforementioned theories. The **justification-suppression model** implies that automatic genuine prejudice is generated by stereotypes and ideologies based on an individual's membership of a certain social group. This prejudice is expressed in the form of discriminatory behaviour only when there is a lack of motivation to restrain it by a suppression process, which is generated by social norms, personal standards, and beliefs (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Discrimination may manifest itself in an organisational setting in **formal or interpersonal ways**. Formal discrimination refers to the most overt types of discrimination, including discrimination in hiring, promotion, access, and distribution of resources. Interpersonal discrimination is more subtle and involves nonverbal, paraverbal and some verbal behaviours that occur in social interactions, such as showing less interest or terminating interaction sooner (Chung, 2001).

Discrimination (or expected discrimination) plays a role in different **stages of the recruitment process**. Job seekers may avoid applying for (a given category of) jobs where they believe that they would face discrimination. During the first contact with the employer, a stigmatised applicant can be rejected or simply treated less helpfully than a non-stigmatised candidate. A stereotyped formulation of a vacancy can lead to self-elimination of candidates who do not meet the required stereotypes. During the résumé selection process, equally qualified minority candidates – if identified – can be assessed

less positively, rejected, or invited to an interview only as a back-up option. During the interview, the stigmatised candidate could be subjected to interpersonal discrimination even if the interviewer aims to be non-biased. When offering a job, an employer may offer the stigmatised candidate less attractive conditions or offer no employment at all. The less advantageous conditions can persist even during the employment and can lead to a disadvantage when people are looking for their next job.

Hypothesis 3: *I hypothesise that lesbians and gay men will be disadvantaged in access to employment. Ceteris paribus, gay / lesbian job applicants will receive lower hireability ratings, fewer call-backs, or less positive interaction from employers than heterosexual applicants.*

Discrimination in the workplace has a direct and an indirect effect on labour force status (i.e. (un)employment and participation in the labour market). As for the direct effect, discrimination decreases the labour demand for gay employees, lowering their flow from unemployment to employment and increasing their unemployment rate. This can, among other things, result in an increased expected length of their job search. Indirectly, discrimination in the labour market may negatively impact incentives for lesbians and gay men to find or keep a job (as proposed by Laurent & Mihoubi, 2017). For gay men (lesbians), the direct and indirect effect of discrimination will strengthen (weaken) the relationship proposed in hypothesis 1 between sexual orientation and labour force participation / employment rates.

Finally, because sexual orientation is a non-observable characteristic in the majority of contexts, a person can be discriminated against (because of homosexuality) only if others perceive or suspect him or her to be lesbian / gay. To avoid the risk of discrimination, lesbians and gay men may choose to hide their sexual orientation at work.[3] The implications for research are discussed in the section Sexual orientation.

Overall moderators hypothesised by the reviewed literature

The reviewed studies hypothesise that the bias against gay men and lesbians will vary across different contexts. The following paragraphs will (a) discuss the hypothesised relationships that were found in the reviewed literature and (b) summarise the theoretical assumptions supporting them.

While applying aversive bias paradigm to sexual prejudice, Aberson & Dora (2003) suggest that when **evaluation criteria are ambiguous**, résumés of stigmatised individuals will be evaluated less favourably than non-stigmatised résumés. The ambiguity makes it possible to disguise that the difference in evaluation is due to stigma. Also, there is

3 See Chung (2001) for a model of coping strategies to avoid discrimination.

latitude for stereotypes to influence judgments if **provided information is ambiguous** (Heilman, 2012). Kricheli-Katz (2013) proposes that individuals from stigmatised groups are treated more negatively when stigma is believed to be **controllable** or subject to a choice. Aberson and Dora (2003) explain that lack of information results in reduced cognitive complexity surrounding representations of out-groups members (e.g. lesbian / gay people). Individuals who are **less familiar with gay men and lesbians** will tend to view them as more homogenous and exhibit more extremity in their ratings. This will lead to more extreme negative (or positive!) reactions to unqualified (qualified) gay men and lesbians. More positive ratings of qualified gay / lesbian candidates (as compared to heterosexuals) may originate from normative **pressures toward being even-handed** (overcorrection effect). In line with the theory of statistical discrimination, Drydakis (2014b) assumes that providing additional favourable information on a job application can reduce employers' discrimination against gay men and lesbians.

Hypothesis 4: *I hypothesise that lack/ambiguity of information (or lack of contact with gay / lesbian people) will lead to more extreme negative (positive) ratings in individuals who are prone to discriminate (be even-handed)*.

Due to different gender stereotypes about lesbians and gay men, employers' behaviour toward lesbian and gay job seekers may not be uniform (Tilcsik, 2011). Societies usually assign a specific set of meaning to **gender** (Drydakis, 2015b), where men are stereotypically seen as more agentic (independent, aggressive, competitive, self-confident, assertive, career-oriented and task-oriented) while women are seen as communal (generous, warm, affectionate, family-oriented and sensitive). Gay men and lesbians are perceived to have stereotypical characteristics of the opposite sex (Ahmed, Andersson & Hammarstedt, 2013; Cunningham, Sartore & McCullough, 2010; Drydakis, 2015b). Individuals who violate traditional gender norms are often presumed to be gay. This perception may be important in relation to discrimination based on sexual orientation, particularly in occupations that are traditionally perceived as masculine or feminine (Ahmed et al., 2013). An occupation is called masculine (feminine) when the majority of employees are male (female). Most male (female)-dominated occupations also involve (and require) employee traits that are stereotypically associated with males (females) (Weichselbaumer, 2004). Stereotyping may play an important role in an interviewer's approach towards a job applicant (Nadler & Kufahl, 2014), for example, through the formulation of stereotype-affirming questions and the formation of final judgements that affect hiring decisions. Job applicants who (stereotypically) violate the gender role required for the job may be sorted away.

Hypothesis 5: *I hypothesise that gay men (lesbians) will face more negative bias than their heterosexual counterparts when applying for male (female)-dominated jobs and that they will be advantaged when applying for female (male)-dominated jobs.*

Hypothesis 6: *I also assume that lesbian / gay people who exhibit gender non-congruent characteristics will experience more negative bias in access to the labour market than those who exhibit gender congruent characteristics.*

An individual's gender is another important factor determining attitudes towards gay men and lesbians (Horvath & Ryan, 2003). Heterosexual men tend to hold more negative attitudes towards lesbians and especially towards gay men than straight women (Herek, 2000a, 2002; Kite & Whitley, 1996). Some studies suggest that heterosexual women may be more prone to discriminate against lesbians than against gay men (Baker & Fishbein, 1998; LaMar & Kite, 1998).

Hypothesis 7: *I hypothesise that employers' bias against gay men and lesbians will be stronger if the employer is of the same sex, and that this relationship will be especially pronounced for males.*

Because lesbians and gay men are supposedly penalised for breaking the norms of the heterosexual majority (Horvath & Ryan, 2003), Weichselbaumer (2015) hypothesises a beneficial effect of **marriage or registered partnership** on the labour market performance of lesbians and gay men. This is because the lifestyle of married gay men and lesbians (or those in a registered partnership) is more aligned with traditional social norms.

Hypothesis 8: *I expect that gay men and lesbians who are married or in a registered partnership (compared to those who are not) will experience relatively less negative bias in access to the labour market.*

Horvath and Ryan (2003) postulate that employers' **attitudes** is one (but not the only) influence on their actual behaviour and can therefore be seen as an antecedent of (hiring) discrimination. Employers may also discriminate because of prejudice held by their customers or employees (Hammarstedt et al., 2015). The magnitude of prejudice varies across contextual factors, such as geographical location, sector, occupation, gender, religiosity or age. Employers with prejudice against lesbian / gay people are more likely to be found in contexts where attitudes towards gay men and lesbians are more hostile.

Hypothesis 9: *I expect that individuals' (or public) hostile attitudes toward gay/lesbian people will be positively related to negative bias against (or to negative labour market outcomes of) lesbians and gay men.*

Accordingly, as residents in larger cities have generally more liberal attitudes toward homosexuality (Ahmed et al., 2013), gay men and lesbians living in metropolitan areas could exhibit better labour market outcomes than those living in non-metropolitan areas.

Tebaldi & Elmslie (2006) and Klawitter & Flatt (1998) postulate that **anti-discriminatory legislation that forbids discrimination based on sexual orientation** will be more likely enacted in areas with positive social attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. Simultaneously, such legislation may have positive effects on the social attitudes towards gay people. Following Becker's deterrence theory, Barron & Hebl (2013) explain that prejudiced employers will discriminate less in the presence of anti-discriminatory laws because such laws create an additional cost if an employer is caught discriminating (instrumental effect). Anti-discrimination laws may also decrease interpersonal discrimination by creating social norms about what is acceptable and what is not (symbolic effect).

Hypothesis 10: *I expect that when anti-discriminatory laws apply, gay/lesbian people will experience less negative bias when accessing the labour market and their labour market outcomes will be more aligned with the outcomes of heterosexuals.*

Because attitudes towards gay men and lesbians may vary across **occupations**, Drydakis (2009) and Ahmed et al. (2013) argue that lesbian / gay employees may sort into gay-friendly occupations, where they expect to encounter less discrimination. Low presence of lesbians and gay men in less gay/lesbian-friendly occupations may result in even more homonegativity, because people with less contact with lesbians and gay men tend to be more hostile towards them.

Hypothesis 11: *I hypothesize that labour market outcomes of gay/lesbian people and bias against them will vary across occupations.*

METHODOLOGY

This study aims to provide as comprehensive a review of literature on the topic as possible. For this reason, all relevant studies are included in the review. To minimise the possible selection bias, the search for relevant studies was performed in multiple da-

tabases: APA PsycNET, EconLit, ProQuest IBSS, Scopus and SocINDEX. The search terms were identical in all databases and were formulated rather broadly so as not to exclude potentially relevant studies. The search was performed on July 24, 2014, in abstracts, keywords (or subject terms or both where possible) and titles records of the databases just mentioned.[4] This resulted in 2,682 matches, of which 738 references were identified as duplicates by Mendeley software. The abstracts of the remaining 1,944 references were manually assessed on whether they fulfilled the inclusion criteria for this literature review. A study fulfilled the inclusion criteria if:

(1) it quantified at least some objective measure of access to the labour market for lesbians and gay men (such as hireability ratings, probability of employer's call-back after résumé submission, probability of (un)employment and labour market participation[5]);
(2) the measure of access to the labour market for gay men and lesbians was compared between subgroups of lesbian / gay people and/or to other groups (e.g., heterosexuals) and/or between various groups of employers / résumé evaluators;
(3) it at least to some extent controlled for heterogeneity in the background characteristics by means of research design (e.g. controlled experiment) or analytical method (e.g., regression analysis) and;
(4) the outcomes of the study were a product of original research.

Thirty-two articles fulfilled the inclusion criteria and were included in the literature review. The bibliography of each study was checked for other potential studies that would fulfil the inclusion criteria. On a September 15 and 16, 2015, a non-systematic check was performed on Google Scholar among studies that cited the reviewed literature, identifying 15 additional studies that fulfilled the inclusion criteria. One additional study fulfilling the inclusion criteria (Drydakis, n.d.) was encountered in a later stage of the research (July 6, 2016) and has been added to the literature review to ensure its completeness. In total, the literature review is therefore based on 48 studies, the contents of which were examined and coded. This formed the basis for analysis and findings. My method was guided by the systematic literature review as described by Gough, Oliver & Thomas (2012).

4 The syntax of the search term can be provided upon request.

5 This aspect has often been addressed by literature studying the labour supply of lesbians and gays. Articles and findings of such studies were included only if they explicitly address the extensive margin (rather than only supplying the number of working hours).

REVIEWED STUDIES

This section provides an overview of the scope of the literature under scrutiny. The reviewed literature addresses different stages of access to the labour market (see Table 2.1). Three studies explored differences in treatment during the initial contact with a potential employer. Research concentrated on whether sexual orientation of a job applicant influences the hireability ratings (15 studies) and differences in probability of being invited for a real-world job interview between comparable job applicants who differ in sexual orientation (16 studies). One study addressed the duration before callback and two studies addressed the job interview stage. Finally, 14 studies examined whether there are differences in the labour market status between heterosexuals and gay / lesbian people. The research looked at access to the labour market for gay men and lesbians in different occupations and countries. An overview is provided in Table 2.2.

Moderators

A number of possible moderators and mechanisms of the relationship between sexual orientation and labour market outcomes has been noted previously. The reviewed literature addresses a wide range of these moderators. In Table 2.1, an overview of moderators (in rows) is provided, arranged according to the stages of access to the labour market (in columns). For each stage and moderator the table presents studies whose findings are discussed here. The moderators are grouped into four groups. The first group relates to applicant or employee characteristics and includes gender, marital (or partnership) status, the presence of children in the household and adherence to gender stereotypes. The second group refers to local characteristics such as whether the concerned area is metropolitan, local social and political attitudes, and the presence of anti-discrimination legislation. The moderators in the third group refer to characteristics of the employer or job application evaluator (namely gender), attitudes towards gay men and lesbians, and past contact with gay men and lesbians. The last group of moderators concerns occupation and recruitment and includes occupation applied for, whether the occupation is gender dominated or gender stereotypical, and the specificity of information used in the recruitment procedure. A summary of the findings about how these moderators affect access to the labour market for lesbians and gay men is provided later.

Research design

The reviewed studies used a variety of research designs, depending on whether they addressed factors related to labour supply or labour demand. Studies addressing labour demand factors generally used controlled experiments. Studies utilizing naturally occurring data generally identified the combined effect of factors related to both labour sup-

Table 2.1 *An overview of employment access stages and moderators that are addressed in the reviewed studies*

Job access stage			First contact	Hireability rating / Hiring recommendations and decisions	Duration before call-back	Call-back	Inter-view	Employment status / Labour supply
All studies relating to a certain job access stage			Hebl et al. (2002), Singletary & Hebl (2009), Barron & Hebl (2013)	Crow et al. (1998), Aberson (2003), Aberson & Dora (2003), Horvath & Ryan (2003), Hoye & Lievens (2003), Barron (2009), Cunningham et al. (2010), Pichler et al. (2010), Kricheli-Katz (2013), Gorsuch (2014), Nadler & Kufahl (2014), Pyatt (2014), Binder & Ward (2015), Everly et al. (2015), Niedlich & Steffens (2015)	Drydakis (2011)	Adam (1981), Berger & Kelly (1981), Hebl et al. (2002), Weichselbaumer (2003), Drydakis (2009), Drydakis (2011), Tilcsik (2011), Ahmed et al. (2013), Bailey et al. (2013), Baert (2014), Drydakis, (2014b), Acquisti & Fong (2015), (Drydakis, 2015b), Gorsuch (2015), Patacchini et al. (2015), Weichselbaumer (2015)	Ellis (1993), Barron & Hebl (2013)	Tebaldi & Elmslie 2006), Leppel (2009), Buchmueller & Carpenter (2012), Laurent & Mihoubi (2012), Patacchini, Ragusa & Zenou (2012), Antecol & Steinberger (2013), Mueller-Smith (2013), Giddings et al. (2014), Martell (2014), Powdthavee & Wooden (2014), Hammarstedt et al. (2015), Dillender (2015), Jepsen & Jepsen (2015), Drydakis (N.P.)
Moderators	Applicant or employee characteristics	Gender		Crow et al. (1998), Aberson (2003), Aberson & Dora (2003), Horvath & Ryan (2003), Hoye & Lievens (2003), Barron (2009), Cunningham et al. (2010), Kricheli-Katz (2013), Gorsuch (2014), Pyatt (2014)		Adam (1981), Berger & Kelly (1981), Weichselbaumer (2003), Drydakis (2009), Drydakis (2011), Tilcsik (2011), Ahmed et al. (2013), Bailey et al. (2013), Baert (2014), Drydakis (2014b), Acquisti et al. (2015), Drydakis (2015b), Gorsuch (2015), Patacchini et al. (2015), Weichselbaumer (2015)		Tebaldi & Elmslie (2006), Buchmueller & Carpenter (2012), Laurent & Mihoubi (2012), Patacchini et al. (2012), Martell (2014), Hammarstedt et al. (2015)
		Marital or partnership status		Nadler & Kufahl (2014)		Weichselbaumer (2015)		Buchmueller & Carpenter (2012), Antecol & Steinberger (2013), Giddings et al. (2014), Dillender (2015), Jepsen & Jepsen (2015)
		Presence of a child in household				Baert (2014)		Antecol & Steinberger (2013)
		Adherence with gender stereotypes		Niedlich & Steffens (2015), Gorsuch (2014)		Weichselbaumer (2003), Gorsuch (2015)		

Table 2.1 *An overview of employment access stages and moderators that are addressed in the reviewed studies (continued)*

Job access stage			First contact	Hireability rating / Hiring recommendations and decisions	Duration before call-back	Call-back	Inter-view	Employment status / Labour supply
Moderators	Local characteristics	Metropolitan vs. nonmetropolitan area				Adam (1981), Ahmed et al. (2013)		Tebaldi & Elmslie(2006), Leppel (2009)
		Social characteristics	Barron & Hebl (2013)			Bailey et al. (2013), Acquisti et al. (2015), Weichselbaumer (2015)		Hammarstedt et al. (2015)
		Anti-discrimination legislation	Barron & Hebl (2013)	Horvath & Ryan (2003), Barron (2009)		Tilcsik (2011), Drydakis (2015b)	Barron & Hebl (2013)	Leppel (2009), Martell (2014)
	Evaluator's or employer's characteristics	Gender		Crow et al. (1998), Horvath & Ryan (2003), Hoye & Lievens (2003), Cunningham et al. (2010), Pichler et al. (2010), Gorsuch (2014), Everly et al. (2015), Niedlich & Steffens (2015)		Hebl et al. (2002), Drydakis (2009), Baert (2014)		
		Attitudes towards lesbian / gay people		Horvath & Ryan (2003), Pichler et al. (2010), Nadler & Kufahl (2014), Binder & Ward (2015), Niedlich & Steffens (2015)			Ellis (1993)	
		Contact with gay men and lesbians		Aberson & Dora (2003), Kricheli-Katz (2013)			Ellis (1993)	
	Occupation and recruitment	Occupation applied for				Weichselbaumer (2003), Drydakis (2009), Drydakis (2011), Ahmed et al. (2013), Baert (2014), Drydakis (2014b), Drydakis (2015b)		Leppel (2009)
		Gender-dominated or gender-stereotypical occupation				Tilcsik (2011), Ahmed et al. (2013), Baert (2014), Drydakis (2015b)		
		Specificity of information				Singletary & Hebl (2009), Drydakis (2014b)		

ply and labour demand. The reviewed studies are organised according to their research design in Table 2.3.

Experimental methods allow isolating causal mechanisms by randomly assigning subjects to treatment and control conditions. The random assignment helps to remove the influence of any respondent characteristics that may affect their outcomes (Pager, 2007). **Laboratory experiments** typically use students (Harrison & List, 2004). The recruitment procedures often avoid mentioning the nature of the tasks in order not to alter subjects' behaviour during the experiment. In reviewed studies with between-subject factorial design, the subjects were given a job description and résumé of a single candidate (who was either gay or heterosexual) and were asked to assess the candidate's suitability for the job concerned. In reviewed studies with a within-subject factorial design, subjects were asked to evaluate the résumés of multiple candidates. In addition, Kricheli-Katz (2013) manipulated subjects' beliefs about the controllability of sexual orientation by a reading comprehension test. To investigate the effect of media on the evaluation of résumés, (Binder & Ward, 2016) exposed subjects during the experiment to either heterosexist/non-heterosexist rap music or to no music at all.

The relevance of inferences drawn from laboratory experiments is criticised because the subjects are students. Such samples may exclude individuals with characteristics that are important determinants of underlying population behaviour (Harrison & List, 2004). This concern is addressed by laboratory experiments with **non-standard subject pools**. Table 2.3 lists such studies and the subjects they used. The participants were generally asked to evaluate whether presented résumés match requirements for a given job. Nadler and Kufahl (2014) additionally provided the participants with a video of a fictional job interview. Gorsuch (2014) presented the study as a real job task so the subjects were not aware that they were taking part in an experiment. Barron and Hebl (2013) manipulated subjects' beliefs on the legality of employment discrimination against gay men and lesbians in a short training. The subjects then conducted a practice job interview with a researcher disguised as a gay job candidate. Crow, Fok & Hartman (1998) listed all eight combinations of gender, race and sexual orientation and asked subjects to select six that had their preference.

While laboratory experiments provide a clear glimpse into the effects of exogenous treatments on behaviour, making generalizations outside of this domain might prove difficult (Harrison & List, 2004). The subjects in a laboratory are usually aware of being observed, which may alter their behaviour – the so-called **Hawthorne effect**. In the context of my research, the subjects could change their behaviour to appear less prejudiced. This would bias the results, underestimating the bias against the stigmatised group. For this reason, studies where the subjects were aware that they were being observed are marked with an asterisk (*) when presenting the findings. This is only a gross attempt to account for the Hawthorne effect. As noted by Weichselbaumer (2015), subjects may

Table 2.2 *Scope of reviewed literature in terms of occupation and country*

	Occupation	Belgium	Germany	Greece	Italy	Sweden	U.K.	U.S.A.	Other countries
Experimental data	Accounting position		Weichselbaumer (2015)		Patacchini et al. (2015)		Drydakis (2015b)	Crow et al. (1998)	Austria: Weichselbaumer (2003)
	Analytical positions, banking and finance						Drydakis (2015b)	Tilcsik (2011), Acquisti et al. (2015)	
	Café, restaurant and food services			Drydakis (2009), Drydakis (2011)		Ahmed et al. (2013)		Gorsuch (2015)	Cyprus: Drydakis (2014b)
	Client information workers				Patacchini et al. (2015)			Tilcsik (2011)	
	Education position, teacher, professor					Ahmed et al. (2013)	Drydakis (2015b)	Ellis (1993), Binder & Ward (2015)	
	Industrial or manual jobs	Baert (2014)		Drydakis (2009), Drydakis (2011)		Ahmed et al. (2013)		Gorsuch (2015)	Cyprus: Drydakis (2014b)
	Leader of HIV/AIDS awareness campaign							Aberson (2003), Aberson & Dora (2003)	
	Management or leadership positions	Hoye & Lievens (2003)	Niedlich & Steffens (2015)				Drydakis (2015b)	Barron (2009), Pichler et al. (2010), Tilcsik (2011), Nadler & Kufahl (2014), Acquisti et al. (2015), Everly et al. (2015)	
	Sales workers and representatives			Drydakis (2009), Drydakis (2011)	Patacchini et al. (2015)	Ahmed et al. (2013)		Hebl et al. (2002), Singletary & Hebl (2009), Tilcsik (2011), Barron & Hebl (2013), Gorsuch (2015)	Cyprus: Drydakis (2014b)
	Secretaries, administrative/management assistants, receptionists and other office jobs	Baert (2014)	Weichselbaumer (2015)	Drydakis (2009), Drydakis (2011)	Patacchini et al. (2015)			Tilcsik (2011), Pyatt (2014), Gorsuch (2015)	Austria: Weichselbaumer (2003); Cyprus: Drydakis (2014b)

Table 2.2 *Scope of reviewed literature in terms of occupation and country* (*continued*)

	Occupation	Belgium	Germany	Greece	Italy	Sweden	U.K.	U.S.A.	Other countries
Experimental data	Social care, social services, nurses	Baert (2014)				Ahmed et al. (2013)	Drydakis (2015b)	Berger & Kelly (1981), Pichler et al. (2010)	Canada: Berger & Kelly (1981)
	Technical positions, engineers	Baert (2014)	Niedlich & Steffens (2015)					Horvath & Ryan (2003), Acquisti et al. (2015)	
	Various other positions	Baert (2014)				Ahmed et al. (2013)		Cunningham et al. (2010), Bailey et al. (2013), Kricheli-Katz (2013), Gorsuch (2014)	Canada: Adam (1981)
Naturally occurring data		Patacchini et al. (2012)		Patacchini et al. (2012), Drydakis (n.p.)	Patacchini et al. (2012)	Patacchini et al. (2012), Hammarstedtet al. (2015)	Patacchini et al. (2012), Powdthavee et al. (2014)	Tebaldi & Elmslie (2006), Leppel (2009), Buchmueller & Carpenter (2012), Mueller-Smith (2013), Drydakis (2014b), Giddings et al. (2014), Martell (2014), Dillender (2015), Jepsen & Jepsen (2015)	Austria, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Portugal and Spain: Patacchini et al. (2012); Australia: Powdthavee & Wooden (2014); France: Laurent & Mihoubi (2012)

guess that they are being tested even in other research designs, such as correspondence studies with within-subject design.

Experiments in a field environment "blend experimental methods with field-based research, relaxing certain controls over environmental influences to better simulate real-world interactions" (Pager, 2007: page 109). The reviewed studies that applied field experiments used either *correspondence tests* or *in-person audits*.

In **correspondence tests**, résumés of two or more (fictitious) job applicants are prepared so that they match in relevant aspects but differ in the characteristics of interest (i.e. sexual orientation). The résumés are submitted to employers and those employers' reactions are measured for each applicant by means of written responses or call-backs. An advantage of this research design is that it provides the researcher with control over the precise content of treatment and control conditions (Pager, 2007). Correspondence tests are a popular method of testing for differential treatment of lesbians and gay men in the initial stage of the selection process of job applicants. The majority of reviewed correspondence studies used within-subject factorial design, meaning that they submitted matched résumés of two or more candidates to each job opening. The studies with between-subject design submitted a single résumé to each employer, keeping the résumé constant across employers in all aspects but sexual orientation (and gender in the case of Ahmed et al., 2013; or the applicant's masculinity/femininity in the case of Gorsuch, 2015). Acquisti and Fong (2015) submitted identical résumés to the employers but manipulated the information in candidates' online profiles on professional and social networks. Drydakis (2015b) was the only study to send résumés of real job applicants.

In-person audits utilize carefully matched testers who pose as job applicants in real job searches (Pager, 2007). The experiments attempt to control for all aspects of an individual that affect their work productivity (Rich, 2014). In-person audits provide information on whether the applicants got a job offer as well as what treatment they experienced (Pager, 2007). The reviewed studies applying in-person audits were more scarce than correspondence tests and involved sending undergraduate students (some of whom signalled being gay / lesbian) to personally apply for jobs in stores in large mall areas. The researchers observed the characteristics of the interpersonal interaction between staff and job applicants and whether or not a job was offered.

Sixteen reviewed studies used **naturally occurring data** (i.e., data obtained in a non-experimental way). These studies used econometric models to construct a proper counterfactual that would identify the effect of sexual orientation on the variable of interest. The advantage of naturally occurring data is their realism. The drawback is that strong assumptions need to be made to identify the effect of sexual orientation (List, 2007).

The hypotheses formulated earlier were addressed by studies using different research designs. Hypotheses 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 were tested by studies using controlled

Table 2.3 *Research designs of reviewed studies*

Data collection method			Subjects	Factorial design	
				Within-subject	Between-subject
Controlled experiments	In laboratory setting	Standard subject pool	Students	Horvath & Ryan (2003), Kricheli-Katz (2013), Binder & Ward (2015)	Ellis (1993), Aberson (2003), Aberson & Dora (2003), Cunningham et al. (2010), Pichler et al. (2010)
		Non-standard subject pool	*See right columns*	*Amazon mechanical Turk:* Gorsuch (2014); *Convenience sample of employees:* Crow et al. (1998); *HR professionals:* Barron (2009).	*Amazon mechanical Turk:* Nadler & Kufahl (2014), Pyatt (2014), Everly et al. (2015); *HR professionals:* Hoye & Lievens (2003); *Paid volunteers:* Barron & Hebl (2013) (third study); *Convenience sample of students and people from the street:* Niedlich & Steffens (2015).
	Correspondence tests		Recruiting employers	Berger & Kelly (1981), Weichselbaumer (2003), Drydakis (2009), Drydakis (2011), Tilcsik (2011), Bailey et al. (2013), Baert (2014), Drydakis (2014b), Drydakis (2015b), Patacchini et al. (2015)	Adam (1981), Ahmed et al. (2013), Acquisti et al. (2015), Gorsuch (2015), Weichselbaumer (2015)
	In-person audit		Recruiting employers		Hebl et al. (2002), Singletary & Hebl (2009), Barron & Hebl (2013) (second study)
Studies using naturally occurring data				*Full register data:* Hammarstedt et al. (2015); *Sample from 2000 U.S. Decennial Census data:* Leppel (2009), Antecol & Steinberger (2013) and Jepsen & Jepsen (2015). Giddings et al. (2014) uses 1990 Census data; *Survey data:* Tebaldi & Elmslie (2006), Buchmueller & Carpenter (2012), Laurent & Mihoubi (2012), Patacchini et al. (2012), Mueller-Smith (2013), Giddings et al. (2014), Martell (2014), Powdthavee & Wooden (2014), Hammarstedt et al. (2015), Dillender (2015), Drydakis (n.p.)	

experiments. Hypotheses 1 and 2 were tested by studies using naturally occurring data. Hypotheses 9, 10 and 11 were tested by studies using both controlled experiments and naturally occurring data.

SEXUAL ORIENTATION

Even though people can reportedly assess someone's sexual orientation based on body movements (Johnson et al., 2007) and facial cues (Freeman et al., 2010), sexual orientation is traditionally viewed as a non-observable type of diversity (Milliken & Martins, 1996). Employers' potential to discriminate against gay men and lesbians depends on their ability to distinguish them from heterosexuals (Drydakis, 2009).

Laumann et al. (1994) view homosexuality as a broad concept encompassing at least three dimensions:

(1) same-sex sexual behaviour referring to the gender of sexual partners and specific sexual acts or techniques and the time frame when these sexual relationships or activities took place;
(2) same-sex desire and sexual attraction relating to one's sexual appeal, fantasies and thoughts and the gender of the people to whom the respondent is attracted; and
(3) self-identification as lesbian or gay.

Individuals' sexual expression in relation to these dimensions is not binary, but rather presents a continuous scale (e.g., the extent to which one is sexually attracted to men or women). For this reason, proper operationalisation of sexual orientation is problematic and complicates the generalisability of research findings to the whole population of gay men and lesbians. The reviewed studies (with the exception of Ellis, 1993; Mueller-Smith, 2013; Powdthavee & Wooden, 2014) used a binary scale of sexual orientation, allowing only for variation between heterosexuals and lesbian / gay people. Powdthavee and Wooden (2014) is the only reviewed study that distinguished bisexuals as a separate category. Ellis (1993) used only homosexual conditions. Mueller-Smith (2013) used a proxy signalising that certain categories of men have a higher probability of being gay.

The operationalisation of sexual orientation further depends on the research design and varies considerably between studies that use naturally occurring data and studies with experimental design (see Table 2.4). The **studies using naturally occurring data** operationalise individuals' sexual orientation by identifying features that indicate whether a given observation concerns a heterosexual or a gay / lesbian individual (or household). The most frequently used procedure to identify the sexual orientation of individuals in the dataset was comparing their gender with the gender of their cohabiting partners. This method allows identification of sexual orientation in large conventional

Table 2.4 *Methods of identification or manipulation of sexual orientation*

Naturally occurring data	**Identified sexual orientation using:**	
	Cohabitation method	Tebaldi & Elmslie (2006), Leppel (2009), Laurent & Mihoubi (2012), Patacchini et al. (2012), Antecol & Steinberger (2013), Giddings et al. (2014), Hammarstedt et al. (2015), Dillender (2015), Jepsen & Jepsen (2015)
	Individual's sexual history	Martell (2014)
	Respondent's self-assessment	Buchmueller & Carpenter (2012), Powdthavee & Wooden (2014), Drydakis (n.p.)
	Fraternal birth hypothesis	Mueller-Smith (2013)
Controlled experiments	**Manipulation of sexual orientation by:**	
	Reference to involvement in LGBT organisation	Adam (1981), Ellis (1993), Horvath & Ryan (2003), Drydakis (2009), Drydakis (2011), Ahmed et al. (2013), Barron & Hebl (2013) (third study), Drydakis (2014b), Pyatt (2014), Binder & Ward (2015)
	Reference to job-relevant involvement in LGBT organisation	Berger & Kelly (1981), Weichselbaumer (2003), Barron (2009), Pichler et al. (2010), Tilcsik (2011), Bailey et al. (2013), Kricheli-Katz (2013), Gorsuch (2014), Drydakis (2015b), Gorsuch (2015), Patacchini et al. (2015), Weichselbaumer (2015)
	Reference to involvement in LGBT professional organisation	Berger & Kelly (1981), Everly et al. (2015)
	Reference to partner's sex	Aberson (2003), Aberson & Dora (2003), Hoye & Lievens (2003), Ahmed et al. (2013), Baert (2014), Nadler & Kufahl (2014), Niedlich & Steffens (2015), Weichselbaumer (2015)
	Reference to LGBT scholarship programme	Barron (2009), Cunningham et al. (2010)
	Reference to organisation of gay pride	Ahmed et al. (2013)
	Sexual orientation listed as a selection criterion	Crow et al. (1998)
	Applicants in gay condition wore a baseball hat with text 'Gay and Proud'	Hebl et al. (2002), Singletary & Hebl (2009), Barron & Hebl (2013) (second study)
	The applicant had a bag with a pin 'Gay and Proud'	Barron & Hebl (2013) (third study)

surveys or registers that do not explicitly address the sexual orientation of respondents. However, this method may misclassify people who have a same-sex relationship but maintain a heterosexual identity (and fail to report their true status) as well as those who engage in same-sex behaviour while being in heterosexual relationships. Another disadvantage of the cohabitation procedure is that single individuals and individuals with non-cohabiting partners cannot be classified (Ragins & Wiethoff, 2005).

