Working It Out:
Driving Business Excellence by Understanding Lesbian, Gay & Bisexual Workplace Experiences.

By Brian McIntyre and Elizabeth Nixon
Authors’ acknowledgments

The authors wish to thank all the participants who took time to share their attitudes and experiences on a deeply personal topic, with no thought of reward beyond increasing the understanding of their community.

We would like to thank Davin Roche, of GLEN, whose foresight and input were invaluable in the creation of this report.

We are grateful to Patrick Murphy, from the School of Psychology, TCD, who assisted with the data analysis and editing on this report.

Finally, we wish to acknowledge the support of EY in helping assure that the findings of the study reach a wide business audience in Ireland.

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Published by the Gay and Lesbian Equality Network (GLEN) Dublin, 2014.
ISBN: 978-0-9561023-8-6
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Equality in the workplace is a critical priority for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people, for GLEN and for employers who understand that better employers create a better working environment – which makes better business.

At GLEN we focus on positively changing the rules, changing culture and changing the lived experience of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people. Since 2012 GLEN’s Diversity Champions programme has been supporting leading Irish employers and LGBT employees to create the rules, culture and workplace experience which achieve LGBT equality at work.

By partnering with global LGBT equality leaders we have brought the business case for LGBT equality and diversity to Ireland. This research, Working it Out, breaks new ground by understanding the workplace experiences of 590 full-time lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) employees in Ireland. Respondents have provided a treasure trove of qualitative insights and statistical data. GLEN commissioned this report from pre-existing research undertaken by Brian McIntyre and Elizabeth Nixon of Trinity College Dublin. Unfortunately there were insufficient number of transgender respondents to draw conclusions on their experiences in the workplace, and consequently this report focuses on the experiences of LGB people. There is a need for further research on transgender experiences in Irish workplaces.

Working it Out uncovers the negative impact of workplaces that are not inclusive of LGB employees, and how workplace culture impacts on LGB employees and business. Equally we learn of the huge benefits of being able to be oneself and of the importance of having out and proud LGB role models at work. We learn of the critical role that line managers and HR personnel have to play in making inclusive workplaces happen.

The research found that LGB employees who are out at work are more committed to their companies than employees who are not out. Employees are more likely to come out where their company has well understood LGB inclusive policies and a perceived inclusive culture. New and younger LGB employees are less likely to disclose their sexual orientation at work than older colleagues.

Working it Out provides profound insights into LGB employees’ decisions about “coming out” at work, the barriers to coming out at work and the benefits for employees and organisations of not having to conceal a fundamental part of who they are.

I would like to congratulate the authors Brian McIntyre and Elizabeth Nixon of Trinity College Dublin for their commitment and expertise in producing this ground-breaking research. I would like to thank Brian McIntyre for his fully pro bono contribution to this project. Finally I would like to thank the report sponsors EY for the very important contribution they have made in helping us understand and achieve LGBT equality and diversity at work.

Davin Roche,
Director of Workplace Diversity,
GLEN
The globalisation of business has created a sophisticated, complex, and competitive environment. In order to be successful, companies need to continually evolve and innovate. A key component of creating and sustaining competitive advantage through the development of new ideas is having a diverse and inclusive workforce.

At EY, we collectively invest our energy to create an environment where all our people, regardless of sexual orientation, gender identity, or ethnicity, are able to be themselves and succeed in the workplace.

Employees cannot deliver exceptional client service, or realise their personal potential, if they feel obliged to leave part of themselves at home when they come to work. I believe people want our organisation, indeed any organisation they join, to stand for much more than the traditional profit motive. They want our business to make a real difference to them, to clients, the communities in which we operate and thus to make a positive contribution to society in general. They want to be part of an organisation that aligns to their values, where they can really contribute by being themselves and feel truly connected to their organisation.

People will increasingly make key decisions based on their beliefs and values; they will choose where they want to work and how much discretionary effort they give based on how engaged and aligned they feel. By creating an organisation that is more diverse and inclusive, that embraces difference, you will have an organisation that will win the war for talent and from this success will surely follow.

While diversity and inclusion has moved up the corporate agenda, organisations still face challenges to implement effective policies and procedures and making it real. It’s an issue that we, like many companies, are committed to addressing. From our internal networks to our career mentoring and coaching schemes, creating an inclusive workplace is high on our agenda as a key driver of enhanced employee engagement. To support us in achieving our goals we rely on the views and experience of our LGBT employee network, EY Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender D&I network (‘EYGLES’).

We are delighted to partner with GLEN in sponsoring this important research ‘Working it Out’ and are committed to strengthening our existing relationship.

If I reflect on my absolute passion, it’s to continue to create an environment where everyone, regardless of background or identity, can succeed.

Mike McKerr,
Managing Partner, EY Ireland
Employers’ Checklist: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Diversity and Inclusion

This checklist brings together the findings of the research with GLEN’s experience of helping employers embed LGBT diversity and inclusion throughout their organisations. This checklist seeks to match the opportunities, concerns and issues raised by lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents with appropriate actions on behalf of employers and colleagues. While this research is based on lesbian, gay and bisexual experiences, this employers’ good practice checklist applies equally to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender diversity and inclusion. We recognise that there will be additional transgender specific issues which are not included in this checklist.

1. Respectful workplace atmosphere

“Now, it’s not the same tension on a Monday morning wondering how to navigate those questions about what I did at the weekend.”
- Lesbian, 33, Dublin

“People are allowed to bully you because you’re gay. Supportive colleagues believe it’s OK if unsupportive colleagues treat you badly. As if homophobia is an individual’s right.”
- Gay man, 30, Dublin

People perform better when they can be themselves. Employers and employees should:

- Take responsibility for helping to ensure their workplaces are inclusive
- Appreciate the negative impact of offensive comments and behaviours on LGBT employees
- Actively apply anti-bullying and anti-harassment and Dignity at Work policies to appropriately protect LGBT employees

2. Becoming an employer of choice

“I would like to see Irish workplaces learn from what the likes of Google, Microsoft, IBM and others have achieved in valuing and celebrating LGBT diversity.”
- Gay man, 45, Dublin

Employers can proactively ensure that they are attracting the best talent in all its diversity. In order to do so, employers should:

- Be able to communicate and demonstrate how their company’s diversity and inclusion policies and culture comes to life for LGBT employees
- Make sure recruiters are not making unfounded assumptions based on implicit biases that discriminate against particular groups
- Monitor and track employee- perceptions of LGBT diversity and inclusion over time, as being an employer of choice is driven by reputation and starts from within

