"Straight people don't tell, do they...?"

Negotiating the boundaries of sexuality and gender at work

Edited by Jukka Lehtonen
and Kati Mustola

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"STRAIGHT PEOPLE DON'T TELL, DO THEY…?" NEGOTIATING THE BOUNDARIES OF SEXUALITY AND GENDER AT WORK

Edited by

Jukka Lehtonen and Kati Mustola

Finnish Equal Project

Sexual and Gender Minorities at Work

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FOREWORD

The aim of the European Union's Community Initiative EQUAL is to combat all forms of marginalisation, discrimination and inequality in the labour market. The various projects launched within the programme have set out to identify and map factors that lead to discriminatory and unfair practices in employment, and at the same time, to develop and test new ways of tackling these injustices.

The project *Sexual and Gender Minorities at Work* is one of the 37 EQUAL Development Partnerships launched in Finland in the spring of 2002. The project was designed to explore the situation of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people in the labour market. In this work, research played a substantial role. The report at hand is based on the research data accumulated during the project. It marks the first systematic analysis of a more extensive scope on the status of sexual minorities and trans people in the labour market in Finland.

Although the questions surrounding lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people in working life are not a recent phenomenon, they have nevertheless remained a relatively invisible theme in the social and political discussion on working life. However, there has recently been increasing attention to the matter, with different authorities, for example, showing a keener interest in the prevention of discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people. This is exemplified by the new Finnish Equality Act – effective from the beginning of February 2004 – aimed at promoting and safeguarding equality, as well improving legal protection, for example, in cases where people have been discriminated against because of their sexual orientation.

Employers, too, are increasingly beginning to understand the significance of a tolerant and diverse staff with regard to coping, well-being and productivity at work. Accepting attitudes towards difference in the work community will have a positive effect on the workplace climate and reduce the number of absences and days taken off work because of sickness. In a tolerant and diverse work community, the employer can make better use of the potential and creativity of the entire staff.

Helsinki, November 2004

Eeva-Liisa Koivuneva
Project Manager

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I
INTRODUCTION

SEXUAL AND GENDER DIVERSITY IN WORKING LIFE – BACKGROUND AND KEY CONCEPTS

Jukka Lehtonen and Kati Mustola

When Lisa tells her fellow workers at the coffee break that she went to see a film on the weekend with her husband, few of them think that she is stating her heterosexuality – she is simply telling about her weekend activities. But when her co-worker Larry says that he went to the cinema with his husband, not everyone hears him talking about his weekend; instead, many of them will think he is stating his homosexuality.

There is a similar pattern of thinking pertaining to the colour of skin. To many people, white or light colour of skin is not a colour at all – only people with dark skin are seen as having a coloured skin. But white is a colour as much as black is, just as heterosexuality is a sexual orientation as much as homo- or bisexuality is.

The difference between the two examples is that unlike skin colour, sexual orientation is something that can be concealed. While no one would tell a dark-skinned co-worker to leave their dark skin at home, there are many of those who think that homosexuals should not bring their sexual orientation to work by discussing their families, life partners or weekend activities. This view is often shared by lesbian, gay and bisexual people themselves, as well: "straight people don't tell about their sex life at work, do they?" In the above example, neither Lisa nor Larry were talking about their sex life but simply mentioned their life partners in the context of casual conversation.

And what about Matthew, a transsexual who has undergone gender-reassignment treatment to become Mary – will her co-workers now use the name Mary, stick with Matthew, or just refer to her as "that person over there"? What social facilities can she use? Will she be invited to join other women for coffee or in sauna on a social evening? Will anyone ask her to dance at the company's Christmas party? Or will she, being an expert in gender equity, be elected the workplace equality adviser?

Gender is generally seen as bi-polar: people are either men or women. Nonetheless, gender is a continuum – just as sexuality is. Some people position themselves at either opposite end of the continuum, while others position themselves somewhere between the two opposites. Gender and sexuality cannot be reduced to black and white, for their diversity encompasses all the colours of the rainbow.

The present book is published in the context of the Community Initiative project Equal, which is part of the European Union's strategy for more and better jobs and for ensuring that no one is denied access to them. Equal will test new

ways of tackling discrimination and inequality experienced by those involved in working life and those looking for a job. It will provide the scope to try out new ideas that could change future policy and practice in employment and training.

Sexual and Gender Minorities at Work is one of the 37 Equal projects launched in Finland in the year 2001. It is the only project focusing on the status of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people in working life. Among the almost 1500 other European Equal projects, there are three other projects – two in Sweden and one in the Netherlands – designed to improve the situation of lesbian, gay and bisexual people at work. The Finnish project *Sexual and Gender Minorities at Work* is the only one in the entire European Union to account for the diverse make-up and the often difficult status of trans people in the labour market.

All of the four Equal projects focusing on lesbian, gay and bisexual people are heavily research-oriented. To tackle discrimination, we must, naturally, first study its various manifestations. The projects' aim is to map out and prevent discrimination, together with a further aim of identifying and developing good practice. Through the dissemination of good practice, the projects seek to promote the view that belonging to a sexual or gender minority is not a handicap in the labour market or a grounds for employment discrimination, but an additional resource in the work community.

The first phase of the Finnish project *Sexual and Gender Minorities at Work* involved the compilation of a book bringing together all the available Finnish research data on lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people in working life. Edited by Jukka Lehtonen, a similarly entitled book was published in 2002 in the STAKES publication series (No. 269). An English version of this report is available on the project web site at www.valt.helsinki.fi/sosio/tutkimus/equal. The report at hand presents the first body of new research data generated in the context of the project.

Laws Against Discrimination

The reformed Constitution Act of Finland, effective since 1995, and the Constitution dating from the year 2000 place emphasis on the principle of equality. No person, without acceptable grounds, may be afforded a different status on the grounds of sex, age, origin, language, religion, conviction, opinion, state of health, disability or any other reason related to the person. According to a Government Bill (HE 309/1993), these other reasons related to the person may include e.g. a person's sexual orientation.

Effective from 1995 and 2001 respectively, the reformed Penal Code and the Employment Contracts Act contain a clearly stated prohibition of discrimination at work and upon recruitment on the grounds of sexual orientation.

To provide more extensive and specific protection for lesbian, gay and bisexual people against discrimination, Finland adopted new legislation at the beginning of February 2004. The purpose of the new Equality Act is to foster and safeguard equality as well to prohibit discrimination on the grounds of age, origin, language, religion, conviction, opinion, state of health, disability, sexual orientation or any other reason related to the person. The new Equality Act was adopted to comply with the Council of the European Union Directive 2000/43/EC on the implementation of the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin (the Race Equality Directive), as well as the Council Directive 2000/78/EC "establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation" (the Employment Equality Directive).

Under the Equality Act, discrimination is taken to occur where

1. one person is treated less favourably than another is, has been or would be treated in a comparable situation (*direct discrimination*);
2. an apparently neutral provision, criterion or practice would put persons at a particular disadvantage compared with other persons unless that provision, criterion or practice is objectively justified by a legitimate aim and the means of achieving that aim are appropriate and necessary (*indirect discrimination*);
3. unwanted conduct takes place with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity and integrity of a person or a group and of creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment (*harassment*);
4. a direction or instruction is given to discriminate against persons.

The new Equality Act does not extend its protection against discrimination to trans people, but in line with the rulings of the European Court of Justice (C-13/94), discrimination against trans people can be considered as gender discrimination, which is prohibited in the Directive on the Equality between Women and Men. The Finnish Act on Equality between Women and Men (609/1986) is currently being revised to extend its scope and to give it a more precise wording on the basis of the European Parliament and Council Directive on equal treatment of women and men (2002/73/EC).

Key Concepts

In this book, we use the concepts 'sexual orientation', 'gender expression' and 'gender identity', which are associated with the concepts 'sexual minorities' and 'gender minorities'. Direct translations of the last two terms are widely used in the Finnish language, and they also feature in the English title of our project. The

term 'sexual minorities' refers to lesbians, gay men, bisexuals and other people with same-sex interests, while 'gender minorities' refers to trans people. We do, however, acknowledge the difficulty of finding a uniform set of concepts that would satisfy all parties.

Each one of us has a specific sexual orientation and gender identity. Our sexual interest is directed either towards persons of the same sex, opposite sex, both sexes (homo-, hetero- or bisexuality), or neither sex. The term 'gender identity' refers to what we conceive ourselves to be: a woman, a man, or something in between or beyond this categorisation. During our life course, our sexual orientation and gender identity may change and take on different meanings.

Sexual orientation and gender identity are independent of one another. Trans people can be homo-, hetero- or bisexual in terms of their sexual interest, while persons with a homo-, hetero- or bisexual orientation can occupy a variety of positions on the female – male gender continuum. All these groups of people belong to minorities, which, in the context of this book, are covered by the terms 'sexual minorities' and 'gender minorities'. Some people belong to both of these minorities, but most belong to just one.

The diversity of different sexualities is further increased by the fact that not all women who have affairs or sexual relations with women, or men who have affairs or sexual relations with men, identify themselves as homosexual or bisexual. On the other hand, some people who identify themselves as lesbian, gay or bisexual do not, in fact, have sex or partnerships with persons of the same sex. Some of them may be married to persons of the opposite sex.

Gender is not something that we “have”, but rather something that we “do”. As Simone de Beauvoir so aptly put it, one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman. Similarly, the process of becoming a man is about learning how to perform masculinity. Although there is an undeniable biological and anatomical dimension to gender, it is the social and cultural production of gender that has a more substantial role to play. This is rendered visible by the reactions to people who deviate from what is expected by transgressing the preconceived patterns of behaviour or dress. These expectations are often normative in that unusual gender expression is not only met with surprise but with disapproval.

Trans people are defined as persons who deviate from the expected gender roles and transgress the gender boundaries. The category of trans people includes transsexuals, transvestites, transgenders and intersexuals (previously referred to as hermaphrodites); this book uses an umbrella term 'trans people' to refer to all of these groups. Owing to modern medicine, biology no longer dictates the destiny of those who feel trapped in a body of the wrong sex. Trans people can have their anatomy reassigned to match that of the gender they identify themselves with. Those who

choose not to change their anatomy through surgical or hormonal treatment may express their gender identity by assuming the dress code and behaviour typical of their desired gender, or by mixing preconceived gender patterns.

The articles in this book analyse gender and sexuality from the point of view of heteronormativity. The concept of heteronormativity refers to thinking characterised by a restricted view where a person can only be a heterosexual man or a heterosexual woman. Heterosexual maleness and heterosexual femaleness are seen as the sole, self-evident and natural premises of sexuality and gender. Other alternatives may be presented as inferior or less desirable. Heteronormative thinking is reflected in the institutions, structures, interpersonal relations and practices in working life: heterosexual maleness and heterosexual femaleness represent the natural, legitimate, desirable, and often the only possible alternatives of being a human and a member of a work community.

The impact of heteronormativity in working life depends on whether you are a woman or a man, heterosexual or non-heterosexual, or on whether you are someone who questions the expected gender patterns or someone who adheres to the more traditional gender roles. The intensity of heteronormative pressure and expectations varies in accordance with one's age, family background and cultural experience.

Owing to the fact that heteronormative assumptions of gender and sexuality are interlinked with so many of our everyday practices, heteronormative notions of gender and sexuality are perceived as natural. As a culturally and socially produced construct, however, heteronormativity is open to challenge.

Some articles in this book apply the term 'non-heterosexuality', which allows a more flexible approach to diversity than the mutually exclusive categories of homosexual and heterosexual. A non-heterosexual person can be defined as someone who either has sexual feelings towards his or her or own sex or engages in same-sex behaviour, or as someone who defines herself or himself as lesbian, gay or bisexual. In similar terms, a heterosexual person can be defined as someone who has a heterosexual self-definition or is in an opposite-sex relationship. This flexible definition recognises the fact that any one person can be both heterosexual and non-heterosexual at the same time. A woman can define herself as a lesbian but date a man. A man who engages in sex with another man but fantasises of women can have a heterosexual self-definition. With the everyday reality at work being so heavily pervaded by the heterosexual assumption, both the woman and the man in the above examples are likely to be defined as normal or heterosexual by their co-workers, unless the woman's lesbian self-definition or the man's same-sex relationship is revealed. Clearly, we need to recognise that heterosexuality, too, is a more multi-layered and multiform phenomenon than it is generally portrayed to be.

In a world of strict heteronormative gender and sexual boundaries, any transgression is punished. The project *Sexual and Gender Minorities at Work* is an attempt to question these boundaries and the meaningfulness of guarding these borders. Punishing a person for transgressing a gender or sexual boundary is an act of discrimination. It is this very type of discrimination that our project sets out to dismantle and battle against. Every individual in working life – regardless of his or her gender, gender expression or sexual orientation – will be more comfortable and content when working in an environment that accommodates difference. We need to aim beyond mere open-mindedness and tolerance, and embrace diversity as a resource that can benefit work communities both in terms of professional skills and the general well-being. Although the focus of this study is on lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people, it covers the entire scope of working life. Through looking at sexual orientation and gender, the study opens up fresh perspectives on the world of work.

Contributors and Acknowledgements

This book is the result of the collective efforts of a number of people. The study was carried out by seven researchers, all of whom have contributed articles to this book. In section II, entitled *The Situation of Sexual and Gender Minorities at Work*, Kati Mustola, Anna Vanhala and Jukka Lehtonen present the preliminary results of two extensive questionnaire surveys directed to lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people.

In section III, *Age, Life Course and Well-being at Work*, Sari Charpentier discusses the working life course and coping at work from the perspective of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people over the age of 45. The article by Marja Kaskisaari deals with coping at work from the point of view of lesbian and bisexual women under the age of 30. Jukka Lehtonen takes a comparative look at the labour market status of non-heterosexuals under and over the age of 30. In his two other articles, Lehtonen explores how a person's sexual or gender minority status affects his or her occupational choices.

Section IV on *Sexual Orientation and Openness in Different Work Communities* discusses lesbian, gay and bisexual people in the light of their occupation, line of work or social class. Aija Salo conducted interviews with lesbians in working-class occupations, while Katri Valve interviewed lesbian, gay and bisexual people employed by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. Anna Vanhala focuses her study on lesbian, gay and bisexual people within the health care sector, while Jukka Lehtonen deals with the educational sector and young people's views on teachers' sexuality.

The study has been carried out by the Department of Sociology at the University of Helsinki, where Jukka Lehtonen (DPolSc) works as the Project Director for the Equal project *Sexual and Gender Minorities at Work* and Kati Mustola (MAPolSc) as a project researcher. Marja Kaskisaari (DSocSc) and Sari Charpentier (LSocSc) work as

researchers at the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy at the University of Jyväskylä. Anna Vanhala (MAPolSc) contributed to the project in the form of her Master's Thesis, written at the Department of Sociology at the University of Helsinki. Currently, Vanhala is employed as a researcher at the Police College of Finland. Aija Salo, also a student at the Department of Sociology at the University of Helsinki, is preparing her Master's Thesis in the context of the project. Katri Valve works at the Parish Union of Vantaa as a deacon involved in social work. During project planning and the design of the questionnaire, our group of researchers also included Hilkka Lydén, a member of the project steering group and a student of Educational Psychology at the University of Helsinki.

The questionnaires were formulated in cooperation with the chairperson of the project steering group, Professor Kari Pitkänen, steering group members, Chief Physician Matti Ojala from the National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health, STAKES, and Equality Adviser Johanna Pakkanen from the University of Helsinki, as well as Maarit Huuska, a specialist social worker at the Transgender Support Centre within SETA, the Finnish National Organisation for Sexual Equality. Valuable comments on the questionnaire design were given by Anna-Maija Lehto, Noora Järnefelt, Anna Pärnänen and Kirsti Pohjanpää, researchers at the Work Research Unit of Statistics Finland. Further advice on the questionnaire design and research plan was given by the *grand old lady* of Finnish research on working life, Professor Emerita Liisa Rantalaiho, and Professor Päivi Korvajärvi at the Department of Women's Studies at the University of Tampere, whose work focuses on various aspects of working life.

The questionnaire forms were translated into Swedish by Jeppe Hansen and Marina Furubacka. Research Assistant Reetta Patama handled the coding and preparation for analysis of the questionnaire data, while the interview data was transcribed by Research Assistant Tarja Jaakola.

Various parts of our research report manuscript were commented by two members of the project steering group, Tiia Aarnipuu, chairperson of SETA ry, and Maarit Huuska, a specialist social worker at the Transgender Support Centre of SETA. Comments were also given by the chairperson of the steering group, Professor Kari Pitkänen. Additional feedback was received from members of the EDDI network (Education and Difference), as well as researchers Marja Suhonen and Vesa Hirvonen. We would like to extend warm thanks to them all.

Our biggest thanks go to the 834 respondents to the questionnaires and the 48 interviewees. We also owe thanks to all those who disseminated information about the study and invited people to participate.

Project Partnerships and Funding

The main responsible party for the implementation of the Equal project *Sexual and Gender Minorities at Work* is the Department of Sociology at the University of Helsinki, supported by its project partners, the National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health, STAKES, and the Finnish National Organisation for Sexual Equality, SETA. Funded by the European Social Fund ESR and the Finnish Ministry of Employment, the project is carried out in cooperation with one Dutch and two Swedish Equal projects. The present book has been translated into English so as to allow the dissemination of research results outside national borders. The translation into English was done by Minna Haapanen and Tiina Holopainen. The questionnaire form Sexual Minorities in Working Life was translated by Virva Hepolampi. Both the Finnish and English versions of the book are available in pdf format at www.esr.fi. The other editor of the book, Jukka Lehtonen, worked with the English version of the book in Fall 2004 and he was funded by The Finnish Work Environment Fund.

In the area of training, the project collaborates with several parties, such as the City of Helsinki. The various training and promotional events organised in 2001-2004 were attended by some 2,000 people. The final section of this book, *Concluding Remarks and Recommendations,* also draws upon experiences gained in the course of the project's training activities.

RESEARCH DATA AND METHODS

Kati Mustola and Anna Vanhala

This study was carried out in the form of an extensive questionnaire survey – with separate forms designed for sexual and gender minorities – followed by a set of theme interviews with members of both minority groups. Our research methodology was a combination of the quantitative and the qualitative, because we wanted our data to consist of both numbers and stories. Using a questionnaire form, we were able to reach a large number of people. The collected data is mainly presented as figures showing a particular percentage.

The questionnaire forms consisted mostly of close-ended questions, plus a few open-ended questions where the respondents were able to answer in their own words. To complement the questionnaires, most members of the research group conducted personal interviews, which they recorded on tape. The transcribed interviews and the answers given to open-ended questions can be viewed as stories that put flesh on the bones of numerical data. This combination of numerical data and stories will allow us to carry out a more well-rounded examination of the situation of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people in working life.

Questionnaires

The questionnaire forms used in the study can be found in Appendices 2 and 3. The form for lesbian, gay and bisexual people generated 726 responses, while the one targeted at trans people produced 108 responses. The data was collected during late autumn of 2002 and early winter of 2003. The questions in the forms deal with education and employment history, current place of employment, openness with regard to sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression, as well as workplace atmosphere and discrimination.

The questionnaire forms consist mainly of close-ended 'tick a box' type of questions, with a few free- response questions added. The questions targeted at lesbian, gay and bisexual people were modelled upon a questionnaire form for teachers (de Graaf et al. 2003), designed in the context of our Dutch sister project. All relevant questions in the Dutch form were given rough translations, which were then used as a basis for formulating our own questions.

