



Association of
University Teachers

at the Heart of the UK

Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Participation in UK Universities

Results from a Pilot Study

November 2001



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This research is conducted by the Aut-and-Proud Survey working party of the Association of University Teachers, under the auspices of the AUT equal opportunities committee. Aut-and-Proud is the informal Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered group of the AUT.



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Introduction

There has been an increased focus on the application of equal opportunities to pay and conditions in UK universities following the Bett Committee Independent Review of Higher Education Pay and Conditions in 1999. The disadvantages faced by women and ethnic minorities are now well-established. However, the problems facing lesbians, gay men, and bisexual and transgendered (LGBT) individuals are less well known. The current report draws upon a recent survey conducted by the Association of University Teachers (AUT) to highlight the extent to which LGBT individuals are disadvantaged in UK universities, and the nature of that disadvantage.

During the period December 2000 to February 2001 the AUT conducted a pilot survey entitled 'Fairness at Work'. The project stemmed from a previous Aut-and-Proud Group (the informal LGBT group of the AUT) publication, *Pride not Prejudice* (AUT, 1998), which examined equal opportunities in higher education from the perspective of lesbian, gay, and bisexual employees. Other trade unions (notably NATFHE, as reported in *Lesbian and Gay Rights at Work* (NATFHE, 1996)) and other organisations (see Palmer (1993) on a survey carried out by Stonewall) have also examined these issues.

The aim of our new survey is to build on and extend earlier work by surveying broadly in the university sector across individuals of different sexual identities. We wished to ascertain the degree of 'comfortableness' and 'effectiveness' academic and other university employees felt at work, and how this related to their gender, age, ethnicity, disability, and other characteristics. We also hoped to shed light on the degree of equity operating in relation to these variables at the administrative level, as reflected in promotions, the availability of benefits, salary determination, and other job characteristics. While the current report focuses on a number of issues concerning lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) university employees, the equal opportunities committee will provide additional reports in the future examining the experiences of ethnic minorities and women, based upon the 'Fairness at Work' survey.

The legal environment has changed significantly since the publication of *Pride not Prejudice*. Shortly thereafter, the government issued its employment law White Paper *Fairness at Work* (Department of Trade & Industry, 1998). The prime minister set out his aim for employment relations:

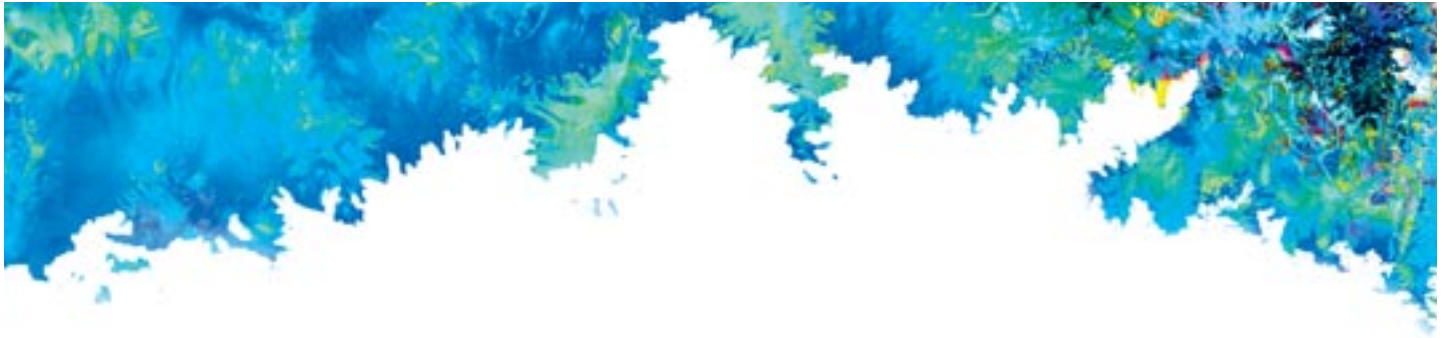
'... to change the culture of relations in and at work – and to reflect a new relationship between work and family life ...'.

The underlying ethos, put into practice by the *Employment Relations Act 1999*, was that 'a competitive and growing economy itself requires a culture of fairness and opportunity at work.' The subsequent government discussion document *Work/Life Balance* (Department of Education & Employment, 2000) raised significant gender-related issues including flexibility in hours of work. Two new employment directives were adopted by the European Union in 2000. These will require the modification of British law on race and disability discrimination and introduce new provisions outlawing discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation, age, and political and religious belief. Results from the 'Fairness at Work' survey will help inform the AUT, the government, and the public in the development of new employment relations.

Universities are perceived, and believe themselves to be, in the vanguard of good employment practices, as well as being centres of tolerance and diversity. Recent reports, however, have highlighted the gender gap in pay in higher education and the problems faced by ethnic minorities in universities. The current report raises concerns about the environment that LGB staff face in UK universities. If indeed universities are at the relatively enlightened end of the spectrum of employment practices, there are important lessons to be learned throughout UK workplaces.

The experience of LGB university employees differs from that of women and ethnic minorities. LGB employees, unlike women and ethnic minorities, can hide the characteristic that is associated with discrimination and thereby escape some of the pay and promotion penalties.





Perhaps for this reason, we do not find evidence that discrimination against LGB employees takes the form of broad-based pay gaps. There is evidence that there is a ‘glass ceiling’ operating against gay men in academic posts, and that gay men do not hold the ranks of principal lecturer, reader, and professor in the numbers that would be expected on the basis of their age and other characteristics. A similar ceiling seems to operate against LGB individuals in administrative posts. We also find considerable evidence that LGB employees do not feel comfortable in the workplace, and indeed perceive not just discrimination, but harassment. They feel unable to ‘come out’ and need to hide their sexuality. Interestingly, these feelings are far more prevalent among academic staff than among other university employees. This challenges the view of openness, tolerance, and diversity that is expected of academics in researching their subject, teaching their students, and interacting with colleagues.