3. Retaining valued talent

“Really, my manager was a gay-friendly person. For that reason, I am still working in the same company.”
- Gay man, 45, Dublin

“I changed career in my late 30s to avoid working in a homophobic environment.”
- Gay man, 56, Dublin

This research found that employees who are out at work are more committed to their place of employment than LGBT employees who are not out. Employers should:

- Take proactive steps to ensure LGBT employees can come out at work without any negative impact on their careers by ensuring that an appropriate workplace culture and diversity policies and procedures are in place and universally understood
- Include sexual and gender identity in employee satisfaction, engagement and exit monitoring processes

4. Building the best careers

“Because of my employer’s positive attitude to diversity, being out as gay opened doors for me that might otherwise have remained closed.”
- Gay man, 49, Dublin
Employers who support diverse talent create better opportunities for career development and future leaders. Employers should:

- Encourage the career development and progression of LGBT employees to be future leaders
- Create networking opportunities for LGBT employees via employee network groups and with senior leaders

5. Revisit inclusion policies

“The absence of same-sex partner benefits is a huge issue for me.”
- Lesbian, 44, Dublin

Strong and coherent policies on inclusion and diversity are the foundation of an inclusive workplace. Employers should ensure that policies and procedures are LGBT inclusive and up to date with legislative changes. Employers should ensure that:

- Employee partner benefits, including pensions, apply equally to same sex partners. The term “marital status” has been updated to “spouse or civil partner”
- Policies which make provision for paternity leave (i.e. male or female), apply equally to LGBT non-biological same-sex parents
- Policies are updated and communicated to employees

6. Responsibility of all employees

“I overheard a colleague saying that she didn’t know how she would cope if one of her children told her he was gay. It felt to me like swallowing a chicken bone. How damaging an assumed heterosexual norm can be!”
- Lesbian, 34, Dublin

The informal workplace culture is a key driver in the creation of an LGBT inclusive workplace. Employers and employees should always work on the basis that their workplace may include LGBT colleagues, clients or customers. We recommend that employers:

- Provide regular diversity and inclusion training to all employees, helping heighten everyone’s understanding and sensitivity to the LGBT experience
- Foster, through example, a workplace culture which respects and values diversity, and openly and consistently challenges behaviours counter to this ethos

7. The critical role of organisational leadership

“My boss appreciated the significance of me telling her, and it gave us a moment of closeness that we would never usually have.”
- Lesbian, 28, Dublin

“It’s individuals in management positions that can make life difficult.”
- Lesbian, 24, Dublin

Executive leaders and line managers play a central role in establishing their organisations’ formal and informal culture, as they model behaviour for the whole organisation. Employers should consider the following:

- Ensure that executive leadership and line managers understand and enact their critical role in creating inclusive and respectful culture for LGBT employees
- Establish diversity performance management goals for every senior employee
- Provide equality and diversity training for executive leaders and line managers
8. LGBT role models at work

“Co-workers knowing I am out - helps them challenge their assumptions that everyone is heterosexual. Knowing me has challenged the gay stereotypes they held.”
- Lesbian, 31, Ulster

“There is no-one out in my workplace. As I am still relatively new, this makes coming out difficult.”
- Gay man, 45, Connaught

Visible LGBT employees create a powerful positive message about the diversity and inclusion culture of an organisation. The choice to come out and be visible is always a personal one. Employers should support:

- LGBT staff if they choose to be out and their visibility in the organisation
- New and existing LGBT employees through induction processes, employee networks, Diversity Champions events, mentoring and career development channels

9. Understanding the differences between the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender experiences

“I wouldn’t dream of compromising my good relations in the workplace, or the respect I have now from people I work with, by having them decide I ‘swing both ways’ and gossiping about me.”
- Bisexual woman, 28, Dublin

“I assumed that if I was thought of as lesbian my career would be over. I could only think of one woman in my whole workplace who was out as gay and still successful.”
- Lesbian, 29, Dublin

This research found that lesbian and bisexual employees report more negative experiences than gay employees in some scenarios. Employers and employees should be aware:

- That lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender employees may have quite different experiences from each other in the workplace, and this needs to be appreciated and understood

- Employers may need to tailor their diversity and inclusion initiatives for each group

10. Connecting policies with culture

“While the policy on discrimination toward LGBT people in my organisation is flawless, the accepted culture of laughing at gay people is very accepted.”
- Gay man, 44, Dublin

“For the most part I’ve learned that reporting injustices really just leads to the reporter being intimidated and excluded in the workplace as a result.”
- Lesbian, 25, Dublin

Policies are only effective if the reality of an organisation’s workplace culture is inclusive as well. Good workplace policy is the ‘end of the beginning’ when it comes to workplace inclusion, not an end in itself. We recommend:

- Regular measurement of the perceived workplace culture on the key attributes within diversity and inclusion, over time
- An acceptance that good policy on its own is never enough – it must be made to live within the organisation
- Assurance that protocols for making complaints are established, user-friendly and fair. Every complaint should receive substantive attention and be followed by an appropriate, timely response

11. Employer as facilitator of, not agitator for, workplace disclosure

“I respect those of my colleagues who aren’t out, because it’s a deeply personal decision.”
- Lesbian, 35, Ulster

Coming out at work is a profoundly personal decision. Employers should be:

- A sensitive facilitator to those who wish to come out at work. Disclosure should be welcomed, but no pressure should be exerted on LGBT individuals to disclose their identity
Section 1: Introduction

The workplace has long been characterised as the place of commerce and career. Seen as the core of any economy, it is often described in statistics - enumerating those employed and unemployed, the levels of salaries and the minimum wage, changes in productivity and output.

Such an approach can hide a very simple human reality – that the workplace is the place where 1.5 million Irish people (full-time workers) spend upwards of eight hours of each working day. It may indeed be the crux of our economy, but it is also a critical expression of our society. For many reasons, we should care deeply about what goes on within its walls and environs.

This report seeks to better understand lesbian, gay and bisexual employees’ experiences in the Irish workplace and provides insight into how companies can drive improved business performance by fully engaging their lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) employees.

The report explores the lived experience of 590 Irish LGB employees regarding their decisions to disclose or not to disclose their sexual orientation at work, and their experiences in the Irish workplace. We have been able to identify those aspects of the workplace which predict increased levels of disclosure, and have traced the positive consequences of disclosure. Our work extends this understanding to real implications for employers interested in improving LGB inclusion in their organisations through greater appreciation and consideration of practical initiatives in the workplace (see Appendix for details of methodology and sample breakdown).