Some questions in our questionnaires were taken from the Quality of Work Life Survey, carried out by Statistics Finland, as well as a Working Life Barometer conducted by the Finnish Ministry of Labour. With their samples of the employed population in Finland, these two studies provide us with almost concurrent data against which to compare the results of the Equal questionnaires at a later stage.

To our knowledge, no previous questionnaire surveys have been carried out among trans people in Finland. The questions regarding gender minority status were formulated with the help of Maarit Huuska, who is a specialist social worker at the Transgender Support Centre of SETA, plus a small group of trans people who gave feedback on the questionnaire form.

The cluster of questions (10 and 11 in the sexual minorities form, 12 and 13 in the gender minorities form) concerning openness about one's sexual orientation or gender identity as well as the attitudes towards sexual and gender minorities are slightly adapted versions of the questions used in the first Finnish survey on lesbian, gay and bisexual people (Grönfors et al. 1984), dating back twenty years to the turn of the years 1982 and 1983. The majority of the questions in our two forms, however, were designed for the purposes of this particular study by our own research group.

The data for this study was gathered using the so-called snowball method. The questionnaire forms, together with an information brochure on the project, were distributed at various events organised by lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans organisations, such as the annual lesbian and gay film festival in Turku and the Trans-Helsinki 2002 event. People were also asked to inform their friends and acquaintances about the study. In addition, the questionnaire was widely publicised in the Z magazine, several trade union magazines, mailing lists and other forums (for more detailed information, see Appendix 1).

The introduction of new technology has opened up new possibilities in questionnaire surveying. In our survey, the majority of the respondents opted for a web-based questionnaire. Two thirds of all sexual minority questionnaires were submitted via the Internet, while one third of the respondents returned a print version of the questionnaire in a pre-paid envelope. In the case of the gender minority questionnaire, little less than 50 percent of the respondents used the Internet. Both questionnaires were available in Finnish and Swedish, the two official languages in Finland.

In principle, the questionnaire was intended for anyone who identified himself or herself as belonging to a sexual or gender minority and was currently or had previously been involved in working life. Our cross-sectional body of data is the only one of its kind in Finland. A parallel study carried out 20 years ago covered all aspects of life, and only included three questions on working life (Grönfors et al. 1984).

Since the snowball method of recruiting subjects for a survey does not, in a statistical sense, meet the criteria for random selection, the respondents in our questionnaires are not representative of the target groups. A targeted snowball approach is, however, the only realistic method of reaching lesbian, gay and bisexual people. If we wanted to draw a random sample of Finnish people belonging to sexual minorities, we would need enormous research resources.

With a population sample of 50,000 people, we might be able to net a sufficient number of randomly selected homo- and bisexual subjects (an estimated 500-5,000 people, presupposing that homo- and bisexuals make up 1-10 % of the population). Even if we managed to do this, we would still face the risk of nonresponse – possibly larger among lesbian, gay and bisexual people, because they might find the questions too intrusive or revealing. Moreover, there would be no way of calculating the extent of nonresponse, since we cannot determine which subjects or how large a proportion of the extensive population sample is lesbian, gay or bisexual.

In Finland, the number of transsexual people is estimated at approximately 5,000. This means that it would be impossible to reach them through random population sampling. On the other hand, the fact that there are so few transsexuals means that we can assume the 56 respondents who defined themselves as transsexual or transgender to be fairly representative of the target population – even if they were not drawn by random selection. The number of transvestites in Finland is estimated at 50,000. With the number of respondents amounting to 50, our sample may not be very representative of the transvestite population. Considering the difficulty of locating transvestite respondents, however, the sample is fairly large.

In the case of the sexual minority questionnaire, we have managed to draw a sample that is fairly representative of the target population, even if it is not randomly selected and does not meet the criteria for statistical generalisation. The problem with the snowball method is the possible over-representation of certain groups of people, or the under-representation of e.g. people who are excluded from social networks (Pole and Lampard 2002). Snowball sampling will produce a high proportion of respondents who are eager and motivated to participate. Meanwhile, the use of a web-based questionnaire may result in a high proportion of responses from educated people.

Our study does not use a reference group, nor do we have any questionnaire data of our own on heterosexual employees against which to compare our sample of lesbian, gay and bisexual people, as do our Dutch and Swedish sister studies. Our questionnaire forms included questions taken from the Finnish survey on the quality of working life conducted every 6-7 years, with the most recent data collection carried out in the autumn of 2003. Later this year we will have some comparative data at our disposal for later analysis, once we receive Statistics Finland's interview data on 4,104 randomly selected Finnish wage and salary earners.

Interviews and Other Sources of Data

The number of interviews totalled 48. The interviewees were primarily contacted through the questionnaire forms, which invited those interested in participating in an interview to enter their contact details. Interviewees were also recruited through various networks. The method used was theme interviews, which were tape recorded and then transcribed.

The interviewees may be considered to have undergone at least two or three processes of selection: for one, they had voluntarily filled in the questionnaire. Further, they had volunteered their contact details, thus indicating their willingness to be interviewed. In the sexual minority questionnaire, 29 % of the respondents gave their contact details, while the figure for the gender minority questionnaire was 38 %. The third process of selection depended upon individual researchers and their discretion regarding the choice of interviewees. Since our group of subjects had already undergone a selection process, there was no valid argument for drawing a random sample.

In addition to the interviews conducted within this project, some researchers utilised previously accumulated interview material as an extra source of data. This report also draws on a trade union survey (Lehtonen 2002) carried out during the project.

Reporting

In section II, this report initially presents the key aspects of the preliminary results of the sexual and gender minority questionnaires. Sections III and IV mainly focus on the research results based on data which has been singled out from the sexual minority questionnaire, the focus being on the respondents' age or profession. Some writers base their research articles on both questionnaire and interview data, while others only use one or the other. Some use both sexual and gender minority data, while others focus their study on sexual minorities only.

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II
THE SITUATION OF LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL AND TRANS PEOPLE AT WORK

OUTLINE RESULTS OF A QUESTIONNAIRE TARGETED AT SEXUAL MINORITIES

Kati Mustola and Anna Vanhala

The Respondents' Gender, Age, Ethnic Background, Nationality and Native Language

Our questionnaire targeted at sexual minorities produced 726 responses, more than half of which (57 %) were from women. This is a positive result considering the fact that previous research on lesbian, gay and bisexual people in Finland and abroad has not been very successful in reaching female respondents. In a Finnish survey on lesbian, gay and bisexual people's lifestyles and experiences of discrimination, carried out exactly 20 years ago in the winter of 1982-83, 31 % of a total of 1051 respondents were women (Grönfors et al. 1984, 135). The present study deals with the sphere of work and the possible discrimination occurring in the workplace. One of the reasons as to why women were more motivated to take the time to complete our questionnaire may be that women are more likely than men to be subjected to unfair treatment at work (Lehto 1988; Lehto & Sutela 1999; Savola 2000; Pulkkinen 2002). Another contributing factor may have been the Finnish women's mailing list Sapfo, where people were discussing the survey and actively urging others to participate. Middle-aged women were reached through the Mummolaakso (Granny Valley) associations for lesbian and bisexual women, which included the questionnaire form in their mailings to members, encouraging them to participate. Female respondents were, then, more actively recruited than male respondents.

In terms of age, the emphasis was on young people, with 74 % of the respondents under the age of 40. One fourth of the respondents were aged between 25 and 29 years, making this the largest age group in the survey. The over-representation of individuals belonging to young age classes may in part be assigned to the fact that our questionnaire form was also made available on the Internet. On the other hand, the survey conducted 20 years earlier produced almost identical results (81 % of the respondents were under the age of 40, with 26 % of them aged between 25 and 29 years, Sievers & Stålström 1984, 416). Since the high proportion of young respondents cannot be explained by our use of Internet in the survey, it seems likely that we are dealing with a bias caused by the snowball method of sampling.

When interpreting the research data, we should bear in mind the high representation of young respondents. Nevertheless, our sample of 726 respondents does provide us with a large and versatile enough group of people to allow us to draw conclusions on other age groups, as well.

Table 1. Respondents' age by gender.

Respondents' age (%)	Female	Male	Total
17-19	3	2	2,5
20-24	10	14	11,5
25-29	27	23	25
30-34	16	21	18
35-39	18	17	17
40-44	11	12	12
45-49	7	4	6
50-54	4	3	4
55-59	3	2	2,5
60-79	1	2	1,5
Total	100	100	100
N	(415)	(311)	(726)

The proportion of women and men in the different age groups was somewhat equal. The differences reported between female and male respondents later in this article cannot be assigned to their age – that is, differences in their particular stages in life.

In the survey, Swedish-speaking people accounted for five percent of the respondents, which corresponds to the proportion of Swedish-speaking people found in the Finnish population at large (5.6 %). Those who spoke some other language than Finnish or Swedish as their native language represented one percent of the respondents, when the percentage for the Finnish population on the whole is 2.3. The proportion of foreign nationals in our survey (2 %) corresponds to that in the Finnish population as a whole. Three percent of the respondents identified themselves as belonging to an ethnic minority. These minorities included the Saami, the Rom as well as Finnish and foreign nationals of non-Finnish origin. The definition of an ethnic minority tended to vary slightly from one respondent to another, with e.g. some of the Swedish-speaking Finns defining themselves as belonging to an ethnic minority.

Sexual Orientation, Couple Relationships and Family Situation

The questionnaire form included three questions designed to map the respondents' sexual orientation. These questions dealt with sexual feelings, sexual behaviour and sexual self-definition. Sexual orientation should not be viewed as a

straightforward question of homosexual versus heterosexual but rather as a continuum where people can occupy a variety of positions. There are multiple layers to sexual orientation, and sometimes there is inconsistence; people's sexual feelings, thoughts and fantasies may position them at a different point on the straight–gay continuum than their sexual behaviour does. The third dimension of a person's sexual orientation is his or her self-definition. Not all people with homosexual feelings or behaviour define themselves as homosexuals.

Figure 1. Target of sexual feelings, thoughts and fantasies by respondents' gender.

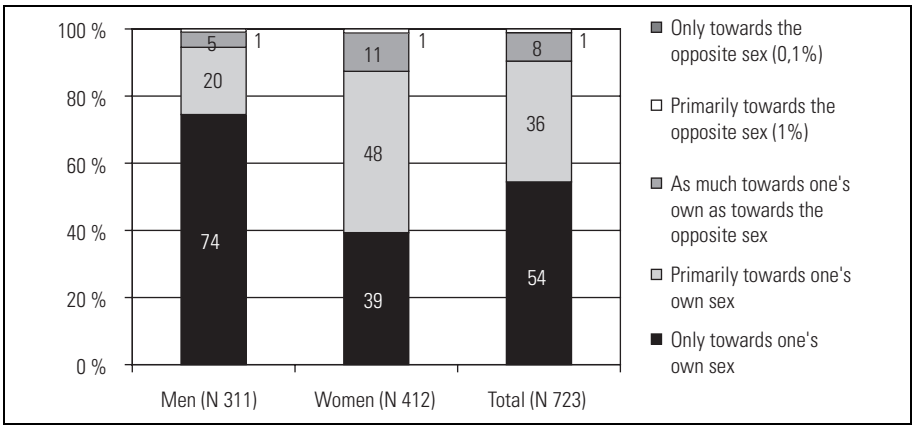
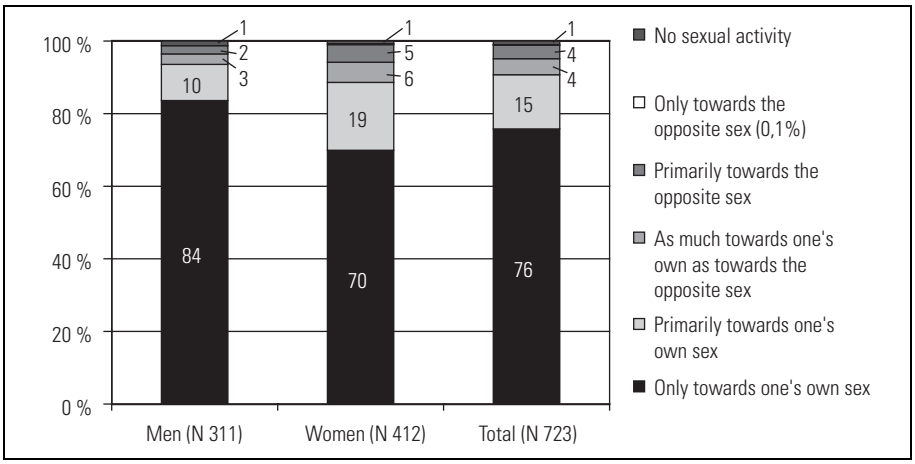


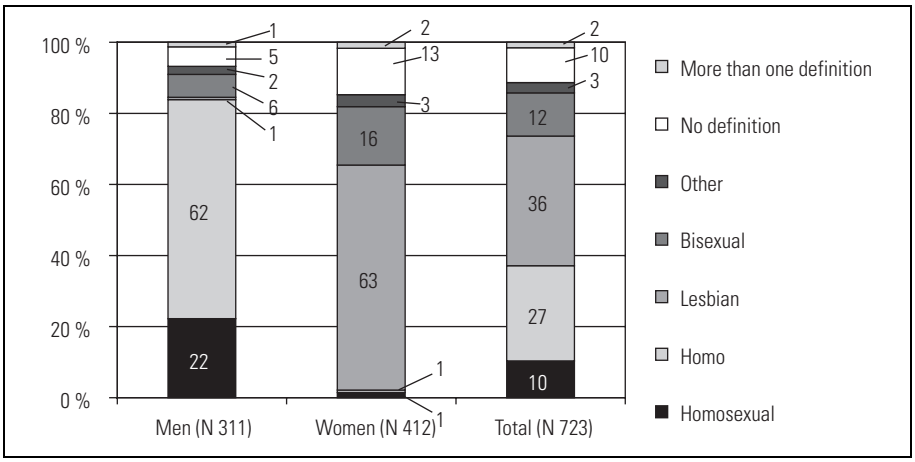
Figure 2. Target of sexual behaviour by respondents' gender.



Figures 1 and 2 show that 39 % of the female respondents and 74 % of the male respondents had sexual feelings directed exclusively towards persons of their own sex. As regards to sexual behaviour, the figures were considerably higher, with 70 % of the women and 84 % of the men engaging in same-sex relationships

only. Sexual feelings directed primarily towards their own sex were reported by 48 % of the women and 20 % of the men, while the corresponding figures regarding sexual behaviour were 19 % for women and 10 % for men. Those who had sexual feelings and behaviour directed primarily towards the opposite sex were in the minority. The category of respondents with primarily opposite-sex orientation, both in terms of their feelings and behaviour, had a slightly higher representation in women than men.

Figure 3. Respondents' self-definition by gender.



In the area of self-definition, homosexual was the most common category for men, with 84 % of the male respondents defining themselves as homo or homosexual. Only two percent of the female respondents used these definitions of themselves – in Finland, the terms 'homo' and 'homosexual' are mainly used in reference to men – while 63 % of the women identified themselves as lesbians. Bisexual was the chosen definition for 17 % of the women and 7 % of the men, while 13 % of the women and 6 % of the men did not want to use any definition. One to two percent of the respondents preferred to use some other definition, such as gay, queer, faggot, fairy, rainbow person, bent, dyke, lezzie, woman-loving woman, or undecided.

To summarise, slightly over half of the respondents had sexual feelings directed exclusively towards persons of their own sex. Three fourths of the respondents had sexual behaviour directed exclusively towards persons of their own sex. Similarly, three fourths of the respondents defined themselves as gay, lesbian or homosexual. One fourth of the respondents had sexual behaviour and feelings that were, to varying degrees, directed towards both sexes.

Among the respondents, 45 % had registered partnerships or cohabitation with same-sex partners, 20 % had steady same-sex companions, and 30 % were single. The remaining 5 % were married, cohabiting or involved with opposite-sex partners.

Table 2. Respondents' type of couple relationship by gender.

Type of couple relationship (%)	Male	Female
Registered partnership with same-sex partner	7	14
Cohabitation with same-sex partner	27	38
Same-sex partner, separate households	20	20
Marriage with opposite-sex partner	2	2
Cohabitation with opposite-sex partner	2	2
Opposite-sex partner, separate households	2	1
No steady companion	40	23
Total	100	100
N	(308)	(411)

χ^2-test $\rho \leq .001$

Within our group of respondents, women had a higher frequency of both registered partnerships (14 % for women, 7 % for men) and cohabitation with same-sex partners (38 % for women, 27 % for men), whereas men as a group had a higher number of single people (23 % for women, 40 % for men). Of both women and men, 20 % had steady same-sex companions.

According to the earlier Finnish study (Grönfors et al.1984, tables 13 and 14) as well as several foreign studies (ibid. 144-5), couple relationships are more common among lesbians than among gay men. Nevertheless, a slightly greater number of Finnish male couples had registered their partnerships by the end of the year 2002 (249 male couples and 207 female couples, the latter accounting for 45 % of all couples). During the year 2003, the situation was reversed, with male couples numbering at 83 and female couples at 107, now accounting for 56 % of all couples according to the Population Register Centre. Those who were cohabiting with or were married to opposite-sex partners accounted for 2 % of the respondents each, while 1 % of the respondents were in an opposite-sex relationship. In the area of heterosexual relationships, there were no differences between women and men. While one fourth of the respondents had sexual behaviour and feelings that were, to varying degrees, directed towards both sexes, only a total of five percent of the respondents had couple relationships or involvement with persons of the opposite sex at the time of the questionnaire survey.

Among the respondents, 15 % (105 people) had children from their previous relationships, children through their partners, or children together with their partners. Nine percent of the respondents had children living in the same household, while seven percent had children who lived in another household. Ten of the respondents (approximately 1 %) had children living both in the same and another household, which explains the total percentage amounting to 15 instead of 16 (nine plus seven percent). The number of female respondents with children was higher than that of the male respondents, especially with regard to young children living in the same household.

Table 3. Respondents with children living in the same or another household by gender.

Children who live in the same household (%)	Male	Female	Total	N
Children in the same household	4	13	9	(717)
Children in another household	5	9	7	(714)

χ^2-test $\rho \leq .001$ (same household)

χ^2-test $\rho \leq .05$ (another household)

Within working life, the common assumption is that lesbian and gay people do not have children. Of course, this is not always the case, and lesbian and gay employees, too, may have the need for maternity or parental leaves and child care leave for arranging for the care of a sick child.

Education and Occupational Status

Table 4. Respondents' education by gender.

Highest level of education completed (%)	Male	Female	Total
Comprehensive school	5	4	5
Upper secondary general school	16	18	17
Qualification from vocational school	10	9	10
Qualification from vocational college	21	23	22
Lower university degree	20	19	19
Higher university degree	24	23	23
Licentiate's or doctoral degree	5	4	4
Total	100	100	100
N	(414)	(311)	(725)

The average respondent in our survey had a relatively high level of education. There were no differences between women and men regarding their degree of education.

The majority of the respondents in the survey, 71 % in total, were wage earners. A small proportion (3 %) of people were entrepreneurs. Three respondents (0.4 %) were part time-pensioners only partly involved in working life, while 3 % were working on freelance basis, with a grant, or similar (option "something else"). Another 3 % held jobs that were a mixture of several different types of work. The remaining 20 % were not involved in working life at the time of the questionnaire survey on account of studies, unemployment, sickness, child care, pension or some other reason.

Table 5. Respondents' occupational status.