The data

The pilot survey reported in this study involved six universities, with an intended mix of institutions across the UK regions and including both pre-1992 and post-1992 universities. After receiving permission from the vice-chancellor of the university, a letter was distributed via the personnel office drawing attention to the survey, which was conducted online. All responses to the survey were anonymous to enable openness.

We received a total of about 800 online responses. The appendix shows the breakdown of the overall responses by gender, age, type of post, and academic subject. Since not all individuals answered all questions, the sample size differs across these variables. The sample is fairly evenly divided between males and females, across age ranges, and types of post. There are 239 individuals holding non-clinical academic ranks in old universities and 65 in new universities. There are 231 administrative staff. The remainder of the sample is

primarily clinical academics and staff holding research posts. The breadth of response across categories is encouraging in our belief that we have a diverse sample of individuals across the six universities.

Our sample contains responses from 49 gay men, 33 lesbians, and 28 bisexuals. This is a large enough number to come to some conclusions about the status of LGB individuals in UK universities. In Table A1 (see page 14) in the appendix, we present the average characteristics of individuals by sexual orientation group, as well as for all females and all males. Note that 64% of the bisexuals in the sample are female.

Looking at Table A1, it is perhaps most appropriate to compare gay men with men as a whole, and lesbians with women as a whole. Interestingly, gay men in the sample are younger on average than other males, while lesbians are not significantly younger than other women. More detailed information on the breakdown by age is given below in Table 1.

Table 1.
Age and sexual orientation (n=773)

Age range (years)	Heterosexual (%)	Gay/Lesbian (%)	Bisexual (%)
Under 30	87	9	4
31–39	82	13	5
40–49	85	11	4
50–59	94	5	1
60+	93	7	0

Respondents over 50 years old are much more likely to be heterosexual, but there is little difference in the age groups below 50. This may reflect a lack of LGB individuals in the sector over the age of 50, or it may reflect a reluctance of older employees to identify themselves as being lesbian, gay, or bisexual or those willing to respond to a survey as LGB.

Looking at respondents in different academic grades, the data in Table 2 below suggest that gay men may be less likely to hold senior posts than heterosexual men, although the percentage difference is small. Larger percentage differences appear between heterosexual men and women, lesbians, and bisexuals.

Table 2.
Academic staff: percentage representation in the group (n=508)

	Gay (%)	Lesbian (%)	Bisexual (%)	Heterosexual	
				Male (%)	Female (%)
Researcher	25.0	42.8	60.0	27.5	39.4
Lecturer*	39.2	33.3	26.6	31.7	42.3
Senior posts	35.6	23.7	13.4	40.7	18.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

*includes senior lecturer post at new universities

From the data in Table 3, looking at academic-related staff, it appears that gay men may be more likely to hold administrative, library, and computing (ALC) posts, but not senior ALC posts, than heterosexual males. Lesbians and bisexuals seem to follow the pattern of females in general, again with much lower senior ALC representation than males.

Table 3.
Academic-related staff: percentage representation in the group (n=242)

	Gay (%)	Lesbian (%)	Bisexual (%)	Heterosexual	
				Male (%)	Female (%)
Secretarial/ technician	17.6	18.2	9.1	14.9	20.9
ALC	58.9	63.6	81.8	50	65.9
Senior ALC	23.5	9.1	9.1	29.7	9.3
Other	0	9.1	0	5.4	3.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100

ALC, administrative, library, and computer staff

Overall, then, there is the appearance from the raw data of glass ceilings operating with respect to gay men and to both heterosexual women and lesbians.

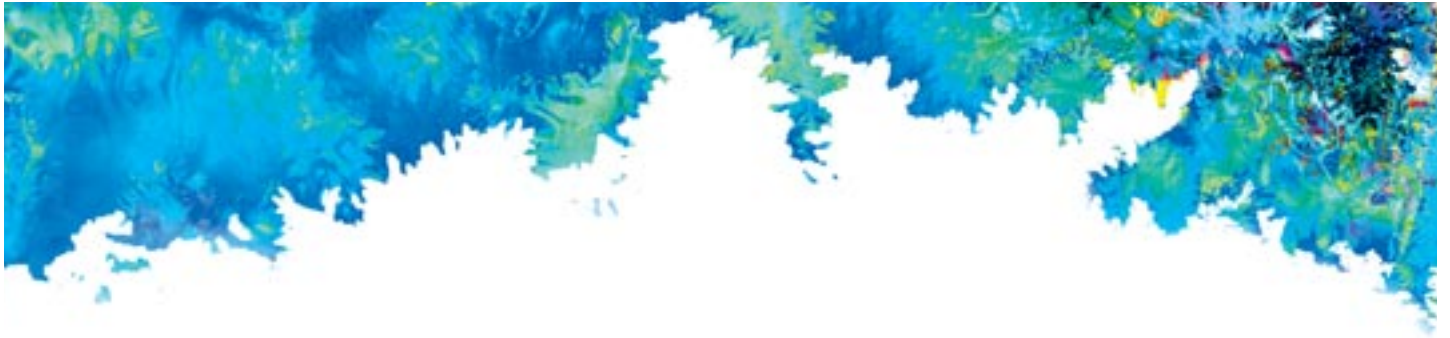
A similar pattern appears in the salaries reported by individuals. The average salary reported by gay men (£30,248) is less than for men as a whole (£31,767), while that for lesbians (£27,170) is greater than for women as a whole (£24,222), but well below the male average. Bisexuals have a very low reported average income (£22,238).

In perceptions of discrimination and harassment, 30% of lesbians report discrimination, and 41% reported harassment. These figures are above those for heterosexual women (26% and 30%). For gay men, the figures are: 20% reported discrimination and 27% reported harassment. These figures are greater than those for heterosexual men (18% and 19%, respectively).