Some of these shortcomings can be addressed by identifying sexual orientation based on a person's sexual history. The drawback is that this may exclude individuals who self-identify as gay but have not acted on their feelings because of choice or lack of opportunity (Ragins & Wiethoff, 2005). Identification of respondents' sexual orientation based on respondents' self-assessment provides a solution to this. Moreover, self-reported sexual orientation is possibly more closely related to workplace disclosure than same-sex sexual behaviour because the latter is likely unobservable to employers (Carpenter, 2005). However, representative data including respondents' sexual history or self-reported sexual orientation are rare and may be biased by a lower readiness of gay / lesbian people to disclose their sexual orientation in a survey.

Mueller-Smith (2013) addresses the concerns related to self-reported sexual orientation by attempting to determine an individual's innate sexual orientation. For this purpose he uses the fraternal birth hypothesis, according to which men who have more older brothers are more likely to express same-sex attraction.

The reviewed **experimental studies** operationalise sexual orientation by manipulating the résumé (or video of a job interview in the case of Nadler & Kufahl, 2014) of the (fictional) job candidates with carefully chosen signals. This is then presented to subjects. The most common way of indicating that a candidate is lesbian / gay is listing involvement in an organization that acts in the interest of gay men and lesbians in the résumé. To minimise the differences between gay / lesbian and heterosexual résumés, the majority of studies also list involvement in comparable non-LGBT organisations (e.g. environmental organisations) in the résumé of heterosexual candidates. The only studies that did not do so were early studies such as Adam (1981) or Horvath and Ryan (2003).[6] Weichselbaumer (2003) points out that signalling sexual orientation in a résumé may be viewed as tactless by the employers. Tilcsik (2011) proposes to address this by mentioning a job-relevant involvement in an LGBT organization that justifies including it in the résumé.

Other studies manipulate job applicants' sexual orientation by a reference to the gender of their partner. Less frequent manipulations of sexual orientation are references to LGBT scholarship programmes or involvement in the organisation of gay/lesbian

6 Berger and Kelly (1981) did not specifically mention how the manipulation turned out for the heterosexual candidate.

pride. Acquisti & Fong (2015) manipulated the sexual orientation on candidates' social network profile by stating the gender the candidate was interested in and filling in a number of other fields (such as favourite books) with answers common among other users with the same sexual orientation. Other experimental studies used different ways to operationalise sexual orientation. Crow et al. (1998) presented only a list of suitable candidates with eight combinations of race, gender and sexual orientation.

The studies that performed an **in-person audit** used researchers in person who acted as lesbian / gay or heterosexual job applicants. In both conditions the researchers were dressed similarly and wore a baseball hat with text reading either "Gay and Proud" (gay condition) or "Texan and Proud" (heterosexual condition). The researchers did not know which condition they represented. Barron and Hebl (2013, third study) signalled applicants' homosexuality by manipulating the résumé text and the researchers acting as job candidates wore a backpack with a rainbow pin that read "Gay and Proud".

Successful manipulation of sexual orientation is crucial for the internal validity of the experimental study. This is because employers' discriminatory behaviour against a stigmatised individual is not triggered if the employer does not recognise the stigma. Unsuccessful manipulation of sexual orientation likely leads to underestimation of differences in treatment between lesbians / gay men and heterosexuals. To address this concern, Barron and Hebl (2013), Pyatt (2014) and Everly, Unzueta & Shih (2015) eliminated subjects from the analysis if they did not successfully identify a gay candidate. Barron (2009) aimed to do the same but many subjects did not complete the questionnaire, leaving space for misclassification. Ellis (1993) mentions that the majority of subjects identified gay / lesbian applicants, but those who didn't were not excluded from the analysis. Horvath and Ryan (2003) and Niedlich and Steffens (2015) indicate that they successfully tested their manipulation of sexual orientation. The reported proportions of subjects misclassifying the sexual orientation of presented job applicants vary between studies from about 4% (Everly et al., 2015, second study) to 28% (Barron, 2009). Many reviewed studies did not mention whether they tested their success at effectively manipulating sexual orientation. This casts doubt on whether these studies identified the full extent of differences in treatment between heterosexuals and lesbians/gay men.

GENERAL FINDINGS

Table 2.5 provides a categorisation of reviewed studies according to their research findings. Consistent with hypothesis 1, approximately three-quarters of studies using naturally occurring data found statistically significant differences in labour market outcomes between heterosexuals and lesbian / gay people. It is necessary to interpret these differences with caution as they may be caused by a joint effect of labour market

Table 2.5 *Research findings about differences in access to the labour market between lesbians/gay men and heterosexuals*

Studies using naturally occurring data		
Job access stage	**Statistically significant differences in labour market outcomes observed between lesbians/gay men and heterosexuals**	**No or marginally statistically significant differences in labour market outcomes observed between lesbians/gay men and heterosexuals**
Employment status / Labour supply	Tebaldi & Elmslie (2006), Leppel (2009), Buchmueller & Carpenter (2012), Laurent & Mihoubi (2012), Patacchini et al. (2012), Antecol & Steinberger (2013), Giddings et al. (2014), Hammarstedt et al. (2015), Jepsen & Jepsen (2015), Drydakis (n.p.)	Martell (2014), Mueller-Smith (2013), Powdthavee & Wooden (2014)
Experimental studies		
Job access stage	**Negative bias towards lesbians/gay men found in job access (in at least some contexts)**	**No bias or positive bias towards lesbians/gay men found in job access (in at least some contexts)**
First contact	Hebl et al. (2002), Singletary & Hebl (2009), Barron & Hebl (2013)	
Hireability rating / Hiring recommendations and decisions	Crow et al. (1998)*, Horvath & Ryan (2003)*, Barron (2009)*, Cunningham et al. (2010)*, Pichler et al. (2010)*, Gorsuch (2014), Binder & Ward (2015)*, Everly et al. (2015)*	Aberson (2003)*, Aberson & Dora (2003)*, Hoye & Lievens (2003)*, Kricheli-Katz (2013)*, Nadler & Kufahl (2014)*, Pyatt (2014)*, Everly et al. (2015)*, Niedlich & Steffens (2015)*
Duration before call-back		Drydakis (2011)
Call-back	Adam (1981), Weichselbaumer (2003), Drydakis (2009), Drydakis (2011), Tilcsik (2011), Ahmed et al. (2013), Drydakis (2014b), Drydakis (2015b), Gorsuch (2015), Patacchini et al. (2015), Weichselbaumer (2015)	Berger & Kelly (1981), Bailey et al. (2013), Baert (2014), Acquisti et al. (2015)
Interview	Ellis (1993), Barron & Hebl (2013)	

discrimination, inherent differences across sexual orientation (especially less labour specialisation in same-sex households) and sexual orientation bias in the labour market and society as discussed in the section Theoretical background. Findings of studies using naturally occurring data are useful to identify the total effect of these factors on labour market outcomes of gay men/lesbians as compared to heterosexuals. Because the theorised differences in labour market outcomes vary between sexes, the findings will be further discussed in the section on the effect of the applicant's or employee's characteristics.

Two-thirds of reviewed experimental studies found (at least in some contexts) a negative bias towards gay men and lesbians when accessing employment. About one third of reviewed studies did not identify any bias or found that gay men and/or lesbians were at an advantage as compared to heterosexuals.

When the stage of access to the labour market is taken into account, research found that gay and/or lesbian applicants experienced interpersonal discrimination during their first contact with the employer. There is mixed evidence on whether they faced negative bias in hireability ratings and hiring recommendations. Half of the studies detected a significant negative bias against gay men and lesbians, while half of the studies detected no bias (or a positive bias). Drydakis (2011) was the only study that investigated differences in the waiting times before candidates were invited for an interview. He found no significant differences between lesbian and heterosexual women. No study looked into such differences between gay and heterosexual men. When it comes to call-back probability, the research strongly indicates that lesbians and gay men face – in at least some contexts – disadvantages as compared to heterosexuals. The scarce research dealing with the interview phase suggests that gay / lesbian people are treated more negatively than heterosexuals.

The findings could be influenced by the research design used, because the designs seem to differ in their capacity of detecting discrimination. Almost three-quarters of correspondence tests found a negative bias towards lesbian / gay people. In-person audits did not detect any formal discrimination, but they identified interpersonal discrimination against gay men and lesbians. On the other hand, the majority of studies that did not identify a significant bias against gay men and/or lesbians in the labour market were experiments in a laboratory setting, where subjects knew that they were observed and may have adapted their behaviour to look more even-handed.

Consistent with hypothesis 3, the evidence suggests that lesbians and gay men are disadvantaged in their access to the labour market as compared to their heterosexual counterparts. The magnitude of the disadvantage seems to be strongly dependent on the contextual factors. In the theoretical part, a number of moderators were suggested and their expected effects were discussed. The following sections discuss whether the theoretical predictions presented earlier are supported by the empirical evidence.

EFFECT OF APPLICANT'S OR EMPLOYEE'S CHARACTERISTICS

The personal characteristics of applicants / employees are theorised to be important moderators of the relationship between sexual orientation and labour market access. An individual's **gender** is arguably the major moderator and its effect is summarised in Table 2.6.

In the majority of studies, **gay men** were not found to have significantly different labour market participation as compared to heterosexual males. However, the research indicates that they have a lower probability of being employed. This only partially confirms hypothesis 1. The observed difference may be a result of discrimination, but could also reflect different household structures where some gay males choose to specialise in household production and invest less in labour market human capital. In terms of access to the labour market, 4 out of 10 laboratory experiments indicate that gay men do not receive significantly different hireability ratings from heterosexual males. However, this is not reflected in the outcomes of experiments in a real-world context where the subjects did not know that they were being observed. The majority of such studies found that gay males face a statistically significant penalty in call-back rates. Two of the three studies that did not find such difference either used a small sample (Berger & Kelly, 1981) or sent multiple résumés to each employer (Bailey, Wallace & Wright, 2013) which raises questions about whether employers suspected that they were being tested. I presume that field experiments expose bias in access to the labour market more reliably than laboratory experiments. For this reason I conclude that the evidence supports hypothesis 3.

For **lesbians**, the evidence is less consistent. The research points in opposite directions when it comes to lesbians' labour market participation and provides only weak evidence that lesbians are more likely to be employed compared to heterosexual women. These mixed findings only partly confirm hypothesis 1, which is consistent with the effects of direct and indirect discrimination as discussed in the section Labour demand. As for hireability ratings, there is no strong evidence from laboratory experiments that lesbians would be disadvantaged as compared to heterosexual women. Again, this is not reflected in the correspondence studies, which provide a strong indication that lesbians have a lower probability of call-back than their heterosexual counterparts. Baert (2014) $^{p\leq.1}$ was the only study that found that lesbians were advantaged in the call-back rates. Two studies that did not identify any significant difference sent multiple résumés to each employer (Bailey et al., 2013; and Patacchini et al., 2015), possibly exposing the experiment to the subjects. All in all, the presented literature provides evidence that is largely consistent with hypothesis 3.

Table 2.6 *Research findings about differences in access to the labour market per gender*

		Male	Female
Labour market outcomes of gay men and lesbians compared to heterosexuals	Significantly different	*Lower probability of being employed in gay men:* Buchmueller & Carpenter (2012)$^{p\leq.01}$, Laurent & Mihoubi (2012)$^{p\leq.05}$, Hammarstedt et al. (2015)$^{p\leq.01}$; Drydakis (n.p.)$^{p\leq.01}$ *Lower probability of labour market participation in gay men:* Laurent & Mihoubi (2012)$^{p\leq.1}$	*Higher probability of being employed in lesbians:* Buchmueller & Carpenter (2012)$^{p\leq.05}$; *Higher probability of labour market participation in lesbians:* Tebaldi & Elmslie (2006)$^{p\leq.01}$; *Lower probability of labour market participation in lesbians:* Patacchini et al. (2012) $^{p\leq.05}$
	Not significantly different	*Probability of being employed:* Patacchini et al. (2012); *Labour market participation:* Tebaldi & Elmslie (2006), Martell (2014), Patacchini et al. (2012)	*Probability of being employed:* Hammarstedt et al. (2015), Patacchini et al. (2012)
Hireability ratings of gay men and lesbians compared to heterosexuals	Disadvantaged	Crow et al. (1998)*, Horvath & Ryan (2003)*, Barron (2009)*, Gorsuch (2014)$^{p\leq.01\text{ (male evaluators)}}$	Crow et al. (1998)*,
	No significant difference	Aberson (2003)*, Aberson & Dora (2003)*, Hoye & Lievens (2003)*, Cunningham et al. (2010)*, Kricheli-Katz (2013)*, Pyatt (2014)*	Cunningham et al. (2010)*, Pyatt (2014)*,
	Advantaged		Horvath & Ryan (2003)*
Call-back rate of gay men and lesbians compared to heterosexuals	Disadvantaged	Adam (1981), Drydakis (2009)$^{p\leq.01}$, Tilcsik (2011)$^{p\leq.001}$, Ahmed et al. (2013)$^{p\leq.05}$, Drydakis (2014b)$^{p\leq.01}$, Drydakis (2015b)$^{p\leq.001}$, Gorsuch (2015)$^{p\leq.05}$, Patacchini et al. (2015)$^{p\leq.1}$.	Adam (1981), Weichselbaumer (2003)$^{p\leq.05}$, Drydakis (2011) $^{p\leq.01}$, Ahmed et al. (2013)$^{p\leq.05}$, Drydakis (2014b)$^{p\leq.01}$, Drydakis (2015b)$^{p\leq.001}$, Weichselbaumer (2015)$^{p\leq.05\text{ (Munich)}}$
	No significant difference	Berger & Kelly (1981), Bailey et al. (2013), Acquisti et al. (2015)	Bailey et al. (2013), Gorsuch (2015), Patacchini et al. (2015)
	Advantaged		Baert (2014)$^{p\leq.1}$

Research indicates that same-sex couples are, compared to **married** heterosexuals, less probable to have one partner working$^{p\leq.01}$ (Jepsen & Jepsen, 2015) and more likely to have both partners working$^{p\leq.01}$ (Giddings, Nunley, Schneebaum & Zietz, 2014; Jepsen & Jepsen, 2015). This appears to be true regardless of whether it concerns same-sex households with or without children (Jepsen & Jepsen, 2015; only for lesbian couples, Giddings et al., 2014). Antecol & Steinberger (2013) identified a certain level of specialisation in lesbian households, with primary earners having a higher labour force participation than secondary earners. However, secondary lesbian earners still had a higher labour force participation than married heterosexual women, even after controlling for relevant variables. No such research studying gay male couples has been identified. Accordingly, a partner's role as primary or secondary earner needs to be taken into account when investigating the labour market outcomes of same-sex couples. The findings confirm hypothesis 1. The specialisation gap between different-sex and same-sex couples tends to decrease over time (Giddings et al., 2014). Lesbian (but not gay male) couples shift from arrangements where both partners work to one-breadwinner arrangements after legal recognition of their same-sex union in the United States (Dillender, 2015). No significant impact of legal recognition of same-sex unions on their employment probabilities was found in California (Buchmueller & Carpenter, 2012). Due to a lack of significance, I conclude that hypothesis 2 is only partially supported.

The research does not confirm hypothesis 8, which posited that married lesbians and gay men would be preferred by employers over their single counterparts. Specifically, lesbian job applicants in Germany did not benefit from increased call-back when being in a registered partnership (Weichselbaumer, 2015). No such study was found for gay men. In contrast with the theoretical predictions, Nadler and Kufahl (2014)* observed that single lesbian applicants received higher ratings than married lesbians$^{p\leq.05}$. No significant effect of marital status on hiring ratings was observed for gay men.

Another important factor influencing the labour market outcomes is the **presence of children in the household**. Antecol and Steinberger (2013) compared how children affect labour force attachment in primary and secondary lesbian earners. While for primary lesbian earners the attachment remained stable, in secondary earners it dropped remarkably when children were present$^{p\leq.05}$. No reviewed study looked into the effect of children separately per primary and secondary earner in male same-sex households. This limited evidence supports hypothesis 2 that children bolster specialisation in lesbian same-sex couples. Baert (2014) found that young lesbian job applicants with children were more likely to be invited for an interview than their heterosexual counterparts$^{p\leq.1}$. It appears that lesbians could be penalised less for having children than heterosexual women. Giddings et al. (2014) highlights that in same-sex couples, having children is usually the parents' deliberate choice and it is misleading to consider children as exogenous to the household's labour distribution. For this reason, the outcomes regarding

the presence of children were not presented unless this issue was addressed by the research design or analytical method.

Hypothesis 6 postulates that a job applicant's **congruence with gender stereotypes** will moderate the effect of sexual orientation on the access to employment. The reviewed research does not support this hypothesis for gay males and to a large part also not for lesbians. For lesbians applicants, Gorsuch (2014) found a positive effect on hireability ratings $^{p\leq.1}$ when the evaluator was male, but no significant effect when the evaluator was female. According to Weichselbaumer (2003), being masculine or feminine did not impose any additional negative effect on the call-back rates of lesbian applicants. While gay men received lower hiring recommendations$^{p\leq.01}$ from male evaluators[7] (Gorsuch, 2014) and had a lower probability of being called back for an interview (Gorsuch, 2015), their congruence with gender stereotypes did not lead to any additional (dis)advantage. Interestingly, Niedlich and Steffens (2015)* found that ceteris paribus, gay and lesbian applicants were rated higher on both task-related competence$^{p\leq.01}$ (stereotypically male trait) and social skills$^{p\leq.01}$ (stereotypically female trait) than their heterosexual counterparts. However, in the majority of cases this did not lead to higher hireability ratings. The evidence indicates that congruence with gender stereotypes influences access of lesbians and gay men to employment, similar to heterosexuals.

The reviewed literature only rarely addressed **other applicant characteristics**. In terms of qualifications the findings are contradictory. Patacchini et al. (2015) found that the call-back penalty in Italy is higher for high-skilled gay men than for low-skilled ones$^{p\leq.1}$. No such effect of education was observed for lesbians. Aberson (2003)* failed to find evidence that candidates' qualifications moderated the relationship between sexual orientation and the candidates' evaluation. Drydakis (n.p.) found that ceteris paribus less educated gay males were more likely to be unemployed than heterosexual men$^{p\leq.01}$. Past joblessness led to higher level of non-participation in the labour market in gay men than it did in heterosexual men$^{p\leq.01}$ (Tebaldi & Elmslie, 2006). Again, no such effect was observed in lesbians. In terms of race, Tebaldi and Elmslie (2006) detected no differences between black and white gay men or lesbians. Regarding age, Drydakis (n.p.) observed that gay men's disadvantage with regard to the probability of being unemployed (as compared to heterosexuals) increases with age$^{p\leq.01}$. In contrast, Laurent and Mihoubi (2012) found that gay men younger than 40 years experienced an employment probability penalty$^{p\leq.01}$ and labour force participation penalty$^{p\leq.1}$ not experienced by their heterosexual counterparts. No significant differences were observed in males older than 40 years. Finally, Drydakis (n.p.) found that gay male migrants face an additional penalty in unemployment probability as compared to heterosexual male migrants$^{p\leq.01}$.

7 The results were not reported for female evaluators.

EFFECT OF LOCAL CHARACTERISTICS

A limited number of studies looked directly into the moderating effect of public attitudes on access to the labour market for gay men and lesbians. Still, other studies investigated factors that are supposedly linked with public attitudes, such as whether an area is metropolitan or not, the proportion of the gay / lesbian population in the area, and the political orientation of the area. This allows me to indirectly infer the moderating effect of public attitudes.

Leppel (2009) found that gay men and lesbians living in **metropolitan areas** had a lower probability of being out of the labour force$^{p\leq.01}$ or being unemployed$^{p\leq.01 \text{ (gay men)}, p\leq.05 \text{ (lesbians)}}$ than those living in non-metropolitan areas. A similar, but weaker, effect was found for heterosexual men and for married heterosexual women. Ahmed et al. (2013) found a split image in Sweden. While gay men had higher call-back rates in metropolitan areas in public sector jobs compared to heterosexual males$^{p\leq.1}$, lesbians were disadvantaged in the same context$^{p\leq.05}$. Tebaldi and Elmslie (2006) detected no significant effect of living in metropolitan areas on the labour market participation probability of gay / lesbian people. The beneficial effect of a metropolitan area is contested by Adam (1981), who found that gay men and lesbians faced lower call-back rates in metropolitan Toronto but not in the rest of the Ontario province. The author proposes that bias against lesbian / gay people in Toronto is made possible by a higher competition on the labour supply side. The presented findings are inconsistent and do not provide conclusive evidence supporting hypothesis 9. This could be caused by within- and between-group variation – the cities in conservative areas may be more tolerant than the countryside, but they can still be less tolerant than the countryside in progressive areas.

Comparing areas based on their **social characteristics** partly addresses this issue. Barron and Hebl (2013) observed that in areas with a larger lesbian / gay population, lesbian / gay applicants were treated more favourably than heterosexual ones$^{p\leq.05}$ while the opposite was true in areas with a more conservative population$^{p\leq.05}$. Lesbians were significantly disadvantaged with regard to call-back rates compared to heterosexual women in socially conservative Munich$^{p\leq.05}$ (Germany), but no such differences were detected in liberal Berlin (Weichselbaumer, 2015). In Sweden, the percentage of the population with negative attitudes towards gay men and lesbians is negatively related to gay men's and lesbians' probability of being employed$^{p\leq.01}$ (Hammarstedt, Ahmed & Andersson, 2015). In contrast, no significant differences in call-back rates between gay / lesbian people and heterosexuals were found when comparing Republican, Democratic or mixed U.S. states (Acquisti & Fong, 2015) and four cities from distinct regions of the U.S. (Bailey et al., 2013). Because two of the five reviewed studies failed to detect a significant relationship, there is only partial support for hypothesis 9, which posited that public hostility towards gay men and lesbians is related to their negative labour market

outcomes. The observed relationship could also be caused by geographical mobility of lesbian / gay people, because the most productive ones may migrate from hostile to more friendly areas (Ahmed et al., 2013).

Literature has paid considerable attention to the effect of **anti-discrimination legislation**. The findings indicate that anti-discrimination laws reduce inter-personal discrimination. Employers in areas without anti-discrimination laws were found to behave more negatively towards gay / lesbian applicants$^{p\leq.01}$, and were more rude$^{p\leq.05}$ and less helpful$^{p\leq.05}$ (Barron & Hebl, 2013). At the same time, knowledge of the illegality of discrimination against gay / lesbian people reduced interviewers' anxiety-related words$^{p\leq.05}$, non-fluencies$^{p\leq.05}$ and increased the length of the interview$^{p\leq.05}$ (Barron & Hebl, 2013)*.

However, the positive effect of anti-discrimination legislation is less clear when it comes to other labour market outcomes. Hireability ratings of gay applicants were not significantly related to evaluators' perception of the legality of sexual orientation discrimination (Horvath & Ryan, 2003)* and, after controlling for background characteristics, not to the existence of state anti-discrimination laws either (Barron, 2009)*. In terms of call-back rates, Drydakis (2015b) observed that gay applicants were more disadvantaged in companies without a written commitment to equal opportunity$^{p\leq.01}$ than in companies with this commitment. Also Tilcsik (2011) found that county and state level anti-discrimination laws reduce negative bias against gay men$^{p\leq.05}$, but this effect was not significant when controlling for state level attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. This could indicate that attitudes towards gay men and lesbians – rather than anti-discrimination laws themselves – could be the actual driving factor influencing the labour market outcomes of lesbian / gay people.

The evidence is inconclusive also with regard to the effect of anti-discrimination laws on the labour supply of lesbians and gay men. According to Martell (2014), gay men's labour supply probability is higher in states with anti-discrimination laws$^{p\leq.01}$. This effect decreases over time after enactment of such legislation$^{p\leq.05}$. Leppel (2009) found that the presence of such laws increases the probability of unemployment in both lesbians and gay men$^{p\leq.01}$ and of being out of the labour force for lesbians$^{p\leq.01}$. The finding that anti-discrimination laws may lead to worse labour market outcomes for lesbian / gay people may be caused by their migration to areas where they enjoy better legal protection (Leppel, 2009). As such, the presented findings only partly support hypothesis 10. Further research should shed more light on the effect of anti-discrimination laws on the labour market bias against lesbians and gay men.

All in all, the research reveals that access to the labour market for gay men and lesbians varies considerably across different geographical locations. This difference seems to be (at least partially) driven by differences in the legal protection of lesbians and gay men in the labour market and variation in public attitudes towards homosexuality.

EFFECT OF EVALUATOR'S AND EMPLOYER'S CHARACTERISTICS

Another set of theorised moderators concerns the characteristics of the employer or evaluator of the résumés. The **gender of the evaluator** seems to significantly moderate the relationship between applicants' sexual orientation and their hireability ratings or call-back probability (for example Horvath and Ryan, 2003*$^{p\leq.05}$; Drydakis, 2009; Cunningham et al., 2010*$^{p\leq.05}$; Everly et al., 2015*$^{p\leq.05}$).

Several studies indicate that female evaluators do not treat the résumés of gay / lesbian and heterosexual applicants differently (Cunningham et al. (2010)*, Drydakis (2009), Pichler et al. (2010)*, Baert (2014) and, for lesbian applicants only, Gorsuch (2014)). Everly et al. (2015)$^{*p\leq.05\text{ (study 1)}, p\leq.01\text{ (study 2)}}$ found that lesbian and gay applicants may be advantaged when the evaluator is female. Crow et al. (1998)* found a similar pattern for gay male applicants.

Male evaluators show a different pattern. The findings unanimously show that gay male applicants face a significant negative bias when the evaluator is male (Drydakis (2009)$^{p\leq.01}$, Cunningham et al. (2010)*, Gorsuch (2014) and Everly et al. (2015)*p≤.01, [8]). There is contradictory evidence for lesbian applicants – two studies indicated that they are advantaged when the evaluator is male (Crow et al. (1998)*, Baert (2014)$^{p\leq.1}$), while other studies found the opposite (Gorsuch (2014)$^{p\leq.1}$, Pichler et al. (2010)$^{p\leq.05}$*). Finally, Hebl, Foster, Mannix and Dovidio (2002), Hoye and Lievens (2003),* and Niedlich and Steffens (2015)* didn't detect any significant relationship between the gender of the evaluator and hireability ratings, call-back probability, or discrimination of the applicant. The findings largely support hypothesis 7.

The literature indicates that **individuals' attitudes towards gay / lesbian people** are significantly related to hireability ratings (Pichler, Varma & Bruce, 2010)*$^{p\leq.05}$. Evaluators with positive attitudes towards gay men and lesbians rated gay / lesbian candidates as more hireable than heterosexuals (Niedlich & Steffens, 2015)*$^{p\leq.1}$. Also, subjects with more negative attitudes towards lesbian / gay people tend to choose more negative-seeking interview questions for lesbian / gay applicants (Ellis, 1993)*$^{p\leq.1}$. In contrast, Horvath and Ryan (2003)* and Nadler and Kufahl (2014)* failed to detect significant effects of individuals' attitudes. Binder and Ward (2015)* postulate that individuals' assessments of gay applicants could be influenced by media's heterosexism. They found that male students who were subjected to heterosexist music rated gay applicants' qualifications as less suitable$^{p\leq.05}$ and were less willing to attend his office hours$^{p\leq.1}$. However, no significant relationship with hireability ratings of gay applicants was observed. Empirical

8 Everly et al. (2015)* found no significant difference in study 1, but a significant difference was found in study 2 with an almost identical procedure but a larger sample.

research only partly supports hypothesis 9 because a considerable proportion of studies fail to find a significant effect on individual attitudes.

Aberson and Dora (2003)* investigated the effect of (past) conscious **contact with gay / lesbian people** on the evaluator's behaviour and found that evaluators with no lesbian / gay friends penalised heterosexual male candidates in their ratings for being alcoholic, but did not do so with gay male candidates. Consistently with hypothesis 4, such overreaction effect was not observed in evaluators who had gay friends. Ellis (1993)* noticed that subjects with low (high) exposure to gay men and lesbians chose more negative-seeking interview questions for gay male (female) applicants$^{p\leq.05}$. If subjects rated their previous interactions with gay men and lesbians more negatively, they tended to choose more negative-seeking interview questions$^{p\leq.1}$. In the case of gay men, this confirms hypothesis 4. However, in the case of lesbians, the relationship was opposite to what was theorised. Further research could shed more light on this issue. Finally, Kricheli-Katz (2013)* notes that subjects who were led to think that homosexuality was a choice were less likely to select a gay male candidate than subjects who were led to believe that homosexuality is not a choice$^{p\leq.1}$. This supports the theoretical notion that beliefs of controllability of homosexuality are positively related to bias against gay men and lesbians.

Research also looked into **other evaluator characteristics**. Age (Crow et al., 1998*; Hoye & Lievens, 2003*), professional experience (Hoye and Lievens, 2003*) and managerial status (Crow et al., 1998*) were not found to significantly moderate the relationship between sexual orientation and evaluators' hiring recommendations. (Pichler et al., 2010)* suggest that the evaluator's exposure to diversity training reduces the discriminatory tendencies in hireability ratings based on the misfit between the job and the applicant's gender$^{p\leq.05}$.

EFFECT OF OCCUPATION AND RECRUITMENT

Findings of all of the studies that investigated the moderating role of **occupation** support hypothesis 11, which posited that the bias against gay men and lesbians differs across occupations (Weichselbaumer, 2003; Drydakis, 2009; Leppel, 2009; Drydakis, 2011; Ahmed et al., 2013; Baert, 2014; Drydakis, 2014b; and Drydakis, 2015b). Determining the relative size of bias across occupations is difficult because a large number of contextual factors need to be taken into account. The literature mentions several observations.

First, gay men (lesbians) appear to face a relatively larger bias when applying for **male- (female-)dominated occupations** (Ahmed et al., 2013$^{p\leq.05}$; and Drydakis, 2015b$^{p\leq.01}$). Gay men (lesbians) were also disadvantaged compared to their heterosexual counterparts in jobs where the employer signalled a preference for a candidate with

masculine (feminine) traits (Drydakis, 2015b$^{p\leq.05}$ and, only for gay men, Tilcsik, 2011$^{p\leq.05}$). At the same time, gay men (lesbians) didn't have any advantage in jobs with a preference for feminine (masculine) traits (Drydakis, 2015b). Contrary findings were presented by Baert (2014) who observed that lesbians, when compared to heterosexual women, experienced discrimination only in low-skilled male-dominated occupations$^{p\leq.05}$. The evidence only partly supports hypothesis 5, because gay men (lesbians) don't seem to have an advantage when applying for female-(male-)dominated jobs.

The literature mentions several other observations. The prestige of the occupation seems to play a role, because gay applicants experienced more disadvantage compared to heterosexuals in more prestigious jobs (Drydakis, 2014b). Leppel (2009) found that lesbian / gay people in white collar occupations[9] had the lowest odds of being unemployed or out of the labour force. Another factor is the sectoral affiliation of the particular occupation. Ahmed et al. (2013) detected that lesbian / gay applicants faced a lower probability of call-back from private sector employers$^{p\leq.01}$. In the public sector, the situation was less clear cut. Compared to their heterosexual counterparts, gay men had an advantage while lesbians were either advantaged or disadvantaged depending on the location and form of contact. However, more research is needed on how these specific aspects of occupations moderate the relationship between sexual orientation and access to employment.

Finally, Drydakis (2014b) found that **providing extra information** in résumés raised the overall probability of call-back$^{p\leq.01}$, but it didn't reduce the magnitude of the bias against gay applicants. Therefore, the observed differential between gay men/lesbians and heterosexuals seems to be a matter of the employer's preference rather than a lack of information. Singletary and Hebl (2009) show that candidates' strategies compensating for their stigma have the potential to effectively reduce any interpersonal discrimination to which they are subjected; especially a candidate's increased positivity seems to reduce the interpersonal discrimination. The mixed evidence on the potential of additional information to reduce the negative bias against lesbians and gay men only partly supports hypothesis 4.

MAGNITUDE OF THE BIAS

Thus far, this chapter has not quantified the magnitude of the bias faced by gay men and lesbians. The reason is that the reviewed studies use different models and estimation methods and therefore the quantitative outcomes are not fully comparable. However, it is desirable to provide at least some indication of the magnitude of differences in treat-

9 As compared to blue-collar occupations, service occupations and occupations in farming/fishing/forestry.

ment between lesbians/gay men and heterosexuals and the influence of the moderators that were discussed. Table 2.7 provides an overview of call-back rates that were recorded in reviewed correspondence studies. The call-back rates are compared between the experimental and control groups by means of Z-tests and the corresponding p-value is noted in the table.[10]

The data show a considerable variation in the gay / lesbian - straight differentials across regions, gender, occupations and other moderators. The largest bias against gay / lesbian people was found by Drydakis (2009), Drydakis (2011) and Drydakis (2014b) in Greece and Cyprus, with the lesbian / gay - straight difference in call-back rates ranging between 21 percentage points and 52 percentage points. Studies in other countries recorded lower differentials in call-back rates, with lesbians and gay men being mostly at a disadvantage. Still, several studies recorded, in certain contexts, bias towards heterosexual candidates (Ahmed et al., 2013; Bailey et al., 2013; Baert, 2014; Acquisti & Fong, 2015; Patacchini et al., 2015; and Weichselbaumer, 2015).

It is expected that the bias towards gay men and lesbians is negatively related to the call-back rate of heterosexuals (i.e., in areas where heterosexuals have lower call-back rates, the ratio of gay / lesbian - straight call-back rates should be lower, which indicates a larger bias towards lesbian / gay people). Specifically, lower call-back rates could mean that there is more competition on the labour supply side with discriminating employers having more alternatives to stigmatised candidates. Lower call-back rates can also reflect that résumés used in the correspondence tests did not match employers' expectations. In such cases, additional candidates' stigma could discourage employers to a larger extent than if the candidates were suitable for the concerned job. Consistent with the prediction, a negative correlation was found between the heterosexuals' call-back rate and the ratio of gay / lesbian - straight call-back rates (Pearson $r = -0.318^{p\leq.01}$). Future research could take a more detailed look at how candidates' qualifications and level of competition in the labour market moderate the relationship between sexual orientation and access to the labour market.