The survey invited responses from lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender employees. The number of transgender respondents was insufficient to confidently describe transgender workplace experiences. As a result this report focuses specifically on issues relating to sexual orientation. We note the attention that the transgender experience in the Irish workplace deserves.

We anticipate that many kinds of people will benefit from our findings and have attempted to break them into sections which facilitate differing areas of interest. For both employers and employees interested in a quick summary of things to consider which strengthen inclusivity in the workplace, we suggest going straight to the Checklist for Employers at the beginning of this document. Many employers will be interested in understanding the detail of the benefits of inclusion and how inclusion can be both attained and hampered in their organisation. Section 2 & Section 3 cover this in detail. We believe many people, employees and employers alike, will glean deep understanding from the lived experience of LGB people in the Irish workplace. For this reason we have included a lengthy Section 4 in the report which delves specifically into the meaning of coming out at work, and how individual employees perceive and act on disclosure in the workplace.

We see this work as a contribution to an ongoing and important conversation regarding the challenges and benefits of diversity and inclusion in the Irish workplace. When progress in understanding is made in this sphere, all of society benefits.

Brian McIntyre & Elizabeth Nixon
March, 2014
Section 2: 
LGB Inclusion in the Workplace – The Impact on Organisations

The workplace is a marketplace. In order to gain a competitive edge, many employers see benefit in being as attractive as possible to prospective talent, and as supportive as possible to talent already recruited so that they may stay and contribute as effectively as possible to the organisation.

Benefits for Employers of Workplace Inclusion

Improved Recruitment through Increased Reputation

It emerges clearly that some companies have built a positive reputation due to their approach to diversity. Such a reputation attracts candidates.

“I self-select American companies as they are more liberal, have a greater respect for the individual in the workplace and value you more on ability than Irish ones.”
- Gay man, 40, Dublin

“I would like to see Irish workplaces learn from what the likes of Google, Microsoft, IBM and others have achieved in valuing and celebrating LGBT diversity.”
- Gay man, 45, Dublin

We note the emerging behaviour of candidates using a job interview as a means of testing an employer’s ‘LGB credentials’ there and then. For example, some respondents – especially younger LGB people – report deliberately coming out during the interview process, testing the water and allowing them to gauge whether a prospective employer is a good fit for them. Thus, coming out comes full circle, and the act of doing so is a method of revealing an organisation’s diversity credentials.

“When I went for the interview, I really wanted them to pick up that I was gay, as I had a fear that they would hire me and then perhaps later regret it when they learned of my sexual orientation.”
- Gay man, 34, Dublin

Perhaps unknown to the prospective employer, they too are being interviewed about their diversity and inclusion values and culture.

Improved Loyalty & Retention of Employees

“Really, my manager was a gay-friendly person. For that reason, I am still working in the same company because, at this stage, I am happy at work being a gay male.”
- Gay man, 45, Dublin

An important finding for employers is that a significant association exists between being out and increased loyalty to an organisation. We compared LGB employees who were out (i.e. self-declared as ‘out to all’ or ‘most’ people at work) and those who were not out (i.e. self-declared as ‘out to no one’ or ‘out to some’ people at work) on a measure of organisational loyalty (emotional commitment). This is a composite measure including questions such as ‘I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this organisation’ and ‘I really feel as if this organisation’s problems are my own’. We found that LGB employees who were out to most / all had loyalty scores that were more than 10% higher than LGB employees who were out to some / none. In short, the more out LGB employees are in the workplace, the more emotionally committed they are to their employers.

The ability to retain talent is valued in most businesses, as talent is often a direct component of competitive edge. By bolstering LGB policies and fostering an organisational climate which facilitates disclosure at work, employers stand to enjoy increased loyalty from their LGB employees and, in consequence, improved business performance. We see this as a key finding for employers from our research, suggesting a ‘win win’ when workplace diversity is embraced.

Improved understanding between LGB and non-LGB people

Our findings suggest that coming out at work forges inter-personal understanding. Some respondents believe that their coming out has helped to positively change the attitudes and deepen understanding amongst their non-LGB colleagues. At the heart of this is the effect of personal
experience – where knowing a person’s individual circumstances is powerful in breaking down preconceptions. Thus, the act of coming out can have a positive ripple-effect in organisations, benefitting more than just the LGB persons concerned.

“Co-workers said getting to know me had changed their preconceptions about gay people in a positive way.”
– Gay man, 27, Dublin

“I think they have benefitted as much by me being out as I have.”
– Lesbian, 49, Dublin

The Impact of Anti-LGB Bias in the Workplace

The Spectre of Harassment

“I have experienced serious (although usually subtle) and depressing discrimination for most of the time I have worked in this sector (over 20 years).”
– Lesbian, 53, Connaught

“I love my job, but a few of my colleagues make me withdraw my identity, saying gays are the rodents of society.”

“There are people who will use (my being out at work) as a means of making me the butt end of the joke on a continual basis.”
– Bisexual man, 23, Dublin

Past experiences of discrimination were particularly noteworthy. As suggested by these quotes from respondents, and Figure 1, the incidence of harassment in the past is substantial in the Irish workplace and should be a cause for concern. Overall, just under one third of respondents had faced discrimination because of their sexual orientation, almost one in ten had been physically harassed, almost one third had been verbally harassed, and more than one in ten had left a job because of discrimination based on their sexual orientation. Figure 1 suggests that experiences of discrimination are even higher for lesbians and bisexuals than gay men.

Some report an atmosphere of implicit hostility in the workplace towards those who are lesbian, gay or bisexual. It is noteworthy that many of the harassment stories reported are not personally directed, and revolve around co-worker comments which stigmatise LGB people in general.

Figure 1:
Past experiences of discrimination based on being LGB (N = 521)
“Any discomfort I have in the workplace relates more to digs and asides and is generally (highly) nuanced.”
- Gay man, 34, Dublin

In such instances, harassment in the workplace is becoming more subtle (it could be termed ‘passive-aggressive’), but is no less injurious. It follows that such subtle harassment can be difficult to monitor and counter, and yet doing so is particularly important.

Fears of the potential discrimination that would arise if an individual disclosed their sexual orientation were significant. Figure 2 shows that more than one third of LGB employees who were not out feared that co-workers would feel uncomfortable around them if they were open about their sexual orientation. This contrasts with only one in ten of those who were actually out who reported having had this experience.