There are a number of other characteristics that differ between LGB and heterosexual university employees. LGB staff members in the sample are more likely than heterosexuals to be non-White and from overseas. They have less experience in the higher education labour market and shorter tenure in their current institution. Lesbians and bisexuals compare closely to heterosexual females in general in terms of fixed-term contracts (while gay men compare closely to males in general). Gay men – but not lesbians – are less likely than heterosexuals to have child-care responsibilities. Gay men and bisexuals, but not lesbians, are more likely to live in London. There is not a noticeable difference in fields (science or humanities, for example) between gay and heterosexual men. Lesbians and bisexuals are less represented in the sciences, compared with gay men and heterosexuals. Perceived discrimination is modestly higher for gay men than heterosexual men, and for lesbians and bisexuals than females as a whole. Perceived harassment, however, is notably higher. Only a small percentage of gay men, lesbians and bisexuals are fully ‘out’ in the workplace.

In the following sections, we look more carefully at some of the apparent differences between LGB individuals and heterosexuals in the university workplace. In particular, we looked at salary differences, the possibility of glass





ceilings, and perceptions of discrimination and harassment. The raw data results are suggestive of inequality in the workplace, but do not take account of other differences between the groups, notably average age. Further, we need to examine whether the apparent differences in salaries, senior ranks, and discrimination/harassment are statistically significant.

Ranks and salaries held by lesbian, gay, and bisexual staff

There have now been a number of studies, using US data for the workplace as a whole, on the earnings of LGB individuals compared to heterosexuals of similar characteristics, including Allegretto & Arthur (2001) and Badgett (1997, 2001). These studies find a clear pattern that gay men earn less than heterosexual men with equivalent characteristics and qualifications. Lesbians seem to earn at least as much as comparable women, but – as a result – considerably less than comparably qualified men. We are not aware of any studies for the UK.

It does not necessarily follow that the same pattern should occur in the UK university sector, even if it is the case that the UK labour market generally follows the US results. Universities may indeed be enlightened employers who do not discriminate. However, a number of studies have examined UK universities to see if other groups such as women and ethnic minorities do less well than comparable men in promotions and in salaries. Blackaby & Frank (2000) look at a sample of UK academic economists and find that Black and Asian economists are disadvantaged in salary by about 11%, after adjusting only for gender composition. Controlling for a range of productivity, workplace characteristics, and individual characteristics such as age and experience, ethnic minorities lose about 7% in salary

compared to Whites of equivalent characteristics. Similarly, Booth *et al* (2001) find that female economists earn about 18% less than men without controls, and about 10% less once we control for productivity and other characteristics including age. These studies suggest that universities are not free of discrimination in salaries and promotions.

In understanding possible discrimination, however, it is important to note that LGB individuals differ from women or ethnic minorities in a fundamental way – they can seek to hide the characteristic (their sexuality) that may lead to discrimination. This might be particularly effective in mitigating discrimination for younger academics in lower ranks. Over time, as individuals become older and others know them better, lack of marriage, for example, may be taken as a signal of LGB orientation. This would be consistent with the glass ceiling model, where discrimination occurs in failure to promotion to principal lecturer, reader and professor, or to senior administrative posts.

We begin by looking at salary gaps for different groups. The first row in Table 4 shows the raw salary gap, compared with the total sample, for the various groups that might potentially suffer from discrimination. In contrast to the results in Blackaby & Frank (2000) for academic economists, there is no evidence of a gap by ethnicity. Ethnic minority staff show slightly higher salaries than do White staff, but this is not statistically significant and may be due to randomness in the data. There is evidence of a

Table 4.
Salary gaps for LGB, women, and ethnic minority staff

	Gay men	Lesbians	Bisexuals	Women	Ethnic minorities
Raw salary gap	12%*	0%	-22%**	-25%**	4%
Age-adjusted	12%**	3%	-18%**	-18%**	4%
Age & gender-adjusted	3%	10%	-16%**	-18%**	3%
Full controls	5%	9%	-4%	-8%**	0%

* indicates statistical significance at the 10% level

**significance at the 5% level

large gender wage gap. Without adjusting for age or other factors, women are paid 25% less than men in the sample, and this is statistically significant at the 5% level (meaning that there is less than a 5% chance that this result is due to randomness in the data). With respect to sexual orientation, gay men appear to have a positive pay gap and bisexuals a large negative pay gap. Since the various groups differ in age (with women and LGB individuals being younger on average) than the reference group of White heterosexual males, we control for age. Adjusting in this way reduces the pay gaps for women and bisexuals, although they are still large.

We then adjust for gender. The interpretation of this is that the positive pay gap for gay men disappears when compared to other men, not to the full sample – it becomes a 3% (statistically insignificant) difference. Lesbians do 10% better than other women (but again, this is not statistically significant), but (a statistically insignificant) 6% worse than men.

Finally, we add a number of other explanatory variables where, for example, women and bisexuals may have different average characteristics than other university workers. Our other adjustments are for full-time or part-time work, whether or not individuals hold a PhD, whether they are in London, whether they work at a pre-1992 or post-1992 university, their experience in universities, their tenure in their current workplace, whether they have a permanent job, child-care responsibilities, or a partner. With these additional adjustments, the gap between bisexuals and their heterosexual counterparts also becomes insignificant. The gender gap falls to 8%. It is important to note, however, that some of these adjustments may reflect indirect gender discrimination. For example, temporary jobs pay less than permanent, and since women are disproportionately in temporary posts, this adjustment lowers the measured gender pay gap, and in effect transfers it to a gender permanency gap.

We conclude that the apparent salary gaps between LGB staff and heterosexuals, in the raw data, do not remain

significant once we adjust for age and other characteristics. What about the apparent glass ceilings in the raw data? Are gay men under-represented in the ranks of senior/principal lecturer, reader, and professor compared with males in general, once we control for age and other factors? Are LGB staff in administrative posts less likely to hold senior posts?