Finally, bias against lesbians and gay men may exist even if no statistically significant measure of formal discrimination is found. Hebl et al. (2002) did not detect any formal discrimination of lesbian / gay job applicants, but observed that they were subjected to interpersonal measures of discrimination$^{p\leq.05}$. When interacting with gay / lesbian people, the employers spoke with fewer words$^{p\leq.05}$, shortened the interaction$^{p\leq.1}$, and were perceived more negatively by both the applicants$^{p\leq.01}$ and independent evaluators$^{p\leq.05}$. Employers' increased negativity toward gay / lesbian applicants was also found by Singletary and Hebl (2009) $^{p\leq.05}$. Gorsuch (2014) observed that subjects of the experiment were

10 The significance levels of differences in call-back rates in this table may not match the significance levels that are mentioned throughout the text. The reason is that the significance levels in the text were taken from the reviewed articles, which in most cases performed a more advanced analysis.

Table 2.7 *Overview of outcomes of reviewed correspondence studies*

Study	Scope of the study		Specifications	Applications, *n*		Call-back rate, %		Call-back rate differential	
				Group A*	Group B*	Group A*	Group B*	*p.p.*	
	Unless specifications state otherwise, group A stands for gay / lesbian people and Group B for heterosexuals								
Adam (1981)	Articling position at legal firm in Canada	Males	Toronto	22	15	4.55	13.33	8.79	
			Rest of Ontario	17	27	17.65	18.52	0.87	
		Females	Toronto	22	25	4.55	16	11.45	
			Rest of Ontario	19	16	10.53	12.5	1.97	
Berger & Kelly (1981)	Social work positions in the U.S. (1978-1979)	Males	Group 1 agencies: Hetero (A) / Hetero (B)	113	113	15.04	16.81	1.77	
		Males	Group 2 agencies: Homo (A) / Hetero (B)	115	115	6.96	8.7	1.74	
Weichselbaumer (2003)	Secretaries and accountants in Vienna (1998-2000)	Females	Feminine hetero (A), Masculine hetero (B)	272	272	43.38	42.65	-0.74	
			Masculine homo (A), Feminine hetero (B)	171	171	47.95	60.82	12.87	B
			Feminine homo (A), Masculine hetero (B)	170	170	36.47	48.82	12.35	B
Drydakis (2009)	2006-2007 in Athens, Greece	Males	Office jobs	455	455	10.33	40.88	30.55	D
			Industrial jobs	346	346	12.14	37.28	25.14	D
			Horeca	511	511	11.55	32.68	21.14	D
			Shop sales	402	402	22.64	51	28.36	D
			Total	1714	1714	13.94	40.08	26.14	D
Drydakis (2011)	2007-2008 in Athens, Greece	Females	Office jobs	276	276	19.57	42.75	23.19	D
			Industrial jobs	311	311	18.65	42.77	24.12	D
			Horeca	256	256	30.08	57.42	27.34	D
			Shop sales	214	214	20.09	57.48	37.38	D
			Total	1057	1057	21.95	49.29	27.34	D

Table 2.7 *Overview of outcomes of reviewed correspondence studies (continued)*

Study	Scope of the study		Specifications	Applications, *n*		Call-back rate, %		Call-back rate differential	
				Group A*	Group B*	Group A*	Group B*	*p.p.*	
	Unless specifications state otherwise, group A stands for gay / lesbian people and Group B for heterosexuals								
Tilcsik (2011)	White collar jobs at entry level in the U.S. (2005)	Males	California	337	337	9.2	11	1.8	
			Nevada	131	131	6.1	12.2	6.1	A
			New York	236	236	11.4	10.2	-1.2	
			Pennsylvania	201	201	9.4	12.9	3.5	
			Ohio	219	219	5.5	14.1	8.6	C
			Florida	347	347	5.5	9.5	4	B
			Texas	298	298	3.7	12	8.3	D
			Employers subject to anti-discrimination law	983	983	8.7	11.6	2.9	B
			Employers not subject to anti-discrimination law	786	786	5.3	11.3	6	D
			Job posting requires stereotypically male hetero traits	475	475	4.8	13.5	8.7	D
			Job posting doesn't require stereotypically male hetero traits	1294	1294	8.1	10.7	2.6	B
			Total	1769	1769	7.2	11.5	4.3	D

Table 2.7 *Overview of outcomes of reviewed correspondence studies (continued)*

Study	Scope of the study		Specifications	Applications, *n*		Call-back rate, %		Call-back rate differential	
				Group A*	Group B*	Group A*	Group B*	*p.p.*	
	Unless specifications state otherwise, group A stands for gay / lesbian people and Group B for heterosexuals								
Ahmed et al. (2013)	10 different types of occupations in Sweden (2010)	Males	Shop sales assistant	120	131	7.5	15.3	7.8	A
			Construction worker	90	90	22.2	30	7.8	
			Preschool teacher	173	164	55.5	53.7	-1.8	
			High school teacher	72	71	43.1	47.9	4.8	
			Motor-vehicle driver	53	53	15.1	15.1	0	
			Cleaner	108	124	11.1	11.3	0.2	
			Restaurant worker	135	134	17.8	25.4	7.6	
			Sales person	115	122	25.2	34.4	9.2	
			Nurse	51	41	41.2	36.6	-4.6	
			Mechanic worker	63	65	9.5	21.5	12	A
			Metropolitan area	313	321	24	29	5	
			Non-metropolitan area	667	674	27.1	30.1	3	
			Public sector employer	147	138	47.6	41.3	-6.3	
			Private sector employer	833	857	22.3	27.9	5.6	C
			Full-time position	719	738	27.5	31.7	4.2	A
			Part-time position	261	257	22.2	24.1	1.9	
			Permanent position	705	695	24.4	28.4	4	A
			Position with conditional tenure	275	300	30.6	33	2.4	
			Total	980	995	26.1	29.7	3.6	A

Table 2.7 *Overview of outcomes of reviewed correspondence studies (continued)*

Study	Scope of the study		Specifications	Applications, *n*		Call-back rate, %		Call-back rate differential	
				Group A*	Group B*	Group A*	Group B*	*p.p.*	
	Unless specifications state otherwise, group A stands for gay / lesbian people and Group B for heterosexuals								
Ahmed et al. (2013)	10 different types of occupations in Sweden (2010)	Females	Shop sales assistant	117	132	5.1	10.6	5.5	
			Construction worker	98	84	24.5	31	6.5	
			Preschool teacher	166	164	48.1	58.5	10.4	A
			High school teacher	74	72	40.5	51.4	10.9	
			Motor-vehicle driver	55	48	10.9	20.8	9.9	
			Cleaner	113	135	8	17.8	9.8	B
			Restaurant worker	136	137	27.9	35.7	7.8	
			Sales person	128	123	29.7	30.1	0.4	
			Nurse	47	47	46.8	42.6	-4.2	
			Mechanic worker	72	67	13.9	13.4	-0.5	
			Metropolitan area	339	328	23.9	32.6	8.7	B
			Non-metropolitan area	667	681	27.3	31.6	4.3	A
			Public sector employer	129	125	43.4	44	0.6	
			Private sector employer	877	884	23.6	30.2	6.6	C
			Full-time position	747	740	28	32.6	4.6	A
			Part-time position	259	269	20.9	30.1	9.2	B
			Permanent position	736	680	22.7	28.7	6	C
			Position with conditional tenure	270	329	35.6	38.6	3	
			Total	1006	1009	26.1	31.9	5.8	C

Table 2.7 *Overview of outcomes of reviewed correspondence studies (continued)*

Study	Scope of the study	Specifications		Applications, *n*		Call-back rate, %		Call-back rate differential	
				Group A*	Group B*	Group A*	Group B*	*p.p.*	
	Unless specifications state otherwise, group A stands for gay / lesbian people and Group B for heterosexuals								
Bailey et al. (2013)	Wide range of occupations in the U.S. (2010)	Males	Chicago	192	384	22.4	14.32	-8.07	B
			Dallas	192	384	11.46	13.28	1.82	
			Philadelphia	192	384	15.1	9.9	-5.21	A
			San Francisco	192	384	6.77	9.9	3.13	
		Females	Chicago	192	384	14.58	17.45	2.86	
			Dallas	192	384	13.54	12.5	-1.04	
			Philadelphia	192	384	6.77	10.94	4.17	
			San Francisco	192	384	14.58	8.59	-5.99	B
Baert (2014)	Flanders, Belgium (in 2012-2013)	Females	Total	576	576	18.4	16.49	-1.91	
			25 years	288	288	19.1	15.28	-3.82	
			37 years	288	288	17.71	17.71	0	
			One child	288	288	20.14	17.36	-2.78	
			No children	288	288	16.67	15.63	-1.04	
			25 years and one child	144	144	19.44	14.58	-4.86	
			25 years and no children	144	144	18.75	15.97	-2.78	
			37 years and one child	144	144	20.83	20.14	-0.69	
			37 years and no children	144	144	14.58	15.28	0.69	
			Secretary	96	96	13.54	11.46	-2.08	
			Nanny	96	96	18.75	21.88	3.13	
			Manual worker	96	96	18.75	9.38	-9.38	A
			Management assistant	96	96	11.46	9.38	-2.08	
			Ergotherapist	96	96	32.29	27.08	-5.21	
			Engineer	96	96	15.63	19.79	4.17	
			Female recruiter	313	313	18.53	17.57	-0.96	
			Male recruiter	215	215	18.6	13.95	-4.65	

Table 2.7 *Overview of outcomes of reviewed correspondence studies (continued)*

Study	Scope of the study	Specifications		Applications, *n*		Call-back rate, %		Call-back rate differential	
				Group A*	Group B*	Group A*	Group B*	*p.p.*	
	Unless specifications state otherwise, group A stands for gay / lesbian people and Group B for heterosexuals								
Drydakis (2014b)	Republic of Cyprus (2010-2011)	Less informative males	Office jobs	324	324	10.49	45.06	34.57	D
			Industrial jobs	337	337	11.87	45.4	33.53	D
			Horeca	248	248	17.74	58.06	40.32	D
			Shop sales	314	314	17.52	63.38	45.86	D
			Total	1223	1223	14.15	52.49	38.35	D
		Less informative females	Office jobs	261	261	10.73	56.7	45.98	D
			Industrial jobs	250	250	13.2	56	42.8	D
			Horeca	172	172	12.21	42.44	30.23	D
			Shop sales	357	357	9.24	43.14	33.89	D
			Total	1040	1040	11.06	49.52	38.46	D
		More informative males	Office jobs	305	305	9.18	48.85	39.67	D
			Industrial jobs	341	341	16.72	52.2	35.48	D
			Horeca	259	259	20.08	63.32	43.24	D
			Shop sales	295	295	17.29	68.81	51.53	D
			Total	1200	1200	15.67	57.83	42.17	D
		More informative females	Office jobs	274	274	13.14	64.23	51.09	D
			Industrial jobs	258	258	15.5	65.12	49.61	D
			Horeca	172	172	9.88	45.35	35.47	D
			Shop sales	364	364	9.62	46.98	37.36	D
			Total	1068	1068	11.99	55.52	43.54	D
Acquisti et al. (2015)	Technical, managerial and analyst positions in the U.S.A. (in 2013)	Males	Democratic states	444	427	11.71	11.24	-0.47	
			Politically mixed states	573	559	9.6	9.84	0.24	
			Republican states	49	39	14.29	15.38	1.09	
			Total	1066	1025	10.63	10.69	0.06	

Table 2.7 *Overview of outcomes of reviewed correspondence studies (continued)*

Study	Scope of the study	Specifications		Applications, *n*		Call-back rate, %		Call-back rate differential	
				Group A*	Group B*	Group A*	Group B*	*p.p.*	
	Unless specifications state otherwise, group A stands for gay / lesbian people and Group B for heterosexuals								
Drydakis (2015b)	The U.K. (in 2013)	Males	Accountancy, banking, finance and management	1127	1127	58.47	65.04	6.57	C
			Education and teaching	724	724	59.12	63.67	4.56	A
			Social care, social services and charity	963	963	59.4	63.97	4.57	B
			Total	2814	2814	58.96	64.32	5.37	D
		Females	Accountancy, banking, finance and management	1025	1025	61.85	65.95	4.1	A
			Education and teaching	707	707	65.49	72.28	6.79	C
			Social care, social services and charity	1003	1003	54.74	61.02	6.28	C
			Total	2735	2735	60.18	65.78	5.59	D
Gorsuch (2015)	Office, retail, food service, labour or skilled trade jobs		Males	323	338	17	23	6	A
			Females	333	340	21	20	-1	
Patacchini et al. (2015)	Milan and Rome, Italy (in 2012)	Males	Administrative clerk	68	89	5.88	3.37	-2.51	
			Bookkeeper	69	84	2.9	9.52	6.63	A
			Call centre	89	97	31.46	42.27	10.81	
			Receptionist	66	79	6.06	12.66	6.6	
			Sales clerk	81	88	9.88	7.95	-1.92	
			Secretary	73	88	2.74	3.41	0.67	
			Shop assistant	85	107	3.53	2.8	-0.73	
		Females	Administrative clerk	67	79	11.94	5.06	-6.88	
			Bookkeeper	68	86	10.29	3.49	-6.81	A
			Call centre	87	95	27.59	28.42	0.83	
			Receptionist	64	79	10.94	13.92	2.99	
			Sales clerk	80	110	16.25	10	-6.25	
			Secretary	71	90	4.23	7.78	3.55	
			Shop assistant	80	101	2.5	2.97	0.47	
		Total		1048	1272	10.97	11.08	0.11	

Table 2.7 *Overview of outcomes of reviewed correspondence studies (continued)*

Study	Scope of the study	Specifications		Applications, *n*		Call-back rate, %		Call-back rate differential	
				Group A*	Group B*	Group A*	Group B*	*p.p.*	
	Unless specifications state otherwise, group A stands for gay / lesbian people and Group B for heterosexuals								
Weichselbaumer (2015)	Secretaries, clerical assistants and accountants in Germany (2011-2012)	Females in Munich	Married or in partnership	N/A	N/A	32.76	41.52	8.76	N/A
			Single	N/A	N/A	32.54	45.29	12.75	N/A
		Females in Berlin	Married or in partnership	N/A	N/A	27.03	31.34	4.32	N/A
			Single	N/A	N/A	41.94	38.55	-3.38	N/A

less willing to work with lesbian[p≤.1] and gay[p≤.1, p≤.05 (depending on the language use in the CV)] applicants than with their heterosexual counterparts. Furthermore, evaluators found that it was less useful for job candidates to mention leadership in a college LGBT group than if they mentioned leadership in a college group not related to LGBT issues[p≤.05] (Gorsuch, 2014). Laurent and Mihoubi (2012) observed that gay men (especially those younger than 40 years) had a higher job turnover rate than their heterosexual counterparts, which could indicate that they experience negative bias also in employment.

DISCUSSION

As summarised in Table 2.8, the reviewed literature at least partly supported the majority of hypotheses presented in the section Theoretical background. Differences in labour market outcomes between heterosexuals and lesbian / gay people can be partly explained by innate differences between these groups. This only partly supports the predictions of labour supply theories. On the other hand, there is robust evidence that gay men and lesbians face a negative bias in access to the labour market. This suggests that the observed differences in access to the labour market between heterosexuals and lesbians / gay men are, to a large extent, driven by labour demand in accordance with labour demand theories. The scarce evidence indicates that it is especially taste-based discrimination – rather than statistical discrimination - that explains the observed differences. In accordance with the theoretical predictions, the magnitude of the observed bias varies across the contexts – especially across occupations and depending on individuals' gender. There is partial evidence that the bias against gay men and lesbians depends on lack/ambiguity of information provided, hostility of public/individual attitudes, the presence of anti-discriminatory legislation, and whether it concerns male (female)-dominated jobs. Finally, theoretical predictions that the bias will be lower in the case of lesbians and gay men who are married / in a registered partnership or who have less gender non-congruent characteristics were not supported by the evidence.

These findings imply that the bias against gay men and lesbians – which is observed in controlled experiments – negatively affects their labour market access possibilities. This in turn leads to more negative labour market outcomes (such as a higher unemployment probability) of gay / lesbian people as compared to heterosexuals. The fact that the differences in labour market outcomes between these two groups are driven by labour demand rather than by labour supply has important implications for an adequate policy response. The findings of this study indicate that anti-discriminatory legislation and enlightenment targeting negative attitudes and prejudice towards lesbians and gay men could decrease the negative bias that they face with regard to access to employment.

Table 2.8 *Summary of hypotheses and their correspondence with presented evidence*

Hypothesis	Correspondence with the evidence	Discussed in section
1. Labour market attachment of lesbians (gay men) will partly resemble the attachment of heterosexual men (women) due to less specialisation in same-sex couples.	*Partly supported*	Sections General findings and Effect of applicant's or employee's characteristics
2. Marriage or presence of children in same-sex couples will strengthen the division of labour between the partners.	*Partly supported*	Section Effect of applicant's or employee's characteristics
3. Gay men and lesbians will experience negative bias regarding access to employment.	*Supported*	Section General findings and Effect of applicant's or employee's characteristics
4. Lack/ambiguity of information will lead to more extreme negative (positive) ratings in individuals who are prone to discriminate (be even-handed).	*Partly supported*	Sections Effect of evaluator's and employer's characteristics and Effect of occupation and recruitment
5. Gay men (lesbians) will face more bias than their heterosexual counterparts when applying for male (female)-dominated jobs and less bias when applying for female (male)-dominated jobs.	*Partly supported*	Section Effect of occupation and recruitment
6. Lesbians and gay men exhibiting more gender non-congruent characteristics experience more bias in access to the labour market.	*Not supported*	Section Effect of applicant's or employee's characteristics
7. Employer's bias against lesbian / gay people is stronger if the employer is of the same sex, especially in males.	*Supported*	Section Effect of evaluator's and employer's characteristics
8. Marriage or a registered partnership reduces the bias that gay men and lesbians experience in access to the labour market.	*Not supported*	Section Effect of applicant's or employee's characteristics
9. An individual's (or public) hostile attitudes towards gay / lesbian people are positively related to a negative bias against lesbian / gay people (to negative labour market outcomes).	*Partly supported*	Sections Effect of local characteristics and Effect of evaluator's and employer's characteristics
10. Under anti-discriminatory laws, lesbians and gay men will experience less bias when accessing the labour market and their labour market outcomes will be more aligned with the outcomes of heterosexuals	*Partly Supported*	Section Effect of local characteristics
11. Labour market outcomes for lesbians/gay men and bias against them will vary across occupations.	*Supported*	Section Effect of occupation and recruitment

At the same time, it is necessary to be aware of the limitations of the current research on the topic. The presented evidence provides only a partial picture of differences in access to employment between heterosexuals and gay men/lesbians. The literature concentrated on two stages of access to the labour market for gay men and lesbians - the assessment of résumés and call-back probability. The research only superficially addressed other stages of access to employment (first contact with employer, duration before being invited for an interview or the sequence of such invitation, differences in treatment during the interview itself or potential bias in employer's final recruitment decision). This literature review didn't succeed in identifying any studies that quantified how employees' disclosure of their non-heterosexual sexual orientation influences the probability of keeping employment. Neither were any studies identified comparing whether (openly) gay / lesbian employees are disadvantaged compared to heterosexuals in the context of dismissals. Even though these factors are not directly linked to access to the labour market for lesbians and gay men, they need to be taken into account because they influence individuals' employment status and the potential need to search for employment.

When interpreting the results, it is also important to note that the country where the research was conducted may have a considerable impact on the outcomes. As mentioned, the outcomes partially support the hypotheses that attitudes towards homosexuality and anti-discriminatory legislation relate to bias against gay men and lesbians. However, attitudes and anti-discriminatory legislation vary considerably across countries. The outcomes that I present are therefore limited to the country where a given study has been conducted. It can be expected that the bias towards gay men and lesbians will be smaller in countries where the population is less prejudiced on average and in countries with more extensive anti-discriminatory legislation. However, I cannot reliably test this assumption because I have found no study with cross-country comparisons of the bias towards gay men and lesbians in access to the labour market. Doing such comparisons across studies turned out to be problematic due to cross-study differences in methods, reporting of results, sectors / occupations included, lack of comparable data (across countries and over time) on attitudes towards homosexuality, etc.

Finally, the observed differences in treatment evoke numerous questions for future research. Does the labour market bias against gay men and lesbians change over time? Is there less discrimination against lesbians and gay men if the labour supply is lower and recruitment becomes harder for employers? Do lesbian / gay people suffer from longer periods of unemployment? What strategies do gay men and lesbians apply when facing the negative bias? Do they try harder to conceal their sexual orientation? Or do they attempt to find a job free of discrimination? Does this lead to suboptimal allocation of their human capital? What are the social costs of labour market bias against gay men and lesbians? In the context of providing same-sex couples with adoption possibilities,

one could ask whether employers treat lesbians and gay men differently if they have children. How does the negative bias towards gay men and lesbians affect their ability to keep their jobs?

NOTES

$p \leq .1$ This proposition was tested by the authors and was found statistically significant at 10%.

$p \leq .05$ This proposition was tested by the authors and was found statistically significant at 5%.

$p \leq .01$ This proposition was tested by the authors and was found statistically significant at 1%.

$p \leq .001$ This proposition was tested by the authors and was found statistically significant at 0.1%.

* The study's subjects knew that they were participating in an experiment.

4 Employer tenure in gay men, lesbians and their straight counterparts

A slightly modified version of this chapter was published as: Fric, K. (2021). Employer tenure in gays, lesbians and their straight counterparts. Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal, 40(5), 591–614.
https://doi.org/10.1108/EDI-08-2020-0232

INTRODUCTION

Although attitudes towards homosexuality have been improving over the past decades in Western societies, homosexual behaviour, relationships and identity are still stigmatised (Herek, 2004). The academic research shows that lesbians and gay men still experience challenges in the labour market because of their sexual orientation.

As sexual orientation is usually not observable, gay/lesbian employees may avoid direct discrimination by concealing their sexual identity in the workplace. The decision to disclose one's lesbian/gay identity is an important and often stressful career decision for many gay and lesbian workers (Ragins, 2004). They may apply a number of strategies to manage their identity in the workplace (Chung, 2001; Ozeren & Aslan, 2016). The decision to come out at work is related to a worker's demographic characteristics and personality traits as well as contextual factors such as the organisational climate or policies (Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010; Fric, 2019; Jones & King, 2013; Köllen, 2015; Meinhold & Frohn, 2016; Wax, Coletti & Ogaz, 2018). The literature often links disclosure of one's homosexual orientation with positive psychological outcomes such as increased job satisfaction or lower levels of anxiety and depression (Drydakis, 2015a; Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Legate, Ryan & Weinstein, 2012; Mohr et al., 2019). However, this relationship seems to be mediated by a heterosexist work climate (Prati & Pietrantoni, 2014), probably because in some instances disclosing one's sexual orientation leads to an increased experience of prejudice and discrimination (Hebl et al., 2002; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001; Sabat et al., 2020).

Gays and lesbians may experience various types of discrimination if their colleagues, superiors, subordinates or clients/customers know or suspect that they are homosexual. Discrimination may take the form of micro-aggressions that are subtle, often unconscious or unintentional, verbal, behavioural or environmental indignities (see reviews by DeSouza, Wesselmann & Ispas (2017); Nadal, Whitman, Davis, Erazo & Davidoff (2016) or Galupo & Resnick (2016)). For example, a qualitative study by Roberts (2011) showed that gay male employees experienced exclusion, stereotyping, being viewed as a curiosity, and discomfort in the eyes of others. Other manifestations of discrimination may be palpable, such as social exclusion, harassment, worse employment conditions, denial of promotion or discriminatory job loss (see for example Bell, Berry, Marquardt & Green (2013); Ragins (2004); Steffens, Niedlich & Ehrke (2016)). Even if no-one knows or suspects that an employee is homosexual, this employee may be subjected to indirect discrimination stemming from a work atmosphere that is hostile towards lesbians and gays (Chung, 1998).

Contextual factors such as organisational policies seem to be important predictors of heterosexism in the workplace (Ragins, 2004). Lloren & Parini (2017) found that LGBT-supportive policies help to reduce discrimination based on sexual orientation.

A qualitative study by Wright (2011) suggests that organisational response and practice is one of the factors that considerably shape the realities of working lives for lesbians in traditionally male work. However, organisational policies alone are insufficient to protect gay and lesbian workers (Ragins et al., 2007). Other important factors are an LGBT-supportive climate, supportive workplace relationships and implementation and enforcement of the organisational policies and practices (see review by Webster, Adams, Maranto, Sawyer & Thoroughgood (2018)).

A number of experimental studies have investigated whether gay men and lesbians are discriminated against when it comes to access to employment. The evidence shows that they are less likely to be called back for an interview than comparable straight candidates, they may be subjected to worse inter-personal treatment during an interview and in the case of a job offer they are offered a lower salary (see review in Chapter 2). The picture gets more complex when scrutinizing the labour market outcomes of lesbians and gay men with real world data. In terms of labour market outcomes, the research rather unanimously indicates that gay men are disadvantaged as compared to similar straight men. They are more likely to be unemployed or inactive and they have lower wages. Regarding lesbians there is mixed evidence suggesting that they may enjoy better labour market outcomes (higher wages, lower unemployment rates and higher employments rates) than comparable straight women (Drydakis, 2014a; Fric, 2017; M. Klawitter, 2015; Laurent & Mihoubi, 2017; Ozeren, 2014).

Using stock data on the European workforce and controlling for age and other individual / contextual characteristics, I found that lesbians had no significantly different unemployment probability than straight women but lesbians' joblessness was significantly shorter (see Chapter 3). Shorter joblessness suggests that when it comes to access to employment, labour supply factors (such as household composition and human capital investment) are an advantage for lesbians as opposed to straight women and that they outweigh labour demand factors (discrimination). The importance of labour demand on lesbians' outcomes is supported by Sabia, Wooden & Nguyen (2017), who found that lesbians' wage premium is driven largely by increased labour supply on the intensive margin.

But why do lesbians and straight women experience similar unemployment probabilities despite different joblessness lengths? Shorter duration of joblessness combined with no difference in unemployment probability could indicate that ceteris paribus lesbians enter unemployment more often than comparable straight women. However, I am not aware of any data resources that would allow me to reliably compare the job separation rates of lesbian, gay and straight people. For this reason, I extend the line of argument and argue that a higher probability of transition from employment to unemployment could imply that ceteris paribus lesbians have a shorter employer tenure than heterosexual women. This argument is based on the assumption that a higher job

separation rate (followed either by employment or unemployment) results in a shorter job tenure (i.e. people who leave more jobs in a given time period will have a shorter average tenure than those who leave jobs less frequently or not at all). A higher job separation rate in lesbians would result from a higher probability of leaving a job and/or of being dismissed compared to straight women. This could be a consequence of a homophobic working environment and discriminatory employers. Analogous reasoning is inconclusive for gay men, for whom the research reveals a higher unemployment probability and (weakly significantly) longer duration of joblessness than straight men.

This study aims to improve the understanding of whether differences in employer tenure contribute to the (lack of) differences in unemployment probabilities between gay men, lesbians and straight (wo)men. The term employer tenure refers to the time spent in employment for the same employer. Besides a theoretical significance, insight into employer tenure variation on the grounds of sexual orientation also has practical implications.

Scientific literature has linked employer and job tenure with a number of outcomes. Research suggests that employer tenure, general experience and occupational tenure help to explain wage growth (see for example Altonji & Williams (2005); Devereux, Hart & Roberts (2013); Dobbie, MacMillan & Watson (2014); Dostie (2005)). This is due to the accumulation of specific skills in line with the theory of specific human capital. Indeed, Ng & Feldman (2010) found that employees with a longer employer tenure generally have a greater in-role performance. Theodossiou & Zangelidis (2009) suggest that job tenure seems to be positively related with job satisfaction and that workers who are more satisfied with their job have a longer employer tenure. Gyekye (2006) links a longer employer tenure to higher job satisfaction, less work injuries and a better safety perception of the workplace.

This paper presents the empirical analysis that compares the employer tenure of gay men, lesbians and their straight peers.

THEORIES PREDICTING EMPLOYER TENURE

To explain the potential differences in employer tenure between gay, lesbian and straight employees I revert to theories explaining job tenure, i.e. the time spent in a given job. I assume that the concepts of job and employer tenure are closely related. The employer tenure is equivalent to the job tenure for employees who have had a single job with a given employer. If an employee has had more than one job at a given employer, the employer tenure equals the sum of the tenures of all individual jobs. Thus, differences between these two concepts arise if an employee enters multiple jobs at the same employer, e.g. because of job promotion. Each job transfer at a given employer is seen

as a job separation when counting the job tenure but as a continuation of employment when counting the employer tenure. As such, employer tenure could serve as a better estimator of (discriminatory) job separation.

Mumford & Smith (2004b, 2004a) model the distribution of job tenure across current employees as an outcome of the interaction of labour supply and labour demand effects. I follow this approach and will separately discuss the effects of the demand and supply side.

Demand side

On the labour demand side, the process of determination of the average tenure is captured by the creative-destructive model (Caballero & Hammour, 1994). In this model, job creation and destruction are profit maximizing responses of employers to advancing technology and changes in demand for their outputs. To avoid their technology becoming obsolete, an employer introduces new technology by creating a new job meant for a suitable worker. Once a job is created, its technological level is fixed. Over time, a gap emerges between a worker's productivity and that of new employees. In the model of Mumford & Smith (2004a), the employment growth is a function of job creation and destruction. Job destruction can be due to retirement of units because of attrition or due to units reaching their obsolescence age – a production unit is destroyed when its profit reaches zero. In times of crisis, an employer may decide to reduce the age when redundancy occurs. The average job tenure will be positively affected by the oldest jobs in existence and negatively by newly created production units. Aghion & Howitt (1994) suggest that a production unit's obsolescence age can increase if its productivity grows over its lifetime by means of learning-by-doing. On the other hand, wage growth that is not matched by productivity growth as foreseen by Aghion & Howitt (1994) or Mortensen & Pissarides (1998) can lead to a decrease in obsolescence age and thus may lead to job destruction.

I propose to extend the demand side model according to Becker (1971) by introducing a non-pecuniary element, the so-called taste for discrimination. The magnitude of this taste for discrimination of a certain group (lesbian / gay people in our case) differs from person to person and can be expressed by a discrimination coefficient. An employer with a taste for discrimination will be acting as if she is willing to forfeit income in order to avoid transaction with homosexual individuals. For a prejudiced employer the *net* profit from a job performed by lesbian or gay employees will be lower because the pecuniary profit is reduced by the discrimination coefficient. For employers who maximize their *net* profit this will lower the obsolescence age of jobs performed by gay / lesbian people. Thus, homosexual employees will be expected to have a shorter average job tenure if employers hold prejudices against them. In line with this, Bell et al. (2013) conceptualise

discriminatory job loss as a special case of discriminatory treatment of employees (along with for example harassment, discrimination in compensation or in promotions).

Hypothesis 1: *Negative attitudes towards lesbian / gay people will be negatively related to employer tenure for gay men and lesbians.*

Becker's taste for discrimination is one of multiple explanations why some employers (or colleagues, customers or inferiors) may discriminate against lesbian and gay workers. An alternative theory refers to *statistical discrimination* – employers may discriminate against gays or lesbians if they use sexual orientation to infer employee's productivity (Arrow, 1973; Phelps, 1972). For example, some employers may believe that gay men will be less productive because of a higher risk of acquiring sexually transmitted diseases. Yet another possible explanation is based on stigmatisation of gays and lesbians in the workplace as a consequence of *threat*. *Identity threat* may be elicited when sexual minority identities are seen as posing a threat to norms favouring the value of heterosexual identity (C. Stangor & Crandall, 2000). *Symbolic threat* involves a threat to the perceiver's moral, religious or political views (Ragins, 2004). *Personal threat* involves feelings that one's sexual identity is threatened by the presence of lesbian or gay colleagues (Herek, 1984). Labour market actors may engage in various intra or interpersonal strategies in reaction to threat. Interpersonal strategies may include minimizing the source of the threat by for example diminishing the discloser, derogation of the gay or lesbian identity or avoidance behaviour (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1999; Lyons, Lynch & Johnson, 2020; Petriglieri, 2011; Ragins, 2004). While the approaches using statistical discrimination and threat help to explain individual drivers of discrimination, they have only a limited applicability in my study. This is because I cannot operationalise the concepts of knowledge uncertainty and threat due to a lack of data.

The relationship hypothesised in hypothesis 1 could also be a product of supply side behaviour – for example, lesbian and gay employees could more quickly quit jobs in workplaces that are hostile towards lesbians and gay men than jobs in lesbian and gay-friendly workplaces. The next section will examine the supply side in more detail.

Supply side

Supply side behaviour can be predicted by the model by Jovanovic (1979). This model suggests that workers' turnover (due to permanent job separations) is caused by acquiring new information on either the current job match or an alternative job. The job match quality is initially unknown for employers and workers and can be determined only by trying out the job. A worker's wage reflects his expected marginal product and the worker stays in the job where his productivity is high. He selects himself out of jobs where his productivity is low by quitting and pursuing the best alternative job. As a

worker's tenure in a given job increases, the model predicts an increasing wage and decreasing job separation probability. Jovanovic (1984) extends the model by including the possibility of unemployment. An employee can choose unemployment if the current job match is a disappointment (and the wage drops to the job-to-unemployment reservation wage) and if acceptable new offers do not arrive.

Let's extend the model by introducing perceived discrimination – a non-pecuniary element of wages – which is allowed to differ between jobs. Perceived discrimination will decrease a worker's *net* wage once the worker realizes that a workplace is discriminatory. If the perceived discrimination varies between workplaces, workers will be ceteris paribus more likely to quit a more discriminatory workplace and pursue the best alternative job. This labour supply behaviour reasoning is assumed to reinforce the relationship that is suggested in hypothesis 1.