Several elements can account for the discrepancy between these two groups. Firstly, those not out may indeed be facing serious and real threats to their careers and welfare should they come out. We have gathered plenty of evidence for such fears being founded. It may also be true that of the fears experienced by those not out are unfounded – and that the lived reality transpires to be better than envisaged.

We expect that both elements are at play, highlighting the complexity of the issues facing LGB people in the workplace. It is the job of employers and colleagues alike to affect positive change to both the fact of, and the perception of discrimination in the workplace. In so doing, those who desire to come out can feel unencumbered in so doing.

The Stress of Non-disclosure

We found that 12% of employees were ‘out to no one’ in the workplace and a further 26% were ‘out to some’ only.

Many of the 38% who were out to some / none in the workplace articulated a difficult decision:

“It can be quite a strain keeping things hidden. It uses energy better used on other things.”
- Lesbian, 48, Munster

“It was never a good time to come out at the start and then it just became easier to continue letting [my colleagues] think I was straight. But I am out everywhere else in my life so it is sometimes hard to not be so in my job.”
- Gay man, 31, Dublin

Figure 2:
Workplace perceptions of out and not out LGB employees (N = 585)
“I have always been afraid to share my sexuality. It’s hard to be free about it as my workmates slag gays and lesbians. I have to keep that part of my life secret.”
– Lesbian, 43, Dublin

It is important to grow our understanding of what motivates the disclosure decision. In particular, we need to understand to what extent not being out is a defensive mechanism against anti-gay bias and prejudice and to what extent it is a positive choice around privacy. (We consider these issues in detail in Section 4.)

The Impact on Employee Retention

Just as having an inclusive work environment bolsters employee engagement (see p. 9), the reverse is also true. In our analyses, we note the very real cost to employers, in terms of retention, of a workplace perceived as hostile to LGB people. Respondents reported fearing that they would have to change jobs, and in some cases did actually change jobs or careers (see Figure 1), and even emigrated, to escape LGB hostile workplaces.

“I haven’t been at my new job long so I haven’t told anyone. It’s a factory in rural Ireland which to be fair isn’t the most accepting anyway. The insular, gossipy environment at work means that the people who work there exist in a bubble. If people knew, everybody would talk about me and I don’t know if I’d be able stay.”
– Lesbian, 22, Ulster

“I changed career in my late 30s to avoid working in a homophobic environment. I think the people who can be most out at work are those whose career paths were strongly influenced by their wish to be out in the first place.”
– Gay man, 56, Dublin

“I left Ireland first in 1988 as I felt that ‘coming out’ and the workplace were incompatible. 30 years later I have returned and it has not improved at all. In fact, now work colleagues make anti-gay jokes to my face quite easily, in a manner they would never make racist jokes.”
– Gay man, 50, Dublin
Facilitating LGB Inclusivity

“Straights need to understand how fabulous we are.”
– Lesbian, 46, Dublin

This research has statistically established that employees who are out are more committed to their employers than employees who are not out. We asked employees what influences their decision about coming out. The responses are helpful in understanding what makes a workplace LGB inclusive.

62% of employees in our survey said that they were out to most/all people at work. The decision to come out is a complex one, made up of many elements. The responses reveal four key influences on the decision to disclose one’s sexual orientation in the workplace:

a. Circumstances in one’s personal life – the extent to which people’s sexual orientation is central to their life, and where they are in their own personal journey outside of the workplace. Significant milestones in life (such as change in relationship status, or having children) can precipitate a coming out decision at work.

b. The perceived climate of the workplace – the extent to which people feel their organisation’s overall culture and policies will be receptive and conducive to disclosing sexual orientation.

c. The perceived attitude of co-workers – the degree to which the closer set of co-workers, with whom one interacts every day, will be receptive to disclosing one’s sexual orientation.

d. The perceived attitude of one’s immediate supervisor – how the line manager will react, and what he or she might say, is high on people’s minds as they consider the decision to come out, or not.

Events in employees’ personal lives are, naturally, usually beyond the remit and influence of an employer. However, the employer can definitely influence what we term ‘the workplace climate’ – a combination of the formal apparatus of an organisation’s policies and the more informal perception of an organisation’s culture (attitudes and behaviours of co-workers and one’s line manager).

Figure 2: Percentage of respondents whose employers have specific LGBT policies and procedures in place (N = 590)
The Role of Workplace Policies (Formal Structures of an Organisation)

“You come out when you feel secure.”
– Gay man, 33, Dublin

Instituting good workplace policy is an important first step. 64% of employees confirm that they have a written non-discrimination policy in their workplace (see Figure 3). It is noteworthy that a minority of employees are unaware whether such policies or procedures exist in their company or not – suggesting that communication is an important consideration.

The Role of Positive Workplace Culture (Informal Attitudes)

Although our statistical data confirms both policies and culture as important in predicting increasing levels of disclosure, it is the workplace culture (colleagues’ attitudes and behaviours) which attracts most energy and comment in the qualitative feedback. When the workplace culture is perceived as healthy this is described in glowing terms, with employees attaching a strong emotional benefit to it:

“I work in a smaller private sector organisation with a real family ethos. We are all part of the team and there is a very healthy atmosphere. The approach of the directors is central to this. There is no heavy-handed equality-oriented flag waving, simply a human approach [implying] that we’re all of the same worth.”
– Lesbian, 42, Dublin

“The warm acceptance of difference in my workplace was demonstrated by the reaction of many colleagues (co-workers and managers) to the partner of a gay co-worker who died recently.”
– Gay man, 52, Dublin

It is notable how often companies with ‘an American ethos’ are mentioned as the standard setters. It emerges clearly that these companies have a reputation for their progressive approach to diversity and that this draws candidates their way.

“I have been fortunate to work for organisations that value diversity for the last 15 years. Both are/were U.S. multi-national companies. It is comparatively easy to disclose one’s orientation in a supportive environment.”
– Gay man, 45, Dublin

“In completing the survey I realise just how lucky I am with my current employer where there are at least 10-20 other out gay people and where people are indifferent to sexual identity. It’s [an American multi-national] BTW. I don’t make an issue of being gay in work, but I have worked in other places where it just was not possible.”
– Gay man, 40, Dublin

The Role of Line Managers

It is striking how often the line manager’s attitude is cited, whether good and bad. The intimate relationship – verbal and non-verbal – between employee and line manager is at the centre of the lived experience. Line managers are referred to as being a key determinant in how LGB employees experience an organisation’s culture.

“I had to (come out to) my boss to get a day off for my partner’s grandfather’s funeral. I cried a little, kind of like telling a parent.”
– Lesbian, 28, Dublin

We believe that line managers should be viewed by employers as front-line advocates for inclusivity. They need to be supported in carrying out this vital role through training, education and incentives.