We looked at representation in the ranks of senior/principal lecturer, reader, and professor for different groups, where the sample consists purely of those holding academic ranks (including researcher) – see Table 5.

The interpretation of these figures is that they show the percentage point shortfall (if negative) of this group in holding these senior academic posts. For example, instead of the current 4% of gay men in the sample holding these senior ranks, the number should, in order to be comparable to heterosexuals, be 5% higher; that is, 9%. The major conclusion we can draw from Table 5 is that, once we control for age and gender, the senior academic post gap is very similar for gay men (at 5%) and women in general (7%). Both gay men and women in general are significantly under-represented in senior academic posts. With full controls for characteristics (including part-time and temporary posts), both gay men and women are under-represented in senior posts by about 3%.

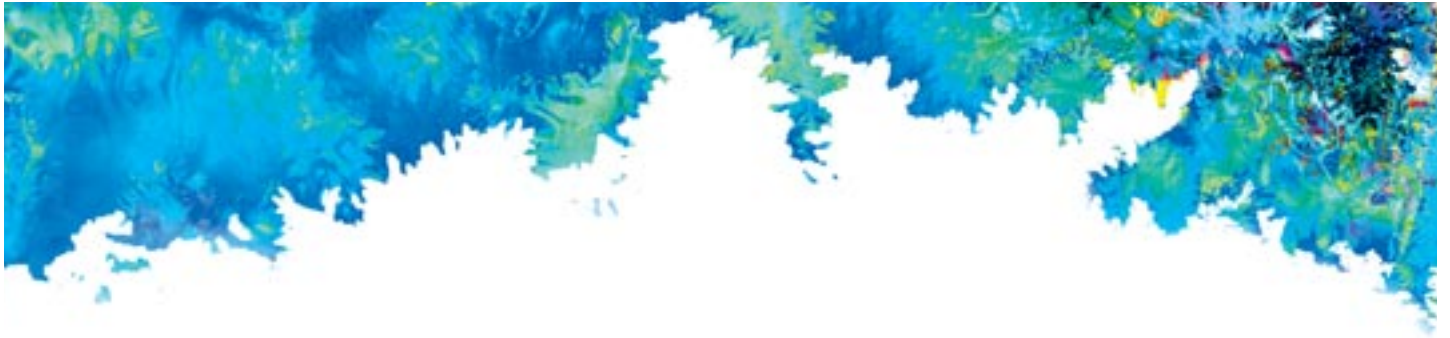
We now examine the glass ceiling effect for administrators. We define the top administrative posts as those in AR5 and AR6 grades. For this analysis, given the smaller numbers,

Table 5. Senior post gap for LGB, women, and ethnic minority academics

	Gay men	Lesbians	Bisexuals	Women	Ethnic minorities
Raw salary gap	-5%	0%	-6%	-10%**	0%
Age-adjusted	-5%	2%	-5%	-7%**	0%
Age & gender-adjusted	-5%**	7%	-4%	-7%**	0%
Full controls	-3%*	5%	-2%	-3%**	0%

* indicates statistical significance at the 10% level
 ** significance at the 5% level





we need to amalgamate lesbians, gay males and bisexuals to form a single LGB grouping, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6.
Senior rank gaps for LGB, women, and ethnic minority administrative staff

	LGB	Women	Ethnic minorities
Raw gap	-14%	-21%**	18%
Age-adjusted gap	-10%	-15%**	8%
Age- & gender-adjusted	-14%*	-15%**	10%
Full controls	-15%*	-8%	0%

*significance at the 10% level; **significance at the 5% level

There is evidence that there are significant glass ceilings facing LGB administrative staff, who are significantly (once we control for age and gender) less likely to hold top ranks. The LGB senior rank gap is similar in magnitude to that facing women. Indeed, when we introduce full controls (including adjustments for part-time and temporary work), the gap is larger (and significant) for LGB individuals compared with women. There is no evidence in our data that ethnic minority administrators are limited by glass ceilings.

In summary, there is evidence of clear pay gaps for women as a whole and for bisexuals, but not for lesbians and gay men. However, there is evidence of a glass ceiling in place against gay men in academic grades, with a magnitude comparable to that affecting women in general in the academic grades. In the administrative grades, the LGB senior rank gap is of the same magnitude as that facing women, if we adjust only for age and gender. If we also control for characteristics such as part-time and

temporary work, the gap facing LGB administrators is greater than that for women.

Discrimination and harassment

While one important aspect of equal opportunities is ensuring equity in pay and promotions, an equally important aspect is to ensure that individuals are comfortable in the workplace, free from perceived discrimination and harassment. We find clear evidence that LGB individuals are not comfortable in the UK university workplace.

In Table 7 below, we show the perceived comfortableness in the immediate working environment for different groups, on a scale of 1 (not at all comfortable) to 4 (very comfortable). The columns show who is being rated, and the rows show who is doing the rating.

The values in Table 7 show that all evaluating groups have similar perceptions on the comfort of heterosexual males in their workplace, and that the perceived level is close to the maximum of 4. Again, there is similarity in the perceptions of the comfortableness of heterosexual females, at a lower level than for heterosexual males. Gay men are perceived by all to have lower comfort levels in their workplace than that of heterosexual males or females. Further, gay men perceive their comfort level to be at a figure below that at which heterosexuals perceive it to be. Interestingly, les-

Table 7.
Comfortableness in the immediate working environment

Group whose comfort is being rated	Group doing the rating			
	Heterosexual males	Heterosexual females	Gay men	Lesbians
Heterosexual males	3.70 (0.56)	3.50 (0.65)	3.27 (0.76)	3.24 (0.74)
Heterosexual females	3.79 (0.42)	3.40 (0.71)	3.14 (0.85)	3.04 (0.93)
Gay men	3.82 (0.43)	3.27 (0.62)	2.91 (0.82)	2.61 (0.79)
Lesbians	3.82 (0.46)	3.43 (0.67)	2.33 (0.91)	2.58 (0.98)

Each cell is the perception of the comfortableness in the immediate working environment of the group in the top row by the group in the left column. The average comfort level on a scale of 1 to 4 is shown, with the standard deviation in brackets.

bians perceive gay males to be much more uncomfortable in the workplace than gay males' own perceptions suggest. Lesbians have similar perceived comfort levels to gay men, well below the levels of heterosexual males and females. As with the comfort level of gay men, gay men and lesbians perceive the workplace comfort of lesbians to be below the level that heterosexuals view it to be.