Occupational status (%)	
INVOLVED IN WORKING LIFE	
Employee	71
Entrepreneur	3
Part-time pension	0,4
Other	3
Several of the above	3
NOT INVOLVED IN WORKING LIFE	
Unemployed or laid off	3
Disability pension or prolonged sick leave	3
Pension on grounds of age or years of work	1
Unemployment pension	0,3
Domestic work at home	0,1
Maternity, paternity or parental leave	0,6
Student	11
N	(718)

There were no differences between women and men with regard to their occupational status. The table above is very specific as to the different grounds of pension, even if only a few of our respondents were retired. The reason for wanting to be specific about the respondents' grounds of retirement from working life was Finland's current concern about early retirement. Our experience during the research project was that there were many middle-aged homosexuals who had retired on early pension, and that their sexual orientation – or the need to conceal it – had been one of the reasons why they had been unable to cope at work until being eligible for retirement on the grounds of their age.

The respondents who were on a retirement pension felt that our questionnaire was targeted to those involved in working life and therefore of no relevance to them – this was one potential reason why so many retired people chose not to complete the questionnaire. Hence, the statistical analysis of our questionnaire data sheds very little light on the subject of retirement from working life. This

question is, however, explored from a qualitative perspective in Sari Charpentier's article, where she discusses the subject in the light of interview data and the open-ended questions on the form.

All of the respondents were presently or had previously been involved in working life. Those who were away from working life were asked to answer questions related to working life on the basis of their most recent place of work. Those who were involved in working life were asked to respond on the basis of their present place of work.

Openness – the Revealing and Concealing of Sexual Orientation in the Work Community

Sexual orientation differs from most other grounds of discrimination in that sexual orientation and identity can be concealed in the workplace. By comparison, there is very little we can do to hide our colour of skin, gender or the foreign accent in our speech. Direct discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation can only take place if a person tells about his or her sexual orientation or is found out in the workplace. (Badgett 1996.) Indirect discrimination in the form of oppressive and discriminatory gay jokes, for instance, can occur even if a person's sexual orientation is not known at work. Since a person's sexual orientation is not always obvious to others in the workplace, openness often involves more or less conscious decision or balancing between different alternatives.

For lesbian, gay and bisexual people, openness is not an either-or type of question but a continuum (Luopa 1994, 29). The question of whether or not to be open is often considered anew with every new person or situation one encounters. Thus, it is not meaningful to categorise people as either openly gay or completely closeted, that is, completely secretive about their sexual orientation. For lesbian, gay and bisexual people, it is quite common to have a situation where some of the people around them know about their sexual orientation while others do not (Davies 1992). Those who do not directly tell about their homo- or bisexuality but do not actively hide the fact, either, are often assumed to be heterosexual – this is, after all, the basic heteronormative premise.

The concept of *coming out [of the closet]* has been assigned different meanings in scientific literature depending on the field of study. Psychological studies on openness often approach the issue of coming out from the perspective of the individual – in other words, coming out is seen as the acknowledgement of ones own homo- or bisexuality. In the field of psychology, then, openness is mainly studied in relation to an individual's internal processes. (Davies 1992.) In sociological writings, coming out and openness are generally understood as referring to a person's decision to tell about his or her sexual orientation to

heterosexual people in particular. (Luopa 1994, 30.) Sociological research also focuses attention on the reproduction of identity as a social process e.g. through looking at social exclusion from the community or stigmatisation (Davies 1992). The present book uses the term 'openness' in the latter sense, in its social context.

The family lives and other relationships of employees are a common topic of discussion at work – and outside work, as some may socialise with their fellow workers outside work, too. As the measure of normal behaviour, heterosexual relationships are often the natural and automatic topic of conversations. Because of this heteronormative thinking, many lesbian, gay and bisexual employees feel they have to be careful about what they say or do in the workplace. (Valkonen 2003.) Workplace conversations rarely encourage people to talk about anything other than the heterosexual way of life.

Teppo Heikkinen (1994; 2002) has studied heteronormativity and gay men's strategies of using space. According to him, heteronormativity determines our conceptions of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour and verbal expression in various situations. The general heteronormative ethos and the heterosexual assumptions in the workplace force many homosexual employees to rearrange their lives with regard to their verbal expression and behaviour. The gay men interviewed by Heikkinen employed a variety of strategies to conceal everyday details that somehow implied homosexual relations. Some of them simply concealed their personal matters or disclosed them only partially. Sometimes they invented stories to cover up the truth or used the heterosexual assumption to their own advantage. Others tried to avoid socialising and close personal contacts with their fellow workers. (Heikkinen 2002) Similar strategies have been encountered in studies conducted by Pauliina Luopa (1994) and Mia Valkonen (2003), as well as in the context of our Equal project – a more detailed presentation can be found elsewhere in this book, e.g. in the article written by Anna Vanhala – where the interviewees were found to use methods that were largely identical: evasion, changing the subject, walking away from uncomfortable conversations, or using gender-neutral language.

In this study, openness is also understood in its more passive form of non-concealing. This differs from the concept of *opening out*, which invariably indicates an active approach and requires a certain level of personal input, voluntary action and willingness to share ones personal matters. Openness in the sense it is used in this study may also involve the acts of not concealing, partial disclosure or hinting. The concepts of opening out and openness are, however, partially overlapping in their content and cultural meanings in particular.

Kari Vesala (1998, 63-65) has explored opening up, suppression and lying. In his work, Vesala discusses the subject of sincere sharing and the related cultural expectations. As a general rule, opening up evokes positive reactions. Vesala's work provides useful tools for discussion on openness and opening up, even if his work does not deal with lesbians, gays and bisexuals as such.

In lesbian, gay and bisexual communities, there is a prevailing thinking according to which openness about ones sexual orientation is a good thing, while "being in the closet" is bad. In his work on *sexual stories*, Ken Plummer notes that no more than some hundred years ago gay men only dared to whisper their stories, whereas the lesbian women of the time had no shared sexual stories to speak of. In the course of the 20th century, the stories of lesbian, gay and bisexual people have evolved into coming out stories, sometimes even shared in public. One example of the positive expectations associated with opening up (openness) is the national *Coming Out Day* devised and organised by gay and lesbian organisations in the United States: openness is valued and encouraged to the point that it is sometimes almost pressed on people. (Plummer 1995.)

The substantial role afforded to communication is a common feature in western cultures; individualism builds heavily on the idea of self-expression and the free communication of feelings and ideas (Hofstede 1991, Bellah et al.1985). There are, however, certain contexts where non-communication, i.e. refraining from opening up, is valued. The secrecy of the ballot, mail or bank accounts, for example, is regarded as a positive thing. In other words, non-communication is seen in a positive light because it serves the purpose of protecting the individual and his or her experiencing and status. Outright lying, on the other hand, is usually valued negatively, although this tends to depend on the underlying motive for lying. (Vesala 1998, 66-72.)

According to Antti Eskola (1984), non-communication may at times have a significant role in the maintenance of social experiencing and certain forms and levels of reality. Non-communication can also be viewed as role performance and representation of self to others (Schneider 1976). Opening up, for its part, can be regarded as a social skill, since it requires sensitivity to certain roles and rules. The consequences of opening up may be positive or negative. Sometimes choosing not to be open is a sign of social competence. (Vesala 1998.) In the context of workplace conversations, lesbians, gays and bisexuals often find themselves balancing between telling and concealing, assessing their co-workers attitudes, tolerance or intolerance.

Openness about sexual orientation in the workplace may have multiple dimensions. People can be open about their sexual orientation towards one co-worker and remain "in the closet" with regard to another. They may also adopt different levels of openness when dealing with supervisors, customers, patients,

pupils and other interest groups at work. In our questionnaire form, we included five questions on the different aspects of openness. The first question in this area dealt with co-workers.

Table 6. Respondents' openness in the workplace. Data on members of Swedish homo- and bisexual organisations included for comparison.

How many of your co-workers know about your sexual orientation (%)	Finland	Sweden
None	17	
One or a few	33	
Total	50	28
About half	6	
Almost everybody	17	
Everybody	13	
Total	36	62
I don't know if they know	12	8
I have no fellow workers	2	2
Total	100	100
N	(718)	(approx.3300)

Less than one fifth of the respondents were completely "in the closet", while one third had allowed a few of their fellow workers "a peak in the closet". Thus, 50 % of the respondents concealed their sexual orientation in the workplace either completely or almost completely. Slightly over one third of the respondents were open about their sexual orientation and had told all, nearly all or half of their co-workers. Sometimes it can be difficult to tell whether the co-workers know or not; this was the case with slightly over one tenth of the respondents in our survey.

In a Swedish sister survey, the exact same question was posed to a considerably larger and somewhat different group of people. In the Swedish survey, a questionnaire form targeted at sexual minorities was mailed to all 7,443 members of the various Swedish homo- and bisexual organisations. A total of 3,315 (45 %) questionnaire forms were returned (Ljunggren et al. 2003, 94.) As we can see, there is a considerable difference between the Finnish and the Swedish respondents regarding their openness about sexual orientation in the workplace, with the Swedish employees being much more open in this respect. This may in part be explained by the different methods of sampling used in the two studies: it is possible that the lesbian, gay and bisexual people who belong to gay organisations are more open than those who do not. The fact that less than half of all the members in the Swedish organisations completed the questionnaire would suggest that those who did return the questionnaire represented the more active

members in these organisations. Considering the normative pressure towards openness commonly found in homo- and bisexual organisations, it is possible that the active members are also more open about their sexual orientation. In the Finnish survey, the aim was to also reach the "regular" homo- and bisexual people who did not have membership in any gay or lesbian organisations (see Appendix 1 for sampling methods). The differences between the Finnish and the Swedish gays, lesbians and bisexuals cannot, however, be explained by the methods of sampling alone. The latter simply *are* more open about their sexual orientation towards their co-workers. (Ljunggren et al. 2003, 124.)

In many places of work, employees have to interact with not only their co-workers but with customers, patients, pupils and so on. Compared to the situation with co-workers, the respondents were notably less open about their sexual orientation towards the above-mentioned groups of people.

Table 7. Respondents' openness towards clients, pupils or equivalent.

How many of your clients, pupils etc. know about your sexual orientation (%)	
None	36
One or a few	19
About half	3
Almost everybody	3
Everybody	1
I don't know if they know	24
I have no contact with clients, pupils or equivalent	14
Total	100
N	(719)

Slightly over one third of the Finnish respondents concealed their sexual orientation from customers, pupils etc., and hardly any of the respondents were completely open in all or almost all of their contacts with the said groups of people. A total of 55 % said that none or only a few people in any of the above groups knew about their homo- or bisexuality. In the Swedish survey, the corresponding figure was 47 %, proving the Swedish respondents more open in this respect, as well. The difference here is less pronounced, though, than in openness towards co-workers. It should be noted that interaction with customers, pupils etc. is often less intensive than it is with fellow workers. One fourth of the Finnish respondents did not know if the pupils, customers etc. were aware of their sexual orientation. The Swedish survey yielded similar results, with slightly over one fourth saying they did not know. (Ljunggren et al. 2003, 124.)

With regard to openness towards supervisors, the Finnish respondents can be roughly divided into three groups, each of them representing one third of the respondents: those whose supervisors do not know, those whose supervisors do know, and those who do not know if their supervisors know.

Table 8. Respondents' openness towards their supervisors. Data on members of Swedish homo- and bisexual organisations included for comparison.

Does your supervisor know about your sexual orientation (%)	Finland	Sweden
He/she doesn't know	32	18
He/she knows	35	56
I don't know if he/she knows	28	18
I have no supervisor	5	8
Total	100	100
N	(719)	(approx.3300)

In the Swedish survey, the respondents were also markedly more open towards their supervisors compared to the Finnish respondents (Ljunggren et al. 2003, 125).

Openness about ones sexual orientation is not always a matter of personal choice, since rumours tend to circulate. This had happened to every tenth of our respondents. Some 40 percent had personally told about their sexual orientation in the workplace.

Table 9. How the respondents' sexual orientation became known in the workplace.

How did people come to know about your sexual orientation at work (%)	
It is not known	36
I told myself	42
They heard from others	10
Other	9
Several of the above	3
Total	100
N	(709)

There were very few respondents who had told about their sexual orientation at the job interview. Many had chosen to first put out feelers, observe the attitudes of the other members in the work community and only tell about their sexual orientation once they felt it was safe to do so. One fourth of the respondents told upon starting the

job, while one fifth waited a few years before telling. Half of the respondents had not told about their sexual orientation at all. If others in the workplace knew about their sexual orientation, they had learned it from some other source.

Table 10. The point when respondents told about their sexual orientation at work. Data on members of Swedish homo- and bisexual organisations included for comparison.

When did you tell about your sexual orientation (%)	Finland	Sweden
At the job interview	3	9
When starting the job	15	8
After probation	10	
After a few years	20	37
At some other point	2	18
I have not told	50	27
Total	100	100
N	(658)	(approx. 3300)

There were few differences between the Finnish and the Swedish respondents as to the point they told about their sexual orientation. The one difference was that the number of those who had told about their sexual orientation to begin with was notably larger among the Swedish respondents (Ljunggren et al. 2003, 123).

None of the above five questions on the different aspects of openness showed any statistically significant differences between the Finnish female and male respondents. On the average, men and women were equally open in their places of work. In the case of family and friends (questions number 10 and 11 on the form), there was a slight difference: the number of those who concealed their homo- or bisexuality from their parents, siblings and other relatives as well as their schoolmates and heterosexual friends and acquaintances was larger among the male respondents.

Compared to the Finns, a higher number of Swedish respondents had told about their sexual orientation to their friends and childhood families. In the Swedish survey, too, the female respondents were more open towards their friends and childhood families compared to the male respondents. (Ljunggren et al. 2003, 122).

Co-Workers and Workplace Climate

Employees who belong to a minority may place great importance on having co-workers who belong to the same minority. Nearly half of the respondents had one or more co-workers who they knew to be lesbian, gay or bisexual.

Table 11. Co-workers who belong to sexual minorities.

Do you have co-workers who belong to sexual minorities (%)	
None	14
I'm not aware	40
Yes, one	16
Yes, more than one	30
Total	100
N	(718)

Only little less than one third of the respondents had heard this directly from the person or persons in questions. Slightly over one tenth of the respondents said they had been able to tell that these co-workers were homosexual before anyone had mentioned the fact. Homosexual people sometimes joke about having a "gaydar" for identifying another homosexual. Heterosexual employees, on the other hand, may often be unaware of their homo- or bisexual colleagues. The data produced in the context of this survey provides no information on this particular aspect, since no heterosexual respondents were included.

Table 12. How respondents came to know about their co-workers' sexual orientation.

How do you know this person or these persons belong to a sexual minority (%)	
I'm not aware of others belonging to sexual minorities	51
It shows	12
There has been talk	6
The person(s) in question told about their sexual orientation	29
Several of the above	2
Total	100
N	(691)

More than one third considered it a positive thing to have lesbian, gay or bisexual fellow workers. Only one respondent found it a negative thing. One fourth of the respondents thought it made no difference.

Table 13. The significance of having co-workers who belong to sexual minorities.

Does it make a difference to you that there are others belonging to sexual minorities in your workplace (%)	
I'm not aware of others belonging to sexual minorities	38
It is a positive thing	36
It is a negative thing	0,1
It makes no difference	26
Total	100
N	(705)

In many workplaces, the various break areas form the hub of social interaction in the work community. Very often, communities develop norms regarding appropriate topics of discussion. Many work communities have an unwritten rule that discussion about heterosexual family relationships is perfectly fine, since these are not considered as intimate as the family life of same-sex couples. Sex, however, is rarely viewed as an appropriate topic of discussion in the workplace. The boundaries between "sexual details" and "personal matters" depend on whether one belongs to a sexual minority or the sexual majority: employees who tell about their weekend activities with their opposite-sex partners are not seen as talking about their heterosexuality, but when their gay or lesbian co-workers talk about the exact same activities, say a visit to the cinema, with their same-sex partners, some will think that they are, in fact, talking about their homosexuality.

With view to coffee break conversations, the key fact is whether or not the people participating are aware that there may be homo- or bisexual employees present. In our survey, the respondents were divided into two categories on the basis of their answers to the question “How many of your co-workers know about your sexual orientation?”: those who tell (at least half of their co-workers knew

about their sexual orientation) and those who conceal (only a few or none of their co-workers knew about their sexual orientation). (See Appendix 1 for details on group formation).

Table 14. Workplace discussion on couple relationships and family life by respondents' openness.

Have the couple relationships and family life of members of the staff been a topic of discussion in your workplace (%)			
	Those who tell	Those who conceal	Total
Yes, but only of opposite-sex couples	30	71	56
Yes, but only of same-sex couples	3	5	4
Yes, of both opposite and same-sex couples	62	10	29
These are not discussed in my workplace	5	14	11
Total	100	100	100
N			(693)

χ^2-test $\rho \leq .001$

In more than half of the workplaces, heteronormative practices prevailed in the coffee break conversations, meaning there was no discussion about same-sex relationships and families. This norm was partly broken especially in work communities with openly lesbian, gay or bisexual employees: the conversations in these communities were far more inclusive of homo- and bisexual people.

If the people in the work community are not aware of the fact that some of their co-workers are homo- or bisexual, coffee break conversations can take negative tones towards lesbian, gay and bisexual people and, unintentionally, hurt some members of the community. As the following table clearly shows, the tone of discussion regarding sexual minorities was much more positive in workplaces with openly lesbian, gay or bisexual employees compared to workplaces where the homo-or bisexual employees concealed their sexual orientation.

Table 15. Workplace discussion on sexual minorities by respondents' openness.

Have gay, lesbian and bisexual people been a topic of discussion in your workplace (%)			
	Those who tell	Those who conceal	Total
Yes, mostly in a positive tone	54	16	30
Yes, mostly in a negative tone	7	23	17
No discussion	39	61	53
Total	100	100	100
N			(690)

χ^2-test $\rho \leq .001$

For the sake of comparison, the sexual minority questionnaire included a question on workplace discussion dealing with gender minorities. Only one fifth of the respondents said that trans people had been a topic of discussion in their workplace. In those work communities where such discussions occasionally took place, there was, again, a difference that could be assigned to the level of openness of the lesbian, gay and bisexual employees: the tone of discussion regarding trans people was often more positive in workplaces with openly lesbian, gay or bisexual employees compared to workplaces where homo- or bisexual employees concealed their sexual orientation.

Table 16. Workplace discussion on trans people by respondents' openness.

Have trans people been a topic of discussion in your workplace (%)	Those who tell	Those who conceal	Total
Yes, mostly in a positive tone	21	4	11
Yes, mostly in a negative tone	7	12	10
No discussion	72	84	79
Total	100	100	100
N			(691)

χ^2-test $\rho \leq .001$

Bullying and Harassment

Bullying and harassment can take various forms. Our questionnaire featured ten questions covering general harassment, harassment on account of sexual orientation, name-calling, unpleasant jokes, and sexual harassment. Each of these types of harassment was addressed through the following two questions: Firstly, "Does harassment occur in your place of work?" and secondly, "Have you yourself been subjected to harassment?"

Bullying or harassment at work refers to ostracizing a member of a work community, invalidating his or her work, intimidating, talking behind his or her back, as well as other forms of oppressive behaviour. The first of the two questions does not refer to harassment on the grounds of sexual orientation but to harassment in general.

Table 17. Harassment in respondents' place of work.