LGB Role Models at Work

The idea that coming out at work is an act of leadership and inspiration to others is frequently cited amongst those already out. These people often see their coming out as a personal contribution to the wider LGBT community. The perception of many respondents is that ‘seeing is believing’, and that the presence of openly gay people in a workplace plays a positive role.
“I do believe that every time I refer to my personal circumstances, I am chipping away at prejudice and discriminatory attitudes.”
– Lesbian, 53, Leinster

“Knowing that I am out helps [colleagues] to challenge their assumptions that everyone is heterosexual. Knowing me has challenged the gay stereotypes they held.”
– Lesbian, 31, Ulster

“I am a teacher, therefore I limit my disclosure in work to people I know I could trust.”
– Lesbian, 30, Leinster

More people need to come out. It helps us all.”
– Lesbian, 46, Dublin

Barriers to LGB Inclusivity

We feel it is important to now consider the opposite scenarios to those positive practices, above, which facilitate inclusion in the workplace. Although this necessitates some repetition of theme, it is in the detail of the barriers to inclusivity that some important learning resides.

Discriminatory Policies

Participants spoke of certain policies which have a particularly negative impact on LGB employees. One poignant example illustrates this point:

“I haven’t attended any company social events in years because they’re all black tie, and I’m deeply uncomfortable in a dress. We even received an email saying that it was dresses for women/suits for men. I complained and was actually disciplined for complaining.”
– Lesbian, 34, Leinster

Several have reported specific difficulties in workplaces which are run by organisations with a religious ethos, including many schools and hospitals. (Section 371 of the Employment Equality Acts 1998 – 2011 exempts religious, educational or medical institutions, which are under the direction or control of a body established for religious purposes, from the prohibition on discrimination in certain circumstances.) Several LGB employees report that this legal situation exacerbates the risk associated with directly or indirectly disclosing their sexual orientation in the workplace.

“Because of the way the law stands, I can’t even consider coming out in the workplace (school). And sometimes we think we live in a progressive, modern society. I think not.”
– Gay man, 30, Connaught

“I am a teacher, therefore I limit my disclosure in work to people I know I could trust.”
– Lesbian, 30, Leinster

Inclusion Policy versus Inclusion Reality

In analysing the role of workplace culture in LGB disclosure decisions, we are reminded of a quote from Peter Drucker: ‘Culture eats policy for breakfast’. Drucker’s wisdom points to a clear business challenge: what is intended in an organisation’s policy counts for little if it is not brought to life in the day-to-day interactions of that organisation’s culture.

“I put more weight on the attitudes of co-workers than policies, because policies are useful only when invoking them as a result of discriminatory behaviour. Although they may make such behaviour more unlikely, they cannot by themselves change attitudes.”
– Gay man, 35, Dublin

An interesting challenge is for employers to consider how the reality of inclusivity is experienced by their employees. Thus, inclusivity is achieved when a workplace is perceived as such, not just when a policy is in place.

“My employer has a lovely, glossy policy on non-discrimination for the LGBT Community. It says all the right things. However it has had very little impact on the culture of the organisation and the personal attitudes of staff.”
– Lesbian, 34, Munster
“There has been [diversity] training in my workplace but in many ways it is window dressing.”
- Lesbian, 42, Dublin

“My workplace has all the array of policies for an organisation of its size. That is all well and good, but the attitude on the ‘shop floor’ is different. When it comes down to it, politics and perception favour the traditional family man or woman type.”
- Gay man, 40, Dublin

“While the policy on discrimination toward LGBT people in my organisation is flawless, the accepted culture of laughing at gay people is very accepted. The type of comments and behaviour that seem acceptable for heterosexuals in my workplace to direct at LGBT peoples would not be tolerated if they were made about other minorities, e.g. black people. I have personally taken people to task often in these instances and the backlash is to be labelled as a troublemaker, too sensitive or waving the flag.”
- Gay man, 44, Dublin

Some respondents question their organisations’ ability to ‘follow-through’ with practices that would substantiate a full commitment to workplace non-discrimination policies. In the real world, we know that policy documents are a means to creating an inclusive environment, not an end in themselves. This we see as an on-going challenge for any organisation – and a determined reason why complacency must not be allowed to reign.

Inappropriate Complaint Management

A further recurring issue in respondents’ feedback is the failure of organisations to deal effectively with complaints - situations when it is perceived that workplace diversity policies are not being followed.

“For the most part I’ve learned that reporting injustices really just leads to the reporter being intimidated and excluded in the workplace as a result.”
- Lesbian, 25, Dublin

“It takes a HR department that is openly hostile to any kind of feedback to make it impossible to get around the bigots.” – Lesbian, 34, Leinster

The real moment of truth for diversity policy is not its inception, but its implementation. This tends to reinforce our belief that good workplace policy is the ‘end of the beginning’ when it comes to workplace inclusion, rather than being seen by employers as an end in itself.

Line Managers and Management of Bias

Participants were most interested in the signals and behaviours of managers in their organisations’ hierarchies. It is they who set the prevailing atmosphere and often determine the trajectory of Organisation Culture, irrespective of official policy.

“All in all, my company says it practices LGBT [diversity] but I believe there are deep underlying issues with management and how they view LGBT people in the workplace.”
- Gay man, 25, Ulster

“I belong to a huge organisation and, while the policies are excellent, there are still problems with older/senior people and their homophobic attitudes.”
- Lesbian, 39, Dublin

“Higher [management] reflects more lip service than [good] practice when it comes to equality.”
- Lesbian, 33, Dublin

“It’s generally not the organisation which poses the problem; it’s individuals in management positions that can make life difficult!”
- Lesbian, 24, Dublin

“My superior has brought up my sexuality on a number of occasions when travelling or trying to make small-talk. He has commented how a gay guy in the workplace wears makeup and I know that he probably has commented on me also.”
- Gay man, 28, Cork
“With my immediate boss we have never talked about [my LGB identity] as I think he feels uncomfortable about it, but that’s his right and I have no desire to force my sexuality into the workplace.”
– Gay man, 42, Dublin

Our research underscores the role of executive leadership and line management in creating a positive workplace climate. It points to a clear role of leadership, sensitivity and understanding for all people who have staff reporting to them. Although achieving inclusion is the work of all, line managers have a pivotal role to play. It follows that all line management employees need support and training to fulfil their role.