If all groups believe that gay men and lesbians are relatively uncomfortable in the workplace, and gay men and

lesbians particularly report low relative levels of comfortableness, can this be ascribed to actual discrimination and harassment? Alternatively, it may be a reflection of lower level causes of discomfort such as the inability to be 'out' in the workplace. We now look at discrimination and harassment, followed by a consideration of whether LGB individuals are out in the workplace.

We examine the perceptions of discrimination in Table 8, beginning with those holding academic ranks. As in the previous section, we look at 'gaps' representing the percentage discrimination gap, adjusting for age and other characteristics of the group.

Table 8.
Perceived discrimination gap among academics

	Gay men	Lesbians	Bisexuals	Women	Ethnic minorities
Raw gap	13%	20%*	0%	7%*	22%**
Age-adjusted	13%	18%*	2%	10%**	19%*
Age- & gender-adjusted	19%**	14%	1%	10%**	19%*
Full controls	15%	11%	-2%	10%**	20%*

*indicates statistical significance at the 10% level; **significance at the 5% level

Table 9.
Perceived harassment gap among academics

	Gay men	Lesbians	Bisexuals	Women	Ethnic minorities
Raw gap	15%	33%**	-9%	9%**	23%**
Age-adjusted gap	14%	32%**	-9%	10%**	21%*
Age & gender-adjusted	21%**	27%**	-10%	10%**	20%*
Full controls	16%	35%**	-12%	12%**	23%**

*indicates statistical significance at the 10% level; **significance at the 5% level

Table 10.
Perceived discrimination gap among non-academic staff

	Gay men	Lesbians	Bisexuals	Women	Ethnic minorities
Raw gap	-17%**	-2%	12%	10%**	-9%
Age-adjusted gap	-17%**	1%	13%	12%**	8%
Age & gender-adjusted	-13%	-4%	12%	12%**	-7%
Full controls	-9%	1%	6%	13%**	-7%

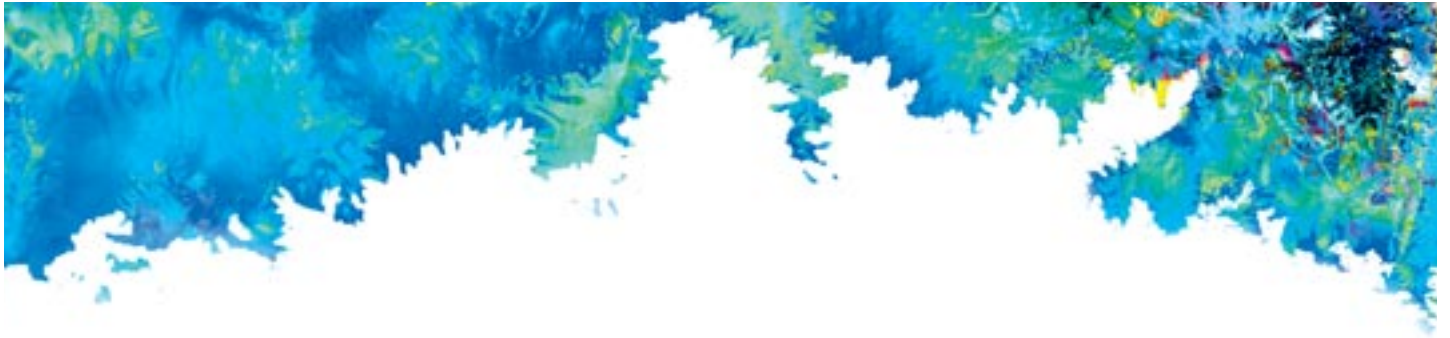
*indicates statistical significance at the 10% level; **significance at the 5% level

There is clear evidence from the results in Table 8 that ethnic minorities and women holding academic ranks perceive discrimination. With full controls for individual and workplace characteristics, women are 10% more likely than men to perceive discrimination. The figure for ethnic minorities is even greater. There is also evidence that lesbians perceive discrimination at a high rate, even relative to other women, although the 14% figure is not statistically significant. There is clear evidence that gay men perceive discrimination relative to other men, with the magnitude comparable to that suffered by ethnic minorities.

We also looked at harassment (see Table 9), again focusing first on those holding academic ranks. From the data in Table 9, there is clear evidence that women academics perceive that they suffer harassment. Much higher rates of harassment are perceived by ethnic minorities and, particularly, lesbians. Gay men suffer significantly higher perceived harassment levels compared with other males.

Now look at the figures for university employees not holding academic ranks. The corresponding figures for discrimination are given in Table 10.





Interestingly, the only significant perceptions of discrimination for non-academic staff occur with women. Gay men and ethnic minorities actually perceive less discrimination than the reference group of heterosexual males.

As with discrimination, perceived harassment (shown in Table 11) for those not holding academic ranks seems to affect only women, and not the other minority groups.

An interesting issue is the effectiveness with which universities deal with harassment cases, and whether this differs between lesbians and other women. Is harassment reported to the authorities, and, if reported, is it acted upon? Our figures show that 42% of lesbians in our sample perceive that they have suffered harassment within the last five years. However, only 15% of the lesbians suffering harassment reported this to the authorities. No lesbian reports that action was taken in consequence of the incident of harassment. In contrast, for heterosexual women, 30% perceive that they have suffered harassment, 57% of those suffering harassment reported this to the authorities, and 49% of these reports led to action. One hypothesis is that lesbians do not believe that action will be taken, and therefore do not report the harassment.