Jovanovic's (1979) assumption that an employee learns about the quality of the job once she is in the workplace is mirrored in the psychological literature in the conceptual model of the employee turnover process by Mobley, Griffeth, Hand & Meglino (1979). The current job satisfaction, the expected outcomes of the current job and expected outcomes of alternatives are seen as primary determinants of intentions to search for a job and of intentions to quit. These intentions are seen as an immediate precursor of turnover behaviour. In the context of non-economic literature, discrimination is thus not viewed as a *net* cost but rather as a factor that is detrimental to job satisfaction and / or to expected outcomes of the current job. The empirical research indeed suggests that job dissatisfaction is positively related to intentions to leave (Allen & Griffeth, 2001; Nyberg, 2010) and that homosexual employees are, on average, less satisfied with their jobs than their straight counterparts (Drydakis, 2015a). Sexual prejudice and discriminatory treatment in the workplace seems to negatively relate to gay and lesbian employees' satisfaction and positively to turnover intentions (Button, 2001; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001; Waldo, 1999). These relationships are moderated by an employee's decision to disclose or conceal their sexual orientation at work (Madera, King & Hebl, 2012; Ragins et al., 2007). Research also suggests that lesbian and gay employees tend to self-select into companies and contexts that are more open and friendly (Badgett & King, 1997; Wang, Gunderson & Wicks, 2018). Because lesbians and gay men may have to switch between more employers than their straight counterparts before finding a suitable job, I assume that homosexual employees will be more susceptible to turnover on average than straight ones.

This is indirectly supported by Hofhuis, Van Der Zee & Otten (2014), who found that minority employees experience more negative social interactions in the workplace and have less opportunities for career advancement. Both factors are shown to be more predictive of turnover intentions as well as actual turnover decisions among minority employees. Lee, Johansen & Bae (2020) observed that U.S. federal LGBT employees

perceived lower levels of procedural and informational justice than their heterosexual counterparts. In line with this, the U.S. federal LGBT employees expressed higher turnover intentions (Sabharwal, Levine, D'Agostino & Nguyen, 2019).

Another factor that may affect labour supply behaviour is a different household division of labour in same-sex and mixed-sex couples. To account for this I suggest the extension of the model of Jovanovic (1979) by introducing household production as an alternative to a job in the market. Each employee then has a market-to-household reservation wage. The reservation wage expresses the marginal change in the total household production in pecuniary terms in case he was to leave market production for household production. This is the lowest wage for which he will supply work in the market. If the market wage drops under the market-to-household reservation wage, the worker will decide to leave the market job and concentrate on household production.

In line with Antecol & Steinberger (2013); Badgett (1995, 2003) and Becker (1985) I assume that cohabiting partners will divide their roles into a primary earner and a secondary earner. The primary earners will specialize in the market production and the secondary earners in the household production. Both types of earners will accumulate their human capital accordingly and both are allowed to participate either in household or market production. The human capital investment implies that ceteris paribus secondary earners will have a higher output in household production (and thus higher market-to-household reservation wage) than primary earners. Just like Jovanovic (1979) I assume that a worker will select himself out of household/market jobs where his productivity turns out to be low by quitting and pursuing the best alternative. Ceteris paribus this would imply that primary (secondary) earners will be less (more) likely to quit their market job and proceed with household production. In effect this means that primary (secondary) earners will have a longer (shorter) job tenure. Antecol & Steinberger (2013) note that in the majority of different-sex couples, men tend to be the primary earners and women the secondary earners. While there are no gender differences in same-sex couples, the partners still tend to divide their roles into a primary and secondary earner because such specialization is economically beneficial (Antecol & Steinberger, 2013; Becker, 1981, 1985). I assume that the relatively higher proportion of primary (secondary) earners among partnered lesbians (gay men) will positively (negatively) affect their employer tenure as compared to partnered straight women (men).

Based on the models presented in this section I hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 2a: *Ceteris paribus, gay men will have a shorter tenure than comparable straight men.*

The models do not provide a conclusive direction for lesbians. Due to discrimination, lesbians are expected to have a shorter tenure than straight women. However, the

implications of household specialization in lesbian couples could negate this effect. Following the empirical evidence discussed in the introduction I hypothesize that on average the discrimination effect prevails and that:

Hypothesis 2b: *Ceteris paribus, lesbians will have a shorter tenure than comparable straight women.*

EMPIRICAL STRATEGY

In this section I discuss the empirical strategy that is applied to test the hypotheses. For the analysis I use pooled European Union Labour Force Survey (EU LFS) micro data by Eurostat (2017) from the years 2008 to 2016. I elaborate on the method of identification of sexual orientation, identification of individuals, the sample characteristics, data hierarchy and the analytical model.

Sexual orientation

The EU LFS doesn't normally include questions on the sexual orientation of respondents. For this reason I use the *cohabitation method* to determine whether a respondent is homosexual or hetersosexual. This involves comparing respondents' gender with the gender of their cohabiting partners. Carpenter (2004) tested the validity of this method and demonstrated that same-sex cohabiting couples are likely to be gay or lesbian in a behavioural sense. Because the sexual orientation cannot be determined for non-cohabiting persons, only observations with cohabiting partners are included in my sample. The outcomes of the analysis therefore cannot be generalised for the entire population.

The relative frequency of observations from co-habiting same-sex partners varies between countries. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, while the EU LFS covers the whole European Union, there are some differences between the countries in data collection and coding. This may lead to different coding of same-sex households. Second, respondents may provide inaccurate answers about the relationship with their co-habiting same-sex partners due to the stigmatized nature of homosexuality (Robertson et al., 2017). The incentives for such behaviour vary between countries depending on the social acceptance of homosexuality. The resulting self-selection may bias the outcomes of the analysis. Furthermore, the number of same-sex households is so low in some countries that these cases could be coding mistakes rather than genuine cases of cohabiting same-sex couples. To minimalise the risk of such bias for the analysis I use a *restricted sample* which includes only countries that have a substantial proportion (at

least 0.3%) of observations in same-sex relationships[19]. I also performed the analysis using the *unrestricted sample*, which includes data from all countries where homosexual individuals were identified. The results of the *restricted* and *unrestricted* samples are similar. A note is added in all instances where the findings described in this chapter differ between both samples.

Identification of individuals

The households taking part in the survey are generally interviewed multiple times before being rotated out of the sample. However, the identifier for household members is not consistent and could vary between interviews. Because the data do not include a unique identifier it is not possible to follow individuals over time. Nonetheless, I still have attempted to link observations of the same individuals over time. I have done so by using a number of variables that are rather stable over time (such as household number, gender, country of birth, etc.). If these characteristics were not specific enough to identify the household members, a unique individual identification number was assigned to all concerned observations (meaning that multiple observations of a single individual were treated as different individuals). However, it was never possible to track individuals if the interviews took place in different years due to data anonymisation procedures.

The data were checked for consistency and irregular observations were dropped, including duplicated observations, observations with inconsistent sexual orientation over time or with unknown (partner's) gender, observations with irregularities in age, etc. The final sample consisted of 3,341,646 observations that were attributed to 2,296,435 unique individuals (1,119,829 females and 1,176,606 males), 29% of whom had more than 1 observation.

Sample characteristics

The statistics of the sample that was used in the analysis are summarized in Table 4.1. The sample consists of co-habiting employees only. I consider only countries where at least 0.3% observations are in same-sex households – Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg[20], the Netherlands, Poland and Slovenia. The proportion of gay men varies between 0.31% in Poland and 1.44% in Belgium and that of lesbians varies between 0.32% in Poland and 1.28% in the Netherlands.

19 Seventeen countries were dropped from the analysis (Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechia, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania, Spain, Slovakia and the UK) and eight countries were kept (Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland and Slovenia). No homosexual individuals could be identified in Denmark, Finland, Greece, Italy and Sweden.

20 Data for Luxembourg from 2015 does not allow the determination of the presence of children in households. Due to incompleteness, the Luxembourgish observations from 2015 are not included in the analysis.

Table 4.1 *Relative distributions of respondents and mean job tenure in months (in brackets) per gender and sexual orientation*

Variable and category		Males*		Females*	
		Heterosexual	Gay	Heterosexual	Lesbian
Age	15-30 years	8.97% (41.6)	14.21% (33.9)	11.95% (37.9)	18.20% (32.1)
	30-35 years	11.88% (69.4)	13.52% (61.8)	12.57% (69.7)	13.28% (62.2)
	35-40 years	13.55% (98.2)	15.59% (89.1)	13.72% (98.0)	14.33% (95.4)
	40-45 years	14.64% (132.0)	16.03% (118.8)	14.96% (128.7)	13.83% (124.7)
	45-50 years	15.76% (169.8)	15.52% (152.9)	16.02% (159.7)	14.95% (150.9)
	50-55 years	15.44% (208.6)	13.00% (186.4)	15.16% (192.6)	12.57% (190.0)
	55-70 years	19.75% (244.5)	12.12% (244.6)	15.63% (224.4)	12.84% (236.4)
	Total	**1,167,214**	**9,392**	**1,111,462**	**8,367**
Education	ISCED 1 or lower	3.25% (156.7)	2.36% (133.1)	2.73% (136.9)	2.49% (132.8)
	ISCED2	10.87% (153.4)	9.28% (129.1)	9.96% (136.5)	9.36% (135.0)
	ISCED3	49.29% (156.8)	39.03% (130.8)	44.37% (140.3)	38.08% (121.9)
	ISCED4	4.10% (137.5)	4.37% (114.4)	6.46% (130.5)	4.74% (109.1)
	ISCED5 or higher	32.48% (145.3)	44.95% (116.9)	36.48% (131.0)	45.33% (119.8)
	Total	**1,167,214**	**9,392**	**1,111,462**	**8,367**
Children	Yes	66.79% (147.7)	11.23% (153.1)	64.21% (129.6)	17.33% (122.5)
	No	33.21% (160.4)	88.77% (120.1)	35.79% (147.0)	82.67% (121.7)
	Total	**1,164,405**	**9,364**	**1,108,917**	**8,352**
Partner	Working	73.52% (151.4)	82.49% (118.4)	85.18% (130.3)	81.37% (118.4)
	Not working	26.48% (153.1)	17.51% (148.6)	14.82% (167.4)	18.63% (136.7)
	Total	**1,167,170**	**9,392**	**1,111,416**	**8,366**

Table 4.1 *Relative distributions of respondents and mean job tenure in months (in brackets) per gender and sexual orientation (continued)*

	Variable and category	Males*		Females*	
		Heterosexual	Gay	Heterosexual	Lesbian
Occupation	Elementary occupations	6.21% (117.3)	6.35% (96.0)	11.45% (103.7)	6.93% (92.7)
	Operators / assemblers	13.65% (141.3)	5.48% (135.0)	2.81% (137.2)	5.40% (122.9)
	Craft & related	19.93% (148.3)	6.44% (124.6)	2.50% (125.5)	4.38% (118.1)
	Skilled agricultural workers**	1.16% (141.0)	0.69% (144.2)	0.35% (119.7)	0.73% (97.5)
	Service / sales workers	8.00% (125.3)	15.60% (95.2)	19.60% (109.2)	14.58% (92.3)
	Clerks	6.88% (172.0)	10.23% (132.8)	17.13% (150.5)	12.21% (130.2)
	Technicians	16.82% (173.6)	18.75% (129.3)	20.27% (153.7)	20.93% (131.1)
	Professionals	17.60% (153.1)	25.72% (131.4)	21.37% (147.9)	27.37% (132.4)
	Managers, senior officials	8.58% (161.5)	10.43% (136.3)	4.42% (146.4)	6.86% (132.7)
	Armed forces**	1.18% (189.3)	0.31% (198.7)	0.09% (135.1)	0.62% (115.1)
	Total	**1,163,149**	**9,366**	**1,108,837**	**8,339**
Country	Belgium	8.57% (159.5)	15.58% (119.0)	8.51% (147.9)	14.35% (111.0)
	France	18.51% (153.5)	28.03% (129.0)	19.41% (142.2)	26.54% (130.8)
	Germany	29.44% (163.7)	19.12% (114.1)	29.58% (138.3)	21.05% (107.1)
	Ireland	8.71% (132.3)	7.13% (86.1)	9.37% (116.8)	6.80% (95.0)
	Luxembourg**	1.59% (154.8)	1.33% (111.7)	1.38% (126.7)	0.96% (113.5)
	Netherlands	10.72% (159.5)	15.28% (124.2)	10.44% (126.6)	17.95% (129.1)
	Poland	18.83% (128.6)	7.24% (126.1)	17.29% (127.8)	7.31% (132.4)
	Slovenia	3.64% (173.2)	6.28% (182.7)	4.04% (167.0)	5.03% (163.8)
	Total	**1,167,214**	**9,392**	**1,111,462**	**8,367**

Note: * Statistics are based on the first chronological observation of each individual
** The sample size of gay men and lesbians is small (less than 150)

There are several noticeable differences between the samples of gay men, lesbians and straight men and women. Gay men are overrepresented in age categories until 45 years of age and lesbians until 40 years. Compared to their straight counterparts, gay men and lesbians are substantially more likely to have attained tertiary education and less likely to have attained secondary or lower education. The data confirm sorting into occupations. With men, gays are considerably less likely to be operators, assemblers, craft and related workers and more likely to be employed as service / sales workers, clerks and professionals. Lesbians are less likely than straight women to work in elementary occupations, as service / sales and clerk workers and more likely to be employed as professionals.

Same-sex households seem to differ from different-sex households. The proportion of lesbians (gay men) who have children present in their household is almost four time (six times) lower than that of straight women (men). Gay men are more likely than straight men to have a partner that is working while lesbians are less likely to have a working partner than straight women.

I compared the characteristics of my data with other European samples. Overall, my sample has a lower proportion of same-sex households than the European Social Survey and the Generations and Gender Programme samples used by Fischer (2016), but it has a far larger sample size in absolute numbers. The main characteristics of gay men and lesbians in my sample – especially regarding age distribution, education or the presence of children – correspond with the observations by Fischer (2016).

Table 4.1 also provides an overview of mean employer tenures. Both gay men and lesbians have shorter mean employer tenures than their straight counterparts in the majority of categories. This observation is in line with my hypotheses, but it could be caused by unobserved heterogeneity. I will now proceed to formulate an analytical model that will allow controlling for relevant characteristics.

Data hierarchy

The EU LFS data has a hierarchical structure consisting of three levels. For a given individual *i* there may be several observations at different points in time *t*. Individuals are then nested within households, which are in turn nested within countries. I treat the nesting as follows.

To account for nesting within individuals, I calculate a multilevel model with individual *i* as the higher level. However, this model only accounts for the nesting of individuals that were identified in the data.

I do not account for the nesting within households. Because I calculate two separate models – one for men and one for women – the majority of individuals with opposite sex partners are not included in the same sample. In contrast, individuals from same-sex households remain in the same sample. The observations of gay men and lesbians may therefore not be independent if both partners are working and included in the dataset.

With my approach I de facto make the assumption that gay men and lesbians in my sample never do not belong to the same households.

I control for the country effects by introducing dummy variables. I do not introduce the third level for country in the multilevel model because I have a very small sample size at the country level (eight countries). The variance partitioning coefficient on a null model including country level showed that less than 2% of the total response variance lies at the country level and about 98% at the individual level. Including country as a separate level would make the results unstable and this approach therefore seems unreasonable.

In the analytical model I use two variables extracted from other sources. For the variable unemployment rate I retrieved the values from the Eurostat database[21] and matched them with the observations based on gender, year and NUTS2 level (or another level based on the geographical categorization of a given observation). The variable *attitude* captures the social attitudes towards homosexual and bisexual people according to the Eurobarometer survey[22]. It is based on the national average of answers on how comfortable one would be around a gay, lesbian or bisexual person at work. The answers are on a scale from 1 (not at all comfortable) to 10 (totally comfortable).

The analytical model

The analytical model aims to empirically measure whether the individual employer tenure differs between straight and homosexual individuals who are otherwise comparable. More concretely I measure *the employer spells*, meaning the time that an individual works for the same employer (as opposed to the time within the same job – so-called *job spells*).

I calculate separate models for women and men because the supply side theories offer in some cases opposite reasoning for gay men and lesbians (see the previous section). This is a more pragmatic approach than including multiple interaction terms with gender.

I formulate and estimate three models. In the **first model** I include individual characteristics – including the respondent's sexual orientation – as independent variables. The model can be described as follows:

$$tenure_{ti} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 age_i + \beta_2 ageofresidency_i + \beta_3 child_{ti} + \beta_4 country_i + \beta_5 education_i + \beta_6 gay_i + \beta_7 individualtime_{ti} + \beta_8 quarter_{ti} + \beta_9 unemploymentrate_i + \beta_{10} urbanisation_i + \beta_{11} workpatner_{ti} + u_{0i} + e_{ti}$$

21 Annual unemployment rate for persons aged 15 to 74 years, variable lfst_r_lfu3rt extracted on 7 November 2018.

22 Question QC13.10 from the Eurobarometer 83.4 survey held in 2015. European Commission, Brussels (2016): Eurobarometer 83.4 (2015). TNS opinion, Brussels [Producer]. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6595 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12442

Mumford & Smith (2004b) highlight the importance of controlling for workplace characteristics. They conclude that allowing for workplace fixed-effects can explain as much of the variation in individual tenure as individual characteristics. Controlling for the fixed effects is not possible in this context because the EU LFS does not provide information that allows matching respondents with workplaces. Because I cannot control for the employment strategy of individual firms in response to demand shocks, I add a variable capturing the mean employer tenure for a given country, occupation and year. Hereby I can account for the average change in employer tenure due to employment strategies of firms in a given occupation. The **second model** extends the first model by including the mean tenure and several variables that capture workplace and occupational characteristics.

$$tenure_{ti} = \beta_0 + BX + \beta_{12} firmsize_{ti} + \beta_{13} meantenure_i + \beta_{14} occupation_{ti} + \beta_{15} parttimejob_{ti} + \beta_{16} sector_{ti} + \beta_{17} shifts_{ti} + \beta_{18} wishworkmore_{ti} + u_{0i} + e_{ti}$$

where BX refers to the explanatory variables from the first model.

About 9% of observations have a missing value for the variable firm size. I present the findings of the second model including this variable. I also calculated the models without the variable firm size and the results are in line with those presented in this paper.

The **third model** extends the second model with several interaction terms between sexual orientation and variables that are expected to have a different effect for heterosexual and homosexual respondents (a) due to a different distribution of household and market production in same-sex households (variables being the presence of children and a (non-)working partner in one's household) or (b) due to differential social attitudes towards homosexuality (variables being attitude, country).

$$tenure_{ti} = \beta_0 + BZ + \beta_{19} socialattitude_i + \beta_{20} gay \times socialattitude_i + \beta_{21} gay \times workpartner_{ti} + \beta_{22} gay \times child_{ti} + u_{0i} + e_{ti}$$

where BZ refers to the explanatory variables from the second model.

I fitted the models with the *xtmixed* procedure in Stata software[23]. I assessed the fit of the model by calculating the correlation coefficient between the actual *job length* and the *job length* predicted by the estimates from the model. The outcomes are discussed in the following section.

23 StataCorp. 2013. Stata Statistical Software: Release 13.1. College Station, TX: StataCorp LP.

OUTCOMES

The outcomes of the second and third models are graphically represented in Figure 4.1. The detailed outcomes of all three models are reported in the annex. In all models, being lesbian and/or gay relates with a shorter employer tenure. This is consistent with hypotheses 2a and 2b. This relation was statistically significant when controlling for individual characteristics (the first model), after adding workplace characteristics (the second model) and in the case of women also after adding interaction terms with the variable *gay* (the third model).

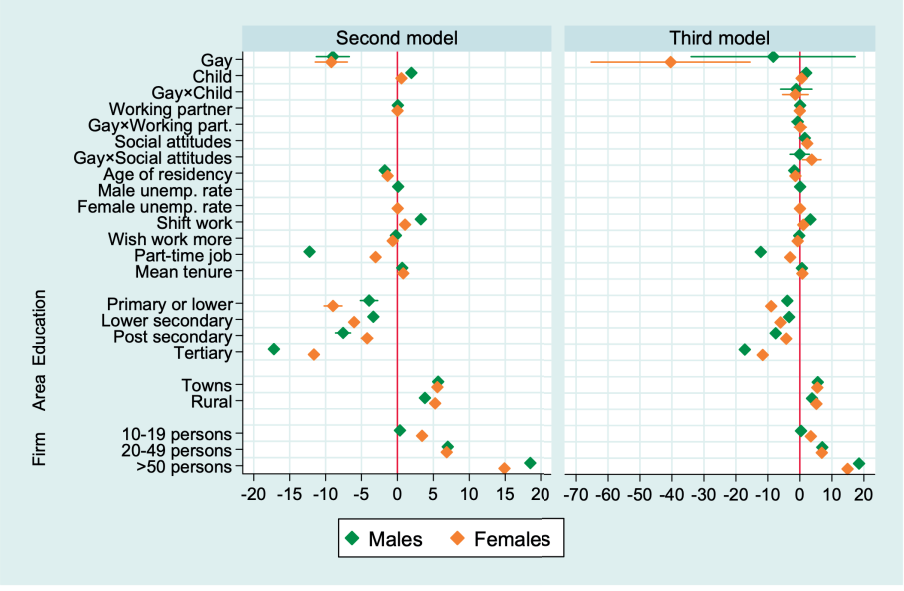

Figure 4.1: *Differences in job tenure in months, outcomes of the second and third model*
Note: Intercepts differ between models and sexes, and the x axis has a different scale for the different models. Results are displayed after statistically controlling for age, country, NACE sector, occupation and time factors. The detailed results of all three models are reported in the annex.

The negative social attitudes towards gay and/or lesbian colleagues are hypothesised to be negatively related with lesbians' and gay men's employer tenure. The results of the third model suggest that the attitudes do not have any notable effect on employer tenure in gay men. In contrast, if the attitudes improve by one point, the employer tenure of lesbians is predicted to be 3.7 months longer. However, the result is only weakly statistically significant[24]. Thus, hypothesis 1 is only partly confirmed.

24 When using the *unrestricted* sample this relationship was not statistically significant.

The third model allows testing the predictions based on the household specialization. However, the outcomes are not statistically significant. This is not consistent with my theoretical prediction, because it indicates that having a working partner doesn't affect the employer tenure of homosexual women and men differently than the employer tenure of their straight counterparts.

The presence of children in the household relates to a significantly longer employer tenure in males. Gay men with children have a shorter employer tenure than their straight counterparts but this difference is not statistically significant[25], possibly due to the small sample size of gay men with children. This is consistent with the theoretical prediction and with hypothesis 2a. Women with children have a statically significantly longer employer tenure than their childless counterparts[26]. Straight women with children have a statistically insignificantly longer employer tenure than lesbians with children. This is inconsistent with the theoretical predictions based on household specialisation.

DISCUSSION

The main empirical contribution of this chapter is that it compares the employer tenure of gays, lesbians and their heterosexual counterparts. To my knowledge this is the first study that does so while controlling for selected individual and contextual characteristics. The results show that (in most models) both gays and lesbians experience a statistically significantly shorter employer tenure than comparable straight employees. This finding adds to a growing body of literature (discussed in the introduction) which shows that sexual minorities face challenges in the labour market. The disadvantage experienced by lesbians and gays is not limited to job access only, but seems to also last during the employment (see for example the reviews by Drydakis (2014); McFadden (2015); Ozeren (2014)).

My findings have noteworthy theoretical implications. The outcomes of the analysis for lesbians allow us to distinguish between the effect of labour demand and labour supply on the employer tenure. As discussed earlier, labour supply factors (household specialisation) tend to extend the lesbians' length of employer tenure while labour demand factors (labour market discrimination) work in the opposite direction. The empirical results imply that labour demand factors outweigh the labour supply ones. This suggests that the difference in employer tenure – and likely in other employment outcomes – is at least partly driven by discrimination.

25 This was statistically significant at the 10% level when using the *unrestricted* sample.

26 In the *unrestricted* sample, having a child was related to a shorter job tenure for women. However, this relationship became statistically insignificant once the workplace and occupational characteristics were included.

The results of my analysis also shed more light on the results of previous studies into labour market outcomes for lesbians and gays. The recent research into lesbians' labour market outcomes showed seemingly contradictory findings. While lesbians – compared to straight women – were demonstrated to be discriminated against regarding access to employment, mixed evidence indicates that they do not suffer from higher unemployment rates (for a review see Chapter 2). Discrimination in job access could be expected to lead to longer spells of joblessness in lesbians but in Chapter 3 I showed that lesbians have a significantly shorter joblessness duration than comparable straight women. A shorter duration of joblessness paired with no difference in unemployment probability suggests that ceteris paribus lesbians experience unemployment spells more frequently than comparable straight women and / or that lesbians have a shorter employer tenure than their straight counterparts.

For gay men, the situation seems to be more straightforward. The previous research demonstrated that they experience barriers in access to employment and higher and longer unemployment spells than comparable straight men (see Chapters 2 and 3). Taking into account labour supply and demand effects I hypothesised that in addition to this, gay men would have a shorter employer tenure than straight men.

The results of the analysis that I performed suggest that ceteris paribus gay men and lesbians indeed have a shorter employer tenure than comparable heterosexual men and women. This finding is consistent across all of my models and remains statistically significant after controlling for individual characteristics, workplace and occupational characteristics and in the case lesbians also for the interaction terms.

As explained, the difference in employer tenure between gay/lesbian and straight people may be driven by discrimination. Compared to straight people, lesbians and gay men may be more exposed to discriminatory job loss, may be offered less favourable conditions of employment (for example temporary contracts) or may be more prone to exit their jobs due to a discriminatory or hostile working environment. This is likely to happen more frequently in areas or sectors with more negative attitudes towards homosexuality. In line with this, the third model for lesbians shows a significant positive relationship between social attitudes to homosexuality and the individual employer tenure of lesbians. However, no such relationship was found for gay men. Readers should keep in mind that the power of this test is limited because the measure of social attitudes that I use is rather crude. Ideally, one should control for attitudes towards homosexuality in respondents' workplaces. As such, my results only partly support the hypothesis that differences in employer tenure are driven by discrimination.

There are alternative explanations for the differences in tenure between homosexual and heterosexual women and men. Due to a different distribution of household tasks in same-sex households, gay men (lesbians) are expected to be less (more) attached to the labour market than straight men (women). The outcomes of the third model

did not support this line of argument – the interaction terms between the variables *gay* and *having a working partner* or *having a child* were not statistically significant. A possible reason for this is that my analysis doesn't capture the division of household roles in same-sex households into primary earners and secondary earners (see Antecol & Steinberger (2013)).

The findings help to explain some (at first glance) contradicting conclusions of research into the labour market position of lesbians. They suggest that – despite having a significantly shorter unemployment spell than straight women – lesbian may on average experience comparable unemployment rates because their employment spells are shorter. Therefore they are jobless more often.

The differences in labour market outcomes between lesbian/gay and straight people apparently are not limited to unemployment rates or remuneration but may manifest themselves in terms of job tenure also. As discussed in the introduction, job tenure has been shown to relate to a number of outcomes such as wages, job satisfaction and the prevalence of job injuries. Notably, Buhai, Portela, Teulings & Vuuren (2014) found that workers' tenure relative to the tenure of their colleagues negatively relates to workers' probability of leaving the company. In other words, employees who are hired last, leave the company first.

The results of my analysis translate into several policy implications. To limit differences in the employer tenure driven by labour demand, labour market actors should strive to eradicate discrimination in the workplace. To do so, companies could adopt equality policies that explicitly cover sexual orientation. These policies should be actively endorsed and enforced by the management (see McFadden (2015) for more infromation on human resource development). Conscious and subconscious discriminatory practices and micro-aggressions could be countered by increased awareness of (key) staff about what discrimination entails, how it affects its victims and how it can be countered (Jewell, Morrison & Gazzola, 2011). The efforts of employers should be complemented by governments, employer organisations and trade unions who could promote good practices on inclusion of minorities in the workplace. The government should also ensure sufficient legal protection from discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation in the area of employment (Barron & Hebl, 2013; Hebl et al., 2016). Finally, victims of discrimination should be encouraged to report discriminatory incidents and these reports should be properly investigated[27].

My findings need to be interpreted with caution for a number of reasons. Mumford & Smith (2004b) conclude that workplace effects explain as much of the variation in individual job tenure as do individual characteristics and it is therefore necessary to

27 See the report by van Balen, Barry, Holzhacker, Villagomez & Wladasch (2011), which suggests that incidents of sexual orientation discrimination are rarely reported and scarcely result in court cases in Europe.

allow for workplace effects. Due to data constrains I had only a limited opportunity to check for company-specific variables (such as the company's age or the demand for its main product). Additional company effects could explain more variation in individual outcomes (Boockmann & Steffes, 2005). My results could be biased if gay men and lesbians tend to concentrate into companies that have a different average tenure than companies employing their straight counterparts.

Another limitation of my data relates to the measure of individual employer tenure. To obtain the best estimates of the average length of individual employer tenure I would need the lengths of completed employer spells. Because I use stock data, I only have information on the elapsed tenure period at the moment of observation. Due to length biased sampling, individuals with a longer tenure have a higher probability of being present in my sample, which in turn leads to biased estimates of the individual tenure (S. Burgess & Rees, 1996). Assuming that the bias affects the magnitude (and not the sign) of the estimate, I can rely only on the directions of the effects of dependent variables. Their magnitude and statistical significance should be seen only as indicative.

A noteworthy limitation of my findings results from using the cohabitation method to determine respondents' sexual orientation. This means that my findings can be generalised only to the population that is living with a partner in one household.

These shortcomings could be addressed in future research. Utilizing panel data which follows a sufficient number of homosexual individuals would help to provide more robust evidence on potential differences in the transition probability from employment to unemployment between gay men, lesbians and their straight counterparts. The research could further examine whether the differences in employer tenure between these groups persist if one controls for workplace effects. Future research could utilize data sources that allow identification of the sexual orientation of non-cohabiting subjects also. This would produce findings that can be generalised to non-cohabiting individuals as well. Such efforts would be facilitated by a broader collection of (consensual) information on subjects' sexual orientation in register and survey data. Finally, the distribution of household tasks in same-sex households (between primary and secondary earners) should be taken into account.