Does harassment occur in your place of work (%)	
Never	34
Occasionally	44
Continually	10
Don't know	12
Total	100
N	(710)

Over half of the respondents said there was occasional or continual harassment in their places of work. Table 18 shows that 15 % of the respondents had been subjected to harassment at the time of the survey or at a previous time, while 10 % of the respondents had been harassed in a previous job.

Table 18. Harassment on account of respondents' sexual orientation.

Have you yourself been subjected to harassment (%)	
No	63
Yes, at the present time	6
Yes, earlier in this job but no longer	8
Yes, earlier in another job	10
Don't know	13
Total	100
N	(709)

Although general workplace harassment was far more common than harassment on account of sexual orientation, 12 % of the respondents had witnessed this type of harassment either occasionally or continually. The number was slightly higher among those who were open about their sexual orientation. As much as one fourth of those who concealed their sexual orientation did not know if there was harassment in the workplace that was connected to sexual orientation.

Table 19. Workplace harassment connected to sexual orientation by respondents' openness.

Is there harassment in your place of work that is connected to sexual orientation (%)			
	Those who tell	Those who conceal	Total
Never	70	63	66
Occasionally	13	9	10
Continually	2	1	2
Don't know	15	26	22
Total	100	100	100
N			(693)

χ^2-test $\rho \leq .01$

Table 20. Respondents harassed at work because of their sexual orientation by openness.

Have you yourself been subjected to harassment because of your sexual orientation (%)			
	Those who tell	Those who conceal	Total
No	76	84	81
Yes, at the present time	3	2	2
Yes, earlier in this job but no longer	6	3	4
Yes, earlier in another job	8	4	6
Don't know	7	6	7
Total	100	100	100
N			(695)

χ^2-test $\rho \leq .05$

In all, 12 % of the respondents had been harassed in their present or previous jobs. Those who were open about their sexual orientation were subjected to harassment more frequently than those who concealed their sexual orientation – which is a somewhat foregone conclusion. What is worth noticing here is that harassment on account of sexual orientation was also experienced by some of the employees whose sexual orientation was known to only a few or none of their co-workers.

The following question deals with name-calling targeted at lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people (calling somebody homo or tranny, or addressing a man as "miss" etc.). Slightly less than one third of the respondents had witnessed name-calling in their places of work.

Table 21. Name-calling targeted at sexual and gender minorities in the workplace.

Is there name-calling targeted at sexual and gender minorities in your place of work (%)	
Never	61
Occasionally	26
Continually	3
Don't know	10
Total	100
N	(712)

When asked about their personal experiences of homophobic name-calling (table 22), 8 % of the respondents said they had been subjected to such behaviour. The number was a few percent higher among those who were open about their sexual orientation.

Table 22. Respondents subjected to name-calling because of their sexual orientation by openness.

Have you yourself been subjected to such name-calling (%)	Those who tell	Those who conceal	Total
No	80	90	86
Yes, at the present time	4	1	2
Yes, earlier in this job but no longer	3	2	2
Yes, earlier in another job	3	4	4
Don't know	10	3	6
Total	100	100	100
N			(694)

χ^2-test $\rho \leq .001$

None of the above questions regarding the various forms of harassment showed any statistically significant differences between the male and female respondents.

Humour is the spice of life. Work without the occasional joking and laughter would be tiresome. But when the jokes are of an offensive nature, harmless banter takes on harassing tones. While even the more rude jokes are considered acceptable between, say, homosexual, Jewish or black people, they are often seen as offensive when made by a member of the majority. Similarly, women may be offended by lewd jokes made by men. Clearly, the problem is not with the sense of humour of women or people belonging to minorities but with heterosexist, racist and sexist attitudes. Offensive jokes are not humorous – they are a form of mental violence.

Table 23. Unpleasant jokes about sexual and gender minorities being made in the workplace by respondents' openness and gender.

In your place of work, are jokes being made about sexual and gender minorities that you consider unpleasant (%)						
	Those who tell	Those who conceal	Total	Male	Female	Total
Continually	1	5	3	4	2	3
Occasionally	36	48	43	40	46	43
Never	54	40	45	51	41	45
Don't know	10	7	8	5	11	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
N			(693)			(709)

χ^2-test $\rho \leq .001$ χ^2-test $\rho \leq .01$

Almost half of all respondents had continually or occasionally been subjected to unpleasant jokes about gay, lesbian or trans people in their places of work. Compared to the situation with harassment, the openness of the respondents had a reverse impact: those employees who had told about their sexual orientation to only a few or none of their co-workers had to listen to unpleasant jokes about gay, lesbian and trans people considerably more often than those who were open about their sexual orientation. As to the role of the respondents' gender, we notice that these jokes were targeted at women slightly more often than at men.

Sexual harassment refers to such conduct of sexual nature that is one-sided, unwelcome, and may involve pressure. Among our respondents, 15 % had witnessed sexual harassment in their places of work. 10 % of the respondents had themselves been subjected to harassment in their present jobs, while 9 % had been harassed earlier in another job.

Table 24. Sexual harassment in the workplace.

Is there sexual harassment in your place of work (%)	
Continually	2
Occasionally	13
Never	65
Don't know	20
Total	100
N	(712)

Table 25. Respondents' experiences of sexual harassment at work.

Have you yourself been subjected to sexual harassment (%)	
No	78
Yes, at the present time	3
Yes, earlier in this job but no longer	7
Yes, earlier in another job	9
Don’t know	3
Total	100
N	(714)

There were no differences in the respondents' experiences of sexual harassment with regard to their gender or openness. There was, however, a connection between the gender of the perpetrator and that of the targeted person: women were harassed by men, whereas men were harassed by both sexes, but mostly by women.

Table 26. The gender of the perpetrators.

Were the perpetrators men or women (%)	Male	Female	Total
I have not been sexually harassed	78	71	74
Men	7	25	17
Women	10	1	5
Both	4	3	3
Total	100	100	100
N			(566)

χ^2-test $\rho \leq .001$

Discrimination in the Work Community

In working life, inequality and discrimination can be found for instance in pay, recruitment, career promotion, or access to training. Unfair treatment can be based on a range of factors, such as age, ethnic background, sexual orientation, gender in the traditional sense (male-female), or untraditional gender expression (transsexuality or transvestism). We asked the respondents if any of these forms of discrimination occurred in their places of work, and if they themselves had been subjected to such discrimination.

Discrimination on the grounds of age can affect the young and the aged alike. Discrimination against young persons had been observed by 22 % of the respondents, while 20 % had witnessed discrimination against persons of advanced age. Further, 15 % of the respondents thought they themselves had been discriminated against because of their young age, while 5 % thought they had been subjected to discrimination because of their advanced age. Since the respondents in our sexual minority survey mainly consisted of young people, there were not many who could have been discriminated against on account of advanced age, to begin with. There were no differences between women and men with regard to their experiences of age discrimination, personal or in general.

Employment *discrimination against immigrants or members of ethnic groups* in the work community had been witnessed by 18 % of the respondents. There were no differences between women and men with regard to their experiences of ethnic discrimination.

Gender discrimination against women in the work community had been witnessed by 21 % of the men and 32 % of the women. The difference between women and men has two possible explanations: first, gender discrimination

against women *is* more frequent in the respondents' workplace, or second, women are more perceptive when it comes to discrimination against women. Of all the women in the survey, 21 % had personal experiences of gender discrimination.

Gender discrimination against men in the workplace had been witnessed by 7 % of the respondents, with no difference shown between women and men. Personal experiences of gender discrimination were reported by 7 % of the male respondents.

Sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace had been witnessed by 19 % of the male and 12 % of the female respondents. As the following table shows, there is a connection between the respondents' level of openness and the occurrence of discrimination in the workplace.

Table 27. Discrimination or unfair treatment in the work organisation on the basis of sexual orientation by respondents' openness.

Is there discrimination in your place of work on the basis of sexual orientation (%)			
	Those who tell	Those who conceal	Total
Yes	14	16	15
No	70	45	55
Don't know	16	39	30
Total	100	100	100
N			(688)

χ^2-test $\rho \leq .001$

The biggest difference between those who were open and those who concealed their sexual orientation was that 39 % of the latter did not know if there was discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation in their work community. Among those who were open, 70 % were of the opinion that there was no sexual orientation discrimination in their places of work. The explanation for this difference may be that those work communities where "the cat is out of the bag", that is, people know there are lesbians, gays or bisexuals among the staff, tend to have clearer norms and guidelines for the prevention of discrimination. If employees are not open in the workplace, it is impossible to pinpoint their sexual orientation as the actual cause of discrimination. Another explanation may be that the work communities of those who were open about their sexual orientation were less prone to discriminatory behaviour to begin with.

Personal experiences of sexual orientation discrimination were reported by 8 % of the men and 6 % of the women. Although the difference here is not statistically significant, it is along the lines of the statistically significant difference

found between women and men regarding possible discrimination observed in the workplace, as reported above. There is a connection between the respondents' openness and their personal experiences of discrimination, as shown in table 28.

Table 28. Respondents' personal experiences of discrimination because of their sexual orientation by openness.

Have you yourself been discriminated against because of your sexual orientation (%)			
	Those who tell	Those who conceal	Total
Yes	10	5	7
No	82	82	82
Don't know	8	13	11
Total	100	100	100
N			(684)

χ^2-test $\rho \leq .05$

Discrimination was more frequent against those who were open about their sexual orientation than those who concealed it. On the other hand, the latter group had a higher number of those who could not tell if they themselves had been discriminated against or not, or if their sexual orientation had been the specific cause of discrimination.

Discrimination on the grounds of transsexuality or gender minority status had been witnessed by 12 % of the respondents.

Personal Experiences of Discrimination in Different Working Life Situations and the Role of Sexual Orientation

In surveying the occurrence of discrimination in different situations in working life, our focus was on the respondents' personal experiences.

Discrimination *upon recruitment* had been experienced by 14 % of the respondents. Table 29 shows their responses when asked whether they thought their sexual orientation had been an influencing factor.

Table 29. Sexual orientation as an influencing factor in discrimination upon recruitment by respondents' gender.

If you have experienced discrimination upon recruitment, was sexual orientation an influencing factor (%)	Male	Female	Total
Yes, it was the main cause	25	7	15
Yes, to some extent	36	18	26
No, it wasn't	39	75	57
Total	100	100	100
N			(99)

Among the gay and bisexual men who had been discriminated against, the number of those who considered their sexual orientation as the main cause or an influencing factor to the discrimination was considerably higher than it was amongst the lesbian and bisexual women.

In the area of *pay*, discrimination had been experienced by 18 % of the respondents. Among the male respondents discriminated against in pay, 3 % were of the opinion that their sexual orientation had been the main cause, while 21 % thought it had been an influencing factor. None of the female respondents discriminated against in pay regarded their sexual orientation as the main cause, and only one of the women (representing 1 % of the women discriminated against) thought her sexual orientation had been an influencing factor.

Discrimination with regard to *opportunities for career advancement* had been experienced by 15 % of the respondents.

Table 30. Sexual orientation as an influencing factor in discrimination with regard to career advancement by respondents' gender.

If you have experienced discrimination with regard to career advancement, was sexual orientation an influencing factor (%)	Male	Female	Total
Yes, it was the main cause	19	9	13
Yes, to some extent	35	20	26
No, it wasn't	46	70	61
Total	100	100	100
N			(107)

In the area of career advancement, too, the gay and bisexual men regarded their sexual orientation as the cause of discrimination more often than the lesbian and bisexual women did.

Discrimination regarding the *opportunities for training arranged by the employer* had been experienced by 10 % of the respondents. Among the male respondents discriminated against in this area, 6 % regarded their sexual orientation as the main cause, while 17 % thought it had been an influencing factor. The corresponding figures for the women were 2 % on both accounts.

Discrimination with regard to *access to information* had been experienced by 18 % of the respondents. Among the male respondents discriminated against in access to information, 10 % were of the opinion that their sexual orientation had been the main cause, while 20 % thought it had been an influencing factor. None of the female respondents discriminated against in this area regarded their sexual orientation as the main cause, while 12 % of the women thought their sexual orientation had been an influencing factor.

Discriminatory *attitudes of co-workers and supervisors* were experienced by 24 % of the respondents. In the group of the male respondents discriminated against in their work communities, 27 % regarded their sexual orientation as the main cause, while 40 % thought it had been an influencing factor. Among the women discriminated against in their work communities, 21 % considered their sexual orientation as the main cause, while 30 % thought it had been an influencing factor.

Not all discrimination, then, was explained by the respondents' sexual orientation: those who had been discriminated against in the different working life situations covered here (10–24 % of all respondents) were of the opinion that their sexual orientation had been the main cause in 0–27 % of the discriminatory situations and an influencing factor in 1–40 % of the situations. In the case of the lesbian and bisexual women, gender was a more common basis for discrimination than sexual orientation.

Measures Against Discrimination

A total of 13 % of the respondents were unaware that since 1995 a law has been in force in Finland prohibiting discrimination in working life on the basis of sexual orientation. As illustrated by the article *A Job that Needs to be Done: Trade Organisations and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People* featured in this book, some of the Finnish trade organisations, too, were poorly informed on the subject. The scope of protection for sexual minorities against discrimination was further clarified and extended by the new Equality Act, which entered into force in February 2004. The new act has not reflected upon the situation of our respondents, the actual questionnaire survey having been conducted in the winter 2002–2003.

A little more than half of the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents stated they would be willing to take their cases to court if they were discriminated against at work because of their sexual orientation.

Table 31. Respondents' willingness to take sexual orientation discrimination cases to court by openness.

If you were discriminated against because of your sexual orientation, would you be willing to take your case to court (%)			
	Those who tell	Those who conceal	Total
Yes	66	43	52
No	5	13	10
Don't know	28	44	38
Total	100	100	100
N			(687)

χ^2-test $\rho \leq .001$

There was a clear difference between those who concealed their sexual orientation and those who were open about it: the openly lesbian, gay or bisexual employees were more willing to fight for their rights. No difference was shown between women and men regarding their willingness to take legal action.

In addition to the respondents' personal experiences of discrimination, we asked about the instances they had contacted for help.

As reported above (table 28), a total of 50 respondents (representing 7 % of all respondents) stated that they had been discriminated against because of their sexual orientation. According to the series of questions (numbered 134–140 on the form) discussed in the following, 120 respondents, or 18 %, had been discriminated against because of their sexual orientation. When looking at the results in table 28 (based on question 113B on the form), we should take into account the fact that 77 respondents (11 %) had chosen the option "don't know". These people had been discriminated against, but they were unsure if it was their sexual orientation that had caused the discrimination. In the series of questions dealt with in the following, these respondents fell to the category of people subjected to discrimination, thus increasing the total amount to 18 %.

The following table shows details on the instances contacted for help by the 120 respondents subjected to discrimination at work.

Table 32. Instances contacted by respondents who had been discriminated against.

If you have been discriminated against at work, did you contact any of the following (N)	
Trade union	11
Employee representative	13
Supervisor	29
Co-workers	53
Occupational safety and health authorities	5
Occupational health services	14
SETA	17

Less than half of the people discriminated against had discussed the situation with their co-workers, while one fourth of them had reported the matter to their supervisors. Very few respondents had contacted their employee representatives, trade union representatives or any other relevant instances outside the immediate work community. With the total number of instances contacted amounting to 142, it seems that some of the respondents had first discussed the matter in the workplace with their co-workers or supervisors, for instance, and then contacted some other instance.

Finally, we asked the respondents to name the instances they would choose to contact if they were discriminated against at work because of their sexual orientation.

Table 33. Instances respondents would choose to contact in the event of discrimination by openness.

If you were discriminated against at work, would you contact any of the following (%)				
	Those who tell	Those who conceal	Total	N
Trade union	56	42	47	(653)
Employee representative	62	47	53	(650)
Supervisor	83	64	72	(663)
Co-workers	85	52	64	(651)
Occupational safety and health authorities	60	50	54	(643)
Occupational health services	46	47	47	(644)
SETA	66	63	64	(653)

Most of the respondents named supervisors, fellow workers and SETA (the Finnish National Organisation for Sexual Equality) as the instances they would contact if they were discriminated against. The respondents also indicated a considerably greater willingness to contact the other instances listed in the table when compared to the number – or rather, the lack of thereof – of instances the respondents had contacted in actual cases of discrimination, shown in table 32.

Judging from table 33, occupational health services and SETA are the kind of reliable instances which those who conceal their sexual orientation and those who are open about it would find equally safe to contact. Occupational health services and trade unions, on the other hand, were reported as the least preferred instances to contact by both of these groups of people.

In the new Equality Act adopted in Finland, the occupational safety and health authorities are named as the primary instance to contact in cases of discrimination in the workplace.

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OUTLINE RESULTS OF A QUESTIONNAIRE TARGETED AT GENDER MINORITIES

Kati Mustola

Gender minorities comprise people whose gender in the biological, social or mental sense diverges from the traditional, or "normal" gender order with its bipolar gender dichotomy. For them, the different dimensions of gender occupy a variety of positions on the masculine–feminine continuum. In terms of their identities or bodies, they cannot be clearly defined as either male or female, but as something beyond this categorisation.

Transsexualism relates to a person's gender experience. Unhappy with their biological sex, transsexual persons feel their mental gender to be at odds with their physiological gender characteristics: biological females understand themselves to be male, and biological males understand themselves to be females. Transsexuals can opt for medical treatment where their sexual anatomy is reassigned through hormonal and surgical treatment to match their own gender identification and experience. Male-to-female transsexuals are referred to as transsexual women, or trans women for short. Female-to-male transsexuals are referred to as transsexual men or trans men. Taking several years of a transsexual person's life, gender-reassignment is a process during which he or she undergoes medical gender-reassignment and is given a new legal gender and name. In the course of the process, transsexual persons learn to live socially as the gender they perceive themselves to be, gradually finding their own way of being a woman or a man. (The Transgender Support Centre website.)

A *transgender* is a person living permanently in between maleness and femaleness. Some transgenders understand themselves to be of the opposite sex than their biological sex would suggest, and hope to be treated as members of this opposite gender. Unlike transsexuals, they do not have the need or desire to alter their anatomy through gender-reassignment treatment. The reasons for this may be related to their circumstances, state of health or the fact that they feel they are able to live as members of the other sex without changing their anatomy. Other transgenders perceive their gender as male or female according to the circumstances. (The Transgender Support Centre website.)

In *transvestism*, a person's personality as a whole incorporates both masculine and feminine features. Transvestite males have an inner drive to express and develop their femininity – to identify with women by, for example, occasionally dressing up in women's clothes and assuming feminine body language and role expression. For a transvestite male, this identification with the female gender serves as a means of

relaxation and overall pleasure, giving him a feeling of being his true self. Being able to combine the masculine and the feminine in his experience and expression makes him feel more whole as a person. In a man's role, he is only able to express himself partially, but transvestism allows him total expression as the persona he is – both masculine and feminine at the same time. (The SETA website.)

Given the fact that our culture accepts masculine clothing or style on women, female transvestism tends to remain somewhat invisible. A man who wears a dress is scorned as a "tranny", whereas a woman in a suit may be regarded as fascinating and trendy. But here, too, the boundaries quickly set in: a woman should not be "too" masculine and wear men's clothes only, but use make-up, body language and other means to indicate that she is a woman who only wants to flirt with masculinity. In the hierarchically organised gender system, men and maleness are assigned a higher position than women and femaleness. This is why a man in the attire of the lower gender caste is considered odd, funny or ridiculous, whereas a woman in the attire of the higher caste is seen as "too" masculine and, as such, threatening. (Halberstam 1998.)