An issue that affects LGB workers, as discussed in the previous section with respect to salary and promotion issues, is whether or not they decide to 'come out' at work. Hiding one's sexuality is costly to individuals. To see this, observe that a level playing field – where LGB workers cannot feel free to discuss their partners and their families at work – would require that heterosexual individuals never discuss their spouses, their partners, their children and their family life. A LGB individual who is not out

Table 11.
Perceived harassment gap among non-academic staff

	Gay men	Lesbians	Bisexuals	Women	Ethnic minorities
Raw gap	-9%	5%	18%	14%**	-4%
Age-adjusted gap	-9%	7%	18%	16%**	-3%
Age & gender-adjusted	2%	1%	18%	16%**	-1%
Full controls	6%	5%	15%	16%**	-1%

* indicates statistical significance at the 10% level
**significance at the 5% level

needs to deliberately avoid answering questions about partners and children to maintain their disguise.

We therefore look at the gap in individuals being out across academic and non-academic posts:

Table 12.
Out at work

	Gay men	Lesbians	Bisexuals
Non-academic post gap	-17%	-42%**	-42%**
Academic gap	-26%**	-42%**	-37%**

** indicates statistical significance at the 5% level

These figures are with the full set of explanatory variables (such as age, full or part-time work, temporary or permanent job). Only 20% of our gay male academics are, in fact, out at work. The interpretation of the table is that – to be comparable to heterosexual males with the same characteristics – 46% of gay males should be out. Larger gaps appear for lesbians and bisexuals. For lesbians, 13% of academics are out, while the figure should be 55% to be comparable to other women.

In summary, the evidence in this section shows that lesbians and gay men are relatively (compared with

heterosexuals) uncomfortable in their immediate work environment, and that this is recognised by heterosexual employees. Further, there are broad perceptions of discrimination and harassment among minorities holding academic posts in UK universities. There is clear evidence that gay men, lesbians, women and ethnic minorities holding academic posts perceive harassment. Surprisingly, for those not holding academic ranks, only women perceive discrimination and harassment. There is no evidence that gay men, lesbians and ethnic minorities in non-academic posts perceive discrimination or harassment. Overall, there is evidence that lesbians do not report harassment to the authorities and that, when they do, no action is taken. There is also clear evidence, throughout the university, that LGB individuals are not out.

Individual experiences

Further light can be shed on the pattern of experience of lesbian and gay university workers by considering the additional comments volunteered by individuals. This information is necessarily selective, but provides a further dimension to understanding the nature of concerns.

The concerns of lesbians are intertwined with their experiences as women. All but two of the lesbians who reported discriminatory behaviour identified it as being partially sexist.

'I have generally felt more discriminated against as a woman than as a lesbian – all women in my department get a worse deal in promotion than all men.'

One of the other two stated the discrimination was solely homophobic and the second saw it as purely anti-feminist. Where the discrimination had been sexist and homophobic one respondent was afraid to come out because of it. Another had had a problem with one person in her department who had left, and subsequently she regards her environment as 'open and accepting'. Generally, the comments made by all women who believed that they had been discriminated

against are consistent with our statistical results in previous sections:

'The discrimination issue is a difficult one. If you feel that if you were male, you would have been appointed a grade or two higher than you have been, is that discrimination?'

'I am the first woman ever promoted in the subset of the university in which I work! If that doesn't suggest that some discriminatory forces are at work I don't know what would!'

'The post was downgraded when I was appointed.'

'I'm on temporary contracts ... and deliberately do not mention or say anything about being married before being appointed.'

'The university pays lip service to equal opportunities, but doesn't even collect data that could highlight indirect discrimination (more women on fixed-term contracts, for example).'

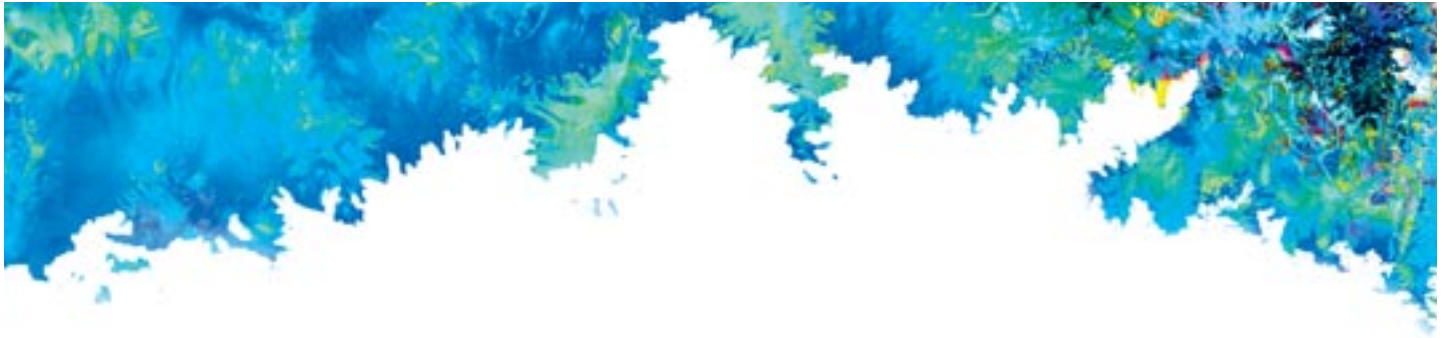
'I think the main problem in higher education relates to sexual discrimination/harassment of female staff by senior male colleagues, and the limited options available when reporting this.'

'Any difficulties that I have relate to the time that I have taken for maternity leave, which seems to be ignored totally in the RAE submission.'