ANNEX

Table 4.2 *The full results of the first, second and third models estimating the employer tenure (in months) for males.*

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	coef.	st.error	coef.	st.error	coef.	st.error
Gay	-11.33***	1.158	-8.99***	1.177	-8.32	13.096
Age (reference category: 40-44 years old)						
<30 y.o.	-89.70***	0.439	-85.54***	0.443	-85.53***	0.443
30-34 y.o.	-60.57***	0.402	-58.65***	0.405	-58.65***	0.405
35-39 y.o.	-32.29***	0.387	-31.60***	0.39	-31.60***	0.39
45-49 y.o.	36.66***	0.373	36.00***	0.376	36.00***	0.376
50-54 y.o.	75.72***	0.376	75.61***	0.38	75.60***	0.38
>55 y.o.	114.06***	0.36	116.94***	0.364	116.93***	0.364
Age of residency	-2.04***	0.013	-1.76***	0.013	-1.76***	0.013
Child	2.21***	0.124	1.95***	0.121	1.95***	0.121
Education (reference category: upper secondary)						
Primary or lower	-16.20***	0.605	-3.95***	0.621	-3.95***	0.621
Lower secondary	-9.34***	0.352	-3.36***	0.361	-3.37***	0.361
Post secondary	-3.10***	0.539	-7.56***	0.535	-7.57***	0.535
Tertiary	-6.16***	0.239	-17.19***	0.279	-17.19***	0.279
Working partner	0.36***	0.081	0.06	0.08	0.06	0.08
Country (reference category: France)						
Belgium	4.50***	0.436	-2.73***	0.436	-1.76***	0.485
Germany	-3.30***	0.371	-10.15***	0.372	-8.17***	0.571
Ireland	-11.64***	0.475	6.31***	0.503	5.99***	0.508
Luxembourg	22.22***	0.959	16.42***	0.973	15.96***	0.978
Netherlands	-8.66***	0.448	-6.14***	0.456	-6.67***	0.47
Poland	-32.65***	0.348	-20.30***	0.375	-17.52***	0.713
Slovenia	1.13	0.602	-22.58***	1.267	-19.82***	1.401
Urbanisation (reference category: cities)						
Towns	6.75***	0.253	5.67***	0.255	5.61***	0.255
Rural	3.13***	0.264	3.84***	0.269	3.79***	0.269
Quarter of the year (reference category: first)						
Quarter 2	-3.19***	0.09	-2.63***	0.09	-2.63***	0.09
Quarter 3	-6.13***	0.173	-5.23***	0.173	-5.23***	0.173
Quarter 4	-9.13***	0.257	-7.89***	0.258	-7.89***	0.258
Individual time	0.96***	0.029	0.86***	0.029	0.86***	0.029
Male unemp. rate	0.10*	0.046	0.10*	0.047	0.10*	0.047
Firm size (reference category: Less than 10 persons)						
10-19 persons			0.34	0.193	0.35	0.193
20-49 persons			7.00***	0.203	7.01***	0.203
>50 persons			18.50***	0.176	18.51***	0.176

Table 4.2 *The full results of the first, second and third models estimating the employer tenure (in months) for males.* (*continued*)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	coef.	st.error	coef.	st.error	coef.	st.error
NACE sector (reference category: NACE sector C)						
NACE sectors A, B			2.38***	0.509	2.38***	0.509
NACE sectors D, E			4.08***	0.511	4.07***	0.511
NACE sector F			-20.37***	0.289	-20.36***	0.289
NACE sectors G, I			-11.93***	0.271	-11.92***	0.271
NACE sector H			-9.15***	0.336	-9.15***	0.336
NACE sector J			-10.69***	0.445	-10.68***	0.445
NACE sector K			4.46***	0.518	4.48***	0.518
NACE sector L, M, N			-19.45***	0.303	-19.44***	0.303
NACE sector O			14.31***	0.345	14.31***	0.345
NACE sector P			-0.23	0.435	-0.24	0.435
NACE sector Q			-14.75***	0.425	-14.75***	0.425
NACE sectors R, S			-14.28***	0.504	-14.28***	0.504
NACE sectors T, U			-6.71***	0.999	-6.67***	0.999
Shift work			3.27***	0.116	3.27***	0.116
Wish to work more			-0.21***	0.053	-0.21***	0.053
Part-time job			-12.23***	0.184	-12.23***	0.184
Occupation (reference category: Professionals)						
Elementary occ.			-8.83***	0.369	-8.83***	0.369
Operators, assemblers			-9.65***	0.327	-9.65***	0.327
Craft / trades workers			-0.04	0.301	-0.04	0.301
Skilled agricultural wks			-5.52***	0.679	-5.52***	0.679
Service and sales workers			0.09	0.376	0.09	0.376
Clerks			0.88*	0.354	0.88*	0.354
Technicians			0.87***	0.261	0.87***	0.261
Managers, legislators			-4.68***	0.296	-4.68***	0.296
Armed forces			28.18***	0.866	28.15***	0.866
Mean tenure			0.67***	0.007	0.67***	0.007
Social attitudes					1.56***	0.339
Gay×Social attitudes					0	1.538
Gay×Working partner					-0.69	0.9
Gay×Child					-1.11	2.502
constant	147.41***	0.603	48.11***	1.185	34.21***	3.254
sd(constant), ind level	4.71***	0.001	4.67***	0.001	4.67***	0.001
sd(residual), ind level	2.24***	0.001	2.14***	0.001	2.14***	0.001
Number of observations	1,702,141		1,519,060		1,519,060	
Number of individuals	1,174,159		1,060,292		1,060,292	
R sq.	0.294		0.354		0.354	

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 4.3 *The full results of the first, second and third models estimating the employer tenure (in months) for females.*

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	coef.	st.error	coef.	st.error	coef.	st.error
Gay	-6.65***	1.122	-9.20***	1.141	-40.39**	12.692
Age (reference category: 40-44 years old)						
<30 y.o.	-92.08***	0.379	-87.75***	0.381	-87.74***	0.381
30-34 y.o.	-60.88***	0.371	-58.86***	0.373	-58.85***	0.373
35-39 y.o.	-31.70***	0.361	-30.57***	0.363	-30.56***	0.363
45-49 y.o.	31.80***	0.347	30.68***	0.35	30.67***	0.35
50-54 y.o.	66.09***	0.354	64.38***	0.357	64.37***	0.357
>55 y.o.	101.16***	0.359	100.34***	0.36	100.35***	0.36
Age of residency	-1.79***	0.013	-1.36***	0.013	-1.36***	0.013
Child	0.12	0.112	0.56***	0.108	0.56***	0.108
Education (reference category: upper secondary)						
Primary or lower	-28.45***	0.617	-8.96***	0.637	-8.95***	0.637
Lower secondary	-17.31***	0.343	-6.04***	0.354	-6.04***	0.354
Post secondary	9.15***	0.415	-4.22***	0.411	-4.24***	0.411
Tertiary	10.76***	0.223	-11.62***	0.259	-11.62***	0.259
Working partner	0.24**	0.086	0.02	0.083	0.01	0.084
Country (reference category: France)						
Belgium	8.78***	0.412	3.45***	0.415	4.91***	0.462
Germany	-14.34***	0.375	-17.47***	0.377	-14.44***	0.565
Ireland	-20.32***	0.396	0.01	0.424	-0.46	0.43
Luxembourg	10.06***	0.955	6.56***	0.956	5.91***	0.961
Netherlands	-19.18***	0.417	-13.74***	0.428	-14.52***	0.441
Poland	-17.31***	0.325	-2.70***	0.35	1.46*	0.677
Slovenia	15.92***	0.537	-9.52***	1.155	-5.36***	1.29
Urbanisation (reference category: cities)						
Towns	3.65***	0.238	5.56***	0.239	5.47***	0.239
Rural	1.70***	0.246	5.26***	0.249	5.19***	0.249
Quarter of the year (reference category: first)						
Quarter 2	-2.74***	0.084	-2.27***	0.083	-2.27***	0.083
Quarter 3	-5.40***	0.161	-4.62***	0.16	-4.62***	0.16
Quarter 4	-8.02***	0.24	-6.94***	0.24	-6.94***	0.24
Individual time	0.88***	0.027	0.78***	0.027	0.78***	0.027
Female unemp. rate	0.17***	0.049	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05
Firm size (reference category: Less than 10 persons)						
10-19 persons			3.43***	0.169	3.43***	0.169
20-49 persons			6.87***	0.181	6.87***	0.181
>50 persons			14.92***	0.157	14.92***	0.157

Table 4.3 *The full results of the first, second and third models estimating the employer tenure (in months) for females.* (*continued*)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	coef.	st.error	coef.	st.error	coef.	st.error
NACE sector (reference category: NACE sector C)						
NACE sectors A, B			0.57	0.764	0.58	0.764
NACE sectors D, E			2.23**	0.842	2.23**	0.842
NACE sector F			-15.40***	0.571	-15.39***	0.571
NACE sectors G, I			-2.11***	0.299	-2.11***	0.299
NACE sector H			8.92***	0.512	8.92***	0.512
NACE sector J			-0.88	0.562	-0.85	0.562
NACE sector K			16.92***	0.454	16.94***	0.454
NACE sector L, M, N			-5.95***	0.328	-5.94***	0.328
NACE sector O			14.74***	0.351	14.74***	0.351
NACE sector P			8.67***	0.345	8.67***	0.345
NACE sector Q			-2.21***	0.305	-2.21***	0.305
NACE sectors R, S			-3.04***	0.428	-3.03***	0.428
NACE sectors T, U			-2.33***	0.478	-2.31***	0.478
Shift work			1.07***	0.112	1.07***	0.112
Wish to work more			-0.65***	0.051	-0.65***	0.051
Part-time job			-3.04***	0.098	-3.04***	0.098
Occupation (reference category: Professionals)						
Elementary occ.			-16.92***	0.346	-16.92***	0.346
Operators, assemblers			-16.16***	0.457	-16.17***	0.457
Craft / trades workers			-16.82***	0.487	-16.84***	0.487
Skilled agricultural wks			-18.53***	1.02	-18.53***	1.02
Service and sales workers			-6.21***	0.297	-6.20***	0.297
Clerks			-9.80***	0.253	-9.80***	0.253
Technicians			-5.72***	0.231	-5.72***	0.231
Managers, legislators			-4.71***	0.326	-4.71***	0.326
Armed forces			0.41	1.734	0.4	1.734
Mean tenure			0.81***	0.006	0.81***	0.006
Social attitudes					2.31***	0.325
Gay×Social attitudes					3.69*	1.493
Gay×Working partner					0.18	0.952
Gay×Child					-1.38	2.049
constant	140.02***	0.602	26.62***	1.127	5.89	3.121
sd(constant), ind level	4.62***	0.001	4.58***	0.001	4.58***	0.001
sd(residual), ind level	2.14***	0.001	2.03***	0.001	2.03***	0.001
Number of observations	1,632,216		1,474,035		1,474,035	
Number of individuals	1,117,580		1,018,700		1,018,700	
R sq.	0.294		0.350		0.350	

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

5 How does being out at work relate to discrimination and unemployment of gay men and lesbians?

A slightly modified version of this chapter was published as: Fric, K. (2019). How does being out at work relate to discrimination and unemployment of gays and lesbians?. Journal for Labour Market Research, 54, 14.

https://doi.org/10.1186/s12651-019-0264-1

INTRODUCTION

There is extensive evidence that gay men and lesbians face discrimination in the workplace (Eurofound 2016; Valfort 2017). The research review in Chapter 2 indicates that lesbian / gay people[28] face barriers when accessing employment. Recent surveys among gay men and lesbians in Europe show that a considerable amount of respondents experienced discrimination or harassment in the workplace (Eurofound, 2016). However, sexual orientation discrimination is rarely reported and scarcely results in court cases in Europe (van Balen, Barry, Holzhacker, Villagomez & Wladasch, 2011). The lack of official cases may lead to the conclusion that discrimination against sexual minorities is not a common problem in the labour market. Such an interpretation has implications for policies on this issue.

It is desirable to understand what the relationships are between (perceived) discrimination, employment status and the reporting of discrimination by gay / lesbian people. Is perceived discrimination related to the employment status? How does the perception of being discriminated at work relate to the reporting of discrimination incidents? How do disclosure of one's sexual orientation and sexual prejudice in the workplace influence these outcomes? In this chapter I try to answer these questions. I formulate several hypotheses that I empirically test using the European Union Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (EU LGBT) survey[29] data. I have applied the structural equation model and verified the results with the logistic regression model.

I am not aware of any study that has empirically tested the relationship between my concepts of interest. The research has concentrated on the antecedents of disclosure of sexual orientation in the workplace (such as company policies, extent of disclosure in other contexts) and the effects of disclosure (for example on employees' commitment, job satisfaction or stress levels). I identified only limited research that linked the extent of disclosure of sexual orientation in the workplace to perceived discrimination. For example, Ragins & Cornwell (2001) found that lesbian / gay employees were more likely to conceal their sexual orientation at work (and to have turnover intentions) if they perceived greater workplace discrimination than those who reported less discrimination. According to Ragins, Singh & Cornwell (2007), perceptions of past discrimination positively predicted fears about disclosure of sexual orientation. Surprisingly, perceptions of past discrimination were positively related to the extent of disclosure of sexual orientation in current positions. Schneider (1986) observed that prior job loss due to disclosure of sexual identity impacted subsequent decisions and concerns about revealing one's sexuality to co-workers.

28 Unless stated differently I use the adjective gay to represent both lesbians and gays.

29 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) (2016). European Union Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Survey, 2012: Special Licence Access. [data collection]. UK Data Service. SN: 7956, http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-7956-1

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

To test the relationships between (perceived) discrimination, employment status and reporting discrimination, I formulate a model which also encompasses the concepts of disclosure of sexual orientation and homonegativity in the workplace. The model also takes into account contextual factors and a subject's demographic characteristics that are presumed to affect the observed outcomes.

In this section I describe the relevant concepts and how they relate to each other. Based on this I formulate the hypotheses. My model is schematically depicted in Figure 5.1. Bold lines mark the hypothesised relationships. Non-bold lines stand for control variables. Single-headed arrows indicate causality (from the antecedent to the consequent) and double-headed arrows indicate a mutual relationship.

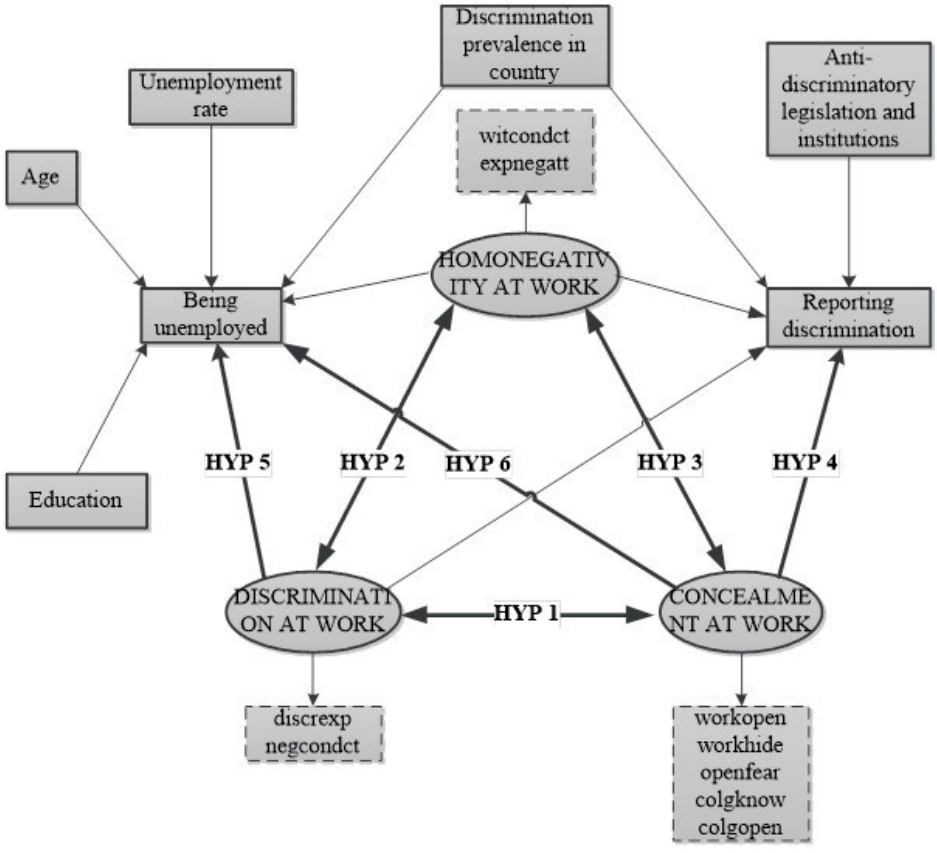

Figure 5.1: *The model of causalities related to sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace and the path model for the structural equation model*

In this chapter, *employment status* refers to being (un)employed. *Sexual orientation discrimination* is defined as a less favourable treatment in the labour market because of one's sexual orientation. This definition excludes so-called positive discrimination and is more restrictive than the definition by Arrow (1973), according to whom labour market discrimination exists when two equally qualified individuals are treated differently in the labour market on the basis of a personal characteristic unrelated to productivity.

The term *homonegativity* is used as a synonym for sexual prejudice[30] against lesbians and gay men. Even though homonegativity and discrimination in the workplace are conceptually closely related, I treat them as two distinct concepts. Discrimination refers to discriminatory incidents or negative conduct perceived by the subjects that were targeted at themselves. Homonegativity relates to a subjects' perception of attitudes, climate and conduct towards gay / lesbian people in their workplace in general (i.e. not directly targeted at the subjects themselves).

Concealment at work ↔ discrimination at work

Even though people can reportedly assess someone's sexual orientation based on body movements (Johnson et al., 2007), facial cues (Freeman et al. 2010; Brewer & Lyons 2017) or voice (Fasoli et al., 2017), sexual orientation is traditionally viewed as a non-observable type of diversity (Milliken & Martins 1996). Direct discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation requires knowledge or suspicion that an employee is lesbian / gay. Gay / lesbian people may not experience direct discrimination if no one knows or suspects that they are homosexual, even though they may experience indirect discrimination through the presence of a hostile environment (Ragins & Cornwell 2001).

The model by Chung (2001) postulates that identity management is one of the strategies that lesbian / gay employees can use to cope with potential discrimination. The level of concealment (disclosure) is assumed to affect the extent of discriminatory behaviour.

However, there is also an opposite causality. While deciding on how to manage information related to their sexual orientation, gay / lesbian people assess the benefits and costs of coming out (Rostosky & Riggle, 2002). Because disclosure of one's sexual orientation can increase the risk of social rejection, prejudice and discrimination (Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010), lesbian / gay employees are more likely to conceal it when they fear discrimination and stigma (see the stigma theory by Ragins & Cornwell, 2001).

Hypothesis 1: *The concealment of sexual orientation in the workplace will be positively related to perceived discrimination.*

30 The term sexual prejudice refers to negative attitudes towards individuals because of their sexual orientation (Herek, 2000b).

To correctly estimate the relationship between the concealment of sexual orientation and perceived discrimination in the workplace, homonegativity needs to be taken into account.

Homonegativity at work ↔ discrimination at work

Homosexuality can still be a stigma in Western societies. Theory and research have consistently indicated that stigmas evoke negative attributions about the target and that they lead to prejudice (Ragins et al., 2007). Prejudice often predicts discrimination toward persons with stigmatized identities (Pichler et al., 2010), even though other factors moderate this relationship Herek (2000b). For example, prejudiced individuals may be guarded about expressing overt, formal forms of discrimination but they may still exhibit – perhaps unintentionally – bias in more subtle ways.

An opposite causality may also take place. The presence of discrimination may affect the level of negativity against lesbians and gay men. Following the justification-suppression model of Crandall & Eshleman (2003), expression of prejudice is restrained by an individual's beliefs, values and social norms. Tolerance of anti-gay / anti-lesbian discriminatory behaviour in the workplace may be seen as legitimization of prejudice against lesbian / gay people and exacerbate its level.

Hypothesis 2: *The homonegativity in the workplace will be positively related to perceived discrimination.*

Homonegativity at work ↔ Concealment at work

The model of managing concealable stigmas at work views anticipated acceptance of the concealable stigma as the primary predictor of revealing or concealing the stigma. The acceptance refers to the interpersonal / organisational climate, culture, policies, procedures and representation of LGBT in the organisation. Gay / lesbian people are expected to conceal (reveal) their sexual orientation more if they perceive the environment as more rejecting (accepting). When a homosexual person is not certain to what extent they should disclose their sexual orientation, they may use information seeking behaviours – so-called *signalling* (Jones & King, 2013).

In the opposite direction, disclosure of sexual orientation in the workplace is expected to influence the attitudes towards lesbian / gay people. (Previous) exposure to homosexuality or knowledge of a lesbian / gay person is related to an individual's attitudes towards homosexuality – the less people are in (conscious) contact with gay men and lesbians, the more hostile attitudes they have toward them (Basow & Johnson, 2000; Cotten-Huston & Waite, 2000; Estrada & Weiss, 1999; Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Horvath & Ryan, 2003; Levina, Waldo & Fitzgerald, 2000).

Hypothesis 3: *The concealment of sexual orientation in the workplace will be positively related to the homonegativity in the workplace.*

In the model, I link the concepts of concealment, homonegativity and perceived discrimination at work to reporting discriminatory incidents and to the probability of being unemployed.

Reporting discrimination

Reporting covers different actions such as confiding in a trusted person, confronting the perpetrator(s), engaging management, or taking legal action. According to Stangor et al. (2003), discriminatory incidents are reported only if they are suspected and affirmed as such by the victim. This is more likely with certain types of behaviour or perpetrators and it depends on a victim's cognitive, affective and motivational processes. When deciding whether to report / confront discrimination publicly, the victims weigh the costs and benefits of reporting.

Most people who experience discrimination do not file a formal claim (Bell et al., 2013). The reluctance to report discrimination (particularly to authorities or legal institutions) partly stems from the perception that the costs of reporting discrimination are too severe (fear of retaliation or being perceived as a troublemaker) (Major & Kaiser, 2008). Gay / lesbian people face an additional cost if they (partly) conceal their sexual orientation. Publicly reporting discrimination could involve spreading awareness about their sexual orientation. This is particularly undesirable in an environment that is hostile towards gay men and lesbians.

Hypothesis 4: *Concealment of sexual orientation by lesbian / gay people will be negatively related to reporting discrimination.*

Being unemployed

Research suggests that gay men (and, depending on the study, also lesbians) have different unemployment probabilities than their heterosexual counterparts. This difference is usually explained by labour demand and labour supply factors. I concentrate on factors related to (the experience of) discrimination. For a more thorough theoretical overview, see Chapter 2.

Bell *et al.* (2013) postulate that stigmatised individuals can be disadvantaged in access to employment or in treatment (compensation, promotion, harassment, etc.). A specific case of differential treatment is *discriminatory job loss*, which is an involuntary separation due to inequitable treatment based on personal factors that are irrelevant to performance.

Discrimination may have feedback effects on the behaviour of the victim. Neoclassical labour supply theory extended with the concept of cognitive dissonance suggests that discriminated workers may cut back labour supply or withdraw from the labour market altogether (Goldsmith et al., 2004). This is supported by empirical evidence (Habtegiorgis & Paradies, 2013). Discrimination may also negatively affect the employee's motivation,

self-esteem and self-efficacy, which play an important role in access to employment (Kanfer, Wanberg & Kantrowitz, 2001).

Discrimination can also negatively impact an employee's labour market prospects. Victims are less likely to receive good references and citing discrimination as a reason for leaving their previous employer can be detrimental for their employment chances. The resulting prolonged unemployment makes it even more difficult to become re-employed as lengthy unemployment is a signal to employers that something is "wrong" with the applicant (Goffman, 2009).

Because discrimination may lead to job separation, a longer expected unemployment duration and decreased labour supply, I hypothesise that:

Hypothesis 5: *Perceived discrimination will be positively related to the probability of being unemployed.*

Given that homosexuality is a non-observable stigma and that discrimination is more likely to occur when lesbian / gay people disclose their sexual orientation, I assume that ceteris paribus:

Hypothesis 6: *The concealment of sexual orientation in the workplace will be negatively related to the probability of being unemployed.*

Hypotheses 1 to 4 partly replicate previous research and they allow to control for important contextual factors for the relationships tested by hypotheses 5 and 6. Testing hypotheses 5 and 6 represents the main contribution of this paper. Their importance goes beyond the academic research – because unemployment can be detrimental to an individual's socioeconomic status, the potential significant relationship between unemployment and perceived workplace discrimination / concealment of sexual orientation could have policy implications.

Other predictors

The relationships in the model may be influenced by contextual factors and subjects' demographic characteristics. To account for such effects, I control for unemployment rate, the presence of anti-discriminatory legislation, the perception of prevalence of general discrimination against lesbians / gay men in a given country (which is a distinct concept from the perception of discrimination in the workplace against oneself), subjects' education, and age.

It is important to control for gender because of the different challenges that gay men and lesbians face in the labour market. While there is relatively consistent evidence that gay men are disadvantaged compared to heterosexual men, the position of lesbians compared to heterosexual women seems to be more questionable (Drydakis, 2014a; Fric, 2017). The reason may be that public attitudes towards gay men are less positive than towards lesbians, especially in heterosexual men (Kite & Whitley, 1996). Gay men are also commonly stereotyped as feminine or effeminate, while lesbians are often believed to

be overly masculine (Tilcsik, 2011). Given these different perceptions, the behaviour of employers, colleagues or customers toward gay men and lesbians may not be uniform. To account for these differences I formulate separate Structural Equation Models (SEM) for gay men and lesbians, and in logistic regression models I introduce interaction terms with gender.

DATA

I have used data from the EU LGBT survey that was conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights in 27 European Union Member States and Croatia between April and July 2012.[31] The total sample of the survey is 93,079 respondents, of whom 59,490 identified themselves as gay and 16,170 as lesbian. The EU LGBT survey was not carried out as an online non-random survey because of the lack of a sampling frame, target population characteristics and a consensus on the operational definition of LGBT people. The participants were self-selected and had to "opt-in" to the survey. This may have excluded respondents who were less motivated to take part in the survey. The survey was mostly promoted through online media and LGBT organisations, which could have affected the sample composition: groups with greater access to and use of the internet (young, more educated, higher-income and male respondents) may be overrepresented (FRA, 2013).

One of the main advantages of the EU LGBT survey is that it includes measures of sexual orientation. This is often not the case in other large scale surveys or censuses. As a self-administered, online survey guaranteeing full anonymity to its respondents, it decreases the risk of respondents concealing information about their sexual orientation because of a social desirability bias (Robertson et al., 2017). The survey also provides information on respondents' experiences in the workplace and the extent to which they hide (disclose) their sexual orientation. This information is not matched by surveys that are representative for the whole population and that (in some waves) include measures of sexual orientation.

For the purpose of my research, I kept only respondents who are gay men or lesbians and who are not transgender. The reason for excluding bisexual and transgender respondents is that they may face specific issues that are not covered by this study. Laumann, Gagnon, Michael & Michaels (1994) define homosexuality based on three dimensions - sexual behaviour, desire and self-identification. Because self-identification

31 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) (2016). European Union Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Survey, 2012: Special Licence Access. [data collection]. UK Data Service. SN: 7956, http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-7956-1. The dataset is available in the UK Data Service repository subject to special licence access.

is arguably the most important in the workplace context (of all dimensions this one is most likely to be observed by the employer and colleagues), I identified lesbian / gay people according to this dimension.

In my analysis I only included respondents who had a paid job in the 5 years preceding the survey. This threshold was chosen because some variables used for operationalisation of my theoretical concepts relate to respondents' behaviour and experiences in employment during the 5 years preceding the survey. After checking for the consistency and completeness of respondents' answers, I dropped 15,259 (20.2%) observations that were incomplete or inconsistent. The final sample used for the analysis consisted of 48,161 gay men and 12,240 lesbians. Table 5.1 provides descriptive statistics of the sample.

Table 5.1 *Descriptive statistics of the survey sample used in the analysis, arranged by gender*

		Gay men		Lesbians	
		n	%	n	%
Age	18-29	19,004	39.5%	6,410	52.4%
	30-39	14,281	29.7%	3,430	28.0%
	40-49	10,036	20.8%	1680	13.7%
	50-59	3,814	7.9%	585	4.8%
	60+	1026	2.1%	135	1.1%
Education	No formal	45	0.1%	16	0.1%
	Primary	580	1.2%	180	1.5%
	Secondary	11,652	24.2%	2,763	22.6%
	Post-secondary	7,117	14.8%	1,682	13.7%
	Tertiary	27,813	57.8%	7,286	59.5%
	Other	954	2.0%	313	2.6%
Household income (net)	< 1st quartile (Q_1)	11,628	24.1%	3,626	29.6%
	Between Q_1& Q_2	12,136	25.2%	3,211	26.2%
	Between Q_2& Q_3	10,698	22.2%	2,813	23.0%
	Higher than Q_3	13,699	28.4%	2,590	21.2%
Total		48,161	100.0%	12,240	100.0%

Based on the original data I calculated several new variables. An overview of all variables used in the analysis is provided in Table 5.2. I will now briefly discuss the most important variables – *reporting*, *unemployed*, *concealment*, *homonegativity* and *perceived discrimination*.

The dummy variable *reporting* captures whether the most recent discrimination incident at work was reported by the respondent or someone else. It obtains non-missing values only for respondents who felt personally discriminated against in the 12 months preceding the survey and for whom the most recent discrimination incident happened

Table 5.2 *Overview of variables used in the analysis, arranged alphabetically*

Variable	Explanation	Values
age	Age of the respondent in years	1 (18-29), 2 (30-49) or 3 (50 or more)
colgknow	In respondent's opinion, how many work colleagues or schoolmates know that respondent is gay.	1 (None), 2 (A few), 3 (Most) or 4 (All)
colgopen	To how many work colleagues or schoolmates is respondent open about being gay.	1 (None), 2 (A few), 3 (Most) or 4 (All)
concealment (only LRM)	Index of concealment of sexual orientation at work	Scale from 0 to 1, higher value stands for more concealment
discrexp	During the 12 months preceding the survey, the respondent has personally felt discriminated against at work because of being gay.	0 (No) and 1 (Yes)
discrprev	Country-level index capturing the arithmetic average of answers of lesbians (gay men) on how prevalent discrimination is against lesbians (gay men) in their country. The respondents are assigned the value corresponding to their gender.	Scale from 0 to 1, higher value stands for better legal situation for gay men and lesbians
education	The highest level of education that the respondent has achieved	1 (Primary or lower), 2 (Secondary), 3 (Post-secondary other than college/university), 4 (College/university/ or higher)
expnegatt	During employment in the 5 years preceding the survey, the respondent experienced a general negative attitude at work against people because they are LGBT.	1 (Never), 2 (Rarely), 3 (Often) or 4 (Always)
homonegativity (only LRM)	Index of homonegativity at work	Scale from 0 to 1, higher value stands for more homonegativity
legislation	Index on legal situation regarding equality and non-discrimination based on sexual orientation. It is calculated from the ILGA Rainbow Index 2012 and captures protection from discrimination by constitution, in employment, in goods and services, in other spheres of life, by equality body mandate or by equality action plan. The index is obtained by dividing the actual country score by the maximum score the country can achieve.	Scale from 0 to 1, higher value stands for better legal situation for gay men and lesbians
negcondct	During employment in the 5 years preceding the survey, the respondent experienced negative comments or conduct at work because of being gay.	1 (Never), 2 (Rarely), 3 (Often) or 4 (Always)
openfear	The respondent avoids being open about being gay in the workplace for fear of being assaulted, threatened or harassed by others.	0 (No) and 1 (Yes)
percdiscr (only LRM)	Index of perceived discrimination at work	Scale from 0 to 1, higher value stands for more perceived discrimination

Table 5.2 *Overview of variables used in the analysis, arranged alphabetically* (*continued*)

Variable	Explanation	Values
reporting	The most recent discrimination incident was reported by the respondent or anyone else.	0 (No) and 1 (Yes)
unemployed	Variable capturing whether a respondent's current employment status is unemployed	0 (No) and 1 (Yes)
unemployment rate	The annual average unemployment rate per country in 2012, based on the variable une_rt_a from the Labour Force Survey (Eurostat, 2017b). The separate unemployment rates per gender are not used because the labour market attachment of lesbians (gay men) partly resembles the attachment of heterosexual men (women), see Chapter 2.	% of unemployed people in active population
witcondct	During employment in the 5 years preceding the survey, the respondent has heard or seen negative comments or conduct because a colleague is perceived to be LGBT.	1 (Never), 2 (Rarely), 3 (Often) or 4 (Always)
workhide	During employment in the 5 years preceding the survey, the respondent has hidden or disguised being gay at work.	1 (Never), 2 (Rarely), 3 (Often) or 4 (Always)
workopen	During employment in the 5 years preceding the survey, the respondent has been open about being gay at work.	1 (Never), 2 (Rarely), 3 (Often) or 4 (Always)

at work (in total 6,843 observations). For all other observations, *reporting* was coded as missing because no information was available on whether a potential discrimination incident at work was reported or not[32]. A more detailed analysis of who reported the discriminatory incidents, to whom and how, was not possible because the survey does not provide such information.

The dummy variable *unemployed* captures respondents' employment status. Respondents are seen as unemployed if they had a job at any time during the 5 years preceding the survey and reported their current status as 'unemployed'. My definition of unemployment is broader than the official definition by the International Labour Organization (1982). I treat all respondents as unemployed if they reported that this was the case, disregarding whether they were available or looking for a job. This is done so as to not exclude those who became discouraged after experiencing workplace discrimination and dropped out of the labour force (Leppel, 2009). When I replicated the analysis and excluded unemployed respondents who were not looking for a job in the past 12 months, I reached the same conclusions. Observations for those whose current

32 In the EU LGBT survey, the respondents were asked whether they felt discriminated against in the past 12 months (question *c4*) and where the most recent incident of discrimination took place (question *c5*). Information on whether the discriminatory incident at work was reported or not (variable *c6*) is available only if it was the respondent's most recent incident.

employment status was student, retired person, person in unpaid work or other and observations with inconsistencies were assigned a missing value.

The variables *concealment*, *homonegativity* and *perceived discrimination* are individual level indices capturing concealment of sexual orientation, homonegativity and perceived discrimination in the workplace that were reported by the respondents. They are used in the logistic regression models but not in the structural equation models (see the section Method). Regarding *homonegativity*, the EU LGBT Survey didn't include any questions that directly captured workplace attitudes toward gay / lesbian people. For this reason, I used a proxy measure based on the respondents' reports of (1) witnessing negative comments or conduct against colleague(s) perceived to be LGBT and (2) experiencing a generally negative attitude at work against LGBT people. I assume that this proxy measure is strongly positively related with the concept of homonegativity.

Figures 5.2 and 5.3 summarise the relative incidence of unemployment in gay men and lesbians as a function of the indices of *concealment*, *homonegativity* and *perceived discrimination*[33]. There appears to be a U-shaped relationship between *concealment* and respondents' unemployment rate – respondents who are very overt or very closed about their sexuality at work seem to have higher unemployment rates than those who engage

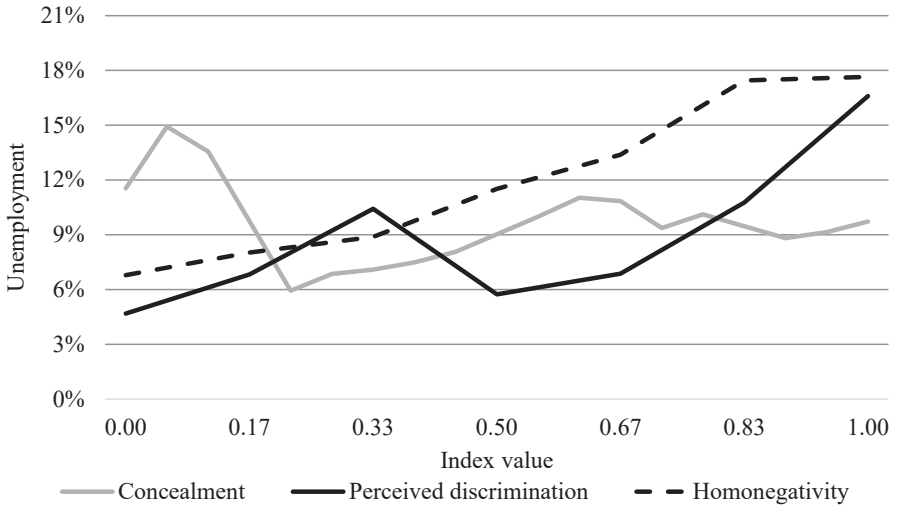

Figure 5.2: *Unemployment rate of gay men (in %) depending on the values of concealment, perceived discrimination and homonegativity indices*

33 Interested readers can find detailed statistics from the survey in the survey data explorer at https://fra.europa.eu/en/publications-and-resources/data-and-maps/survey-fundamental-rights-lesbian-gay-bisexual-and. Note that some statistics may differ from those reported here because I dropped observations with inconsistencies.