Transvestism and the *drag queen* and *drag king* phenomenon found in the gay and lesbian culture are two separate things. The purpose of the gay and lesbian drag is to play with the gender codes and to create distance to these codes by means of irony; drag shows are often spectacles that are intended to shock, bewilder, thrill, entertain and amuse the audience. In transvestism, the gender codes are not a source of humour, for transvestite men are driven by their inner needs and, therefore, earnest in their efforts to occasionally identify as a woman. In general, transvestites have no wish to provoke people but to be accepted and met as the people they are. (The SETA website.)

An *intersexual* is a person with both male and female physical sex characteristics. This duality in their sexual anatomy may come evident only in adolescence. In its Finnish form, the term 'intersexuality' has been recently replaced by a less literal translation that avoids the somewhat misleading emphasis on sexuality ('intergendered'). The term 'hermaphrodite' has also been used in the past. According to a legend, the very first hermaphrodite was the child conceived by the ancient Greek herald and messenger of the gods, Hermes, and the goddess of love, Aphrodite. Some intersexed people assume either the male or the female role. Others have a gender experience that fits neither of these narrow categories; they prefer to define themselves as intersexed. There are several hundred intersexuals in Finland. (Venhola 2001.)

Gender Experience, Sexual Orientation and Gender Expression

The questionnaire targeted at gender minorities yielded 108 responses. The respondents incorporate a myriad of people positioned in between genders, all of whom in some way run counter to the traditional bipolar male–female gender dichotomy.

In terms of the biological or anatomical sex assigned at birth, our respondents comprised 90 men, 17 women, and one respondent who had been defined as intersexed as an infant. The respondents' biological sex, however, says very little about them as people. It is merely a gender category their parents and the people in their immediate surroundings identified them with, and one which which they one way or another run counter to.

The following table shows the respondents' preferred definitions of themselves (most of the tables in this article show the number of respondents instead of a percentage):

Table 34. Respondents' definitions of themselves.

Which definition do you use of yourself (N)	
Transgendered[1]	20
Transsexual	7
Trans woman	11
Trans man	6
Transgender	12
Transvestite	50
Intersexual	2
Total	108

1. The term 'transgendered' is used here as a literal translation of a Finnish term that is synonymous with 'transsexual' but avoids the emphasis on sexuality. (translator's note)

Some respondents were critical of the above categorisation and instead responded: "none of the above, I'm a man", "human being (woman)", "woman", "normal woman with a flaw between the legs", "new woman", "trans person", "TS+". For the purposes of statistical analysis, these respondents have nevertheless been placed in any one of the first four categories listed in table 34. Because of the method used, statistical analysis, it was necessary to use categorisations, but the number of classes had to be kept relatively low.

Among the respondents, the four main categories were trans men, trans women, transgenders and transvestites. There were 50 respondents who defined themselves as transvestites, one of whom was female by biological sex. Since the situation of female transvestites in our culture is very different from that of male transvestites (some think there is no such thing as a female transvestism), it was not meaningful to deal with male and female transvestites as a single category. The single female transvestite among our respondents was grouped in the category of "transgender and other", as were the two intersexual respondents. In all, the category of "transgender and other" comprised 15 people, while transvestites numbered at 49. The number of trans men was 10 and the number of trans women 34.

The respondents in our survey represented a myriad of different sexualities.

Table 35. Respondents' definitions of their sexual orientation.

Which definition do you use regarding your sexual orientation (N)	Other	Transvestite
Heterosexual	13	35
Gay	1	1
Lesbian	11	0
Bisexual	20	8
Something else	2	2
No definition	12	2
Total	59	48

The majority of the transvestite men were heterosexual, while a small proportion of them defined themselves as bisexual. Two of the transvestite respondents defined themselves as transvestite, while one trans man preferred the definition transsexual. In the group of transsexual and transgender respondents, there was a wide array of different sexualities. This is illustrated by the additional definition given by two members of the said groups regarding their sexuality: "multisexual" and "opportunist sexual".

There are several means for expressing – or suppressing – one's gender or its diversity: clothes, hairstyle, jewellery, gestures, manner of speech etc. One of the questions on the form was: "Do you express your gender (your desired gender if you are a transsexual, or your feminine side if you are a transvestite man) through your physical appearance and clothing?"

Table 36. Respondents' gender expression at work, at home and with friends.

Do you express your gender (N)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgender and other	Transvestite
At work				
Yes	9	14	5	2
No	0	4	1	37
Only tentatively	1	8	8	6
I'm not working	0	8	1	3
At home				
Yes	10	28	9	26
No	0	2	2	6
Only tentatively	0	4	4	16
With friends and acquaintances				
Yes	9	22	8	5
No	0	1	1	28
Only tentatively	1	11	6	14
Total	10	34	15	48

The small group of trans men proved the most open in terms of gender expression, whereas the transvestites were the least open group of all. Few of the transvestite men expressed their feminine side in the workplace. One fourth of the transvestite men expressed their gender in the company of their friends and acquaintances, but most of them only tentatively. Six of the transvestite men did not wear dresses at home, either. As stressful as it may be, it is possible to conceal one's transvestism at work. For transsexuals undergoing a gender-reassignment process, there is often no means of hiding the fact. Those who have already completed the process and been given a new name and social security number do not need to make their transsexual background public knowledge in the workplace. Since table 36 does not account for the transsexual respondents' particular stage of the gender-reassignment process at the time of the survey, it is not very informative on their situation.

The transvestite men's need to express their femininity was varied, with more than one third of them feeling the need to do so daily, slightly over one third weekly, and less than one third on a monthly basis or less frequently.

Table 37. Transvestite male respondents' feminine expression at work.

If you are a transvestite man, how do you express your femininity at work (N)	
I don't wear feminine clothing to work, nor do I feel the need to do so	17
I can't wear feminine clothing to work, but I would like to do so	10
I wear feminine clothing to work under masculine clothing	20
I wear androgynous clothing that is both masculine and feminine	0
I can wear feminine clothing to work if I choose to	0
Total	47

Slightly over one third of the transvestite respondents felt no need to express their femininity in the workplace, whereas one third would like to do so but felt it was impossible. Almost half of the transvestite respondents were secretly "girlie" at work, meaning that they wore feminine underwear to work under their masculine clothes. None of the transvestite respondents wore androgynous clothes or feminine clothing that was visible to others.

Having to suppress one's true gender experience may be stressful. We may also see a reverse effect where work-related stress increases the need to dress up in feminine clothing. Slightly over one third of the transvestite men had noticed such an effect, slightly over one third had not, and little less than on third did not know if this had been the case.

If we look at all trans groups, each of them had respondents who felt social pressure in their work communities to suppress their own gender experience or to express it in a different fashion than they themselves would have preferred. The majority of the respondents in the trans groups as a whole, however, felt no pressure either way.

Table 38. Social pressure in respondents' work community regarding the expression or suppression of gender.

In your work community, do you feel social pressure to express or suppress your gender (N)				
	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgender and other	Transvestite
I feel pressure to be more feminine than I myself feel the need to	1	0	2	0
I feel pressure to be more masculine than I myself feel the need to	1	2	0	2
I feel pressure to suppress my feminine expression	0	9	3	12
I feel pressure to suppress my masculine expression	2	1	3	0
There's no pressure either way	5	19	7	30
Total	9	31	15	44

Age, Education and Occupational Status

The age of the respondents in the trans sample ranged from 20 to 70 years. Among the transvestites, most respondents were middle-aged, whereas the group of trans men and transgenders primarily consisted of younger people.

Table 39. Trans respondents' age. Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Gender minorities						Sexual minorities
Years of age	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgender and other	Transvestite	Gender minorities total (%)	Sexual minorities total (%)
20-29	3	3	5	2	12	39
30-39	7	12	8	5	30	39
40-49	0	15	1	23	36	18
50-70	0	4	1	19	22	8
Total	10	34	15	49	100	100
N					(108)	(726)

Compared to the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents, the trans people in our survey were more advanced in age.

Table 40. Trans respondents' highest level of education. Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Gender minorities						Sexual minorities
Highest level of education completed (N)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgender and other	Transvestite	Gender minorities total (%)	Sexual minorities total (%)
Comprehensive school	1	3	1	4	8	5
Upper secondary general school	0	8	2	1	10	17
Qualification from vocational school	4	3	4	9	19	10
Qualification from vocational college	2	14	3	14	31	22
Lower university degree	0	1	2	7	9	19
Higher university degree	2	5	3	12	20	23
Licentiate's or doctoral degree	1	0	0	2	3	4
Total	10	34	49	15	100	100
N					(108)	(718)

In terms of their educational background, the trans respondents were quite evenly distributed across the various levels of education, with all groups comprising both those with a low level of education and those with a high level of education. There was no difference between the trans respondents and the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents with regard to their level of education.

Table 41. Trans respondents' occupational status. Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Occupational status (%)	Gender minorities	Sexual minorities
INVOLVED IN WORKING LIFE		
Employee	61	71
Entrepreneur	16	3
Other	4	6
NOT INVOLVED IN WORKING LIFE		
Unemployed or laid off	8	3
Disability pension or prolonged sick leave	3	3
Pension on grounds of age or years of work	2	1
Student	6	11
Other reason	0	1
Total	100	100
N	(107)	(718)

The majority of the trans respondents were wage earners. Compared to the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents, the number of wage earners was ten percent lower. The most pronounced difference between gender and sexual minorities was the number of entrepreneurs, which in the previous group amounted to six percent. Entrepreneurs have a more independent status in the labour market, thus allowing them more room in their gender expression compared to wage earners.

As regards to respondents who were unemployed, the number was proportionally higher among trans respondents. When comparing the results of sexual minorities to those of gender minorities, we need to account for the fact that our gender minority questionnaire probably did not produce responses from people who were not involved in working life or those who were socially underprivileged. As a consequence, we cannot use our data to draw conclusions on trans people as a whole. The true unemployment rate among trans people may be higher than our survey suggests.

Revealing and Concealing of One's Gender Experience in the Work Community

As illustrated earlier in this article, transvestite men rarely express their femininity in the workplace through their clothing. Many of the "part-time girls" preferred to conceal their transvestism at work and only express their feminine sides in their free time (cf. Leinonen 2003). In very few cases, co-workers knew about the respondent's transvestism. In the other trans groups, the number of those respondents whose co-workers knew about their gender identity was fairly equal to those whose co-workers did not know about it.

Table 42. How many of your co-workers know about your gender identity? Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Gender minorities						Sexual minorities
How many of your co-workers know about your gender identity (N)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgender and other	Transvestite	Gender minorities total (%)	Sexual minorities total (%)
None	3	3	3	25	34	17
One or a few	2	5	5	5	17	33
About half	1	0	0	1	2	6
Almost everybody	1	4	0	1	6	17
Everybody	1	8	2	0	11	13
I don't know if they know	2	10	4	12	28	12
I have no fellow workers	0	1	1	1	3	2
Total	10	31	15	45	100	100
N					(99)	(719)

If we compare the responses given by trans people with those given by lesbian, gay and bisexual people, we notice that the number of those who "kept their minority identity in the closet", that is, those whose gender identity or sexual orientation was known to none or only a few of their fellow workers, averaged at 50 percent for both groups of respondents.

Table 43. How many of your clients, pupils or equivalent know about your gender identity? Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Gender minorities						Sexual minorities
How many of your clients, pupils etc. know about your gender identity (%)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgender and other	Transvestite	Gender minorities total (%)	Sexual minorities total (%)
None	4	5	5	23	37	36
One or a few	1	5	0	5	11	19
About half	0	0	1	0	1	3
Almost everybody	0	3	0	0	3	3
Everybody	0	1	0	0	1	1
I don't know if they know	3	8	6	7	24	24
I have no contact with clients, pupils or equivalent	2	9	2	9	22	14
Total	10	31	14	44	100	100
N					(99)	(719)

On the average, there was very little difference between the trans respondents and the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents as to how many people in the workplace besides co-workers knew about their minority status.

Table 44. Does your supervisor know about your gender identity? Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Gender minorities						Sexual minorities
Does your supervisor know about your gender identity (N)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgender and other	Transvestite	Gender minorities total (%)	Sexual minorities total (%)
He/she doesn't know	5	3	7	30	45	32
He/she knows	4	14	2	2	22	35
I don't know if he/she knows	0	10	3	5	28	28
I have no supervisor	1	4	3	7	15	5
Total	10	31	15	44	100	100
N					(100)	(719)

In the above three questions (regarding co-workers, clients etc., and supervisors), the transvestites differed from all the other trans groups in that very few people at work knew about their belonging to a gender minority. The other trans groups comprised relatively equal numbers of those whose minority status was known in the work community and those whose was not.

Table 45. How did people at work come to know about your gender identity? Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Gender minorities						Sexual minorities
How did people come to know about your gender identity at work (N)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgender and other	Transvestite	Gender minorities total (%)	Sexual minorities total (%)
It is not known	4	13	8	36	63	36
I told myself	4	8	6	3	22	42
They heard from others	0	4	0	1	5	10
Other	2	4	0	4	10	9
Total	10	29	14	44	100	100
N					(97)	(709)

Compared to the previous table, this table shows a higher percentage (63 %) for those who conceal their gender identity. Unlike the question at hand, the earlier questions included the option “I don't know if they know”. If we assume that those co-workers and other people at work about whom the respondents were uncertain probably did not know, this will explain the high percentage shown for the category “it is not known”. Among the trans respondents, the number of those who had told about their belonging to a minority was lower than among the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents.

The trans respondents had adopted an equally cautious approach as the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents, since only few people in these two groups had told about their gender identity or sexual orientation at the job interview or upon starting the job. In most cases, the “coming out” had happened at a later stage.

Table 46. If you have told about your gender identity, when did you do it? Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Gender minorities						Sexual minorities
When did you tell about your gender identity (N)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgender and other	Transvestite	Gender minorities total (%)	Sexual minorities total (%)
At the job interview	2	3	0	0	6	3
When starting the job	0	0	1	0	1	15
After probation	1	2	0	0	3	10
After a few years	0	5	3	3	13	20
I have not told	4	18	8	37	77	50
Total	7	28	12	40	100	100
N					(87)	(658)

The following table shows responses to the question "If you conceal your gender identity or gender experience at work, how stressful or distressing do you find the secrecy and the fear of being found out?"

Table 47. The stressfulness of concealing one's gender identity.

Is concealing stressful (N)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgender and other	Transvestite	Total
Not stressful at all	2	4	4	21	31
To some extent stressful	5	8	6	18	37
Very stressful	2	5	2	5	14
I don't hide my identity	1	13	1	1	16
Total	10	30	13	45	98

Slightly less than one third of the respondents stated that concealing their gender identity was not stressful at all, while a little more than one third found is somewhat stressful. For 14 respondents – who represented each of the trans groups – having to conceal the fact was very stressful.

Bullying and Harassment

Bullying and harassment can take various forms. Our questionnaire featured ten questions covering general harassment, harassment on account of gender identity, name-calling, unpleasant jokes, and sexual harassment. Each of these types of harassment was addressed through the following two questions: Firstly, "Does harassment occur at your place of work?" and secondly, "Have you yourself been subjected to harassment?" Here, we have also included data from the sexual minority questionnaire, the more detailed results of which are reported in the previous chapter.

Bullying and harassment at work refers to ostracizing of a member of a work community, invalidating his or her work, intimidating, talking behind his or her back, as well as other forms of oppressive behaviour. The first question does not refer to harassment on the grounds of a person's gender expression or gender identity but to harassment in general.

Table 48. Harassment in respondents' workplace. Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Gender minorities						Sexual minorities
Does harassment occur at your place of work (N)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgender and other	Transvestite	Gender minorities total (%)	Sexual minorities total (%)
Never	2	14	7	15	37	34
Occasionally	5	13	2	22	41	44
Continually	3	4	1	2	10	10
Don't know	0	1	4	7	12	12
Total	10	32	15	45	100	100
N					(102)	(710)

Over half of the trans respondents said there was occasional or continual harassment in their places of work, which corresponds to the situation of the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents. The following table shows that 14 % of the trans respondents had been subjected to harassment at the time of the survey or at a previous time, while 10 % of the respondents had been harassed in a previous job.

Table 49. Have you yourself been subjected to harassment? Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Gender minorities						Sexual minorities
Have you yourself been subjected to harassment (N)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgender and other	Transvestite	Gender minorities total (%)	Sexual minorities total (%)
No	5	20	9	37	69	63
Yes, at the present time	1	2	2	2	7	6
Yes, earlier in this job but no longer	1	3	2	1	7	8
Yes, earlier in another job	1	2	2	0	5	10
Don't know	2	5	0	5	2	13
Total	10	32	15	45	100	100
N					(102)	(709)

There were few differences between sexual and gender minorities as to the occurrence of general harassment in the workplace.

Table 50. Is there harassment in your place of work that is connected to gender identity or gender expression? Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Gender minorities						Sexual minorities
Is there harassment at your place of work that is connected to gender identity (N)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgender and other	Transvestite	Gender minorities total (%)	Sexual minorities total (%)
Never	5	18	12	30	64	66
Occasionally	1	2	0	2	5	10
Continually	0	1	0	1	2	2
Don't know	4	11	3	12	29	22
Total	10	32	15	45	100	100
N					(102)	(693)

Although general workplace harassment was far more common than harassment on account of gender identity, 7 % of the respondents had witnessed this type of harassment either occasionally or continually. On the sexual minority questionnaire form, respondents were asked about harassment that was connected to sexual orientation. There was no notable difference between the answers of the two minorities.

Table 51. Have you yourself been harassed because of your gender identity or gender expression? Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Gender minorities						Sexual minorities
Have you yourself been subjected to harassment (N)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgen-der and other	Transves-tite	Gender minori-ties total (%)	Sexual minori-ties total (%)
No	6	25	11	43	83	81
Yes, at the present time	0	1	0	0	1	2
Yes, earlier in this job but no longer	1	0	1	0	2	4
Yes, earlier in another job	2	2	1	0	5	6
Don't know	1	4	2	2	9	7
Total	10	32	15	45	100	100
N					(102)	(695)

A small proportion (8 %) of the transsexual and transgender respondents had themselves been subjected to harassment at work because of their gender expression or gender identity. Transvestites had not been harassed because of their gender expression, but this is probably explained by the fact that most of them concealed their transvestism in the workplace. In all, harassment on account of gender identity was roughly as common as the harassment of lesbian, gay and bisexual people on account of their sexual orientation.

The next question deals with name-calling targeted at lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people in the workplace (calling somebody homo, "tranny" etc.). Both minority groups answered the exact same question. This type of name-calling had occurred in little less than one third of the respondents' workplaces. There was no difference between sexual and gender minorities with regard to the occurrence of name-calling.

Table 52. Is there name-calling targeted at sexual and gender minorities in your place of work? Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Gender minorities						Sexual minorities
Is there name-calling targeted at sexual and gender minorities (N)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgender and other	Transvestite	Gender minorities total (%)	Sexual minorities total (%)
Never	4	19	13	29	64	61
Occasionally	2	6	1	15	23	26
Continually	2	1	1	0	4	3
Don't know	2	6	0	1	9	10
Total	10	32	15	45	100	100
N					(102)	(693)

Table 53. Have you yourself been subjected to such name-calling? Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Gender minorities						Sexual minorities
Have you yourself been subjected to such name-calling (N)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgender and other	Transvestite	Gender minorities total (%)	Sexual minorities total (%)
No	6	27	14	44	88	86
Yes, at the present time	0	1	0	0	1	2
Yes, earlier in this job but no longer	0	0	0	0	0	2
Yes, earlier in another job	2	2	0	1	5	4
Don't know	2	2	1	1	6	6
Total	10	32	15	46	100	100
N					(103)	(694)

Among the trans respondents, 6 % had been subjected to name-calling in their present or previous job. There was no difference between the two minorities with regard to personal experiences of name-calling.