'I would have to comment that the university has a very negative attitude towards pregnancy and child-rearing, offering the minimum support financially, and virtually no support afterwards.'

'The main discrimination I suffer is the institutional discrimination in the pay scales.'





For a male worker with previous experience in education they come in with recognition for that service. For a female worker with the same qualifications they come in at a lower point on the pay scale. Both of these workers do the same job.'

Of the gay men who reported discrimination, all except one cited homophobia as the cause.

'My sexual orientation has ... been used as a basis to perpetrate slander to undermine my standing in the department.'

'[My department] is very good at face value policies and filled with people who teach and claim to follow anti-sexist/racist/homophobic/ageist beliefs - but ironically these are the very same people who act in inappropriate ways. The whole management of the faculty ... is characterised by bullying and emotional blackmail.'

In summary, the individual additional statements support the statistical results. Lesbians associate their workplace experiences very much with their gender, and the issues that arise from this – in terms of unequal pay and promotions, temporary contracts, sexual harassment from senior male colleagues, and maternity support. Gay men view discrimination that they perceive as arising from sexual orientation.

Conclusions

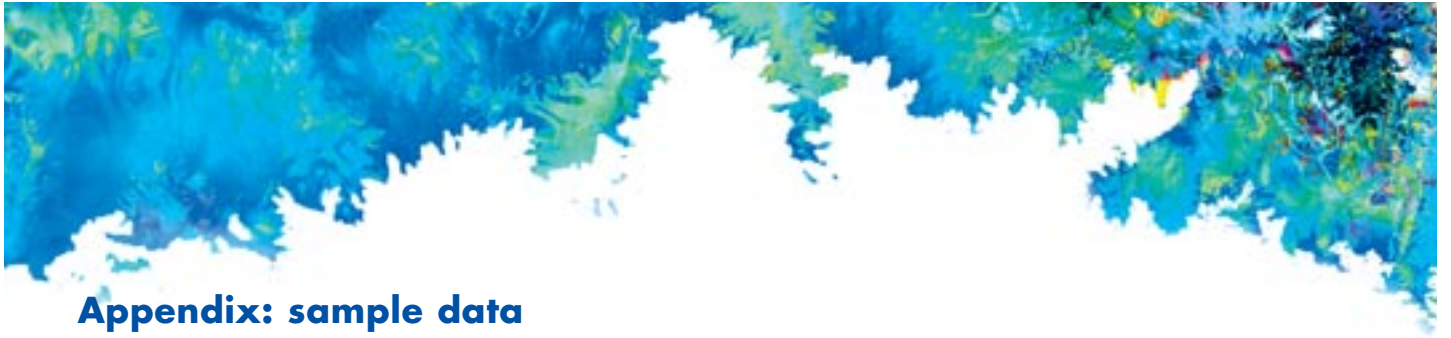
We find strong evidence in our pilot study that lgb workers are not comfortable in the workplace and there is also significant evidence of unequal treatment. Specifically we find:

- ◆ Evidence that there is a glass ceiling operating against the promotion of gay men to the ranks of senior/principal lecturer, reader, and professor. This glass ceiling is of a similar magnitude to that facing heterosexual women.
 - ◆ Evidence that there is a glass ceiling operating against lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals in administrative ranks. This glass ceiling is comparable to or greater than that facing heterosexual women.
 - ◆ Gay men and lesbians report relatively low levels of comfortableness in their immediate working environment, and heterosexuals report their belief that gay men and lesbians are relatively uncomfortable.
 - ◆ Gay men and lesbians holding academic ranks report high perceived levels of discrimination. These are comparable to those faced by ethnic minorities, and greater than those faced by heterosexual women.
 - ◆ Lesbians holding academic ranks face the highest perceived levels of harassment, followed by ethnic minorities and gay men. Again, these are greater than those faced by women in general.
 - ◆ However, for administrative posts, perceived discrimination and harassment is only felt by women in general, and not LGB or ethnic minority workers.
 - ◆ There is evidence that lesbians do not report cases of harassment and that, when reported, no action is taken.
 - ◆ There is clear evidence that LGB workers are not out in the workplace.
 - ◆ The only clear salary gap evidence is that women in general suffer a pay gap of about 18% when adjusted for age, and 8% when adjusted for other factors.
- ◆ Evidence that there is a glass ceiling operating against the promotion of gay men to the ranks of

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Appendix: sample data

Table A1.
Average values for each variable

Variable	Gay	Lesbian	Bisexual	Female	Male
<i>n</i>	49	33	28	413	391
Researcher	0.20	0.33	0.35	0.36	0.22
Lecturer	0.45	0.33	0.28	0.45	0.38
Senior lecturer	0.25	0.13	0.07	0.09	0.15
Principal lecturer	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.03
Reader	0.04	0.06	0.07	0.03	0.05
Professor	0.04	0.13	0	0.05	0.14
Administrator	0.51	0.54	0.50	0.51	0.40
Age	3.44	3.21	3.17	3.29	3.82
Non-white	0.06	0.09	0.11	0.04	0.05
Female	0.02	0.90	0.64	1.00	0
London	0.30	0.18	0.25	0.19	0.24
Post-1992	0.14	0.21	0.35	0.19	0.18
Good degree	0.59	0.66	0.64	0.59	0.59
Experience	10.02	6.57	6.60	7.72	12.40
Tenure	8.71	5.12	4.41	5.86	9.44
Fixed-term	0.36	0.51	0.53	0.51	0.36
Full-time	0.85	0.87	0.75	0.82	0.92
Overseas	0.26	0.18	0.40	0.17	0.17
Child	0.06	0.24	0.28	0.29	0.33
Partner	0.55	0.72	0.71	0.80	0.79
Married	0.00	0.12	0.40	0.53	0.64
Medicine	0.24	0.30	0.21	0.25	0.20
Science	0.37	0.18	0.19	0.27	0.39
Social sciences	0.17	0.09	0.23	0.15	0.19
Humanities	0.15	0.27	0.28	0.26	0.18
Discrimination	0.20	0.30	0.28	0.26	0.18
Harassment	0.27	0.41	0.29	0.30	0.19
Out	0.22	0.12	0.11	0.53	0.47
No renewal	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.01
No offer	0.06	0.06	0.03	0.06	0.06
No promotion	0.08	0.15	0.10	0.13	0.08
Salary	£30,248	£27,170	£22,238	£24,222	£31,767