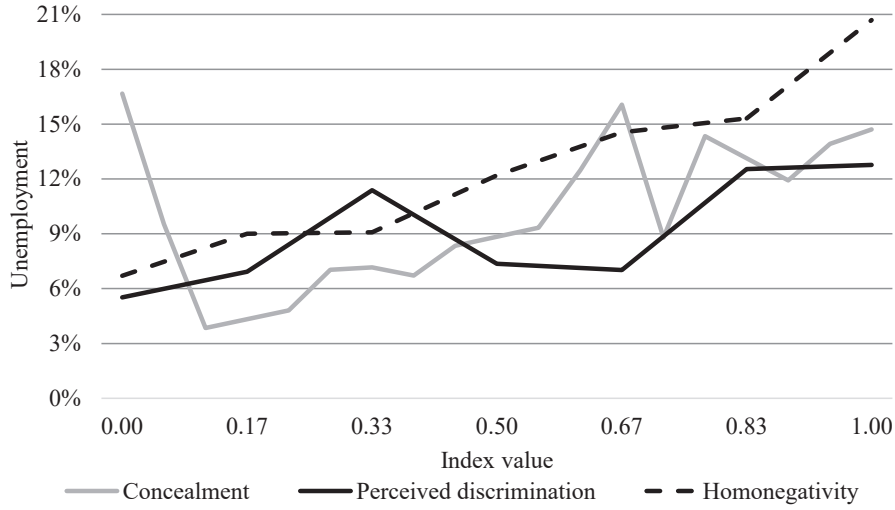

Figure 5.3: *Unemployment rate of lesbians (in %) depending on the values of concealment, perceived discrimination and homonegativity indices*

in more elaborate identity management. Both *perceived discrimination* and (especially) *homonegativity* seem to have a positive linear relationship with the unemployment rate.

In the SEM, the core concepts of the model – homonegativity, concealment and discrimination at work – are latent variables operationalised using multiple variables. Figure 5.1 shows in dashed rectangles which variables were used to operationalise each concept. More details on the calculation of the concepts are provided in the section Method.

METHOD

The model described in the section Theoretical background assumes several co-dependencies between the theorised concepts (see the path model in Figure 5.1). Given the complexity of the model, the SEM technique was used for the estimation. The concepts of homonegativity, concealment and discrimination at work are unobservable and are treated as latent constructs. In the path model they are shown in ovals and the double-headed arrows between them symbolise that they are mutually correlated. They are grounded by manifest variables (shown in dashed rectangles) that are observable.

The SEM assumes continuous and multivariate normally distributed data in the population (Finney & DiStefano, 2006). By using the Shapiro-Wilk test, I found that the data violates the normality assumption. Moreover, the variables *discrexp*, *openfear*, *reporting* and *unemployed* are dichotomous variables with Bernoulli distribution and the variables *age*, *workopen*, *workhide*, *negcondct*, *witcondct*, *expnegatt*, *education*, *colgknow* and *colgopen* are categorical variables. This could result in incorrect standard errors of model

parameter estimates. For this reason I apply the Generalised Structural Equation Model, which doesn't assume multivariate normal distribution and can handle non-continuous data. I specify a measurement model that relates responses to latent variables (Skrondal & Rabe-Hesketh, 2005).

Following Skrondal & Rabe-Hesketh (2005), I formulate the measurement model as

$$x_j^* = \nu + \mathrm{B}z + \Lambda\xi + \delta_j, \tag{1a}$$

for the latent response variables *unemployed* and *reporting*. For all other latent response variables, the measurement model is formulated as

$$x_j^* = \nu + \Lambda\xi + \delta_j, \tag{1b}$$

where χ_j^* are latent continuous responses, ν is a vector of intercepts, Λ a factor loading matrix, ξ a vector of latent variables, and δ a vector of unique factors for *j* index units. B is a regression parameter matrix for the regression of χ_j^* on a vector of observed explanatory variables Z (the demographic and country-level control variables)[34].

The observed categorical response χ_{ij} is related to the latent continuous response χ_{ij}^* via a threshold model. For ordinal observed responses I assume that

$$x_{ij} = \begin{cases} 0 \;\; if \;\; -\infty < x_{ij}^* \leq k_{1i} \\ 1 \;\; if \;\; k_{1i} < x_{ij}^* \leq k_{2i} \\ \vdots \\ S \;\; if \;\; k_{Si} < x_{ij}^* \leq \infty \end{cases} \tag{2}$$

Dichotomous observed responses are a special case where $S = 1$.

I use a generalised latent variables model, with a measurement model in form

$$g(\mu_j) = \nu + \Lambda\xi + \mathrm{B}z \tag{3a}$$

for the variables *unemployed* and *reporting*, while for all other variables it has the form

$$g(\mu_j) = \nu + \Lambda\xi \tag{3b}$$

where $g(\cdot)$ is a vector of link functions and μ_j a vector of conditional means of the responses given the quantities as defined in equations (1a) and (1b). Because I use dichotomous and categorical variables, I select logit as the link function:

$$logit(\mu_j) = ln\left(\frac{\Pr(\mu_j)}{1-\Pr(\mu_j)}\right) = \nu + \Lambda\xi + \mathrm{B}z \tag{4a}$$

34 The variable *reporting* has only a limited amount of observations with known values, which considerably limits the sample size for the model that has *reporting* as dependent variable. In this model I therefore don't include *age* and *education* as control variables.

for the variables *unemployed* and *reporting*, and for all other variables

$$logit(\mu_j) = ln\left(\frac{\Pr(\mu_j)}{1-\Pr(\mu_j)}\right) = \nu + \Lambda\xi \quad \textbf{(4b).}$$

To fit the model, I used the *gsem* procedure in Stata software[35]. Because the maximum likelihood estimation method formally assumes conditional normality, the option *robust* has been selected during the calculation. The reported results are therefore robust to heteroscedasticity of the errors (StataCorp LP, 2013).

The *gsem* procedure deletes the missing values equation-wise. This means that a given observation will not be used in equations containing a variable where this observation has a missing value (and in products of such equations) (StataCorp LP, 2013). To fit the specified model I used the alternative-starting-values procedure as described in StataCorp LP (2013). This entailed that first, I fitted a simplified model and used its solution as starting values to fit a more complex model. I repeated this procedure until I was able to fit the original model[36]. Because of differences between gay men and lesbians (as described in the section Theoretical background), I fitted two separate models – one for gay men and another for lesbians. The current version of Stata doesn't support the calculation of goodness-of-fit statistics for the *gsem* model. For this reason I do not report goodness-of-fit statistics for my SEM throughout the paper.

To control the validity of the results from the SEM with regard to hypotheses 4, 5 and 6, I fitted six logistic regression models (LRM) specified as follows:

$$logit(y) = ln\left(\frac{\Pr(y)}{1-\Pr(y)}\right) = \alpha + \mathrm{B}x_k \quad \textbf{(5a)}$$

where y refers to the dependent variable, α to the intercept, χ_k to the vector of k explanatory variables and B to regression parameter matrix. I specified three models for both independent variables *unemployed* and *reporting*. The models include a base model, a model with country dummy variables and a model with interactions with gender.

Potential differences in the results between the SEM and LRM could be caused by the following factors:

- The SEM estimates the whole model as shown in Figure 5.1, while the LRM estimates separate models for the probability of unemployment / reporting discrimination;
- Workplace homonegativity, perceived discrimination and concealment of sexual orientation are calculated differently in both methods – as latent variables in the SEM and as indices in the LRM;

35 StataCorp. 2013. Stata Statistical Software: Release 13.1. College Station, TX: StataCorp LP.

36 The full syntax is available upon request.

- The LRM doesn't assume a mutual relationship between workplace homonegativity, perceived discrimination and concealment of sexual orientation, while the SEM does;
- Incorrect specification of the model(s).

OUTCOMES

The results of the SEM and LRM were similar unless stated otherwise. The outcomes of the SEM are illustrated in Figure 5.4. The full output of the SEM is reported in Table 5.3 and the outcomes of the LRM in Table 5.4 (both in the annex).

Consistently with hypothesis 1, there was a weak positive (and significant) correlation between the concealment of sexual orientation and perceived discrimination in the workplace for both lesbians and gay men. In other words, subjects who are less open about their homosexuality more often report that they feel discriminated against. This relationship is also mediated by homonegativity: perceived discrimination is strongly positively correlated with homonegativity (as predicted by hypothesis 2) and homon-

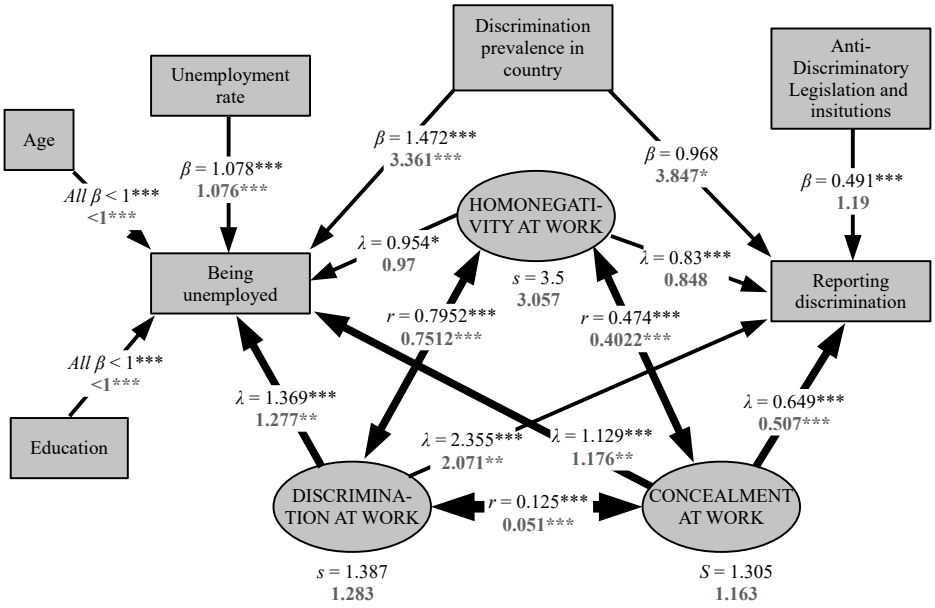

Figure 5.4: *Summary of results of SEM analysis*

Note: Estimates for gay men are shown in a black font and estimates for lesbians are shown in a grey bold font. An asterisk * means that the coefficient is statistically significant at 5%, ** at 1% and *** at 0.1%. *r* refers to the correlation coefficient, β to the odds ratios of logistic regression for observed independent variables (shown in rectangles) and λ to the odds ratios of logistic regression for latent exogenous variables (shown in ovals) with mean 0 and standard deviation *s*. The reference category for the variable *education* is 'Primary education or lower' and for the variable *age* it is '18-29 years old'.

egativity has a moderately strong positive correlation with concealment (confirming hypothesis 3). The latter is consistent with the model of managing concealable stigmas at work by Jones & King (2013), according to which lesbians and gay men conceal their sexuality more in hostile environments.

Consistent with hypothesis 4, a discriminatory incident is less likely to be reported by subjects who are less open about their sexuality. The LRM shows a statistically weakly significant effect of gender, where the level of concealment has a more profound negative effect on lesbians' readiness to report discrimination than in the case of gay men. Reporting is also positively associated with perceived discrimination and negatively with homonegativity in the workplace (although the latter is not significant for lesbians).

The findings regarding contextual variables are less consistent across gender. The presence of anti-discriminatory legislation and institutions is negatively related to gay men's probability of reporting a discriminatory incident, while a positive effect is found for lesbians (though lacking statistical significance in the SEM). The LRM confirms that the difference between lesbians and gay men is statistically significant. The finding for gay men is remarkable – discrimination incidents are less likely to be reported in countries with more extensive anti-discrimination legislation and institutions. This could indicate that anti-discrimination legislation and institutions on their own do not increase readiness to report discrimination. An alternative explanation could be that the nature of discrimination differs between countries and that it is possibly less serious (and hence less likely to be reported) in countries that offer more extensive legal protection.

The effect of public attitudes on discrimination reporting is consistent between the SEM and LRM. Lesbians are more likely to report discrimination in countries with more negative public attitudes, but for gay men this relationship is negative and weak. The difference between gay men and lesbians is statistically significant (see the model with interactions in the LRM).

In agreement with hypothesis 5, lesbians and gay men who perceived being discriminated against at work were statistically significantly more likely to be unemployed (in both the SEM and LRM). The interaction term with gender was not significant, meaning that discrimination perception doesn't relate to unemployment probability differently in lesbians and gay men. I will discuss these outcomes in more detail in the following section.

Contrary to hypothesis 6, in the SEM concealment of sexual orientation at work was, ceteris paribus, positively and significantly related to unemployment for both lesbians and gay men. The LRM confirmed this finding only for lesbians. For gay men the unemployment probability and concealment were not statistically significantly related.

Another contradiction between the SEM and LRM was found in the relationship between homonegativity and unemployment. In the SEM, both variables were negatively related for gay men and no statistically significant relationship was found for lesbians.

In contrast, homonegativity was positively associated with unemployment in the LRM. This association became statistically insignificant once interactions with gender were included.

I observed a negative (U-shaped[37]) relationship between an individual's education attainment (age) and unemployment probability. The country level unemployment rate and discrimination prevalence in a country were both positively and statistically significantly related to a subject's probability of being unemployed.

DISCUSSION

I have formulated a model of causalities between perceived discrimination, homonegativity and sexual orientation disclosure in the workplace and the reporting of discriminaton and an individual's employment status. I have empirically tested the relationships between these concepts using survey data. The main contribution of my approach is that I was able to simultaneously estimate relationships between several concepts of interest. Because I used cross-sectional data with no time dimension, I could not establish the causal direction in the observed relationships (De Vaus, 2001). Despite this shortcoming, my analysis provides a number of insights.

Being unemployed

My results indicate that perceived discrimination directed at lesbian / gay people in the workplace relates to their employment status. As discussed earlier, this could be due to discriminatory job loss or cognitive dissonance. Perceived discrimination can also have an indirect effect on employment status – unfavourable treatment (such as a lower promotion rate or less supportive mentors) can limit career development, especially if accumulated over time (Ragins, 2004). This leads to a comparative disadvantage for discriminated individuals when applying for a job, even in the absence of direct discrimination in access to employment.

The relationship between perceived discrimination and being unemployed is positive and significant for both gay men and lesbians. For gay men, this is in line with previous research which showed that homosexuality forms a barrier for access to employment. However, the literature is inconclusive for lesbians, providing some evidence that – despite being discriminated in accessing employment – lesbians are more likely to be employed compared to heterosexual women (see Chapter 2). My findings suggest that workplace discrimination has qualitatively the same impact on lesbians as it has on gay men when it comes to the link with unemployment. Hence, favourable labour market

37 U-shaped relationship in the SEM for gays and negative relationship in the LRM and SEM for lesbians.

outcomes of lesbians as compared to heterosexual women seem to be driven by labour supply factors rather than by (a lack of) discrimination.

What role do concealment of sexual orientation and homonegativity play in this story? The outcomes suggest that (ceteris paribus) the more that subjects conceal their sexual orientation at work, the likelier they are to be unemployed. In the LRM, the convex shape of the relationship between concealment and unemployment (shown in Figures 5.2 and 5.3) disappeared once I controlled for individual and contextual variables. These findings are unexpected in light of the theoretical predictions. The review in Chapter 2 indicates that job applicants whose homosexuality is disclosed are disadvantaged (compared to their heterosexual counterparts), especially if the employers are male. Because silence constitutes an implicit claim of being heterosexual (Button, 2001), gay / lesbian people who disclose their sexual orientation should experience a prolonged job search and a higher unemployment rate than those who conceal it. The observed sign of the relationship could be caused by other factors for which I didn't control in my analysis. For example, gay men and lesbians who are less open about their sexuality may be concentrated in sectors (or occupations) with a higher general unemployment rate. Or certain personality traits (for example a lack of self-esteem) may relate both to greater concealment of one's sexual orientation and to a higher unemployment probability.

The analysis gave an inconsistent answer to how workplace homonegativity relates to unemployment probability. This could indicate that homonegativity affects unemployment mostly indirectly via incidence of discriminatory incidents and via concealment of sexual orientation.

Reporting discrimination

The analysis shows that reporting discriminatory incidents positively relates to perception of discrimination. While this is not a ground-breaking finding, it is worthwhile to look at what roles the concealment of sexual orientation and homonegativity play: subjects who conceal their sexual orientation at work are somehow more likely to perceive being discriminated against and less likely to report discrimination. This is consistent with the theoretical prediction that lesbian / gay people will face an additional cost of reporting discrimination if they (partly) conceal their sexual orientation.

Another finding which is consistent with the predictions is that discriminatory incidents will more likely go unreported in workplaces with higher homonegativity. In the SEM this relationship was statistically significant only for gay men, while in the LRM this was the case for both sexes (the interaction term with gender was not statistically significant). The negative relationship suggests that reporting a discriminatory incident has higher perceived costs in environments where homophobic attitudes and conduct are more prevalent. In these contexts, the victims (or witnesses) probably fear the repercussions of reporting discriminatory behaviour more.

Practical implications

The findings indicate the existence of a vicious cycle in the workplace, especially for closeted lesbians and gay men who work in more hostile workplaces. Even if they fully conceal their sexual orientation, they seem to experience (indirect) discrimination due to a hostile work environment or because their colleagues and/or employer suspects that they are gay / lesbian. Concealing their sexual orientation makes them more vulnerable to discrimination by limiting their possibilities for confronting discriminatory incidents – by reporting such incidents they risk that their sexual orientation would be publicly revealed. The data suggest that discriminatory incidents are less likely to be reported in hostile workplaces. Ironically, these are the workplaces where discrimination and harassment are most likely to occur.

This can explain the relatively low incidence of official discriminatory complaints on the grounds of sexual orientation, especially in countries with relatively more hostile public attitudes toward homosexuality as found by Eurofound (2016). According to the EU LGBT survey, less than 13% of the most recent discriminatory incidents in the workplace were (officially) reported. The lack of official complaints is often interpreted as evidence that discrimination against lesbian / gay people in the European labour market does not frequently happen. Based on my findings, the lack of complaints is rather a sign that gay / lesbian people do not dare to report discriminatory incidents because of pervasive homophobia and fears of their sexuality being publicly revealed. It is noteworthy that my data only captures discrimination *encountered* by the respondents. The level of *potential* discrimination (i.e. discrimination that would take place if the respondents' sexual orientation was always fully known) is probably considerably higher.

Finally, direct and indirect labour market discrimination based on sexual orientation is forbidden in the European Union by the Employment Equality Directive (2000/78/EC). The legislation seems to only partly solve the problem of sexual orientation discrimination. Its effectiveness may be weakened by a low readiness to report discriminatory incidents. Under these circumstances, the policy response could target public attitudes towards homosexuality as a means of influencing workplace homonegativity (which is an important predictor of workplace discrimination). At the same time, the policy should aim at creating a safe workplace where lesbians and gay men would feel comfortable to disclose their sexual orientation and report potential discriminatory incidents.

Directions for future research

Several questions still remain to be answered. Firstly, more research is needed into the relationship between disclosure of sexual orientation and employment status. What are the channels between (perceived) discrimination and unemployment? Do gay / lesbian people voluntary choose to leave discriminatory workplaces (or even the labour market altogether) or does the job separation follow discriminatory lay-offs initiated by

employers? Or is a higher unemployment probability a consequence of the comparative disadvantage that lesbian / gay employees accumulate over time from small discriminatory incidents? Answers to these questions could help with formulating an adequate policy response aimed at decreasing discriminatory job separations of lesbian and gay employees.

More research is also needed into the causalities regarding reporting discriminatory incidents based on sexual orientation. Would my findings be any different if other forms of reporting discrimination were concerned (such as engaging the HR department, a trade union or taking legal action)? And how do different forms of reporting affect a victim's workplace experiences and outcomes? Answers to these questions could help to design effective procedures for reporting and addressing sexual orientation discrimination.

LIMITATIONS

This study has a number of limitations. First of all, the measure of workplace discrimination is based on a subject's perception and as such it is conceptually different from real discrimination. In real life it is often difficult to objectively determine whether discrimination took place or not and the subject's perceptions may not necessarily reflect reality (Chung, 2001). So far, the research has made little use of self-reported data on discrimination due to concerns about their validity and bias relating to inflated discrimination reports. Over-reporting of discrimination on a large scale could bias the research results and in my analysis it could lead to establishing a false relationship between perceived discrimination and other constructs (unemployment, etc.). However, the evidence does not support such concerns. In contrast, minorities seem to be more likely to underreport their experiences with discrimination (Habtegiorgis & Paradies, 2013). Despite these conceptual limitations, perceived discrimination is worth looking at – if an action is perceived as discriminatory, it may adversely impact employees' morale, work attitudes and job behaviours (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001).

Second, the measure of reporting discrimination is based on subjects' retrospective reports of how they handled the most recent discriminatory incident. This measure may be biased upwards because subjects tend to recall instances when they reported discrimination rather than instances when they failed to do so. This could result in overestimation of the extent to which discrimination is reported. Besides that, it is difficult to assess the type and severity of discriminatory events that subjects considered (Major & Kaiser, 2008). The data also don't distinguish whether the incidents were reported by the subjects themselves or someone else.

The third limitation is connected to using online survey data. Because of social stigma and privacy concerns, gay / lesbian people are a largely hidden population. This results in a lack of sampling frame. Online surveys partly address this issue as they are widely accessible and provide subjects with privacy and anonymity. For this reason, online surveys are frequently used to approach gay men and lesbians. Their drawback is a limited external validity (Göçmen & Yılmaz, 2016). As discussed in the section Data, some groups of gay and lesbian population may be underrepresented in my sample. I used statistical controls to account for (what I identified as) relevant individual characteristics. However, it remains unclear to what extent I succeeded to control for the most relevant characteristics and whether the sample per se included sufficient information on the behaviour and experiences of the least visible strata of the target population. The findings of my study may not be generalisable to the whole population of lesbian / gay people in the European Union. They are likely to be especially valid for groups that are best represented in the EU LGBT survey, i.e. respondents who are young, more educated, male and possibly those who are more accepting of their sexual orientation and more open about it.

Finally, in my analysis I didn't control for variables such as region, occupation, existence of company level policies, etc. This was partly due to data unavailability and partly due to the complexity of the proposed model. Inclusion of these variables in the model could provide additional insight into the examined associations. For example, the existence of anti-discriminatory company policies could mediate the relationship between workplace homonegativity and reporting of discriminatory incidents. Future research could address this shortcoming.

CONCLUSION

I empirically tested how workplace homonegativity, concealment of sexual orientation and discrimination relate to an individual's employment status and the reporting of discriminatory incidents. The results supported the majority of my hypotheses.

The outcomes support the assumption that hostility against gay men and lesbians projects into discriminatory behaviour, which in turn can justify such prejudice. The results also seem to support stigma theory's prediction that hostility and discrimination against lesbians and gay men negatively impact their readiness to publicly disclose their sexual orientation. An opposite causality is also possible – the lack of (conscious) contact with lesbian / gay people can increase prejudice and discriminatory behaviour against them. Concealment of one's sexual orientation seems to form an important barrier for reporting sexual orientation discrimination. The findings also indirectly support the prediction of the discriminatory job loss model by Bell et al. (2013) that discrimination

may result in job separation. Alternatively, experiencing discrimination could negatively affect one's labour supply via cognitive dissonance.

Contrary to my expectations, I observed a positive relationship between the concealment of one's sexual orientation in the workplace and an individual's unemployment probability, even after controlling for individual and country-specific characteristics.

ANNEX

Table 5.3 *Full results of the structural equation model for gay men and lesbians*

Dependent variable	Independent variable(s)	Gay men			Lesbians		
		Coeff.	Robust st. errors	P>|z|	Coeff.	Robust st. errors	P>|z|
witcondct	HOMONEG	1	(constrained)		1	(constrained)	
expnegatt	HOMONEG	1.010	0.025	0.000	1.093	0.054	0.000
negcondct	DISCRIM	2.411	0.077	0.000	2.834	0.212	0.000
discrexp	DISCRIM	1	(constrained)		1	(constrained)	
	constant	-1.442	0.019	0.000	-1.297	0.035	0.000
reporting	legislation	-0.712	0.206	0.001	0.174	0.386	0.653
	discrprev	-0.033	0.237	0.890	1.347	0.589	0.022
	HOMONEG	-0.187	0.052	0.000	-0.165	0.101	0.102
	DISCRIM	0.857	0.151	0.000	0.728	0.276	0.008
	CONCEAL	-0.433	0.061	0.000	-0.680	0.132	0.000
	constant	-2.291	0.256	0.000	-3.567	0.512	0.000
unemployment	unemp. rate	0.075	0.003	0.000	0.074	0.006	0.000
	discrprev	0.387	0.079	0.000	1.212	0.248	0.000
	education						
	- Second. ed.	-0.897	0.124	0.000	-1.295	0.236	0.000
	- Post-sec. ed.	-1.090	0.125	0.000	-1.390	0.238	0.000
	- Coll./univ./higher	-1.519	0.121	0.000	-1.978	0.230	0.000
	age						
	- 30-49 years	-0.540	0.039	0.000	-0.548	0.079	0.000
	- 50+ years	-0.440	0.070	0.000	-0.686	0.193	0.000
	HOMONEG	-0.047	0.022	0.029	-0.030	0.040	0.446
	DISCRIM	0.314	0.050	0.000	0.245	0.090	0.007
	CONCEAL	0.122	0.027	0.000	0.162	0.052	0.002
	constant	-1.735	0.133	0.000	-1.606	0.248	0.000
openfear	CONCEAL	1	(constrained)		1	(constrained)	
	constant	-1.583	0.016	0.000	-1.646	0.031	0.000
colgknow	CONCEAL	-4.159	0.084	0.000	-4.558	0.199	0.000
colgopen	CONCEAL	-4.242	0.086	0.000	-4.726	0.211	0.000
workopen	CONCEAL	-2.776	0.045	0.000	-2.390	0.080	0.000
workhide	CONCEAL	2.248	0.035	0.000	2.085	0.067	0.000
witcondct	/cut1	-1.368	0.027	0.000	-1.703	0.054	0.000
	/cut2	2.684	0.039	0.000	1.985	0.059	0.000
	/cut3	7.022	0.090	0.000	6.263	0.146	0.000

Table 5.3 *Full results of the structural equation model for gay men and lesbians* (*continued*)

Dependent variable	Independent variable(s)	Gay men			Lesbians		
		Coeff.	Robust st. errors	P>|z|	Coeff.	Robust st. errors	P>|z|
expnegatt	/cut1	-1.296	0.027	0.000	-1.989	0.065	0.000
	/cut2	2.731	0.040	0.000	2.130	0.069	0.000
	/cut3	6.885	0.090	0.000	6.711	0.178	0.000
negcondct	/cut1	0.659	0.026	0.000	0.640	0.058	0.000
	/cut2	5.200	0.092	0.000	5.643	0.250	0.000
	/cut3	8.942	0.160	0.000	9.959	0.444	0.000
colgknow	/cut1	-5.544	0.075	0.000	-6.556	0.181	0.000
	/cut2	-0.191	0.032	0.000	-0.548	0.063	0.000
	/cut3	3.923	0.059	0.000	4.140	0.126	0.000
colgopen	/cut1	-4.556	0.069	0.000	-5.972	0.183	0.000
	/cut2	0.412	0.033	0.000	-0.108	0.065	0.094
	/cut3	3.769	0.058	0.000	3.719	0.123	0.000
workopen	/cut1	-2.170	0.031	0.000	-2.257	0.053	0.000
	/cut2	0.169	0.022	0.000	-0.024	0.036	0.499
	/cut3	2.413	0.031	0.000	2.303	0.050	0.000
workhide	/cut1	-1.626	0.024	0.000	-1.891	0.044	0.000
	/cut2	0.503	0.019	0.000	0.366	0.033	0.000
	/cut3	2.335	0.026	0.000	2.475	0.049	0.000
Latent variables							
Description		**Coeff.**	**Robust st. errors**	**P>|z|**	**Coeff.**	**Robust st. errors**	**P>|z|**
variance of HOMONEG		12.253	0.373		9.343	0.538	
variance of DISCRIM		1.922	0.071		1.646	0.123	
variance of CONCEAL		1.703	0.044		1.352	0.076	
covariance (DISCRIM, HOMONEG)		3.860	0.095	0.000	2.945	0.149	0.000
covariance (CONCEAL, HOMONEG)		2.165	0.050	0.000	1.430	0.071	0.000
covariance (CONCEAL, DISCRIM)		0.226	0.015	0.000	0.076	0.022	0.000

Note: n_{gays} = 48,160 and $n_{lesbians}$ = 12,240. The abbreviations HOMONEG, DISCRIM and CONCEAL refer to the latent variables homonegativity at work, discrimination at work and concealment at work.

Table 5.4 *Results of the logistic regression models with dependent variables unemployment and reporting*

Dependent variable	Unemployment						Reporting					
Model	Base		Countries		Interactions		Base		Countries		Interactions	
Independent variables	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**
concealment	0.847	0.496	0.992*	0.5	1.657	1.189	-2.82***	0.208	-2.698	0.21	-3.761***	0.558
concealment^2	-0.641	0.441	-0.747	0.444	-0.662	1.05						
homonegativity	0.624***	0.117	0.629***	0.117	0.336	0.259	-0.595**	0.197	-0.531	0.2	-1.024*	0.499
percdiscr	0.414***	0.098	0.446***	0.098	0.62**	0.218	2.857***	0.4	2.932	0.403	2.864**	1.022
Gay male	-0.014	0.062	0.027	0.066	0.42	0.337	0.221*	0.107	0.172	0.115	0.737	0.934
Gay male × conceal.					-0.998	1.307					1.114	0.602
Gay male × conceal.^{2}					0.04	1.157						
Gay male × homoneg.					0.369	0.288					0.496	0.543
Gay male × percdiscr					-0.258	0.244					0.031	1.11
discrprev	0.398***	0.107	-0.553	0.458	0.408***	0.108	0.027	0.241	1.517	1.102	1.129	0.666
unemp. rate	0.077***	0.004			0.077***	0.004						
legislation							-0.482*	0.193			0.308	0.435
Gay male × discrprev											-1.371	0.716
Gay male × legislation											-1.028*	0.486
Age												
30-49 years	-0.698***	0.051	-0.714***	0.051	-0.694***	0.051						
50+ years	-0.776***	0.103	-0.826***	0.103	-0.772***	0.103						
Education												
Secondary	-0.777***	0.159	-0.658***	0.161	-0.785***	0.159						
Post-secondary	-0.953***	0.162	-0.962***	0.163	-0.96***	0.162						
College or higher	-1.282***	0.156	-1.229***	0.157	-1.288***	0.156						

Table 5.4 *Results of the logistic regression models with dependent variables unemployment and reporting (continued)*

Dependent variable	Unemployment						Reporting					
Model	Base		Countries		Interactions		Base		Countries		Interactions	
Independent variables	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**
Country												
Austria			-0.31	0.258					-0.528	0.401		
Bulgaria			0.498	0.397					-1.761	0.942		
Croatia			0.985*	0.412					-1.635	0.952		
Cyprus			1.058*	0.508					dropped			
Czechia			-0.327	0.226					-2.079	0.748		
Denmark			0.419	0.225					-0.846	0.497		
Estonia			-1.884	1.023					-1.997	1.097		
Finland			-0.145	0.22					-0.652	0.351		
France			0.482*	0.21					-0.356	0.39		
Germany			-0.441*	0.176					-0.821	0.277		
Greece			1.686***	0.292					-1.775	0.685		
Hungary			0.843**	0.318					-1.74	0.738		
Ireland			0.219	0.237					-0.937	0.405		
Italy			0.895**	0.304					-0.681	0.665		
Latvia			-0.415	0.517					-1.261	0.832		
Lithuania			0.23	0.465					-2.946	1.316		
Luxembourg			-0.711	0.604					-0.849	0.793		
Malta			0.02	0.479					0.209	0.674		
Netherlands			0.096	0.206					0.175	0.303		
Poland			0.315	0.356					-1.497	0.772		
Portugal			1.262***	0.266					-0.723	0.568		

Table 5.4 *Results of the logistic regression models with dependent variables unemployment and reporting (continued)*

Dependent variable	Unemployment						Reporting					
Model	Base		Countries		Interactions		Base		Countries		Interactions	
Independent variables	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**	**Coeff.**	**Std.Err.**
Romania			0.416	0.42					-1.021	0.87		
Slovakia			0.356	0.331					-1.613	0.783		
Slovenia			0.2	0.405					dropped			
Spain			1.223***	0.159					-0.729	0.28		
Sweden			0.08	0.227					-0.527	0.363		
United Kingdom			-0.018	0.177					-0.086	0.234		
Constant	-2.866***	0.207	-2.056***	0.26	-3.222***	0.348	-2.07***	0.346	-2.504	0.414	-2.443**	0.853
n	34191		34406		34191		5582		5523		5582	
Pseudo R^2	0.0692		0.0775		0.07		0.073		0.093		0.075	

Note: An asterisk * means that the coefficient is statistically significant at 5%, ** at 1% and *** at 0.1%. Reference categories are 18-29 years (*age*), Primary education or lower (*education*) and Belgium (*country*). In the models with the dependent variable *reporting*, Cyprus and Slovenia were dropped from the analysis because of insufficient variation in their cases. The sample size in the LRM is reduced as compared to the SEM due to listwise deletion.

6 Conclusion

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

This dissertation focuses on the labour market outcomes of gay men and lesbians including the unemployment probability, unemployment length and employer tenure. Because homosexuality has been a taboo until relatively recently, and often even a criminal offence, academic research in this field has been limited. However, since the 1980s a body of literature has been produced. I have reviewed relevant research aimed at finding an answer to the question whether lesbian and gay people face barriers when trying to access the labour market and what factors moderate their probability of being (un)employed.