Co-workers Not Playing their Role in Fostering Inclusive Workplaces

A great workplace climate is challenging to foster and maintain. A generally positive, inclusive atmosphere can easily be soured by the actions of a minority of co-workers. Many respondents gave emotional descriptions of experiences which are characterised by a ‘one bad apple’ syndrome – the power of one individual employee to erode the dignity of an LGB colleague and thus diminish the lived experience at work.

“All of my co-workers have been great. Most, in fact. But it only takes one to sour the lot.”
– Lesbian, 34, Leinster

“People are allowed to bully you because you’re gay. Supportive colleagues believe it’s OK if unsupportive colleagues treat you badly. As if homophobia is an individual’s right.”
– Gay man, 30, Dublin

“We overheard a colleague saying that she didn’t know how she would cope if one of her children told her he was gay. It felt to me like swallowing a chicken bone. How damaging an assumed heterosexual norm can be!”
– Lesbian, 34, Dublin

“We have not come out to anyone, especially in my workplace because of a colleague who is extremist in his religious views and would make my life hell if he knew.”
– Bisexual woman, 26, Dublin

We believe that employers and employees have an urgent and vital duty to defend the dignity and respect of their LGB colleagues, and protect them from bullying and harassment. Employers can play a powerful and proactive role in ensuring that anti-LGB behaviour is not tolerated in their organisations.

Absence of LGB Role Models in their Organisation

The absence of role models, and general invisibility of out LGB employees, within their organisation is sometimes cited by people as reason enough to not come out.

“I assumed that, if I was thought of as lesbian, my career would be over. I could only think of one woman in my whole workplace who was out as gay and still successful.”
– Lesbian, 29, Dublin

“I’m reluctant to (come out) as there is nobody out in the whole company (150 people) and it’s quite a traditional Irish, old fashioned, macho place and I like my job, so don’t want to take the risk.”
– Gay man, 40, Dublin
“I have spent a time working overseas [in several European countries] I returned to Ireland in 2005 and I still find the invisibility of gay people in business incredible and frightening. This is no country for gay people. After 5 years my partner and I have had enough and are leaving Ireland again.”
- Gay man, 50, Dublin

Age and tenure play a key role in disclosure in the workplace. An important finding of our research is that role models within one’s own organisation emerge as being especially important for younger employees. **Younger employees in particular use visible LGB role models as an important signal of an organisation’s openness to LGB employees.** Employees under the age of twenty-five were four times more likely than employees over the age of forty-five to list the presence / absence of other LGB people in the workplace as being the most important influence on their personal coming out decisions.

Those new to an organisation, whatever their age, report that they are influenced by role models in making their coming out decisions.

“There is no-one out in my workplace. As I am still relatively new, this makes coming out difficult.”
- Gay man, 45, Connaught
Working It Out: Driving business excellence through understanding lesbian, gay and bisexual workplace experiences

Section 4:
LGB Employees’ Experiences of Disclosure

What it is to come out

“Coming out” - for those who wish to - is not a one-off event, but a process over a lifetime in the dynamic workplace. I see it as a work in progress and come out to more colleagues when it feels appropriate.”
– Lesbian, 45, Dublin

Disclosing one’s sexual orientation at work is a deeply personal process, informed by a personal philosophy. Disclosure or “coming out” is a process, not a one-off event. Coming out happens on a continuum – it can be fully direct (e.g. naming one’s orientation) or can be effected by indirect means (e.g. referring to one’s same-sex partner, public posts on social media etc.). The dynamics of coming out (or disclosure) are profoundly affected by legislation, technology and culture.

In the opinion of many of our respondents, the experience of coming out is changing fast in the Irish workplace. Fears of employer / co-worker reactions which seemed commonplace 10-20 years ago have markedly dissipated.

There is much to celebrate with regard to the levels of disclosure (62% out to some / all), and the quality of LGB experiences in coming out, in the Irish workplace.

“I can honestly say that I have rarely encountered any problems relating to my sexual identity.”
– Lesbian, 28, Leinster

“I don’t make an issue of being gay in work but I have worked in other places where it just was not possible. I like the live and let live attitude.”
– Gay man, 40, Dublin

“Coming out was really scary at the time (20 years back), but we never looked back.”
– Gay man, 52, Munster

Coming out and being out at work - no longer an important issue?

There is also an emerging group of LGB people who perceive that, in general, the workplace ‘struggle’ is over and that coming out is simply a non-issue. They support their position by pointing out that, for many heterosexual co-workers, the fact of being gay is met with indifference.

“When I chose to reveal [my sexual orientation at work], I discovered that I was the one with the biggest issues about it. [My co-workers] were busy with their own lives.”
– Gay man, 51, Munster.

This cohort appears to have transcended the disclosure decision and see it as irrelevant to their lived experience.

“In recent years being gay is less and less of an issue. In fact (am I just lucky?) it has become a complete non-issue.”
– Gay man, 37, Dublin

“I think this survey is coming 20 years too late. Sexuality is a non-issue and I can’t even imagine why someone would be closeted unless they worked at a religious school.”
– Lesbian, 33, Munster.

It is notable that this is sometimes accompanied by a sense of exasperation with those LGB people who have not followed suit.

“This survey feels about ten years out of date. I’ve been out since I was thirteen. The closet is a prison.”
– Lesbian, 35, Ulster.

The very idea of coming out, or disclosing one’s sexual orientation, is challenged by some, who believe that it implies a confession of sorts. For these respondents, there is nothing being withheld. Such a perception, although a minority voice, is keenly felt and should be acknowledged and respected.
“It [aggravates] me to ‘confess’ as if I had committed a crime. I feel neither special nor different for being gay.”
- Gay man, 31, Dublin

“There is no ‘coming out’. I never came out. I have always been gay.”
- Gay man, 32, Dublin

“Nearly everyone I meet is ‘over’ the gay thing. It is not a big deal and [straights] don’t know why gay people are not treated equally.”
- Lesbian, 38, Dublin

That such perceptions as these exist (i.e. that coming out is irrelevant or passé) can be seen as major progress; something to be celebrated. And yet, such a celebration should not ignore the very real truth emerging from this research: disclosure of sexual orientation remains a ‘big deal’ for many LGB people, the process of disclosure is still fraught with fear and danger, and many employees are not out in the Irish workplace because they judge that coming out would be harmful to them.

Although some LGB employees ignore or dismiss issues surrounding disclosure of sexual orientation in the workplace, the majority of LGB employees in our survey do not agree. Many who have had positive experiences of being out at work consider themselves lucky. In short, our survey emphatically finds that change is required in the Irish workplace. There is little room for complacency.