Table A2
Gender (*n*=785)

	%
Male	48
Female	51.5
Unknown	0.5

Table A3
Age (*n*=780)

Age range (years)	%
Under 30	20
31–39	36
40–49	25
50–59	17
60+	2

Table A4.
Respondents by discipline
(*n*=754)

Academic subject or related discipline	%
Medicine and dentistry	15.1
Allied to medicine	13.1
Biological sciences	6.5
Veterinary science	2.7
Agriculture and related	0.8
Physical sciences	5.0
Mathematical sciences	1.6
Computer science	3.3
Engineering and technology	3.2
Architecture, building and planning	1.8
Social, economics and political studies	5.2
Law	1.7
Business and administration	3.0
Librarianship and IT	0.6
Humanities	7.7
Creative arts and design	3
Education	4.1
Academic-related	
Library	3
Computing	4.6
Administration	8.2
Other support	5.3

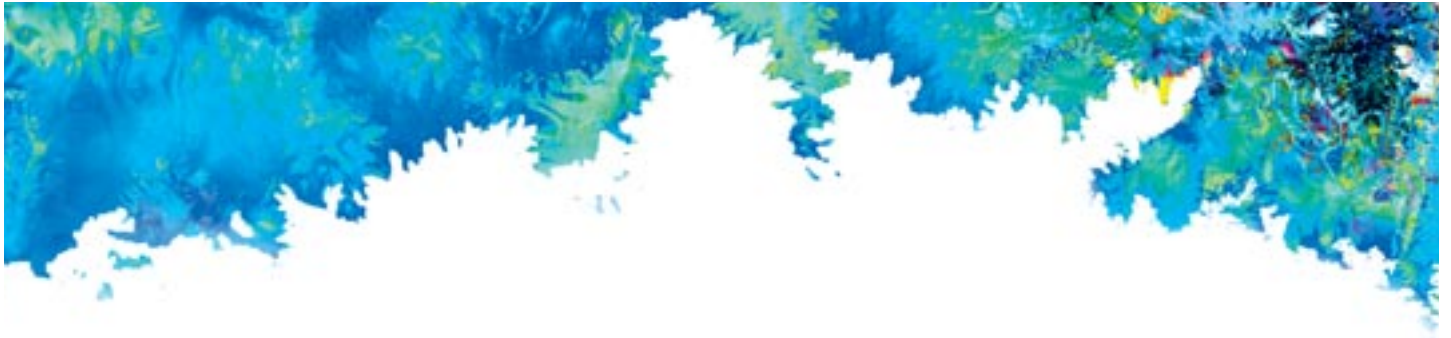
Table A5.
Type of post

HEI	Category	Grade	Frequency
Old	Academic	Lecturer A	41
		Lecturer B	87
		Senior lecturer/reader	68
		Professor	43
New	Academic	Lecturer	15
		Senior lecturer	31
		Principal lecturer/reader	11
		Professor	8
Old/new	Unknown		9
Old	Research	1B	28
		1A	89
		II	37
		III	7
		IV	1
New	Research	A	2
Old/New	Unknown		9
Old	Administrative/ library/computing	1	16
		2	45
		3	37
		4	10
		5	20
		6	7
	Other related	1	1

Type of post (continued)

HEI	Category	Grade	Frequency
Old	Other related	2	2
		3	6
		4	1
		Unknown	3
New	APT&C (in full)	Scale 1	5
		Scale 2	5
		Scale 3	14
		Scale 4	13
		Scale 5	13
		PO1	2
		PO2	2
		PO3	2
		PO4	1
		SO1	9
	Secretarial	B	2
		C	9
		Technician	2
		D	2
		E	4
Clinical	Lecturer		14
		Senior Lecturer	18
		Professor	5
	NHS		1
	MRC		1
	Student		4
	Other		24





Research biographies

Duncan Branley works in computer services at Goldsmiths' College, University of London, supporting and teaching academic software applications to hard-pressed academics and research students. His current interests include the construction of sexual and religious identities. He was a member of the Commission on University Career Opportunities (CUCO) task group that produced the *Guidelines on Sexual Orientation* (White, 2000).

Jeff Frank is a Professor of Economics at Royal Holloway, University of London. During the academic year 2001/02, he was Visiting Professor at the University of California, Berkeley, and at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. In other research he has examined the treatment of ethnic minorities and women in the UK academic system.

Valerie Hazan is Reader in Speech Sciences at University College London. She is a co-author of *Pride not Prejudice* (AUT, 1998) and has been a member of the AUT-and-Proud group since its inception.

Paul Skidmore is a Lecturer in Law at the University of Bristol. He co-authored, with Tonia Novitz, *Fairness at Work – A Critical Analysis of the Employment Relations Act 1999 and its Treatment of Collective Rights*.

Nicki Thorogood is a Senior Lecturer in Sociology in the Health Promotion Research Unit. She has experience in qualitative research. Her recent work includes Department of Health funded research into the oral health of minority ethnic groups in south-east England. She is currently working on the aspects of gender and dentistry. Previous posts include Lecturer in Sociology at Guy's Dental School and coordinator of an adolescent sexual health programme in east London. Her research interests are aspects of 'identity', for example, ethnicity, gender, disability and sexuality, particularly in relation to public health and health promotion, and in the sociology of the body. She is joint author, with Judith Green, of *Analysing Health Policy: Sociological Approaches*.



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