Despite the growing body of literature, the evidence on the labour market position of gay men and lesbians in the EU is still relatively limited. Experimental studies have illustrated the existence of bias in the job recruitment (see Chapter 2), but only a handful of studies have investigated whether this bias (and other factors) translate into different (un)employment probabilities or labour market participation rates for sexual minorities. The findings allow us to draw rather clear conclusions for gay men, but the outcomes remain ambiguous for lesbians. The research has not endeavoured to address other aspects relating to unemployment. For example, to my knowledge no study has compared the length of unemployment for lesbians, gay men and heterosexual people.

One of the main reasons for the lack of scientific evidence may be the conceptual complexities (sexual orientation is an invisible trait) and stigmatized nature of homosexuality. I identified a large scale dataset (the European Labour Force Survey) that allowed me to gauge the sexual orientation of cohabiting respondents using the so-called cohabitation method. Based on this naturally occurring data I tried to identify real-world differences in the unemployment probability and unemployment duration. As explained in Chapter 4, discrimination in the labour market may also result in intergroup differences with regard to job separation rates. To gain a more complete picture of the labour market outcomes of gay men and lesbians and to better understand the (lack of) differences in unemployment rates between them and comparable heterosexuals, I searched for potential differences in employer tenure.

One of the main shortcomings of the current literature is that the quantitative research does not sufficiently address the moderators of the relationship between sexual orientation and labour market outcomes. These two concepts are arguably moderated by homonegativity, identity management and workplace treatment (see Chapter 1). Being lesbian or gay may not results in a comparative disadvantage in the labour market outcomes if the gay/lesbian employees hide their homosexuality or if they work in a gay/lesbian-friendly environment. I have discussed this relationship in more detail in Chapters 1 and 5. Using the EU LGBT Survey data I have empirically tested how identity management, workplace attitudes to lesbian / gay people and perceived discrimination

relate to the unemployment probability and probability of reporting discriminatory incidents.

In this chapter I will discuss the main findings of my research, its contribution, limitations and policy implications. I will conclude with suggestions for future research.

THE MAIN FINDINGS

Section Objectives and contributions (Chapter 1) outlined the objectives of this dissertation. The presentation of the main findings is structured according to these objectives.

Sources of differentials in unemployment probability

The first objective was to examine whether there are differences in unemployment probabilities between gay men, lesbians and heterosexual people and whether they are driven by differences in employer tenure and / or by different durations of unemployment.

The literature review (Chapter 2) suggests that gay men have a lower probability of being employed and a comparable labour market participation when compared with their straight counterparts. For lesbians the evidence is inconclusive. According to my analysis of empirical data (Chapter 3), cohabiting gay men were significantly more likely to be unemployed than comparable straight men. No significant difference was identified in the unemployment probabilities of cohabiting lesbians and heterosexual women. These findings are in line with the conclusions of the literature on this topic.

The literature (Chapter 2) provided robust evidence that lesbians and gay men face negative bias when accessing employment. The magnitude of the bias varies considerably across contexts. The major contextual factors that I identified were occupation, gender composition of the direct environment and possibly also public attitudes and anti-discrimination legislation. The empirical data (Chapter 3) show that gay men have a (weakly significantly) longer duration of joblessness than comparable heterosexual men. For lesbians the joblessness duration was significantly shorter than for heterosexual women.

The empirical analysis in Chapter 4 revealed that lesbians and gay men have a shorter employer tenure than their straight counterparts. These differences remained statistically significant after controlling for individual, workplace and occupational characteristics. The higher job separation rate among gay and lesbian employees could be caused by their higher exposure to discriminatory job loss, less favourable conditions of employment (such as a higher prevalence of temporary contracts) or a higher probability of exiting their jobs due to a discriminatory or hostile working environment.

The results indicate that, on average, gay men have worse labour market outcomes than comparable straight men. Their higher unemployment rate is driven by shorter average employer tenures and by longer durations of unemployment than for comparable heterosexual men. The labour market outcomes are less clear for lesbians, whose unemployment probability is ambivalent vis-à-vis heterosexual women. I will discuss this in more detail in section The position of lesbians.

The position of lesbians

In this dissertation I aimed to replicate and build upon earlier research to establish how the labour market outcomes of lesbians compare to the outcomes of heterosexual women.

I found no significant difference in unemployment probabilities between cohabiting lesbians and heterosexual women (Chapter 3), which was in line with the findings of the literature review (Chapter 2). Despite robust evidence of discrimination against lesbians in access to employment (Chapter 2), lesbians were found to have a significantly shorter duration of unemployment than comparable heterosexual women (Chapter 3). They also have a significantly shorter employer tenure (Chapter 4). No major differences were found between gay men and lesbians with regard to how concealment of sexual orientation, workplace discrimination and unemployment mutually relate (Chapter 5).

The research clearly suggests that lesbians face discrimination in access to employment because of their sexual orientation. However, its negative effect on labour demand vis-à-vis straight women does not translate into an increased unemployment probability and duration. A decrease in labour demand due to discrimination seems to be outweighed by labour supply factors. One of the main drivers could be a different household composition – cohabiting lesbians (compared to straight women) are generally less likely to have children and to have a partner who is a primary bread winner. Lesbians may also sort into different occupations.

Some stereotypes may increase the labour demand for lesbians. The literature suggests that lesbians are often stereotyped as possessing personality traits generally attributed to men, such as being more competitive, independent or assertive (see section Overall moderators hypothesised by the reviewed literature (Chapter 2)). In certain contexts this could result in positive discrimination (compared to straight women) if stereotypically male characteristics are viewed as desirable by the employer.

The role of identity management

Chapter 1 discussed that homosexuality is often an invisible trait. Discrimination based on these grounds is thus conditional to suspicion or knowledge that a subject is gay or lesbian. The second objective of this dissertation was to investigate what role a subject's

identity management plays in the relationship between sexual orientation, workplace treatment and labour market outcomes.

I tested an empirical model regarding the relationship between concealment of one's homosexuality, experienced discrimination and unemployment rate (Chapter 5). A higher level of concealment was positively related to an increased perception of workplace discrimination. At the same time, the model showed a positive relationship between perceived workplace discrimination and the probability that the individual is unemployed. The outcomes were statistically significant even when controlling for workplace homonegativity and selected individual and contextual characteristics.

These findings suggest that a shorter employer tenure of gay men and lesbians compared to their heterosexual counterparts could be an (indirect) consequence of experienced discrimination.

The role of attitudes towards homosexuality

Negative social attitudes were hypothesised to be negatively related with lesbians' and gay men's labour market outcomes. This relationship has been partly confirmed by the reviewed literature in Chapter 2. However, the results of Chapters 3 and 4 did not firmly affirm any significant link between the attitudes and the outcomes – such as unemployment probability and employer tenure. The lack of a significant relationship may be caused by the measure of public attitudes that was used. Due to limited data availability I could only measure public attitudes at the national level without taking into account variation across regions, time, genders, sectors and occupations.

An alternative explanation follows from the results of the Chapter 5. Workplace homonegativity only has a statistically weak direct link to the unemployment rate of lesbians and gay men but it is strongly related to experienced discrimination at work. Thus, it may be the case that the relationship between the public attitudes toward homosexuality and gay people's labour market outcomes is indirect and moderated by other factors. One of these important factors is whether lesbians and gay men are open about their sexual orientation in the workplace – workplace homonegativity is positively related to the subject's concealment of their sexual orientation.

Reporting discrimination

The last objective of my dissertation was to explore how reporting discrimination relates to identity management in lesbians and gay men.

The empirical analysis in Chapter 5 revealed that incidents of discrimination are less likely to be reported by lesbian and gay employees who are less open about their sexual orientation. Furthermore, incidents of discrimination are less likely to be reported – but more likely to happen – in workplaces that are more hostile towards lesbians and gay men.

This suggests that official statistics based on reports of discrimination are likely to underestimate the prevalence of discrimination against gay and lesbian people.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Earlier empirical studies that compared the (un)employment probabilities of heterosexual and homosexual women and men (see Chapter 2 for an overview) argued that (part of) the difference is driven by the demand for labour. Variation in labour demand was attributed to discrimination in line with theories by Arrow (1973), Becker (1971) and Phelps (1972). The main contribution of my dissertation is that it shows that this argument is incomplete.

Ragins (2004) proposed a number of explanations for the career and workplace experiences of lesbians and gays. She argued that the career development theories applicable for heterosexual workers omit factors that play a central role in the career development of gays and lesbians. The main omissions relate to the effects of workplace discrimination and to the development of a homosexual identity. Lesbian and gay workers face unique challenges that relate to the concealable nature of their sexual orientation, negative co-worker reactions, lack of social support and challenges in identity development. In my conceptual framework I suggested that some of these explanations – the disclosure of one's sexual orientation, awareness about it and experienced discrimination in the workplace – need to be taken into account to correctly understand the effect of labour demand on labour market outcomes for lesbians and gays. This is because they have an important mediating role in the relationship between sexual orientation and labour market outcomes. For example, a subject can't be discriminated against because of his homosexuality if no-one is aware of him being gay.

One of the main theoretical contributions of this dissertation is that it supports the proposition that sexual orientation affects unemployment probability (and supposedly also other labour market outcomes) *indirectly*, and via multiple channels. In addition to disclosure and awareness, my findings also support an important mediating role of workplace homonegativity.

To describe the theoretical contribution of this dissertation in more detail I revert to the conceptual framework that I proposed in section Objectives and contributions (Chapter 1). The framework is shown in Figure 6.1 and it has been modified to reflect the findings of this dissertation.

This section will be structured according to the concepts from the framework (identity management, homonegativity, discrimination and other factors) to discuss the main contributions of this dissertation.

Identity management

Someone's sexual orientation is traditionally viewed as a non-observable type of diversity (Milliken & Martins, 1996). This provides lesbian / gay employees with a choice of identity management, i.e. to (partly) disclose or conceal their sexual orientation at the workplace. The extent of openness and awareness about someone's sexuality at their workplace is an important factor that should be taken into account when gauging the incidence and/or extent of labour market discrimination. Yet, most studies using naturally occurring data so far have not addressed this issue due to a lack of data.

Not accounting for the identity management of gays and lesbians in the workplace context implicitly assumes that all lesbians and gay men included in the analysis are fully open about their sexual orientation to all possible actors who can discriminate. This is usually not true, as most lesbian and gay employees engage in more complex identity management strategies (Jones & King, 2013).

My findings confirm that disclosure of one's sexual orientation is (indirectly) related to experienced discrimination and to unemployment probability (see Chapter 5). This is consistent with my conceptual framework and it has implications for the applicability of labour market theories on gays and lesbians.

Becker's (1971) theory of discrimination and the theory of statistical discrimination (Arrow, 1973; Phelps, 1972) assume that the agent of discrimination can readily recognize whether the subject does or does not possess a trait that triggers discriminatory behaviour. This assumption does not always hold true for discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation. Lesbians and gay men may manage their identity to manipulate an agent's awareness of their homosexuality. Because agents' capacity to discriminate is conditional on their awareness, both theories of discrimination need to be extended to account for agents' awareness of the subject's homosexuality. Agents will have a taste for discrimination or will engage in statistical discrimination because of a subject's homosexuality only if they are aware (or suspect) that the subject is lesbian or gay.

It remains to be answered what role uncertainty about a subject's sexual orientation (i.e. when an agent suspects that a subject is lesbian or gay) plays in triggering discriminatory behaviour.

It is noteworthy that due to a lack of data this dissertation was not able to address the role of awareness in the workplace about the subject's sexual orientation. This in fact means that I abstract from the potential non-congruence between both concepts and that I assume that the subject's identity management fully determines the agent's awareness. However, this assumption may not always hold true in the reality (due to rumours, etc.). For this reason, the role of awareness remains undecided and awareness is greyed out in Figure 6.1.

My findings also have implications for the neoclassical theory of labour supply extended by the concept of cognitive dissonance. It predicts that an individual who

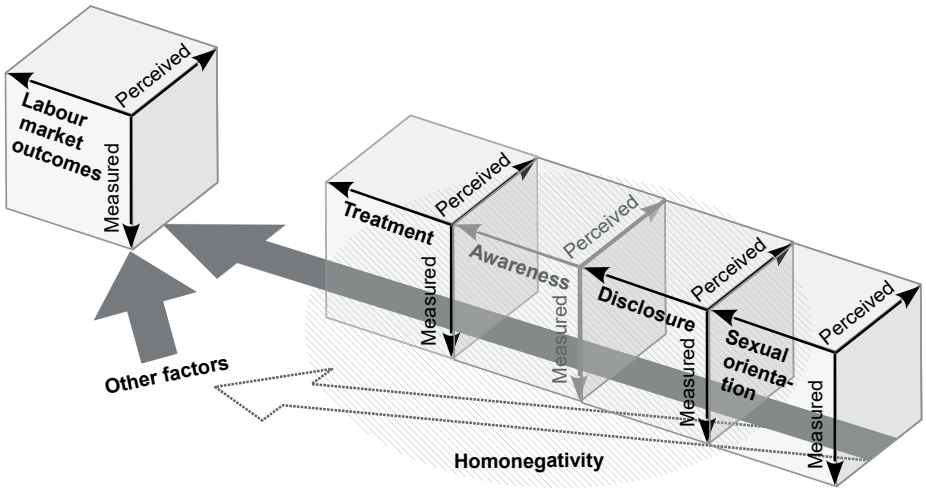

Figure 6.1: *Conceptual framework for research of differentials in labour market outcomes based on sexual orientation*

experienced unfair treatment may experience dissonance in their cognitions related to job search. To restore harmony, discriminated persons may engage in an adjustment approach – which results in reduced labour supply – or in a resume approach, which enhances the labour supply (Goldsmith, Sedo, Darity Jr & Hamilton, 2004). The concealable nature of one's sexual orientation gives more maneuvering space to gays and lesbians who experienced unfair treatment. Besides the adjustment and resume approaches they may decide to change their identity management and, for example, disclose their sexual orientation more selectively or not at all in the work context. The literature indeed suggests that perceptions of past discrimination positively relate to fears about disclosing one's sexual orientation among gay and lesbian workers (Ragins et al., 2007).

Identity management seems to be closely related to the context in which gays and lesbians operate – they are less likely to conceal their sexual orientation if they perceive their working environment as safe. This is confirmed by my findings – homonegativity is positively related to concealment of one's sexual orientation.

The literature suggests that the institutional setting plays an important role in this regard. For example, employees report greater disclosure at work if they perceive their organization as gay supportive (Griffith & Hebl, 2002), encompassing policies and practices directed at lesbians and gays (Button, 2001; Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001) and having an LGB-affirming climate (Chrobot-Mason, Button & DiClementi, 2001).

My findings, however, imply that the mutual relationship between disclosure of sexual orientation, experienced discrimination and unemployment probability is more complex than suggested.

Homonegativity

In this dissertation I use the term homonegativity as a synonym for sexual prejudice. My findings suggest that workplace homonegativity plays an important role in explaining the labour market outcomes for gays and lesbians. The term workplace homonegativity refers to sexual prejudice of various actors in the workplace, such as employers, colleagues, customers, etc.

Due to data limitations, the quantitative studies reviewed in the Chapter 2 did not use measures of homonegativity in individual workplaces. Some of them used an alternative – but less optimal – solution, which is to control for public attitudes, sector or occupation. This can be informative, but anti-gay/lesbian sentiments may vary considerably within the same sector or occupation depending on the individual workplace. As explained earlier, discrimination will more likely occur in contexts where prejudice is more prevalent. These factors, along with the conceptual difficulty of identification of discrimination (see section Limitations), make the findings of previous studies debatable.

My analysis revealed only a weak correlation between disclosure of sexual orientation and experienced discrimination in the workplace. This relationship was mediated by workplace homonegativity, which had a strong positive correlation with both concepts. If homonegativity can be viewed as a preference not to be associated with gays/lesbians, its positive correlation to experienced discrimination supports the applicability of Becker's (1971) theory of discrimination on labour market experiences of gays and lesbians. Becker postulates that agents' discriminatory actions are driven by their preferences (not) to be associated with people that have certain traits. This is consistent also with other literature – a taste-based nature of discrimination against gays and lesbians was also found in an experiment by Drydakis (2014b). Workplace homonegativity may trigger discriminatory behaviour against lesbians and gays even if employers have no taste for discrimination. A profit-maximising employer will prefer not to employ lesbians and gays if this potentially decreases productivity and/or profit because of prejudiced co-workers or customers.

It is important to view homonegativity in a wider context. The effect of homonegativity on the labour market outcomes of gays and lesbians is not limited only to workplaces. The majority of gays and lesbians grow up in a heterosexist environment that devalues and denigrates non-heterosexuals (Rostosky & Riggle, 2002). This may result in negative feelings about oneself or even self-hatred, so-called internalized homophobia (Rostosky & Riggle, 2002). Hull (2005) postulates that internalisation of homophobia may lead to emotional inhibition and deficit of self-confidence. This negatively affects the hiring process and lowers the hiring probability for gays and lesbians compared to straight workers. Once at work, internalized homophobia may deter lesbian and gay employees from disclosing their sexual orientation (Rostosky & Riggle, 2002). This can

induce negative work attitudes, low job satisfaction, role conflict and role ambiguity (Hoye and Lievens, 2003).

Homonegativity in society may affect the career decision-making of lesbians and gays. Pursuing a gender non-conforming career may result in being devalued or stigmatized, or lead to the risk of being identified as homosexual. Gays and lesbians who pursue careers in an occupation dominated by their own gender may experience more negative attitudes from conservative heterosexual colleagues and may go without social support because of a lack of gay colleagues (Chung, 1995).

As such, homonegativity in society may affect labour market outcomes indirectly, even in the absence of a discriminatory treatment in the workplace. In Figure 6.1 this is symbolised by a dashed arrow from sexual orientation to other factors. The arrow is dashed because my dissertation did not attempt to measure the effect of sexual orientation / homonegativity mediated by other factors. However, not mentioning them would result in an incomplete model. Homonegativity and other factors have a significant impact on the interpretability of the results of my dissertation. The other factors will be discussed in more detail in section Other factors.

When attempting to gauge discrimination using multivariate analysis, I controlled for a set of background characteristics that are theorised to control for labour market outcomes. It turns out that societal homonegativity may cause inter-group variation of both measured characteristics (such as occupation or educational attainment) and unmeasured characteristics (such as self-confidence). The effect of variation in measured characteristics on the labour market outcomes would not be attributed to homonegativity / discrimination in my analysis because in my regression analysis I controlled for these factors. The effect of unmeasured characteristics would be either captured in the error term or it would be attributed to a (set of) explanatory variable(s) due to the potentially spurious relationship. It is unlikely that my analysis would be able to identify this effect. As such, my dissertation captures only part of the total effect that sexual orientation has on labour market outcomes.

Discrimination

The conceptual framework that I proposed suggests that sexual orientation affects one's labour market outcomes via factors related to labour demand. Labour market outcomes for lesbians and gays should be worse relative to the outcomes of their heterosexual counterparts because labour demand for lesbians and gays is assumed to be lower due to differential treatment (i.e. discrimination) by other labour market actors, especially employers.

The majority of experimental studies reviewed in the literature review (see Chapter 2) found a negative bias towards lesbians/gays in job access. However, in the case of lesbians the empirical studies using naturally occurring data did not find that the bias

translates into worse labour market outcomes. The results of my dissertation help to explain these contradicting findings by:

- Introducing the effect of identity management;
- Taking a more detailed look at the flows between labour force statuses.

Regarding the first point, the contribution of my research is that I demonstrated that the individual unemployment probability is related to perceived discrimination. As discussed above, perceived discrimination relates to openness about one's sexual orientation (and likely also to awareness of it) and to homonegativity in the workplace. This finding has implications for the interpretability of the observed differences.

Chung (2001) proposed to distinguish between *potential* and *encountered* discrimination (see section Discrimination (Chapter 1)). The results of my dissertation underline the significance of this theoretical distinction. The difference between actual and potential discrimination is driven by an agent's incomplete awareness of a target's sexual orientation. The awareness is dependent on a target's identity management and other factors, such as rumours or the target's appearance (people with gender non-congruent behaviour may be assumed to be lesbian or gay). Due to the possible non-awareness of a target's environment of their homosexuality, gauging *actual* discrimination only provides a hint of the extent of *potential* discrimination. A group may be subjected to extensive *potential* discrimination that doesn't project into *encountered* discrimination and into *measured* outcomes due to pervasive concealment of sexual orientation.

As such, a lack of observed differences between straight women/men and their homosexual counterparts in studies that use naturally occurring data (without controlling for identity management) doesn't per se indicate a lack of *potential* discrimination. In contrast, experimental studies employing correspondence tests measure levels of discrimination that are close to *potential* discrimination (if the manipulation of sexual orientation is successful). This can help to understand why the reviewed experimental studies[38] were more likely to detect discrimination than studies using natural occurring data.

Regarding the second point, my conceptual framework postulates that ceteris paribus the unemployment probability differential between groups can be caused by (1) different unemployment lengths due to differences in probability of flow from unemployment to employment; and / or (2) a different probability of flow from employment to unemployment due to a different employer tenure. This framework is useful for distinguishing the effects of various factors on one's labour market status.

38 This is especially true for experimental studies where the subjects did not know that they were being observed.

Discrimination during one's employment can shorten the employer tenure and increase the probability of transition from employment to unemployment. Discrimination in access to employment lengthens the unemployment duration of discriminated individuals. The probability that a person is unemployed is higher if this person is:

- more likely to become unemployed; and/or
- less likely to find a job.

This is illustrated in Figure 6.2.

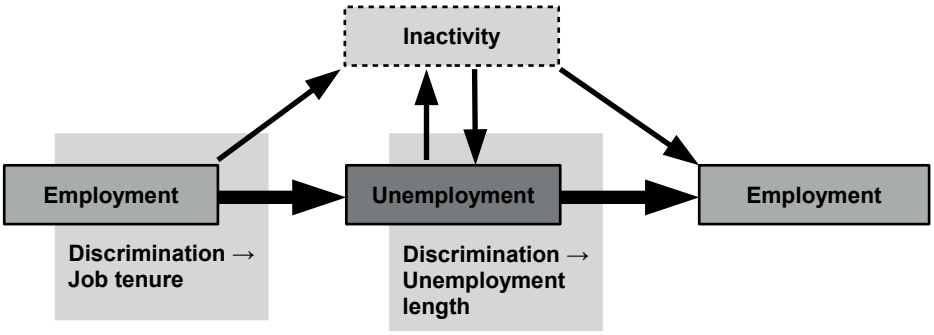

Figure 6.2: *Flows between labour force statuses and hypothesised effects of discrimination*

To my knowledge, my research was the first to empirically test whether there are differences in the length of joblessness and the employer tenure between gay men, lesbians and their straight counterparts. This provides additional insight into the mechanisms that contribute to the (lack of) differences between the unemployment probability of gay men (lesbians) and heterosexual men (women).

For gay men, my results suggest that the higher unemployment probability compared to straight men is driven by a higher probability of transition from employment to unemployment (due to a shorter employer tenure) and by longer periods of joblessness. This is in accordance with the predictions based on my conceptual framework: experienced discrimination in the workplace is expected to lead to a higher probability of transition from employment to unemployment. To avoid discrimination, employees tend to self-select into gay/lesbian-friendly occupations. Searching for occupations such as these on average leads to higher turnover and a shorter employer tenure. Another (extreme) manifestation of discrimination in the workplace is discriminatory job loss. Prolonged period of joblessness may be caused by discrimination in access to employment. The current job search can even be negatively affected by past discrimination. For example, a job applicant may lack good references from their previous discriminatory employer. For more details, see sections Theoretical background (Chapter 3) and Theories predicting employer tenure (Chapter 4).

For lesbians, a shorter employer tenure is offset by shorter periods of joblessness resulting in a similar unemployment probability compared to straight women. Again, based on the conceptual framework one would expect that discrimination will lead to an extended period of job search and a shorter duration of employment. The fact that lesbians have shorter joblessness periods than straight women despite experiencing discrimination in job access provides a strong indication that the conceptual framework introduced in section Conceptual framework (Chapter 1) does not provide a full explanation for the observed labour market outcomes.

It is important to place the conceptual framework into context. The real world is more complex than what is suggested by the model. The relationships between disclosure of sexual orientation, workplace homonegativity and experienced discrimination are reciprocal rather than linear (see section Theoretical background (Chapter 5) for more details). Experienced discrimination may affect one's labour supply as predicted by the neoclassical labour theory extended with the concept of cognitive dissonance (Goldsmith et al., 2004). The institutional setting (such anti-discrimination policies, diversity management, etc.) is also of relevance because an inclusive environment has the potential to decrease workplace discrimination. Empirical research found that affirming organizational policies were related to a lower level of treatment discrimination by sexual minorities (Button, 2001; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). At the same time, a gay/lesbian-friendly institutional setting is more likely to be set up in companies that have a culture that is more inclusive to lesbians and gays (see for example the discussion on anti-discriminatory legislation in Barron & Hebl, 2013).

Other factors

Taken together, the evidence provided by my dissertation suggests that discrimination has a negative impact on the labour market outcomes of gays and lesbians. However, it doesn't explain all of the observed patterns of labour market outcomes. The most remarkable example is the fact that the joblessness duration of lesbians is significantly shorter than that of comparable straight women, despite the labour market discrimination that lesbians face in access to employment. This suggests involvement of other factors than just discrimination. This section will address this in more detail.

The other factors generally relate to the labour supply side. The effect of sexual orientation is, in this case, indirect and mediated by various channels such as the division of work in households (between primary and secondary earners), occupational sorting, etc. This is represented by the dotted arrow in Figure 6.1.

A different household composition is assumed to cause differences in labour supply between lesbians, gays and straight men and women (see sections Labour supply (Chapter 2) and Access to employment (Chapter 3) for more details). Despite a lack of biological differences between partners in same-sex couples, Antecol & Steinberger

(2013) observed labour specialisation in lesbian households. One partner – the primary earner – was more attached to the labour market and supplied significantly more hours than the other partner – the secondary earner. Lesbian primary earners had significantly higher labour supply than married women in heterosexual couples. In the case of getting unemployed, primary earners are expected to have higher incentives to find a job promptly because their household would be relying solely on the lower income of the secondary earners. The proportion of primary earners is likely to be higher among partnered lesbians than among partnered women in heterosexual relationships[39]. On average, partnered lesbians will therefore have a higher incentive than partnered heterosexual women for a quick transition from unemployment to employment.

One could observe a similar effect even in the absence of labour specialisation in lesbian households. Due to the gender income gap, men tend to earn higher wages on average than women. On average, partnered lesbians may have a higher incentive to find a job quickly than their straight counterparts because their partner has a lower income.

A higher incentive could be one of the factors that helps to explain why lesbians have a shorter unemployment duration (and ceteris paribus a lower unemployment probability) than heterosexual women. I am not aware of similar research investigating the division of labour in gay male couples, but I assume that a similar pattern will be observed, i.e. secondary earners will have significantly lower labour supply than married men in heterosexual couples. For labour market impacts, the opposite reasoning applies in the case of men versus women. The theoretical predictions were confirmed by the results of the empirical analysis (see Chapter 3) – on average, gay men (lesbians) have a longer (shorter) joblessness duration than comparable straight men (women).

The theorised effect of the household composition on the employment tenure is less clear. Primary and secondary earners are assumed to accumulate their human capital according to their specialisation. Because of this, the secondary earners will have a higher output in household production (and thus a higher household-to-market reservation wage) than primary earners. Workers supposedly withdraw from household/market jobs where they have low productivity and pursue the best alternative. Ceteris paribus this implies that primary (secondary) earners are less (more) likely to quit their market job and switch to household production and will have a longer (shorter) job tenure. I assume that the relatively higher proportion of primary earners among partnered lesbians will positively affect their employer tenure as compared to partnered straight women. Again, the opposite reasoning applies for men. This proposition was only partly empiri-

39 The partners in same-sex households will tend to divide labour because such specialization is economically beneficial (Antecol & Steinberger, 2013; Becker, 1981, 1985). In opposite-sex households, the majority of women are assumed to be secondary earners (Antecol & Steinberger, 2013). This is confirmed by e.g. consistently higher employment rates for men than for women in all EU Member States (Eurostat, 2019).

cally confirmed – the empirical analysis in Chapter 4 revealed that both gays and lesbians have a shorter employer tenure on average than their heterosexual counterparts.

An alternative explanation for a shorter employer tenure stems from the assumption that gay employees tend to self-select into occupations or companies that are more gay-friendly (Badgett & King, 1997; Wang et al., 2018). For this reason, they may have to switch between more employers than their straight counterparts before finding a suitable job. Ceteris paribus, increased turnover will lead to a shorter average employer tenure.

Factors related to labour supply (such as one's career decision making) may function as a mediator between social homophobia and the labour market outcomes of gays and lesbians. This is an important notion because it implies that social homophobia can affect one's labour market outcomes even in the absence of discrimination in the workplace. For example, the inclination of gay men and lesbians to pursue non-traditional occupations (Chung, 1995) may conflict with the gender-role expectations imposed by society. Gays and lesbians may choose such a career and possibly not enjoy the support that heterosexuals do (Trau & Härtel, 2007) or they may respond to social pressure and decide to pursue traditional – but less fulfilling – careers. Internalization of society's homophobia may lead to a deficit of self-confidence and emotional inhibition, which can negatively affect lesbians and gay men in the hiring process and lowers their hiring probability (Hull, 2005).

The labour supply factors seem to have a significant impact on labour market outcomes for lesbians and gays. This is supported by the empirical findings of my dissertation – lesbians have similar or better labour market outcomes than comparable heterosexual women despite sexual orientation discrimination. This implies that observed differences in the outcomes are the result of an interplay between multiple factors. Due to labour supply factors, a group may have comparatively better average labour market outcomes despite being subjected to discriminatory treatment.

LIMITATIONS

The limitations of each study are discussed in the corresponding chapters. It is still worthwhile to mention four limitations here that are overarching for all studies in this dissertation and that may limit the internal and external validity of my findings:

1. issues related to measurement of discrimination;
2. limited control for the country effects;
3. not controlling for awareness of subject's sexual orientation;
4. issues related to measurement of important explanatory concepts.

Firstly, using multivariate analysis this dissertation identified several differences in labour market outcomes and effects that various characteristics have on these outcomes. In the analysis I controlled for individual and contextual characteristics that are theorized to explain variation in the outcomes of interest. These characteristics usually only partly explain the variation. The residual difference in the outcome which cannot be explained by the variation in labour market relevant characteristics, is assumed to be caused by the average group differences in treatment, the so-called discrimination gap (Darity & Mason, 1998). However, not all of the unexplained differences can be attributed to discrimination. They can be caused by factors that were not taken into account in the model or by the measurement error. For this reason it is uncertain what part – if any – of the differences in the outcomes that I identified between gay and straight employees is really caused by discrimination. Furthermore, the effect of the characteristics that were included in the analysis on the outcome may change if additional controls are included.

Second, despite using a large scale dataset, the sample sizes of the gay population in individual countries were not substantial enough to allow reliable comparisons between the EU Member States. This is a considerable limitation because the attitudes towards and daily experiences of lesbians and gay men vary considerably across Europe. When comparing the unemployment probability and duration and job tenure, I controlled for country. However, the analysis didn't control for potential differences in the effect that the factors – such as individuals' education or age – have between the countries[40]. The reason for this was a small (and in Chapters 3 and 4 also non-random) sample of countries. Also, the tests showed that only a fraction of the total response variance lies at the country level.

Third, the models throughout my dissertation abstracted from the concept of awareness. This was necessary due to a lack of available data that would reliably allow gauging awareness. In practice this means that in the analyses in Chapters 3 and 4, I made an implicit assumption that the subject's homosexuality is known or suspected in the workplace if and only if I identified this particular subject as lesbian or gay. This assumption does not hold true in real life – some gay / lesbian subjects may not have been subjected to discrimination because there was no awareness of their sexual orientation in their workplace. Also, some heterosexual subjects may have been subjected to discrimination because they were suspected to be lesbian / gay. This forms a limitation to the external validity of my findings. Moreover, this assumption would imply that I measured potential discrimination (see section Discrimination (Chapter 1)). However, it needs to be stressed that my findings measured (and are generalisable only to) encountered discrimination.

40 In the analytical stage I also computed models with interaction effects including country variables. However, these performed comparatively worse on the selected criteria than the models that were finally presented in this dissertation. I also attempted to calculate multi-level models with country as a specific level, but these models were too demanding in terms of computing power.

Finally, the external validity of my analysis may be limited by imperfect measurement of some major concepts of interest. This relates especially to variables measuring sexual orientation (in Chapters 3 and 4), general public and workplace attitudes toward lesbian / gay people (Chapters 3, 4 and 5) and actual discrimination (Chapter 5). Despite these limitations, the analysis provides insight into a conceptually challenging topic for which research is complicated by the limited availability of reliable data. As discussed in Chapter 1, it is very challenging to get a reliable measure of someone's sexual orientation. Even if conventional surveys would include questions about respondents' sexual orientation, the validity of the data would be questionable due to the social desirability bias and stigma related to homosexuality that still prevails in some (strata of) European societies.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The Council Directive 2000/78/EC outlawed discrimination in the area of employment based on sexual orientation more than two decades ago. Despite this, my findings suggest that discrimination still seems to exist in the European labour market and that the enforcement of this legislation hasn't been (fully) successful.

In this section I discuss the policy implications of my dissertation. The reader is advised that these implications do not directly follow from my research. They are suggested to address the factors that lead to identified shortcomings in the position and experiences of lesbians and gays in the labour market. The proposed measures do not constitute a full list of possible actions that can be taken. This dissertation also didn't scrutinize their effectiveness.

I have organised the text according to the main findings that were presented in section The main findings. I merge findings from sections Sources of differentials in unemployment probability and The position of lesbians because both relate to sources of differentials in unemployment probability.

Sources of differentials in unemployment probability

The findings suggest that worse labour market outcomes for gay men compared to heterosexual men are driven by shorter average employer tenures and by longer durations of unemployment. Lesbians seem to face discrimination in access to employment, but – due to labour supply factors – this doesn't translate into an increased unemployment probability and duration compared to straight women. However, lesbians still experience a significantly shorter employer tenure that may be (indirectly) related to discrimination.