“I feel I have been lucky in my previous jobs and in my current job but I worry about my future career. I’m lucky to work with such amazing people and I hope I continue to do so in the future.”
- Gay man, 19, Dublin

We are struck by the importance of appreciating that the decision to disclose / not disclose is a personal one, and believe it is important to appreciate that the disclosure decisions are nuanced.

The Benefits for LGB Employees of Coming Out at Work

There are strong, consistent and moving accounts of how coming out at work has enhanced the personal and professional lives of the 62% of employees in our survey who are out to most / all at work. The following key themes emerge:

Not having to deal with the stress of concealing one’s sexual orientation

Often significant energy is expended in ‘covering’ or ‘passing-off’ strategies designed to hide one’s sexual identity. The result of coming out in the workplace can prove cathartic, freeing much energy.

“Now, it’s not the same tension on a Monday morning wondering how to navigate those questions about what I did at the weekend.”
- Lesbian, 33, Dublin

Coming out is not always the goal

38% of employees in our survey are either out to none or only some. Harassment, both experienced and anticipated, can influence decisions not to come out, as can barriers to inclusivity in the workplace. There can also be other, very practical, reasons behind choosing not to come out. Some people assess the workplace and decide that, for them, there is no benefit to coming out. This may be because they are present for a short-term contract and coming out feels irrelevant. Other people point out that their motivation for not coming out in the workplace is to do with privacy, not secrecy. They assert that their decision to not talk about their orientation is motivated not by fear or concern, but by a core belief that one’s private life is private.

“I think my sexual orientation is my business and has absolutely nothing to do with work.”
- Bisexual woman, 48, Ulster

“I regard it as a very personal thing to tell (a colleague) that I am gay.”
- Gay man, 24, Dublin

38% of employees in our survey are either out to none or only some.
“Heterosexuals don’t always realise how much they wear their sexuality on their sleeve - it’s not always easy to reciprocate.”
– Gay man, 31, Dublin

“I just feel really relieved and light to have come out. I feel whole within myself and my life is beginning to feel integrated rather than compartmentalised at long last.”
– Lesbian, 44, Munster

**Improved relationships with colleagues**

Some report that colleagues admire and respect their integrity and honesty for bringing their whole selves to work. For some, *setting the record straight* allows people at work to ‘move on’:

“I was not a topic of conversation and found that my openness actually ‘bought’ me kudos and a measure of respect.”
– Lesbian, 41, Dublin

Whether it be with co-workers or with one’s direct line manager, participants report that coming out is often a milestone in their personal relationships at work, helping to forge intimacy, trust and friendship.

“My boss appreciated the significance of me telling her, and it gave us a moment of closeness that we would never usually have.”
– Lesbian, 28, Dublin

“I came out to most of my fellow staff members. The rest came to the [gay friendly] bar one night for drinks to surprise and support me.”
– Lesbian, 34, Dublin

**Improved Career**

Perhaps in contrast to the fears associated with coming out (see Figure 2 above), some LGB people report that disclosure of their sexual orientation has had a positive impact on their career:

“Because of my employer’s positive attitude to diversity, being out as gay opened doors for me that might otherwise have remained closed.”
– Gay man, 49, Dublin

“I was terrified of being found out and got a job that kept me in [the closet] so I wouldn’t bump into other people. Now I’m championing the LGB cause.”
– Lesbian, 40, Dublin

**Coming Out Strategies are Evolving**

Coming out to work colleagues is revealed, in our research, as an important process - with as many coming out stories as there are individuals. The majority of participants who were out to some or all (62%) report that they came out of their own free will. Often, this tends to happen in informal environments.

“Most of my motivation for telling people I was gay was in response to being hit on at Christmas Parties by female colleagues.”
– Gay man, 47, Ulster

Some report that they ‘blurt out’ more than ‘come out’ in a planned or controlled way, with a mild sense of regret following the moment of disclosure.

“I don’t think I’ve ever come out to anyone sober, which is pretty lame!”
– Gay man, 23, Munster

An interesting theme is the dynamic and changing means by which employees decide to come out at work. Often, the act of coming out is no longer explicit (saying something) but rather is an implicit act of simply letting people figure it out, almost as if by osmosis.

“I don’t disclose or not disclose. I simply turn up to work and I guess people learn about me like I learn about them.”
– Gay man, 32, Dublin

In this sense the cathartic moment of revelation, so much part of the coming out lore in the LGB community, is beginning to break down.

More and more frequently in the workplace, people just
The Merging of Personal and Professional

It is interesting to note that, sometimes, much of the motivation to come out is wholly unrelated to the workplace and more aligned to where an individual is on his or her personal journey.

“(My) relationship status was a big factor in my ‘coming out’ at work. It is so much more natural to drop the word ‘boyfriend’ into a conversation – and then it’s out there. Now that I’m single again, I might just mention the Lesbian and Gay organisation I belong to, as a way of getting the message out without getting into a ‘deep and meaningful’ conversation in the canteen.”
– Gay man, 31, Dublin

This substantiates our view that coming out will always be a personal decision which can only be taken by the LGB individual concerned. Employers’ and colleagues’ role is to foster a workplace culture where LGB employees can make decisions about disclosing their sexual orientation without any fear of negative consequences for their career and/or professional relationships.

Coming Out as a Defensive Strategy

Coming out at work can be a defensive strategy. Some report their motivation to come out as a means of protection – by being clear and forthright, they perceive that they will be better protected, be it through legislation, company policies and company culture. This can be seen as a ‘negative choice’, driven by an adverse work culture.

“Being out takes away the potential threat homophobic colleagues can pose - nothing can be held against you when you are open and frank.”
– Gay man, 31, Ulster

This serves as a reminder that the most important thing is for employers to monitor the lived experience and perceptions of their LGB employees, rather than relying on imperfect indicators such as the absence of complaints, or a small number of out employees.

Coming Out…and Going Back In

“I used to have a swinging door to my closet.”
– Gay man, 53, Munster

There are some accounts in our research of LGB employees who have come out in one workplace and, because of negative experience, have decided not to disclose their LGB orientation in subsequent employment.

simply are LGB rather than declare being LGB.

This evolution is furthered by social media which can act to break down the division between social life and professional life, and hence the division between coming out and not coming out at work. Rather than an ‘either / or’ choice of being out or not, it may be useful to see the strategies of coming out as a continuum.