Both the sexual and the gender minority questionnaires featured a question on harassing jokes about lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people. There was no difference between sexual and gender minorities, with nearly half of the

respondents in both groups having been subjected to unpleasant jokes of this type in their work communities. The various trans groups comprised fairly equal numbers of those who had been subjected to the said types of jokes.

Table 54. In your place of work, are jokes being made about sexual and gender minorities that you consider unpleasant? Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Gender minorities						Sexual minorities
Are unpleasant jokes being made about sexual and gender minorities (N)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgen-der and other	Transves-tite	Gender minori-ties total (%)	Sexual minori-ties total (%)
Never	2	2	0	1	5	3
Occasionally	2	13	6	19	39	43
Continually	3	12	6	19	39	45
Don't know	3	5	3	6	17	8
Total	10	32	15	45	100	100
N					(102)	(709)

Sexual harassment refers to such conduct of sexual nature that is one-sided, unwelcome, and may involve pressure. Among our respondents, 12 % had experienced sexual harassment at work. There was no difference between the two minorities with regard to the occurrence of sexual harassment.

Table 55. Is there sexual harassment in your place of work? Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Gender minorities						Sexual minorities
Is there sexual harassment at your place of work (N)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgen-der and other	Transves-tite	Gender minori-ties total (%)	Sexual minori-ties total (%)
Yes, continually	1	0	0	0	1	2
Yes, occasionally	2	5	0	5	12	13
Never	6	20	9	31	65	65
Never	1	7	5	10	22	20
Total	10	32	14	46	100	100
N					(102)	(712)

Table 56. Have you yourself been subjected to sexual harassment? Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Gender minorities						Sexual minorities
Have you yourself been subjected to sexual harassment (N)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgender and other	Transvestite	Gender minorities total (%)	Sexual minorities total (%)
No	6	27	13	44	88	78
Yes, at the present time	2	1	0	0	3	3
Yes, earlier in this job but no longer	0	0	0	0	0	7
Yes, earlier in another job	2	1	1	0	4	9
Don't know	0	3	0	2	5	3
Total	10	32	15	46	100	100
N					(102)	(714)

At the time of the survey, 3 % of the trans respondents were being harassed in the workplace, while 4 % had been harassed in another job.

The respondents in the gender minority survey had been harassed by women and men equally.

Table 57. If yes, were the perpetrators men or women?

The gender of the perpetrators (N)	Trans man	Trans woman	Transgender and other	Transvestite
I have not been sexually harassed	5	25	11	37
Men	2	2	0	0
Women	2	0	1	0
Both	0	0	0	1
Total	9	27	12	38

Discrimination in the Work Community

In working life, inequality and discrimination can be found for instance in pay, recruitment, career promotion, or access to training. Unfair treatment can be based on a range of factors, such as age, ethnic background, sexual orientation, gender in the traditional sense (male-female), or unusual gender expression (transsexuality or transvestism). We asked the respondents if any of these forms of discrimination occurred in their places of work, and if they themselves had been subjected to such discrimination.

Discrimination on the grounds of age can affect the young and the aged alike. Discrimination against young persons had been observed by 13 % of the respondents, while 19 % had witnessed discrimination against persons of advanced age. Further, 8 % of the respondents thought they themselves had been discriminated against because of their young age, while 8 % thought they had been subjected to discrimination because of their advanced age.

Employment discrimination against immigrants or members of ethnic groups in the work community had been witnessed by 12 % of the respondents.

Gender discrimination against women in the work community had been witnessed by 17 % of the trans respondents. Of all the trans women in the survey, 6 % had personal experiences of gender discrimination.

Gender discrimination against men in the work organisation had been witnessed by 1 % of the respondents, while 3 % of the respondents said they themselves had been subjected to such discrimination.

Sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace had been witnessed by 5 % of the trans respondents, while 3 % of all the trans respondents said they themselves had been discriminated against because of their sexual orientation

Discrimination against transsexuals or gender minorities had been witnessed by 6 % of the trans respondents in their present work communities, while 8 % had at some point experienced discrimination because of their gender expression or gender identity.

Personal Experiences of Discrimination in Different Working Life Situations and the Role of Gender Identity as an Influencing Factor

In the following, we will focus on the respondents' personal experiences of discrimination in different situations in working life. The percentages for trans respondents are shown in brackets, followed by the corresponding figures for lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents for comparison.

Discrimination *upon recruitment* had been experienced by 13 respondents (13 % of the trans respondents, 14 % of the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents). When asked whether they thought their gender identity or

expression had been an influencing factor, 5 respondents said that their gender identity had been the main cause, while 4 respondents thought it had been an influencing factor.

In the area of *pay*, discrimination had been experienced by 12 respondents (12 % of the trans respondents, 18 % of the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents). Among the trans respondents discriminated against in pay, 4 were of the opinion that their gender identity or expression had been the main cause, while 5 thought it had been an influencing factor.

Discrimination with regard to *opportunities for career advancement* had been experienced by 13 respondents (13 % of the trans respondents, 15 % of the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents). Among those who had been discriminated against, 4 were of the opinion that their gender identity or expression had been the main cause, while 4 thought it had been an influencing factor.

Discrimination regarding the *opportunities for training arranged by the employer* had been experienced by 4 respondents (4 % of the trans respondents, 10 % of the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents). Among those who had been discriminated against, 2 were of the opinion that their gender identity or expression had been the main cause, while 1 thought it had been an influencing factor.

Discrimination with regard to *access to information* had been experienced by 12 respondents (12 % of the trans respondents, 18 % of the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents). Among those who had been discriminated against, 2 were of the opinion that their gender identity or expression had been the main cause, while 3 thought it had been an influencing factor.

Discriminatory *attitudes of co-workers and supervisors* were experienced by 16 respondents (16 % of the trans respondents, 24 % of the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents). Among those who had been discriminated against in their work communities, 4 were of the opinion that their gender identity or expression had been the main cause, while 7 thought it had been an influencing factor.

Not all discrimination was explained by the respondents' gender identity or expression. A few (2–4 persons) among those who had been discriminated against in the said working life situations (4–16 % of all trans respondents) were of the opinion that their gender identity had been the main cause for the discrimination, while 1–5 persons thought it had been an influencing factor.

The results were parallel to those found in the sexual minority survey, but the proportion of trans respondents who had been discriminated against was slightly lower than that of lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents.

Measures Against Discrimination

In the sexual minority questionnaire, we asked the respondents if they were aware of the employment legislation protecting them against discrimination at work. Since these laws do not apply to people discriminated against because of their gender identity and gender expression, we did not include this question on the gender minority questionnaire. However, what we should have asked the trans respondents was if they were aware that the Act on Equality between Women and Men also covers discrimination on the grounds of gender identity and gender expression. This fact was not, however, clear to us when we designed the questionnaire form. Judging from the data collected in the course of this project, this particular point of legislation is not that widely known amongst trans people, either. Since the said question was not included on our form, the survey unfortunately yielded no numerical data regarding the respondents' familiarity with the legislation.

A little less than half of the trans respondents (46 %) stated they would be willing to take their cases to court if they were discriminated against at work because of their gender identity.

In addition to the respondents' personal experiences of discrimination, we asked what instances they had contacted for help.

The following table shows details on the instances contacted for help by the respondents subjected to discrimination at work.

Table 58. Instances contacted by persons who had been discriminated against.

Instances contacted in cases of discrimination (N)	
Trade union	1
Employee representative	3
Supervisor	4
Co-workers	3
Occupational safety and health authorities	1
Occupational health services	3
Transgender Support Centre of SETA	7

Most respondents had contacted the Transgender Support Centre of SETA. Those who had discussed the situation with their supervisors formed the second largest category.

Finally, we asked the respondents to name the instances they would contact if they were discriminated against at work because of their gender identity. The lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents were asked the same question but with regard to discrimination on account of their sexual orientation.

Table 59. If you were discriminated against at work because of your gender identity or gender expression, would you contact any of the following? Data on sexual minorities included for comparison.

Instances contacted in the event of discrimination (N and %)	Gender minorities		Sexual minorities
	%	N	%
Trade union	40	97	47
Employee representative	46	94	53
Supervisor	67	97	72
Co-workers	41	96	64
Occupational safety and health authorities	60	95	54
Occupational health services	54	99	47
Transgender Support Centre of SETA	86	100	64

Compared to the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents, the trans respondents had a smaller number of those who would contact their trade unions, employee representatives, supervisors and co-workers. Instead, there was a higher number of those who would choose to contact the health and safety authorities, occupational health services and the Transgender Support Centre of SETA, in particular.

The question did not list the Equality Ombudsman as an option, even if he is one of the instances to contact in the event of gender discrimination. People have remained relatively poorly informed about this fact, since to date, the Ombudsman has been asked to issue only a few rare statements on discrimination on the grounds of gender expression or gender identity.

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A JOB THAT NEEDS TO BE DONE: TRADE ORGANISATIONS AND LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL AND TRANS PEOPLE

Jukka Lehtonen

This article deals with the question how Finnish labour market organisations address lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender issues. On the basis of our questionnaire surveys, I will first discuss the membership of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people in employee organisations and the wishes they have regarding the development of these organisations. On the basis of an organisational survey carried out in 2002, I will then analyse the views of employee and other relevant organisations on the status of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people in working life (Lehtonen 2002).

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans People as Members of Trade Organisations

Of the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents in the sexual minority questionnaire survey, 71 percent were wage or salary earners, of whom 79 percent were members of a trade organisation. Regarding unionisation rate, there were no differences between men and women. Of the transgender respondents, 61 percent were wage or salary earners, of whom 81 percent were members of some trade organisation. The respondents' unionisation rate corresponds to the average unionisation rate of Finnish employees (80 percent).

A majority of the respondents belonged to the Confederation of Unions for Academic Professionals in Finland (Akava). In addition, a substantial proportion were members of the Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions (SAK) or the Finnish Confederation of Salaried Employees (STTK). The proportion of those with a higher educational background was larger than among the population at large. Compared to lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents, a slightly greater proportion of trans people were members of the SAK unions. A considerable number answered that they did not know which central organisation their union belonged to.

Table 60. Membership of employees in central trade organisations.

Which central trade organisation do you belong to? (%)	Sexual minorities	Trans people
SAK	17	25
STTK	13	17
Akava	30	32
Other	4	5
Does not know	15	5
Does not belong to a trade organisation	25	17
Total	100	100
N	(483)	(65)

Only a few of the respondents had contacted their trade organisation after having experienced discrimination based on their sexual orientation or gender identity. Eleven of the lesbians, gays and bisexuals and one of the trans people had done this, while 107 of the lesbians, gays and bisexuals and 19 of the trans people had not contacted their trade organisation in such incidents.

Table 61. Contact with trade organisation regarding discrimination.

Contact with trade organisation in discriminatory incidents (%)	Sexual minorities	Trans people
Has not experienced discrimination	82	80
Has contacted	2	1
Has not contacted	16	19
Total	100	100
N	(653)	(99)

A surprisingly large proportion of both the sexual and gender minority respondents said they would not contact their trade organisation in the event of discrimination based on their sexual orientation or gender identity.

Table 62. Respondents' intention to contact their trade organisation in the event of discrimination.

Contact in the event of discrimination (%)	Sexual minorities	Trans people
Would contact	47	41
Would not contact	53	59
Total	100	100
N	(670)	(98)

A little less than 50 percent of the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents would contact their trade organisation if discriminated against; a slightly smaller proportion of the trans respondents reported to do the same. Apparently, not all were aware of the employee organisations' services and legal assistance, and of those who were many would not want to or dare use them.

Wishes of Lesbians, Gay and Bisexuals Regarding Trade Organisations

A considerable number of the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents said they could not answer the question "What would you like the union movement to do in order to improve the status of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people?" because they did not know enough about trade unions. Some were doubtful about their trade unions' resources and competence in sexual minority issues.

I'm not sure if the trade unions themselves have enough knowledge to inform others.

It seems that we are treated like air by the trade unions. They hardly speak about us or take us into account.

Sexual and gender minority issues are completely absent from the trade union agenda. Probably because of the age and sex structure of their leadership: old men don't dare or want to deal with these things because they probably don't know anything about them or understand any of the problems connected with them.

The trade union movement could address lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people issues both within their own circles and publicly. Now it seems that the Trade Union of Education in Finland (OAJ), for instance, either doesn't know that there are many, particularly lesbians, gays and bisexuals in the field of education, or they don't care. Still, there is certainly need for at least general discussion and even action.

The responses revealed a general belief in training and information sharing and a general view that attitudes should change both in the trade unions and places of work. Some expressed their confidence in the role and status of trade organisations and wanted them to take action.

I wish that trade unions took seriously the challenge to improve the situation of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people. There should be training and awareness raising within the unions so that they could take a politically active role in promoting equality.

Occupational safety and health inspectorates should be trained to appreciate the issues of diverse people.

Some suggested that the topic should be addressed in trade periodicals and that trade unions should inform their members on new legislation. That more people would know that trade unions could help in discriminatory situations was considered particularly important.

Positive articles in trade periodicals.

Information on existing legislation against discrimination should be actively shared to members and employers; discriminatory incidents should be effectively dealt with.

Trade unions should make it easier for their members to look for help in discriminatory situations, for example. It's not enough that there exist means to take action but no one has the courage to do it. The trade union movement should more openly and publicly address the status of lesbian, gay and bisexual people. The only way to weed out discrimination is to change the general climate, and the trade union movement could contribute this.

Guidebooks and publications on web sites could provide information on protection against discrimination and on what to do – social and legal advice – if one experiences discrimination. I wish that in addition to the legal information, advice were also given as to how to cope with the situation psychologically and socially: people do not necessarily want to spoil their relations to their employer or colleagues by taking them to court.

Some respondents felt that it is not easy to contact one's trade union if one has been discriminated against. Moreover, the idea of building networks or starting groups for lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people within the unions was suggested. One respondent was in favour of designating a contact person.

Trade unions could have appropriate and current information material on sexuality that could be disseminated to employees. There could be a person whom to contact.

By electing only non-homophobic people to positions of trust in trade organisations.

In discriminatory situations, people should be able to get legal assistance or at least clear advice on possible legal measures.

In addition, trade unions were expected to take politically active measures and co-operate with sexual and gender minority organisations. Lesbian, gay and bisexual issues could be addressed in collective bargaining and in other activities dealing with employee interests and equality.

Contacts with SETA (The Finnish National Organisation for Sexual Equality) are important!

The Committee for Equal Opportunities talks only about equality between men and women by, for instance, asking why there are more men in leadership positions than women. We could just as well ask why there are no gays in such positions.

For example, extending various benefits to apply same-sex spouses, as well. I joined my spouse to the union accident insurance through my membership but could not get a life insurance cover because we are of the same sex.

Taking it [sexual and gender minority issues] into account in the multilateral agreements.

So far, there has only been public debate on equality between men and women or ethnic groups and Finns. Sexual minorities should be addressed, too. For example, it should be reminded that we get the right to take the day off when you register [your partnership].

By explaining and informing about burnout and its consequences, and by demanding that occupational health services genuinely recognise discrimination against lesbian, gay and bisexual people as a factor causing burnout.

Wishes of Trans People regarding Trade Union Organisations

The responses of trans people in the gender minority survey provided a picture similar to the one produced by lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents: Trans respondents tended not to be aware of the tasks of trade unions and possibly not even able to demand measures in trans people issues. Even those who were active in trade organisations did not always see the trade union movement as a potential actor in trans or lesbian, gay and bisexual issues. Some respondents thought that attitudes in trade organisations should be changed, as well, since currently there were no readiness to deal with these issues.

I wish they did at least something.

They have such stick-in-the-mud attitudes that even the thought might shock them.

I have been active in the union for over ten years by holding positions of trust, etc. There has been a lot of talk about burnout but not relating to trans people or the sexual minorities. It didn't occur to me either that these issues could be addressed and promoted in the unions. I could take them up in the future.

Many of the respondents regarded information and training as important and felt that there was need for both among central union organisations and employers, as well as in work communities.

These things must be discussed publicly, and people should be informed about the different forms of discrimination.

These issues should be addressed and more information should be provided on sexual and gender minorities.

I don't know, possibly by providing more information. Or by demanding that job orientation materials offer brief information about these issues. Most workplaces do not have any kind of job orientation material.

Effective training is the answer. When trade unions organise training sessions, the existence of trans people and the diversity of employees should consistently be taken into account.

Perhaps superiors should be informed about trans issues. I think that there are so many fears because people don't know about this phenomenon.

By providing more training and information and giving transsexuality a face.

Respondents felt that trade organisations should recognise the existence of lesbians, gays, bisexuals and trans people amongst their members. Many answers highlighted the need to treat all people equally and fairly. Furthermore, trade organisations were seen as important actors that could set an example, and their potential in influencing legislative work was underlined.

They should just make clear that discrimination is not accepted and tell that we exist and that we are okay people.

It would be good if the trade union movement at least acknowledged the existence of minorities and showed that they take seriously lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans concerns, among others.

All kinds of discrimination should be immediately and with full force intervened with. A trans person is a human being exactly like anybody else, discrimination on grounds of transgenderism should not be accepted at any time or place.

Trade unions should influence legislation to ensure that the right to express one's gender identity in workplaces were registered in laws and decrees. But new laws are not enough. Often the problem is, I think, in the attitudes – most of all in the fears that people have about lesbians, gays, bisexual and trans people. To remedy this, we need to encourage societal debate and provide unbiased information to all members in work communities; this is where trade organisations need to take and maintain an active role. After all, the unions who have been adopting a central role in promoting general work ability and welfare.

Trade unions must equally promote the interests of all members; whether you belong to a gender minority or not should not affect this. It is of paramount importance that no discrimination occurs within the union and that everyone gets equal treatment. Solidarity.

A number of respondents had been active in labour market organisations and even held positions of trust therein. But they had rarely told anyone that they belong to trans people or the sexual minorities. Minority issues tend to be seldom raised even in cases where actors themselves belong to a minority. Consequently, the competence of union actives in gender minority issues is not used as a resource.

I am myself in the shop steward in my workplace and I hope I work for all employees – regardless of sex, orientation or minority affiliations. As far as I understand, the trade union movement has that same goal. I haven't been myself active in influencing the union activities although I did run a couple of times for the federative council. But I should think that all active people with initiative get their message across in the trade union and can therefore influence the status of minorities, as well.

In fact, I'm currently chairperson of the union's local branch, and the shop steward of the branch belongs to a sexual minority. If the need arises, our chances to influence the state of affairs are quite good. An information campaign should be directed to the union boards. If material is distributed to chairpersons only, it doesn't necessarily circulate. The entire board must be informed. There is not sufficient communication between the federal council and the field, that is, the local branches, either.

A New Issue to Organisations

In order to gain an overall picture of the attitudes of political parties, employee organisations and citizens' organisations towards the status of sexual and gender minorities in working life, our project included a questionnaire survey targeted to these organisations. The aim was to map out the overall situation and, specifically, the standpoints of trade union organisations. The questionnaire was sent to all significant political parties, including their parliamentary groups and affiliate organisations, as well as to employee organisations and a number of human rights organisations, students organisations and sexual and gender minority organisations. A total of 196 organisations received the questionnaire and 57 of them returned it. The questionnaire was additionally sent to eight central labour market organisations for their information. Of these, the work environment division of the Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions (SAK) returned the questionnaire. Thus, a total of 58 organisations contributed to the survey.