My analysis confirms that experienced discrimination positively relates to the unemployment probability for both lesbians and gays. Experienced discrimination also has a strong positive correlation with workplace homonegativity. Moreover, sexual orientation can translate into a disadvantage in the labour market due to the accumulation of negative effects that gay and lesbian employees encounter over their lifetime. Such effects may be of a different nature and severity and not all of them are covered by anti-discriminatory legislation (for example subtle discriminatory cues, micro-aggressions, exclusion from social / professional networks, etc.). Still more effects may be mediated by the labour supply factors (see section Other factors).

Experienced direct and indirect discrimination can have far-reaching consequences for one's life that go beyond the realm of employment. The scientific literature has long ago cemented the adverse effects of unemployment on physical health, psychological well-being and economic welfare for unemployed people and their families (see for example Ström, 2003; Wilson & Walker, 1993; Winkelman & Winkelman, 1998). Prolonged unemployment makes it more difficult to become re-employed because it signals to employers that something may be "wrong" with the applicant (Goffman, 2009). Longer unemployment also has been linked to a greater risk of mental illness (particularly depression and anxiety disorders), alcoholism (Herbig et al., 2013), isolation, social exclusion (Clasen et al., 1997), suicide and suicide attempts (Milner et al., 2013).

A shorter average employer tenure could indicate a higher prevalence of employment arrangements with higher precariousness and lower job security. Temporary employment with higher job insecurity has been linked to lower individual well-being (Dawson, Veliziotis & Hopkins, 2017), lower job satisfaction and worsened health, including increased psychosomatic complaints and physical strains (Julià, Vanroelen, Bosmans, Van Aerden & Benach, 2017; Witte, 1999). The literature also suggests that temporary workers are at a higher risk of occupational injuries and psychological morbidity (Virtanen et al., 2005) and that they report less at-work training and education (Cuyper & Isaksson, 2017).

Furthermore, the very experience of discrimination, micro-aggressions or social stigma can have a negative effect on victims' well-being and mental health, even if such experiences are not paired with labour market outcomes (Burgess, Lee, Tran & Van Ryn 2008; Lewis, Derlega, Clarke & Kuang, 2006; Nadal et al., 2011).

The research has provided evidence that lesbians and gays perceive less discrimination in organisations with policies against discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation (Button, 2001; Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). To counter workplace discrimination, employers should adopt organisational policies that explicitly forbid discrimination based on sexual orientation and encourage diversity in the workplace. This has a number of policy implications:

- Companies should adopt equality policies that explicitly cover sexual orientation, also in the realm of recruitment;
- Personnel involved in recruitment should receive diversity training (also addressing unconscious bias);
- Awareness should be raised about what discrimination is, why it is undesirable and how it can be countered.

The role of identity management

My findings indicate that the level of concealment is positively related to an increased perception of workplace discrimination. This relationship is also mediated by workplace homonegativity. This suggests that gays and lesbians tend to conceal their sexual orientation more in workplaces with more hostile attitudes and / or if they experienced discrimination.

Concealment can reduce the chances of experiencing unfavourable treatment, but it may exacerbate felt and internalized stigma compounding mental health and anxiety disorders (Mueller-Smith, 2014). It can lead to an additional drain on cognitive resources resulting from the constant vigilance needed to maintain a false identity (Major & O'Brien, 2005). The research shows that concealment of one's sexual orientation can induce negative work attitudes, low job satisfaction, role conflict, role ambiguity and fewer job promotions (Croteau, 1996; Day & Schoenrade, 1997; Ellis & Riggle, 1995; Ragins et al., 2007). The research strongly suggests that gays and lesbians are more likely to disclose their sexual orientation in workplaces with non-discrimination policies or gay/lesbian-sensitive policies or programmes (Badgett, 2003; Burgess, 1997; Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001; Rostosky & Riggle, 2002). Greater disclosure at work is also linked to employees' perception that their organization is gay supportive (Griffith & Hebl, 2002) and encompassing an LGB-affirming climate (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2001). This implies the following measures:

- Companies should adopt equality policies that explicitly cover sexual orientation and these policies should be actively endorsed and enforced by the management;
- Governments, employer organisations and trade unions should promote good practices on inclusion of minorities in the workplace.

The role of attitudes towards homosexuality

As discussed, my dissertation fails to provide persuasive evidence that negative social attitudes towards gays and lesbians have a significant negative effect on their labour market outcomes. On the other hand, workplace homonegativity was shown to be strongly related to experienced discrimination at work.

The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union enshrines in article 21 that any discrimination based on sexual orientation shall be prohibited. Governments

should therefore ensure that no individual faces discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation.

To tackle discrimination based on sexual orientation efficiently, the measures need to go beyond enacting antidiscrimination legislation or policies and their enforcement. To minimize discrimination and its effects, the policies should target the underlying reasons for discrimination. The research indicates that discrimination of a group stems from negative beliefs and attitudes (Horvath & Ryan, 2003).

There is still room for improvement when it comes to the social tolerance of lesbians and gay men in the European Union. In 2019, 72% of Europeans said that they would feel comfortable if their colleague at work with whom they have daily contact was a gay, lesbian or bisexual person. This share varied considerably across European countries – from 36% in Romania to 96% in the Netherlands (European Commission, 2019, p. T125).

Individual homophobic attitudes may be reduced by raising awareness about lesbians and gays (Jewell et al., 2011; Rye & Meaney, 2009). This is subject to the type of awareness-raising intervention and to the personal characteristics of a concerned individual (Desrosiers, Wilkinson, Abel & Pitama, 2016).

To increase social tolerance, all Member States – and especially those with low social tolerance – should:

- Develop school curricula with modules that raise awareness about sexual minorities[41];
- Promote inclusion and visibility of sexual minorities in the general society.

Reporting discrimination

In 2019, 20% of lesbians and 19% of gays said that they were discriminated against at work in the past 12 months because of their sexual orientation (FRA, 2020b). One of the reasons why discrimination is still relatively prevalent in the labour market in the EU may be a low readiness of victims of discrimination to officially report discrimination incidents. In 2019, only 14% of the most recent discrimination incidents against LGBTI people at work in the EU28 were reported (FRA, 2020a). The results of Chapter 5 also show that underreporting of such incidents is common. The analysis suggests that gays and lesbians are less likely to report discrimination if they are less open about their sexual orientation or if they work in places with higher homonegativity. This implies that

41 This measure may also affect labour market outcomes of lesbians and gays through their labour supply. Kosciw, Palmer, Kull & Greytak (2013) showed that schools may be a hostile place for LGBT students due to intolerance and prejudice. A negative school climate and related victimization contributes to lower academic outcomes, truancy and lower self-esteem among LGBT students (see also the systematic literature review by Moyano & Sánchez-Fuentes, 2020). Proulx, Coulter, Egan, Matthews & Mair (2019) and Snapp, McGuire, Sinclair, Gabrion & Russell (2015) suggest that LGBT-inclusive curricula are associated with lower levels of bullying and with higher reports of safety at school. See section Labour supply (Chapter 2) for a discussion of how these factors may influence the labour market outcomes of gays and lesbians.

attempts to eradicate discrimination are likely to fail if incidents of workplace discrimination will not be reported. Policy makers should ensure that:

- Victims of discrimination are aware of their rights and know where they can report discriminatory incidents;
- People reporting discrimination are not subjected to retaliation;
- Reported incidents are taken seriously and properly investigated;
- Adequate follow-up steps are taken when discrimination is confirmed.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

While my research has provided answers to a number of questions, some questions remain open and other questions arose from my findings.

This dissertation compared labour market outcomes using (nearly) cross-sectional[42] data. As such, the findings do not reflect possible changes over time. Future analysis could examine how the lesbian/gay-straight differentials change over time and whether (and how) they are affected by contextual factors such as the economic cycle.

The lesbian/gay-straight differences in the labour market outcomes could relate to labour supply factors such as the household composition and division of labour within the households. Future research could investigate whether the differences persist if one controls for household roles, such as primary and secondary earners. This could also provide an additional explanation for the ambiguous findings regarding the labour market outcomes of lesbians compared to heterosexual women.

Gay men and lesbians appear to have a shorter employer tenure than comparable heterosexual counterparts. Future research could investigate the mechanisms that lead to these differences in employer tenure. Is this related to labour supply or labour demand factors? If the former is true, is this related to the household structure or inherent differences between straight and gay / lesbian people? And if the latter is the case, is it that gay / lesbian and straight people engage in different types of working arrangements (such as temporary contracts, self-employment, etc.) that result in differences in employer tenure? Or are lesbians and gay men more likely to be dismissed as a consequence of discriminatory job loss?

As mentioned earlier, the literature review in Chapter 2 suggested that there may be a relationship between public attitudes toward gay people and their labour market outcomes. My analysis – based on crude measures of public attitudes – didn't confirm this relationship. Future research could replicate and further develop the analysis using

42 The LFS data have some characteristics of panel data. However, it is not feasible to capitalize the temporary component of the data due to the design of the data collection and due to the anonymisation procedure that was applied by the data provider. For a more detailed explanation, see Chapters 3 and 4.

a refined measure of public attitudes. Particularly interesting would be to explore the impact of workplace homonegativity on employees' labour market outcomes and how this impact would be moderated by awareness of the subject's sexual orientation and (non-existence of) diversity and non-discrimination policies.

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ENGLISH SUMMARY

Background

The EU LGBTI Survey II revealed that in 2019, 19% of gay men and 20% of lesbians felt discriminated against at work in the 12 months before the survey. 8% of gay men and lesbians felt discriminated against when looking for work (FRA, 2020b).

Sexual orientation cannot usually be identified from someone's physical appearance only. Gay and lesbian employees can choose whether they disclose their sexual orientation in the workplace. By coming out, they risk being subjected to discrimination based on their sexual orientation – a perpetrator can discriminate on the grounds of homosexuality only if she is aware (i.e. knows or suspects) that a victim is gay or lesbian. A sizeable proportion of lesbians and gay men in the EU choose to conceal their sexual orientation in the area of employment to avoid discrimination - 14% of lesbians and 19% of gay men hide being LGBTI at work (FRA, 2020b).

The relationship between sexual orientation and labour market outcomes is not straightforward. I built a conceptual framework where the effect of being gay / lesbian on subjects' labour market outcomes is mediated by three concepts – subjects' disclosure of their sexual orientation at work, awareness of subjects' sexual orientation at their workplace and treatment of subjects by their employers, colleagues, customers, etc.

The theory suggests that the differences in the labour market outcomes could be driven by factors related to the labour demand or labour supply side. The former generally refers to discrimination. Discrimination can be related to someone's preference not to be associated with certain people (Becker, 1971) or to their imperfect knowledge of the applicant's / employee's productivity (Arrow, 1973; Phelps, 1972). Labour supply factors relate to differences between gay/lesbian and heterosexual people with regard to household composition, occupational sorting, etc. The labour supply of lesbians / gay men may also be affected by experienced discrimination or by social stigma related to homosexuality.

Objectives

In this dissertation, I compare the labour market outcomes of lesbians / gay men with those of heterosexual women and men. I try to get a more profound understanding of the effect that sexual orientation has on these outcomes. The main objectives are to examine:

- whether there are differences in unemployment probability between gay men / lesbians and comparable heterosexuals, and to explore whether this is due to differences in the unemployment duration and / or the length of time working for a given employer (the so-called employer tenure);

- how individuals' disclosure of their sexual orientation in the workplace relates to their probability of experiencing discrimination and unemployment probability;
- the labour market position of lesbians compared to heterosexual women, and to extend the research that has so far provided inconsistent evidence.
- how the attitudes towards gay and lesbian people help explain differentials in their labour market outcomes;
- how reporting discriminatory incidents relates to identity management in lesbians and gay men.

Approach

To reach these objectives, I carried out four studies that are described in this dissertation. In the first study, I reviewed the literature on barriers that lesbians and gay men face regarding access to the labour market. In the second study, I compared the unemployment rates and unemployment duration of gay men, lesbians and straight men and women. In the third study, I tried to detect potential inter-group differences in employer tenure. In the fourth study, I focused on the mediating role of identity management and perceived treatment in the workplace on the relationship between sexual orientation and unemployment.

In this dissertation, discrimination refers to a special case of treatment when two equally qualified individuals are treated differently in the labour market on the basis of their sexual orientation, assuming that the sexual orientation itself is unrelated to productivity (Arrow, 1973). Discrimination can occur in different forms and settings. This can include not employing lesbian / gay job applicants, offering them worse conditions of employment or treating them differently at the interpersonal level (micro-aggressions or social exclusion). Due to its complex nature, detecting and gauging discrimination is challenging. In Chapters 3 and 4, I operationalise discrimination as a part of the unexplained differential in the labour market outcomes of gay men / lesbians and their heterosexual counterparts. In Chapter 5, discrimination refers to a composite measure based on respondents' assertions.

I treat sexual orientation as a binary concept and distinguish between homosexuality and heterosexuality. Reliably measuring people's sexual orientation is challenging due to the social stigma that is attached to homosexuality. For this reason I used an indirect measure (comparing the gender of subjects and their cohabiting partners) in Chapters 3 and 4. The study described in Chapter 5 relied on respondents' self-identification.

The following sections provide a summary of the method and main findings of each study.

Study 1

The first study involved a comprehensive review of 48 studies that fulfilled the inclusion criteria. These studies were selected by (a) a manual assessment of 1,944 references from multiple databases; (b) an additional non-systematic check on Google Scholar among studies referencing the reviewed articles.

I found that research into labour market discrimination of lesbians and gay men was scarce before the year 2000. Still, a considerable body of literature has been published in Western countries in recent years. The research provides robust evidence that lesbians and gays face a negative bias when accessing employment. It consistently suggests that gay men have a lower probability of being employed than comparable heterosexual men. In contrast, lesbians were found to be more likely to be employed than heterosexual women. The magnitude of the bias against lesbians and gay men seems to vary considerably across contexts and depends on factors such as occupation, employer's gender, etc. Differences in household specialisation between different-sex and same-sex households likely contribute to the differences in labour market outcomes between heterosexuals and gay men / lesbians.

Study 2

In the second study, I empirically tested my hypotheses on microdata with 4.2 million observations that were collected from 2008 to 2015 in the EU Labour Force Survey. I used a multi-level regression model that was based on theoretical considerations and a data driven predictor selection. Sexual orientation was determined by comparing subjects' gender with the gender of their cohabiting partners. For this reason the results are generalizable only to subjects cohabiting with their partners.

The findings differed for women and men. Gay men were found to have a significantly higher unemployment probability and a (weakly significant) longer duration of joblessness than comparable straight men. No significant difference was identified in the unemployment probabilities for lesbians and heterosexual women, but the joblessness duration appears to be significantly shorter in lesbians.

Study 3

This study used the same approach as the second study. The hypotheses were tested on more recent EU Labour Force Survey microdata including observations from 2008 to 2016. The final sample included over 3.3 million partnered respondents[43].

The results suggest that lesbians and gays have a shorter employer tenure than their straight counterparts. The differences in observations for heterosexuals and gays

43 The sample size is smaller than in the second study because observations were included only if the working status was 'employed'.

/ lesbians also remained significant after controlling for individual, workplace and occupational characteristics.

Study 4

In the fourth study, I empirically tested my hypotheses on data from the LGBT Survey 2012 that includes data on 48 thousand gay men and 12 thousand lesbians. I used a structural equation model to simultaneously test relationships between multiple concepts.

The findings were similar for both gay men and lesbian women. In hostile workplaces both groups tend to more often conceal their sexual orientation and experience discrimination. The level of concealment is negatively related to the likelihood of reporting discriminatory incidents. Perceived discrimination and concealment of sexual orientation positively relate to the probability of being unemployed.

CONCLUSION

The results of my dissertation suggest that, on average, gay men have worse labour market outcomes than comparable straight men. Their higher unemployment rate is driven by shorter average employer tenures and by longer durations of unemployment than for comparable heterosexual men.

The labour market outcomes are less clear for lesbians. The reviewed literature clearly suggests that lesbians face discrimination in access to employment. A negative bias against lesbians does not translate into an increased unemployment probability and unemployment duration (compared to heterosexual women). Thus, a lower labour demand for lesbians due to discrimination seems to be compensated for by labour supply factors.

Both lesbians and gay men were found to have a shorter employer tenure than comparable heterosexuals. The outcomes identified a positive relationship between perceived workplace discrimination and the probability of being unemployed. This suggests that the shorter employer tenure of gay men and lesbians compared to their heterosexual counterparts could be an (indirect) consequence of experienced discrimination.

The results of the empirical analysis show a (weak) positive relationship between the level of concealment and the perception of workplace discrimination. This relationship is mostly mediated by homonegativity, which is positively related to both concealment of sexual orientation and to workplace discrimination.

The findings do not confirm any direct relationship between the examined labour market outcomes of lesbians and gay men and the general public attitudes towards these groups. The reason for this could be that only a coarse-grained measure of

public attitudes was used in the analysis. Other findings suggest an indirect relationship between public attitudes towards homosexuality and gay people's labour market outcomes. This relationship may be moderated by factors such as concealment of sexual orientation in the workplace and experienced workplace discrimination.

Finally, incidents of discrimination are less likely to be reported by lesbian and gay employees who are less open about their sexual orientation. Incidents of discrimination are less likely to be reported – but more likely to happen – in workplaces that are more hostile towards lesbians and gay men. Statistics about discrimination against gay and lesbian people will likely underestimate its prevalence if they are based on (official) reports of discrimination.

LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

These findings have a number of limitations. Firstly, differentials in labour market outcomes were detected using multivariate analysis while controlling for relevant characteristics. However, it is unknown whether – and to what extent – the unexplained difference can be attributed to discrimination. Second, due to limited samples of countries, gay men and lesbians, the analysis didn't allow for country as a separate level in the multilevel model and in the structural equation model. Third, data limitation resulted in imperfect operationalisation of some concepts including sexual orientation, public attitudes towards homosexuality and experienced discrimination. Data unavailability also resulted in the fact that the models in my dissertation didn't control for workplace awareness of employees' homosexuality.

Further research could examine whether the differentials in labour market outcomes between lesbians /gay men and their heterosexual counterparts have changed over time and how they are affected by contextual factors such as the economic cycle. Do these differentials persist even if the analysis controls for individuals' household roles, such as primary and secondary earners? Future research could also investigate what mechanisms lead to a shorter employer tenure of gay men and lesbians compared to similar heterosexuals. Finally, it would be beneficial to gain deeper insight into the role of factors such as public attitudes or the environment's awareness of the employee's homosexuality.

NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

Achtergrond

Uit de EU LGBTI-enquête II bleek dat in 2019 19% van de homomannen en 20% van de lesbiennes zich gediscrimineerd voelde op het werk in de 12 maanden voorafgaand aan de enquête. 8% van de homomannen en lesbiennes voelde zich gediscrimineerd bij het zoeken naar werk (FRA, 2020b).

Seksuele geaardheid kan gewoonlijk niet alleen worden afgeleid uit iemands fysieke verschijning. Homoseksuele en lesbische werknemers kunnen kiezen of ze hun seksuele geaardheid op de werkvloer bekendmaken. Door uit de kast te komen, lopen ze het risico te worden gediscrimineerd op basis van hun seksuele geaardheid - een dader kan alleen discrimineren op grond van homoseksualiteit als hij zich ervan bewust is (dat wil zeggen weet of vermoedt) dat een slachtoffer homo of lesbisch is. Een aanzienlijk deel van de lesbiennes en homomannen in de EU kiest ervoor om hun seksuele geaardheid op het gebied van werk te verbergen om discriminatie te voorkomen - 14% van de lesbiennes en 19% van de homomannen verstopt zich als LGBTI op het werk (FRA, 2020b).

De relatie tussen seksuele geaardheid en arbeidsmarktresultaten is niet eenduidig. Ik heb een conceptueel kader gebouwd waarin het effect van homo / lesbisch zijn op de arbeidsmarktresultaten van proefpersonen wordt gemedieerd door drie concepten: de onthulling van hun seksuele geaardheid op het werk, het bewustzijn van de seksuele geaardheid van proefpersonen op hun werkplek en de behandeling van proefpersonen door hun werkgevers, collega's, klanten, etc.

De theorie suggereert dat de verschillen in de arbeidsmarktresultaten kunnen worden veroorzaakt door factoren die verband houden met de vraag naar arbeid of het aanbod van arbeid. De eerste verwijst over het algemeen naar discriminatie. Discriminatie kan verband houden met iemands voorkeur om niet met bepaalde mensen geassocieerd te worden (Becker, 1971) of met hun onvolmaakte kennis van de productiviteit van de aanvrager / werknemer (Arrow, 1973; Phelps, 1972). Arbeidsaanbodfactoren hebben betrekking op verschillen tussen homo's / lesbiennes en heteroseksuelen met betrekking tot gezinssamenstelling, beroepssortering, etc. Het arbeidsaanbod van lesbiennes / homomannen kan ook worden beïnvloed door ervaren discriminatie of door sociaal stigma in verband met homoseksualiteit.

Doelstellingen

In dit proefschrift vergelijk ik de arbeidsmarktresultaten van lesbiennes / homomannen met die van heteroseksuele vrouwen en mannen. Ik probeer een dieper inzicht te krijgen in het effect dat seksuele geaardheid heeft op deze uitkomsten. De belangrijkste doelstellingen zijn om te onderzoeken:

- of er verschillen zijn in de kans op werkloosheid tussen homomannen / lesbiennes en vergelijkbare heteroseksuelen, en of dit komt door verschillen in de werkloosheidsduur en / of de baanduur (de duur van het werken bij een bepaalde werkgever);
- hoe de openbaarmaking van hun seksuele geaardheid op het werk door individuen verband houdt met hun kans op discriminatie en de kans op werkloosheid;
- de arbeidsmarktpositie van lesbiennes ten opzichte van heteroseksuele vrouwen, en om het onderzoek dat tot dusverre inconsistent bewijs heeft opgeleverd, uit te breiden.
- hoe de houding ten opzichte van homo's en lesbiennes de verschillen in hun arbeidsmarktresultaten helpt te verklaren;
- hoe het melden van discriminerende incidenten zich verhoudt tot identiteitsbeheer bij lesbiennes en homomannen.

Aanpak

Om deze doelstellingen te bereiken, heb ik vier onderzoeken uitgevoerd die in dit proefschrift worden beschreven. In de eerste studie heb ik de literatuur besproken over belemmeringen waarmee lesbiennes en homomannen worden geconfronteerd bij de toegang tot de arbeidsmarkt. In het tweede onderzoek vergeleek ik de werkloosheidscijfers en de werkloosheidsduur van homomannen, lesbiennes en heteromannen en -vrouwen. In de derde studie probeerde ik mogelijke verschillen tussen de groepen in het dienstverband van werkgevers op te sporen. In de vierde studie concentreerde ik me op de bemiddelende rol van identiteitsmanagement en ervaren behandeling op de werkvloer in de relatie tussen seksuele geaardheid en werkloosheid.

In dit proefschrift verwijst discriminatie naar een speciaal soort behandeling wanneer twee gelijk gekwalificeerde individuen verschillend worden behandeld op de arbeidsmarkt op basis van hun seksuele geaardheid, ervan uitgaande dat de seksuele geaardheid zelf geen verband houdt met productiviteit (Arrow, 1973). Discriminatie kan in verschillende vormen en omstandigheden voorkomen. Dit kan inhouden dat geen lesbische / homoseksuele sollicitanten in dienst worden genomen, hun slechtere arbeidsvoorwaarden worden aangeboden of hen anders behandelen op interpersoonlijk niveau (micro-agressie of sociale uitsluiting). Door de complexe aard is het opsporen en meten van discriminatie een uitdaging. In de hoofdstukken 3 en 4 operationaliseer ik discriminatie als onderdeel van het onverklaarde verschil in de arbeidsmarktresultaten van homomannen / lesbiennes en hun heteroseksuele tegenhangers. In hoofdstuk 5 verwijst discriminatie naar een samengestelde meting op basis van beweringen van respondenten.

Ik behandel seksuele geaardheid als een binair concept en maak onderscheid tussen homoseksualiteit en heteroseksualiteit. Het betrouwbaar meten van de seksuele geaardheid van mensen is een uitdaging vanwege het sociale stigma dat aan homosek-

sualiteit kleeft. Om deze reden heb ik een indirecte maatstaf (het vergelijken van het geslacht van proefpersonen en hun samenwonende partners) gebruikt in Hoofdstukken 3 en 4. De studie beschreven in Hoofdstuk 5 was gebaseerd op de zelfidentificatie van de respondenten.

De volgende paragrafen geven een samenvatting van de methode en de belangrijkste bevindingen van elk onderzoek.

Onderzoek 1

De eerste studie omvatte een uitgebreide beoordeling van 48 studies die voldeden aan de inclusiecriteria. Deze onderzoeken werden geselecteerd door (a) een handmatige beoordeling van 1.944 referenties uit meerdere databases; (b) een aanvullende niet-systematische controle op Google Scholar tussen onderzoeken die verwijzen naar de beoordeelde artikelen.

Ik ontdekte dat onderzoek naar arbeidsmarktdiscriminatie van lesbiennes en homomannen voor het jaar 2000 schaars was. Toch is er de laatste jaren een aanzienlijke hoeveelheid literatuur in westerse landen gepubliceerd. Het onderzoek levert robuust bewijs dat lesbiennes en homo's een negatieve bias hebben bij het zoeken naar werk. Het suggereert consequent dat homomannen een lagere kans hebben om te worden aangenomen dan vergelijkbare heteroseksuele mannen. Daarentegen bleken lesbiennes vaker een baan te hebben dan heteroseksuele vrouwen. De omvang van de vooringenomenheid jegens lesbiennes en homomannen lijkt aanzienlijk te variëren tussen de contexten en hangt af van factoren zoals beroep, geslacht van de werkgever, enz. Verschillen in de specialisatie van het huishouden tussen huishoudens van verschillend geslacht en huishoudens van hetzelfde geslacht dragen waarschijnlijk bij aan de verschillen op de arbeidsmarkt uitkomsten tussen heteroseksuelen en homomannen / lesbiennes.

Onderzoek 2

In de tweede studie heb ik mijn hypothesen op microdata empirisch getoetst met 4,2 miljoen observaties die van 2008 tot 2015 zijn verzameld in de Europese arbeidskrachtenenquête. Ik heb een regressiemodel met meerdere niveaus gebruikt dat was gebaseerd op theoretische overwegingen en een data gestuurde selectie van variabelen. Seksuele geaardheid werd bepaald door het geslacht van de proefpersonen te vergelijken met het geslacht van hun samenwonende partners. Om deze reden zijn de resultaten alleen generaliseerbaar naar proefpersonen die samenwonen met hun partners.

De bevindingen verschilden voor vrouwen en mannen. Homomannen bleken een significant hogere kans op werkloosheid te hebben en een (zwak significante) langere duur van werkloosheid dan vergelijkbare heteromannen. Er werd geen significant ver-

schil gevonden in de werkloosheidskansen voor lesbiennes en heteroseksuele vrouwen, maar de duur van de werkloosheid lijkt significant korter te zijn bij lesbiennes.

Onderzoek 3

Deze studie gebruikte dezelfde aanpak als de tweede studie. De hypothesen zijn getest op recentere microdata van de EU-arbeidskrachtenenquête, inclusief observaties van 2008 tot 2016. De uiteindelijke steekproef omvatte meer dan 3,3 miljoen gepartnerde respondenten.

De resultaten suggereren dat lesbiennes en homo's een kortere baanduur hebben dan hun heteroseksuele tegenhangers. De verschillen in observaties voor heteroseksuelen en homo's / lesbiennes bleven ook significant na correctie voor individuele, werkplek- en beroepskenmerken.

Onderzoek 4

In de vierde studie heb ik mijn hypothesen empirisch getoetst op gegevens van de LGBT-enquête 2012, die gegevens bevat over 48 duizend homomannen en 12 duizend lesbiennes. Ik heb een structureel vergelijkingsmodel gebruikt om tegelijkertijd relaties tussen meerdere concepten te testen.

De bevindingen waren vergelijkbaar voor zowel homomannen als lesbische vrouwen. Op vijandige werkplekken verbergen beide groepen vaker hun seksuele geaardheid en ervaren ze discriminatie. De mate van verzwijging hangt negatief samen met de waarschijnlijkheid dat discriminerende incidenten worden gemeld. Ervaren discriminatie en verhulling van seksuele geaardheid hebben een positieve relatie met de kans op werkloosheid.

CONCLUSIE

De resultaten van mijn proefschrift suggereren dat homomannen gemiddeld slechtere arbeidsmarktresultaten hebben dan vergelijkbare heteromannen. Hun hogere werkloosheidscijfer wordt veroorzaakt door een kortere gemiddelde duur van het dienstverband bij de werkgever en door een langere werkloosheidsduur dan bij vergelijkbare heteroseksuele mannen.

De arbeidsmarktresultaten zijn minder duidelijk voor lesbiennes. De beoordeelde literatuur suggereert duidelijk dat lesbiennes worden gediscrimineerd bij de toegang tot werk. Een negatieve voorkeur voor lesbiennes vertaalt zich niet in een hogere kans op werkloosheid en een hogere werkloosheidsduur (vergeleken met heteroseksuele vrouwen). Zo lijkt een lagere vraag naar arbeidskrachten voor lesbiennes als gevolg van discriminatie te worden gecompenseerd door arbeidsaanbodfactoren.

Zowel lesbiennes als homomannen bleken een kortere baanduur te hebben dan vergelijkbare heteroseksuelen. De resultaten wezen op een positieve relatie tussen ervaren discriminatie op de werkplek en de kans op werkloosheid. Dit suggereert dat het kortere dienstverband van homomannen en lesbiennes in vergelijking met hun heteroseksuele tegenhangers een (indirect) gevolg zou kunnen zijn van ervaren discriminatie.

De resultaten van de empirische analyse laten een (zwak) positief verband zien tussen de mate van verhulling en de perceptie van discriminatie op de werkplek. Deze relatie wordt meestal gemedieerd door homonegativiteit, die positief verband houdt met zowel het verhullen van seksuele geaardheid als met discriminatie op de werkplek.

De bevindingen bevestigen geen directe relatie tussen de onderzochte arbeidsmarktresultaten van lesbiennes en homomannen en de houding van het algemene publiek ten opzichte van deze groepen. De reden hiervoor zou kunnen zijn dat bij de analyse slechts een grofkorrelige maatstaf voor publieke houding werd gebruikt. Andere bevindingen suggereren een indirecte relatie tussen de houding van het publiek ten opzichte van homoseksualiteit en de arbeidsmarktresultaten van homoseksuelen. Deze relatie kan worden beïnvloed door factoren zoals het verbergen van seksuele geaardheid op de werkplek en ervaren discriminatie op de werkplek.

Ten slotte worden gevallen van discriminatie minder gemeld door lesbische en homoseksuele werknemers die minder open zijn over hun seksuele geaardheid. Discriminatie-incidenten worden minder vaak gemeld - maar komen vaker voor - op werkplekken die vijandiger staan tegenover lesbiennes en homomannen. Statistieken over discriminatie van homo's en lesbiennes zullen de prevalentie ervan waarschijnlijk onderschatten als ze gebaseerd zijn op (officiële) meldingen van discriminatie.

BEPERKINGEN EN VERDER ONDERZOEK

Deze bevindingen hebben een aantal beperkingen. Ten eerste werden verschillen in arbeidsmarktresultaten gedetecteerd met behulp van multivariate analyse, waarbij werd gecontroleerd op relevante kenmerken. Het is echter niet bekend of - en in welke mate - het onverklaarde verschil kan worden toegeschreven aan discriminatie. Ten tweede, vanwege de beperkte steekproeven van landen, homomannen en lesbiennes, stond de analyse het land niet toe als een apart niveau in het multilevel-model en in het structurele vergelijkingsmodel. Ten derde resulteerde de beperkte gegevens in een onvolmaakte operationalisering van sommige concepten, waaronder seksuele geaardheid, publieke attitudes ten opzichte van homoseksualiteit en ervaren discriminatie. Dit had ook tot gevolg dat de modellen in mijn proefschrift geen rekining houden met het bewustzijn op de werkplek van de homoseksualiteit van werknemers.

Verder onderzoek zou kunnen achterhalen of de verschillen in arbeidsmarktresultaten tussen lesbiennes / homomannen en hun heteroseksuele tegenhangers in de loop van de tijd zijn veranderd en hoe zij worden beïnvloed door contextuele factoren zoals de economische cyclus. Blijven deze verschillen bestaan, zelfs als de analyse betrekking heeft op de huishoudelijke functies van individuen, zoals primaire en secundaire verdieners? Toekomstig onderzoek zou ook kunnen achterhalen welke mechanismen leiden tot een kortere baanduur van homomannen en lesbiennes in vergelijking met vergelijkbare heteroseksuelen. Ten slotte zou het nuttig zijn om dieper inzicht te krijgen in de rol van factoren zoals de houding van het publiek of de bewustwording van de omgeving over de homoseksualiteit van de werknemer.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Karel Fric (1984, Polička, Czechia) obtained his Master's degree in Economics and Social Sciences at Utrecht University in 2008. Subsequently he had several research jobs. Most notably, from 2012 to 2018 he worked as a Research Officer at Eurofound, an EU agency based in Dublin. He specialised in research on working conditions, covering topics such as minimum wages and labour market discrimination. Since 2019 he has been working for the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, specialising in inequalities, discrimination, statistical analysis and survey methodology. From 2014, Karel has been a PhD student at the Erasmus Graduate School of Social Sciences and the Humanities (part of the Erasmus University Rotterdam). In this capacity he has done research on the labour market position of lesbians and gay men in the European Union. He has published articles in international peer-reviewed journals such as the Journal for Labour Market Research, Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services and International Review of Sociology.