“While my workplace has no official LGBT policy, I never considered not telling people. We live in the Facebook age.”
– Gay man, 23, Dublin

“I decided to come out to all and sundry via a blog post.”
– Gay man, 31, Munster

“I have never ‘come out’ in a workplace. It has always just ‘come up’ in conversation.”
– Gay man, 24, Dublin.

“I won’t broadcast it but at the same time I won’t hide it. In this way I feel people (especially other men) can get to know me as a person before automatically associating me with potentially negative views towards homosexual stereotypes.”
– Gay man, 25 Dublin

“I found the easiest way to start a conversation that was comfortable for everyone, was to have a framed photo of my partner and our children on my desk.”
– Lesbian, 45, Leinster
At the heart of this is learnt experience – if the ‘price’ for coming out is too high the costs outweigh the rewards. In such instances, disclosure decisions are contextual – driven by an employee’s experience of the workplace climate.

“I am not out in my current job but I was in my last one. That was the reason I decided not to [come out] in this one. In my previous employment there was a lot of gay people but there was an us and them approach by management and the team. People continually kept slagging off other gay workmates then saying ‘sorry’ to me and that I was different; I was not that gay. Also if I ever struck up a close friendship with any of the female employees it caused rumours and if any arguments arose people were quick to shout ‘dyke’ as an insult to me. When I started my next job I said I would never be out again as it’s not worth the hassle.”
– Lesbian, 30, Dublin

The Unique Bisexual Experience

“I wouldn’t dream of compromising my good relations in the workplace or the respect I have now from people I work with by having them decide I ‘swing both ways’ and gossiping about me.”
– Bisexual woman, 28, Dublin

One of the striking findings in the research was the marked difference between the bisexual experience in the workplace and that of gay men and lesbians. Bisexuals comprised 10% of our sample – numbering 61 individuals - 74% of whom were women.

Bisexuals were much less likely to be out at work (26% out to most / all, compared to 64% and 69% respectively for gay men and lesbians) and were reticent to come out at work regardless of their age or the size of their work organisations.

“There is a process of being told by people I trusted…that my bisexual history is meaningless. This has hurt me very much.”
– Bisexual woman, 25, Dublin

From the bisexual standpoint, it is possible to see straight, lesbian and gay sexual orientations all as somehow ‘privileged’, in the sense that they are understood and (to a greater or lesser degree) accepted in Irish society in general and the Irish workplace in particular.

At the heart of their qualitative feedback, we discern a struggle for legitimacy – recognition that the bisexual orientation is not one of indecision, straddling or dissembling, but rather a true, equal and perfectly ordinary, if less common, reality.

“I have been told by people I trusted... that my bisexual history is meaningless. This has hurt me very much.”
– Bisexual woman, 28, Dublin

We judge that understanding and welcoming bisexuality is an important specific theme of the LGB experience in the workplace – an orientation that has remained cloaked, stereotyped and misunderstood.

For employers, we judge the work at hand to support people of bisexual orientation is fundamental:

- Ensure that bisexual orientation is understood, communicated and presented as a discrete, equal and legitimate orientation – one that is given its own chance to express itself and be understood
- Ensure that explanation and context regarding bisexual orientation is included in all diversity-training programmes
Appendix:
Methodology, Characteristics of the Sample and Caveats

The source of the current report is an academic research study completed in 2011 using an online survey with 590 LGB full-time employees in Ireland. Participants covered a wide spread of age profiles, duration of employment and organisation sizes across the island of Ireland. The research was part of post-graduate work in psychology carried out by Brian McIntyre, under the auspices of the School of Psychology, Trinity College Dublin, in conjunction with Dr Elizabeth Nixon.

The report is built on understanding of LGB experience in the workplace gleaned from lists of quantitatively-analysed feedback, via a broad range of questions, such as the lived experience of LGB inclusion at work, the manner of disclosure and questions exploring scenarios in the future.

We also included open qualitative questions which allowed participants to express personal stories, explanations and opinions:

• Do you have any further comments regarding the themes brought up in this survey?
• We invite you to share a brief PERSONAL story relating to your own disclosure decisions in the workplace

This report comprises a careful analysis of qualitative responses, framed and supported by quantitative analyses where appropriate.

Direct quotes from survey respondents have been used to illustrate our findings. In the interest of protecting anonymity, quotes are associated only with the respondent’s sexual orientation, age, and location of workplace. For those living outside Dublin, the province is listed rather than a specific county.

Because participation was voluntary and self-selected, this sample does not claim to be fully representative. For example, the 590 participants were more urban and more educated than a typical sample of Irish workers. Because sexual orientation is self-declared it is impossible to know with absolute certainty what percentage of any population is LGB and to what exact extent such a population is different from non-LGB people.
### Table 1:
Characteristics of the Sample

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Sample (N = 590)</th>
<th>Lesbian (N = 195)</th>
<th>Gay (N = 334)</th>
<th>Bisexual (N = 61)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All</td>
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<td>Out</td>
<td>Not Out</td>
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<tr>
<td>Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>64.7 (382)</td>
<td>61.7 (140)</td>
<td>66.7 (242)</td>
<td>60.0 (36)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Outside Dublin</td>
<td>35.3 (208)</td>
<td>38.3 (87)</td>
<td>33.3 (121)</td>
<td>40.0 (24)</td>
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<td>Urban Setting</td>
<td>93.7 (553)</td>
<td>91.2 (207)</td>
<td>95.3 (346)</td>
<td>86.7 (52)</td>
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<td>Village Setting</td>
<td>6.3 (37)</td>
<td>8.8 (20)</td>
<td>4.7 (17)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
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<tr>
<td>24 and younger</td>
<td>14.2 (84)</td>
<td>18.5 (42)</td>
<td>11.6 (42)</td>
<td>13.3 (8)</td>
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<td>25 to 44</td>
<td>67.3 (397)</td>
<td>65.6 (149)</td>
<td>68.3 (248)</td>
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<td>45 and older</td>
<td>18.5 (109)</td>
<td>15.9 (36)</td>
<td>20.1 (73)</td>
<td>18.3 (11)</td>
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<td>Organisation Size</td>
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<tr>
<td>&lt; 100 Employees</td>
<td>47.3 (279)</td>
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<td>53.3 (121)</td>
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<td>&lt; 1 year</td>
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<td>28.2 (64)</td>
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<td>43.2 (255)</td>
<td>35.2 (80)</td>
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<td>38.3 (23)</td>
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</table>

Note: ‘Not Out’ encompasses ‘Out to none’ and ‘Out to some’. ‘Out’ encompasses ‘Out to most’ and ‘Out to all’.