A little less than 50 percent of the political party organisations responded to the questionnaire, with the Christian Democratic Party being the only one of whose organisations none returned the query. In addition, instead of returning the query, the Centre Party sent us an excerpt from their party meeting's minutes acknowledging the equality of same-sex partnerships. Only one quarter of the sexual and gender minority organisations answered, while half of the human rights and students organisations did respond. Of the employee organisations, a little less than 50 percent answered,

accounting to almost thirty organisations. From the affiliates of the Confederation of Unions for Academic Professionals in Finland (Akava), the Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions (SAK) and the Finnish Confederation of Salaried Employees (STTK), the survey drew approximately ten responses from each.

It is difficult to say very much about those who did not return the questionnaire. On the one hand, non-response may reflect unwillingness to support the project's principles, or the issue is perceived as marginal or unimportant. On the other hand, some have probably failed to respond due to lack of time or knowledge or disagreement with the formulation of the questionnaire. Some SETA affiliates and even other organisations may have regarded responding to the survey as unnecessary if they found themselves to agree with the "correct answers" or "had nothing to tell", i.e. if they had little experience of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans issues as they relate to working life.

The questionnaire form provided an opportunity for the respondents to comment on the survey. In some cases, respondents pointed out that some of their answers represented their personal views while others represented those of their organisation. Some found it difficult to answer the questionnaire because the issues had never been discussed or no incidents of discrimination had been reported by members. According to some comments, responding to the questionnaire was the first time ever that the question of sexual and gender minorities was discussed in their organisation. This, for its part, reflects the fact that the topic tends to be kept in the dark. One respondent thought that the organisation leaders would probably not favour returning the survey but decided, nevertheless, to respond to it independently. Answering the survey was, then, not always seen to be without problems.

Lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans employees and their status is a topic that has been mainly ignored in the labour market, including the organisations participating in the survey. About half of these organisations (26) reported that these issues had not been addressed at all, while others (24) stated that they had seldom been addressed. In only six organisation had the issue been discussed on a frequent basis. In such cases, it had been brought up mostly in connection with training and advising members, as well as collective bargaining and discussions about rules of practice. In some cases, sexual or gender minority issues had been discussed in connection with discriminatory incidents or, as in a few individual cases, in conversations over coffee. Some organisations have lesbian, gay, bisexual or trans people working for them, which may have influenced the climate in some so as to allow discussion on sexual or gender minority issues. In most cases, however, discussions had remained marginal, and even when there had been talk about lesbians, gays, bisexuals or trans people, related working life issues tended to be quickly put aside. These had been touched upon only in some employee organisations. On the basis of the survey, even sexual and gender minority organisations had rarely discussed working life issues.

Legislation and Tasks of Union Representatives Should Be Clarified

Since 1995, Finnish legislation has banned discrimination in working life on the basis of sexual orientation. Almost all of the organisations answering the survey were aware of the law. Two trade organisation representatives were not aware of it, which suggests that even though the law has existed for nearly nine years, there is still not sufficient knowledge about it. If not all employee organisations are aware of it, quite a number of employees and employers are probably not familiar with it, either.

There have not been any previous surveys on the influence of legislation on the discrimination of sexual minorities in working life. Of the organisations responding to our survey, 13 found that the law is effectively observed. 18 organisations' representatives were of the opposite opinion and 26 did not know. Hence, almost 50 percent stated that they did not know the effects or effectiveness of the anti-discrimination law. Some of those who thought that the law was followed believed that it could at least prevent discrimination even if it may not completely eliminate it. Those who were of the opposite opinion, again, argued that the law was not effectively followed and that, in their view, there occurred more discrimination than what was commonly known. Whatever the case, the fact is that the extent of discrimination occurrence is not known and the law cannot be effectively applied if people are not familiar with it. Of those who believed in the legislation's effectiveness, many represented political party organisations, which reflects a confidence in the power of legislation within political parties. Employee and citizens organisations were more likely to view the effectiveness of the anti-discrimination law negatively.

In connection with the enforcement of the European Union's Equal Treatment Directive it will indeed be topical in Finland to enhance the prevention of discrimination also on grounds of sexual orientation. In addition to direct discrimination, the Directive obligates member states to include in the ban on discrimination both indirect discrimination and harassment in working life. Finland's legislation banning discrimination in working life has so far only applied to direct discrimination. Direct discrimination refers to situations where a person is treated differently (less favourably) than others directly on grounds of his or her sexual orientation.

The organisations were also asked to report their views on the law amendments entailed by the European Union Directive. All respondents welcomed the law reform, particularly regarding intervention in bullying and harassment on grounds of sexual orientation. In such situations, the employer or employee involved in bullying may be liable to pay damages. It was generally believed that the reform will encourage intervention in bullying and discrimination, and some also believed that it will prevent the occurrence of such

incidences. Some responses emphasised the employer's responsibility for their employees. A number of respondents pointed out the importance of sufficient proof in cases of bullying to avoid excesses.

More confusion was caused by the inclusion of the so-called divided burden of proof into the new legislation. Four organisations were against it while nine said they did not know enough about it to take a stand. The rest (45) were in favour of the inclusion. A majority were of the opinion that if a person has experienced bullying or discrimination and has displayed proof for this, the employer or employee alleged to have been guilty of bullying or discrimination must show that no bullying or discrimination has occurred.

From the perspective of an employee in relation to the employer, this so-called divided burden of proof was viewed as a positive reform, but a number of respondents thought that if could lead to problems regarding presentation of proof, and to ungrounded litigation. Obviously, there is need for an extensive information campaign on the new laws; ignorance in other labour legislation issues, including those concerning sexual orientation, could simultaneously be put right.

At the time of the survey there was no responsible authority or person in Finland with the special assignment to monitor the rights and status of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people. It was the Act on Equal Treatment taking effect in February 2004 that designated occupational safety and health inspectorates as such authorities. In Sweden, for instance, the task of preventing sexual orientation discrimination in different areas of society has been allocated to a special ombudsman (www.homo.se), co-operating with several authorities. In summer 2002, the Finnish Minister of Labour Tarja Filatov suggested that the tasks of the Minority Ombudsman, responsible for ethnic minority and immigrant discrimination issues, should be extended to cover discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation. Minister Filatov also demanded that the Minority Ombudsman be ensured sufficient resources and capabilities to act.

Regarding discrimination against trans people, such as transsexuals, the view adopted in Finland is that such cases fall within the scope of the Ombudsman for (Gender) Equality. The Ombudsman for Equality has not, however, disseminated sufficient information about this despite the fact that even the European Union's Industrial Tribunal has treated discrimination cases involving transsexuals specifically as discrimination on grounds of gender.

According to the organisational survey, 39 respondents were of the opinion that the responsibilities of the Minority Ombudsman should be extended to cover sexual orientation discrimination cases. Five organisations were against this, while 13 were unable to take a stand. A key problem according to many was that the work of the Minority Ombudsman is already highly demanding and that, in case

the extension of tasks were to be the answer, sufficient resources should be ensured. Others stated that sexual minority issues could be assigned to some other authority, such as a special ombudsman against discrimination or the Ombudsman for Equality. In any case, most organisations considered it important that an authority were established and sufficient resources allocated for the prevention of discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation.

In comparison, the clarification of the tasks of the Ombudsman for Equality regarding the status of trans people were met with reservation. The main reason for this appeared to be ignorance of trans issues. 19 organisations were in favour of specifying the tasks of the Ombudsman for Equality to include the improvement of the status of trans people in the labour market. Only two organisations were against this, while a majority, i.e. 35 organisations, were unable to take a stand. As already indicated, many were not familiar with the situation or the issues related to trans people. Obviously, information and training on trans issues are needed, even more so than on lesbian, gay and bisexual issues. Some were worried about the scarce resources of the Ombudsman for Equality, while some asked whether for the lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people issues there should be one authority or two separate authorities. Both the human rights organisations and the sexual and gender minority organisations tended particularly to consider it important to specify the tasks of the Ombudsman for Equality to include trans people.

Same-sex couples can if they so desire register as couples and thus be granted many benefits and responsibilities similar to those opposite-sex married couples are provided by marriage. All benefits and responsibilities are, however, not the same: a number of factors relating to family and having children, child-care or inheritance leave same-sex families and their children in a disadvantage. Such unequal treatment tends to have its repercussions even in working life.

In September 2002, SETA sent a letter to the labour market central organisations suggesting that these organisations address the situation of employees with same-sex partners. SETA sees it as justified that collective agreements referring to marriages and cohabitation without marriage would include registered partnerships and the cohabitation of same-sex couples. SAK informed SETA that it will forward the matter to those responsible for conducting collective bargaining.

In our own query, we inquired the views of organisations on the equal treatment of same-sex and opposite-sex couples in working life situations in which a married employee is entitled to a day off. These situations include, among others, the wedding day, the funeral of the spouse or the spouse's parents. We asked if the organisations thought that employees should be treated equally in such situations regardless of whether the employee is married or lives in a registered partnership.

A substantial majority of the organisations (52) responded that employees should be treated equally regardless of the form of couple relationship (marriage or registered partnership). Two were against, while two said they were not able to take a stand. Positive responses were backed up with reference to the law allowing same-sex couple registration as well as the principle of equality. Some of the organisations reported that in the affiliates of SAK and STTK, among others, the matter had been put on the agenda in collective bargaining, and in some organisations the equal treatment of registered employees had already been negotiated and agreed upon. In addition, individual employers such as the Cities of Helsinki and Tampere and the University of Helsinki have made equal treatment their policy.

More Training and Information

As the topic of sexual minorities and trans people is unfamiliar especially in the labour market, the need for more information and training was generally recognised. The respondents were further asked if employers should organise training to prevent discrimination based on sexual orientation and, similarly, if union representatives and trade union actives should be trained in these issues.

A large majority (37) were of the opinion that employers should bear the responsibility for offering training and information. Nine responded that this is not the employers' responsibility, and ten were unable to take a stand. According to some, the responsibility lies primarily with authorities and the trade unions. The importance of the quality of training and information was emphasised, and some suggested that instead of treating it as a separate issue, information on discrimination and its preventive measures should be integrated into a wider context, such as training regarding the Act on Equality.

The work environment division of SAK referred to a brochure on sexual harassment and related campaigning. The brochure can be accessed at the websites of all central labour market organisations (e.g. www.sak.fi, www.sttk.fi, www.akava.fi, www.tt.fi, www.palvelutyonantajat.fi, www.kuntatyonantajat.fi). Although not explicitly mentioned in the brochure, name-calling ('homo') and sexual harassment occurring between same-sex people are included in the concept of sexual harassment referred to in the brochure.

Most respondents were willing to promote the training of shop stewards and other trade union actives. A total of 50 respondents were in favour of this. No-one objected to it, while six were unable to take a stand. Many considered the training of shop stewards particularly important. Some preferred to include sexual and gender minority issues in the general training in equality, and others expressed their interest in an extensive coverage of the status and other issues of these minorities.

Some party and trade organisations as well as other citizens' organisations have already taken certain measures towards sexual equality, including sexual equality in the labour market. Often, however, they have been insufficient, and actual campaigning or systematic training and information have been generally lacking.

A majority of the organisations participating in the survey were willing to work for the improvement of the status of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender employees. 37 respondents were of this opinion. Five organisations were not willing to take such measures, primarily because of their shortage of resources or focus on other goals. Some organisations were prepared to offer training and even assume a more active role. In some organisations, the topic had not been discussed or had not been prompted by members. It seems that lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender members of employee organisations have not requested that their unions secure their rights regarding sexual and gender equality.

As to means for action, the organisations listed training and information sharing, as well as exerting influence on legislation work, collective bargaining and various plans for equality. Political parties seemed to regard legislative work as most effective for them, while trade organisations saw equality work within collective agreements as their tool. Many trade organisations named providing advice, information and training as a means for improving the workplace climate. A few referred to the secrecy and silence still prevailing around the topic. For some organisations, our survey and project had triggered their very first discussion on sexual and gender minorities in their organisation.

It may be concluded from the survey that the various organisations have a lot of potential to improve the status of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people in Finland. Most of them took a positive stand towards the legislative reforms and the designation of an authority for the promotion of sexual and gender minority rights. Almost all were in favour of ensuring equal treatment of partnerships irrespective of the spouses' gender. Many were prepared to train, inform and include sexual and gender minority issues in their agreements, and almost all regarded training by different organisers as relevant; the training of shop stewards and other actors in working life was considered particularly important.

The Job Is Only Beginning

The status of sexual and gender minorities has not been highly visible in either trade unions or other citizens' organisations. Lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people tend not to conceive the trade union as a potential defender of their rights. Therefore, they tend also not to contact their trade union organisation in discriminatory situations. Trade organisations, again, often fail to realise or take into account that there are lesbians, gays, bisexuals and trans people amongst their members and that their status need improving.

Training, information sharing and taking active measures were supported by respondents of both the organisational survey and the sexual and gender minority surveys. Active communication on sexual orientation and gender identity issues within the trade organisations is called for to ensure that their lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender members gain confidence in their organisation's competence in discriminatory situations. The Swedish projects, *Normgiving Diversity* and *Homosexuals and Bisexuals in the Care System,* are good examples of information and training campaigns within trade organisations. Such examples from abroad may serve as models for promoting equality work in and by Finnish trade organisations.

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III
AGE, LIFE COURSE, AND WELL-BEING AT WORK

HETERONORMATIVITY AND WORKING LIFE COURSE IN THE STORIES OF PEOPLE OVER THE AGE OF 45

Sari Charpentier

I think I'm better qualified to understand people who are different compared to those who have gone from engagement at twenty to marriage, children, studies, steady job and so on (…) All my life I've been around people who are a bit different (…) I mean, I'm not that taken aback by people who are different. So of course it is, [being a lesbian] sort of is an advantage. Especially in this job it was. (An interview with a social worker)

Employees over the age of 45 have recently been the topic of active social debate and research. With the nearing retirement of the large age groups born between 1945 and 1950, the focus of the debate has been on the ageing population and the financing of future pensions. Other concerns have been early retirement and long-term unemployment among working age people. Around the turn of the century, different social measures and programmes have been executed in an attempt to improve the appreciation and status of older employees in the Finnish labour market. The government has also started a reform of the pension scheme. Ultimately, the purpose of these measures is to encourage people to remain in paid work for as long as possible.

If the goal is set at encouraging people to prolong their stay at paid work, one fruitful approach is to search for factors contributing towards this end in areas that to date have been ignored in the social debate. These include factors such as age, gender and sexuality, and the way they intertwine with one another during the working life course. How are the expectations regarding the life course and the different stages in life heteronormative? Does heteronormativity contribute to the construction of working life courses, and if yes, in what ways? How does heteronormativity affect the situation of people over the age of 45 in the labour market? My discussion is based on questionnaire and interview data on primarily homo- and bisexual people as well as trans people over the age of 45.

Gender, Heteronormativity and Working Life Course

Instead of understanding gender as something that people "have", I approach it as something that people do. Gender is done, for example, in the formal and informal workplace practices, and in the behaviour and manners of speech. (Korvajärvi 1998, 22-23, 24, 28-30; Korvajärvi & Kinnunen 1996.) In their studies on sexuality and gender in organisations, Jeff Hearn and Wendy Parkin

speak of sexualed practices. The notion of sexualed practices helps us to recognise not only the gendered but also the sexualed dimensions of the different organisational practices. (Hearn & Parkin 2002, 14, 16.)

According to Hearn and Parkin, the predominant view of sexuality emphasises the private and covert nature of sexuality, as well as sexual acts as manifestations of sexuality. A more fruitful approach, they suggest, would be to extend the understanding of sexuality so as to see it as an ordinary and frequent public process instead of a private issue. Rather than seeing sexuality as something separate from other daily practices, such as practices in the workplace, it should be seen as one aspect of the diverse everyday situations. (Hearn & Parkin 1987, 57.) One example of an everyday situation would be one where people meet and label the other as a woman or a man. People's behaviour may vary according to how they have interpreted the other person's gender, even if they were not conscious of the encounter having a sexual nature.

In order to understand the role of sexual orientation in working life, it is useful to distinguish between at least the following dimensions of sexual orientation: homo-, hetero- and bisexuality can refer to sexual acts (e.g. having sex with a person of the same gender), or to cultural and linguistic categories that can be used as tools in understanding one's own feelings and experiences as well as categorising people. Moreover, homo-, hetero- and bisexuality can refer to a person's sexual desires and fantasies and their direction, or orientation. Another dimension of sexual orientation is the various self-presentations (for example, dressing and family performatives). In practice, these four aspects of sexual orientation tend to intertwine, meaning that a single event will always incorporate several of these.

In addition to sexual orientation, this article discusses trans people. Despite the common use of the term 'transsexuality', trans identity does not refer to certain type of sexual acts or sexual orientation but to gender. This is why the Finnish trans community prefers to use the term 'transgender', which does away with the emphasis on sexuality. A trans person is someone who transcends and questions the customary categories of male and female. The category of trans people includes, among others, those who occasionally assume the dress and role of the opposite sex, i.e. those who are called transvestites, and transgender people, who understand themselves as being some other sex than the one assigned to them at birth. (Huuska 2002.)

The term heteronormativity is an attempt to amalgamate gender and sexuality, as well as the normative practices related to these. Heteronormativity refers to a state of affairs where people are divided into two opposite categories, each of which is associated with certain anatomical characteristics and assumed to have a sexual desire that is directed to persons of the opposite sex. Moreover,

heteronormativity involves the idea that this state of affairs is standard and self-evident, the only legitimate alternative and way of life (Butler 1990, 151; Pulkkinen 2000; Charpentier 2001, 23; Lehtonen 2003, 27). Through looking at the accounts of people who identify themselves as lesbians, gay men, bisexuals or trans persons, I attempt to draw attention to heteronormativity as something that goes beyond the level of personal experiences to form practices that structure the fabric of working life (cf. Lehtonen 2003, 41).

In order to better understand heteronormativity in working life, it is useful to distinguish between formal and informal organisation. In her study on working life, Päivi Korvajärvi has chosen to define these two in terms that go beyond the original view where 'formal' referred to the rational organisation of work, whereas 'informal' was used in reference to employees' emotions. According to Korvajärvi, the formal can in contemporary terms be understood to cover, for example, job descriptions, the formal requirements of work, the use of technology, and the division and hierarchies of work. The informal refers not only to the interactive processes but also to ideas, symbolism, meanings and the different ways of comprehending things. Korvajärvi does not, however, see the formal and the informal as two separate things, for formal organisation, too, involves interaction, attitudes and symbols. (Korvajärvi 1998, 37.) Heteronormativity, as I am able to interpret it in this particular context, is situated in the sphere of informal.

The research on ageing and work has mostly focused on the length of people's involvement in and early retirement from working life. Other areas of interest have included such age-related questions as age discrimination and increased morbidity. In line with the approach of Colette Browne, my aim is to draw attention to that "many of the problems faced by older women are a direct result of a lifetime of multiple oppressions" (Browne 1998, xix). The same applies to men. Browne uses the concept of *lifetime of multiple oppressions,* referring firstly to the multiple ways in which a person can be subjected to unequal and harmful treatment. Secondly, Browne points out that the problems of older people should not be invariably assigned to old age, instead the life course should be looked at from a wider perspective so as to prevent people from facing economic or other kinds of hardship in their old age. Inspired by Browne's ideas, Evy Gunnarsson (2002) employs a similar approach and writes about "vulnerable life courses". Heteronormativity can be one reason for vulnerability. Here, I am interested in the possible effects of heteronormativity on the working life courses of non-heterosexual and trans people.

The concept of life course takes into account the age-related norms, the generational effects as well as the laws and other social factors that are tied to historical time and space, all of which bear on people's opportunities in building their life courses (Marin 2001, 28). Heteronormativity is one of the factors that have shaped the working life situations of the lesbian, gay and trans people who

participated in the research. The working life courses of people over the age of 45 may also have been affected by the social debate on ageing, as well as the different programmes targeted at their age group. Other possibly influential factors in their treatment include attitudes and assumptions pertaining to age.

Compared to the concept of career, the idea of working life course allows us to do away with the idea of upward career mobility as a norm, thus offering a more fruitful look at the situation of not only those heterosexual people – usually women – who have stayed at home for a while to care for their children, but also lesbians, gay men, bisexuals and trans people, with the exception of transvestites. In the survey, a mere 37 percent of the employed lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents said that they had "always been in fairly same kind of occupations". 65 percent of lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents of all ages who were employed at the time of the survey had changed jobs within a period of five years. In her interviews with transgender people, Maarit Huuska has found that they are likely to have fragmented study or employment histories, explained by the lengthy process of gender-reassignment. When applying for a job, for example, those who have undergone gender-reassignment may have unexplained gaps in their working life courses, because they need to conceal the part of their history when they lived as a different gender. (Huuska 2002.)

In this article, I will look at the working life courses of lesbians, gay men, bisexuals and trans people from three different aspects. Firstly, I will focus on the heteronormativity of the expectations related to the life course, as well as the impact these expectations have had on the working life situations of the people who participated in the study. Secondly, I will discuss the ways in which heteronormativity can affect the transitions in working life, such as the changing of jobs, or contribute to burnout. Thirdly, this paper will discuss the age-related and heteronormative nature of the expectations regarding clothing and physical appearance, as well as look at the impacts of these on the working life course. My main focus will be on looking at job changing and recruitment as situations that shape people's working life courses. These situations are important, since it seems that from the point of view of the employed, the only way of making a difference is to address the issue in the workplace or change jobs. I will limit my study on the working life course exclusively to paid work and, therefore, will not discuss the ways in which heteronormativity intertwines with, for example, domestic work.

In the study of life course, age is of central importance. In social gerontological research age has been defined in a variety of ways. What is crucial is how the relationship between time and age is understood: different phenomena may have to do with a person's chronological age, i.e. the length of time lived, a particular moment in history, or an age group to which a person belongs to and which shares certain experiences in the course of their lives. Life course events

incorporate all of the above. In addition, life courses are shaped by social relations, together with the norms and expectations pertaining to the timing of these relations. (Jyrkämä 2001, 131, 138-139.) The latter case has to do with social age, which is a concept used to indicate people's various stages in the socially determined life course – are they, for example, "settled", as in married with children. What is essential to note here is that these stages are subject to particular norms. People who are of a certain chronological age are expected to be at a certain stage in their lives or behave in a certain way. (Rantamaa 2001, 58-59.)

Questionnaires and Interviews

In the winter of 2002-2003, the research project *Sexual and Gender Minorities at Work* produced a questionnaire survey into working life experiences, with separate forms targeted at lesbians, gay men and bisexual people and trans people. The sexual minority questionnaire generated a total of 726 responses, while the one targeted at trans people yielded 108 responses. In the following, I will indicate if the results under discussion concern the entire body of data, i.e. respondents of all ages, or only those aged 45 years or above. The questionnaire forms featured several questions where the respondents were able to answer using their own words. In these open-ended questions, I have limited my study to the answers given by respondents over the age of 45. This narrowed the number of lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents to 97 and trans respondents to 47, 32 of whom defined themselves as transvestites. In the subsequent discussion on the respondents' answers to open-ended questions, I will follow each quotation with either (s) to indicate a lesbian, gay man or bisexual respondent or (t) to indicate a trans respondent. After the letter, I will indicate the number of the question as it is found on either of the forms, so that readers can look up questions at the end of this book in Appendices 2 and 3.

The questionnaire forms invited those interested in participating in an interview to enter their contact details. Of those who left their contact information, I selected 14 women (9), men (3) and transgender women (2) of at least 45 years of age during the year 2003 for interviewing. The oldest person interviewed was 62 years of age. At the time of the interviews, 7 of the interviewees were employed, 2 was on disability pension, 1 was on prolonged sick leave, 1 was on unemployment pension, 1 was unemployed, 1 was an entrepreneur, and 1 was on job alternation leave. The majority were, or had previously been, employed by the public sector – with nine interviewees working within social and health care services – while four of the interviewees worked for the private sector. Most of the interviewees were living in Southern Finland, while one resided above the central part of Finland and one spends the main part of the year abroad. In the context of the interviews, working life experiences related to

sexuality and gender were dealt with more extensively and informally, for example, through further questions arising from the responses in the questionnaire forms.

This paper also includes references to interviews with employed people aged from 56 to 64 years and presumably heterosexual, conducted within the project *Work, Age and Gender* in the year 2000. Some of these interviews were conducted by myself, while others were done by another project researcher, Anna Pärnänen. The interviewees represented ten large organisations operating in Southern and Central Finland in different fields within the public and the private sectors. There were a total of 39 interviews, half of them with women and other half with men. The focus of these interviews was on the participants' views on and experiences of working life from the perspective of age and ageing. In the following, quotations taken from these interviews will be indicated by "Ageing study" written in brackets. My primary emphasis, however, will be on interview and questionnaire data from the research project on sexual and gender minorities. References to the ageing study will only be made when relevant to the questions formulated on the basis of the interview and questionnaire data on lesbian, gay men, bisexual and trans people.

With regard to lesbians, gay men, bisexual and trans people, I will take extra care not to reveal their identities. While quotations taken from the ageing study interviews will be followed by details on occupation and gender, the details on trans people and lesbians, gay men and bisexuals are more vague owing to the "small social circles". I will, however, give details on gender and either occupation or line of work. In the case of the transgender interviewees, I will state their preferred gender. I will only give an approximate age of the interviewees within a range of five years; "slightly under 50 years" refers to people aged 45-49 years, "slightly over 50 years" to people aged 50-54 years, and "slightly under 60 years" to people aged 55-59 years, and so on. For the purposes of this article, there is no need to state the precise chronological age of the interviewees.

In line with the approach adopted by Suvi Ronkainen, I interpret the stories and other types of responses in the interviews and questionnaires as accounts. The concept of accounts, in the sense understood by Ronkainen, offers a productive means of solving the much debated issue of whether interview data and questionnaire responses actually offer genuine insight into the interviewees' or respondents' experiences. According to Ronkainen, it is possible to take into account the cultural meanings that shape people's experiences and the way they talk without negating that this talk refers to something in their lives: "It is crucial in accounts that they are constructed upon and given from within a particular reality. In accounts, subjects who are positioned in a reality situate the phenomenon they are talking about. That the respondents are positioned in a world is the reason why accounts also contain elements of the very world they

relate about." (Ronkainen 1999, 113.) Since Ronkainen understands accounts to cover the rambling speech in interviews and circled options on questionnaire forms alike, the concept is well suited to the purposes of this work.

In reading the interviews and questionnaire responses, my focus is on the different ways in which heteronormativity can be seen to have shaped the working life courses of the people who participated in the interviews and the questionnaire survey. I first summarised the interviews so as to concentrate on the transitions in the interviewees' working life courses, as well as their stories illustrating the life of lesbians, gay men and transgendred people in their different workplaces. This paper is an attempt to map the various ways in which heteronormativity can become meaningful in people's working life courses.

Along with quotations from the interviews, the following discussion will feature these summarised excerpts whenever it is more convenient to use a shorter version instead of the whole story in the interviewee's own words. In order to make the interview excerpts more readable, I have edited out some of the repetition as well as the "like" and "you know" type of expressions. Whenever anything is omitted, this is indicated by characters "(…)". Despite the editing, I have chosen to maintain a colloquial feel to the excerpts. As to the questionnaire forms and their open-ended questions, I have read the responses as if reading a transcription of a taped interview – in other words, I have combined various items on the form so as to gain an overall idea of each respondent's situation in working life with regard to heteronormativity.

Heteronormative Life Course and Family Performatives

I interpret as heteronormativity, first, the norms that impose on life courses a certain heterosexualised pattern, where people are expected to first find a job and a heterosexual couple relationship, then build a family and have children. Marjatta Marin refers to social gerontologist Glen Elder's writings on the principle of timing, whereby he means the age norms that impose expected timings on certain events in life. Choosing a "wrong" timing can lead to problems. (Marin 2001, 37.) When studied from the perspective of heteronormativity, the issue is not timing by itself, but the combination of time and the heteronormative expectations. This is illustrated by the following example where a woman slightly under the age of 50 working within the social services sector relates her life course and how it has been tied to different working life situations:

When in her twenties and thirties, the interviewee was in the process of finding herself a suitable occupation and building her professional identity. At this time, she had also begun to think about her sexual orientation. When she was in her early thirties – this was towards the end of the 80s – she was living together with a gay man.

According to the interviewee, this had proved helpful in the workplace: when her fellow workers asked about her living arrangements and other things, she could tell them that she was living together with a man. Nobody would ask any further. Later, when she moved to live by herself, the questions resumed. During the long period of living by herself, she noticed that living as a single person had implications in the workplace. People were wondering about her living arrangements to the point that it became a burden. Her co-workers, especially the recently divorced men, saw her as "legitimate prey". She also felt that, as a woman who was assumed to be single, she had been given a bigger workload than the others.

At one point I also got fed up with the employers dumping all the work on the single people who had no family, couple relationship or kids.

It's so set, like who has the right to, say, [take leave to] care for their sick child. It's not that I don't approve, but I think that women who have no kids for example should be given these same liberties. (…) And usually the women with kids, they get the easier tasks as well. Like it's so protected, their life. Like everybody's so understanding. (…) Some of the women got annoyed with me when I started saying no and (…) that I have a life too.

I mean it's (…) like how do you get acknowledgement as a proper woman, when you don't have a husband and family and kids.

In the interviewee's account, the norms imposed on the life course were linked to the practices in her workplace. As she also tells in the interview, she began to object to these workplace practices she found unjust during her job alternation leave, after having time to reflect upon things. As a result, she was labelled as a difficult person. At the time of the interview, she had left her previous work organisation and found a new job in another town. According to her, the change of jobs was in part motivated by the negative workplace attitudes towards homosexuality, explained in more detail in other parts of the interview. In the above account, the workplace norms were problematic first and foremost because of the interviewee's absence of a couple relationship or children, not because of her sexual orientation. This means that single heterosexual women with no children are also affected by these norms.

In the following, another interviewee aged slightly under 50 and employed within the health care sector tells about the family values held by some of his co-workers. Earlier in the interview, this openly homosexual man has expressed his frustration at being constantly forced to explain his way of life. In his view, the problem lies at the different family values of co-workers who originate from non-European countries.

They feel somehow sorry for me, for not having kids. And I keep telling them that I DO have a family.

My husband is the family. And we both have our own families. (…) It's difficult for them, it's the culture that does it. (…) They can't grasp the idea of a family without any children.

However, there is no basis for drawing a generalisation about immigrants being less likely to understand non-heterosexual family life, as none of the other interviewees mentioned immigrants in a similar context. Rather, my interpretation is that if the fellow workers who question another person's way of life happen to be immigrants with a different cultural background, then the cultural background is the explanation people will easily arrive at. The interviewee in question was hoping to retire in his early fifties. As his reasons, he cited problems related to the organisation of work, together with the fact that the scope of his duties was being limited because of his homosexuality; he was, among other things, given all the difficult patients no one else wanted to deal with, or told not to shower male patients. In the same workplace, the lesbian women and the bisexual man who were less open about their sexual orientation were not subjected to this type of treatment. In addition, the interviewee was constantly forced to explain his way of life and deal with people who questioned this way of life.

At first glance, the assumptions of the normative life course seem to have nothing to do with heteronormativity but merely concern having children and couple relationships by a certain age. However, the link between heteronormativity and the life course becomes evident in the stories of women who do have children. Having children reinforces the heterosexual assumption and works for the benefit of those who want to conceal their sexual orientation. Take the example of a woman aged slightly over 60 years, presently retired from her job within the private sector, who never revealed her homosexuality at work:

It would have been stupid to talk about it around the 60s, the early 70s, or to come out of the closet, 'cause it would've been a total disaster. I might have gotten into all sorts of trouble, being a criminal and all

When you've spent decades at work sort of as if you were a straight person, what's the point in suddenly saying that, listen, here's how it is.

She had found it easy to conceal her sexual orientation at work:

I'd once been married and had kids, so I didn't need to do much to cover my back.

They didn't give me any grief about my orientation at work. People weren't that aware about it. I wasn't really trying to keep secrets, but no one though to ask, really.

Reinforced by the interviewee's former marriage and the presence of children, the heterosexual assumption was so strong that no one ever thought to doubt her heterosexuality. This is why she never suffered ill treatment on account of her being a lesbian or felt the need to actively conceal her sexual orientation. It would seem that some female interviewees in the age group discussed here had used the family performative of "the divorced woman" as a means of securing the heterosexual assumption, thus freeing them of fears of being mistreated because of their sexual orientation. Paula Kuosmanen, who has done research on lesbian mothers, speaks of family performatives as one of the things that question the presupposed idea of workers as individuals: "Personal affairs and family life are present at work in the form of telephone calls, of partners picking up their partners, in the way we talk about happy family news or domestic troubles (…) Private family life is folded in the public sphere despite the fact that in many Finnish workplaces the 'official workplace culture' seems, at first sight, to be based on the abstract idea of a 'working individual'. However, in the official and unofficial workplace practices – during coffee breaks and casual conversations in the corridors – this individual turns out to be gendered and heterosexualised, and positioned as either a single person without a family or a family person." (Kuosmanen 2002; see also Heikkinen 2002; Valentine 1993; Hall 1989.)

There were other interviewees who had also found that having a child offered them a means of bringing their personal lives to work without having to reveal their sexual orientation. Another implication of the heteronormativity of the life course is that women who have a partner but no children, and who feel they have to hide their sexual orientation in the workplace because of negative attitudes, are interpreted as living in single households. This was the case of the woman whose story follows next. A university employee of slightly over fifty years of age, this woman had never told about her sexual orientation in the workplace. Having recently moved in with her female partner, she suspected it would be more difficult to keep concealing her sexual orientation; in her words, the situation was starting to "leak at the seams". Her workplace is predominantly female, and families and children are common topics of discussion. She herself keeps quiet in these conversations, never offering any details of her personal life. Nevertheless, she says she does not feel left outside, since there are always single people in the workplace, as well. Because of this, it is understood that not everybody talked about family matters. In most part, the discussions revolved around work, thus allowing her to participate and feel appreciated for her professional skills. Owing to this, she had not yet found it very stressful to keep her work and free time strictly separate and present herself as a single person.

Among the openly homosexual respondents and interviewees, there was a lot variation with regard to how they were treated in the workplace:

My sexual orientation is a completely mundane affair; people take it as a regular thing. (s 60, woman, photographer, slightly under 50 years)

Those workplaces that are generally considered conservative did not necessarily prove to have negative attitudes towards homosexuality. In the next respondent's case, accepting and supportive supervisors had played a decisive role in his situation at work:

Around coffee or in private conversations, I talk about the joys and troubles in my relationship just as others do about their family matters. (…) Those who can join in as if it was a regular subject. Others don't participate, but don't dare to show their disapproval, either. It's become outdated now. (…) Those who were the keenest to disapprove have already retired from working life, not that they ever had so much negative impact on my life at work. My supervisors were always supportive enough. (s 60, man, church employee, slightly over 50 years)

In general, social support from both fellow workers and supervisors in the workplace is important in preventing work-related stress and helping people to cope with their work (e.g. Vahtera and Soini 1994, 27, 51).

The Stressfulness of Heteronormativity

There were also those who found their situation at work taxing. Aged slightly over 50, a former social worker who is now on a disability pension talked about feeling like "half a person" during coffee breaks, because she could not talk about her personal matters – it was as if she had no private life at all. Others talked about their families, but she kept quiet. This is what she responded to the question about work-related exhaustion:

Being half a person "without" a private life, of course it was consuming. (s 85)

On the basis of the interview, the exhaustion that eventually led to her retirement on a disability pension had mainly resulted from the increasingly heavy workload within the social services during the 1990s – a situation that has also been documented in various studies (see Raunio 2000). The heteronormative environment in the workplace was an additional burden, making her feel wary. She felt she could only be open about her sexual orientation with one co-worker, with whom she socialised during her free time. This type of secrecy can result in non-heterosexual employees being socially isolated from the work community. If lesbians, gay men and bisexuals feel they cannot open out and talk about their lives in the workplace, they may distance themselves from others and fail to build close relationships with heterosexual employees, who usually form the majority in the work community. Earlier studies have identified this as one of the problems caused by heteronormativity and the

secrecy it imposes on people. (On gay men see Heikkinen 2002.) The woman cited above also said that she would rather be seen as peculiar or half a person than risk being rejected because of being a lesbian:

It's more to do with those everyday situations where I'm not sure about how they feel about things, because I couldn't cope with being at the centre of attention all the time, if it turned out that people had negative attitudes. That's why I'm so careful. (…) I thought I couldn't take the pressure if people started being somehow negative. Thought that it was perhaps easier to keep quiet and be the odd one.

In part, it is the other work-related pressure that makes the situation with sexual orientation feel like it is too much to handle. It seems that many people choose to lead a partial existence at work because they feel "stressed enough as it is". Among the interviewees, there was another woman slightly over the age of 50 who had retired on a disability pension from her job within the health care sector. She, too, felt that she had reason to be concerned about her sexual orientation being found out. In her case, the difficult situation and the subsequent burnout leading to retirement from working life were related to the reorganisation of work, the implementation of which she was partially responsible for. In the course of the reorganisation process, she also had disagreements with her supervisor, who later took a lengthy sick leave. There were other reasons, too, for her feeling singled out by the supervisor; she had, for example, a history of alcohol abuse, and was not afraid of addressing difficult issues in the workplace. Moreover, she was not willing to give preferential treatment to her colleagues' friends and relatives. On the questionnaire form, she wrote she was used to hiding her sexual orientation and that the hiding had become a way of life. As some of the other women participating in the interviews, she has used her single parenthood as a shield. In the interview she talks about what concealing her sexual orientation, or "being in the closet" as it is often called, means in her case:

All the time you're on your toes, thinking what am I going to, what should I say to this, so yes, it does get quite heavy in the end. It gets really, really heavy. How could it not have an effect on you? (…) Being on your guard all the time. Watching everything you say. (…) That's how it is when you're in the closet, isn't it. All the time you're on your guard. (pause) You keep worrying about doing something, or saying something that will make people guess the truth about things.

When I asked if it had been the general environment at work that had kept her from revealing her sexual orientation, she told she had felt threatened by her supervisor:

I felt really threatened there because of my supervisor, like if she had found out that I was a lesbian as well , then (…) that would've been the last straw.

For the interviewee in question, the stress was not caused solely by a workplace climate that was "neutral" in terms of sexuality. But even if the secrecy was only one of the factors that had made work gruelling for her, such constant state of alert, or fear if you like, can be exhausting enough in itself. In their study on emotion in organisations, Caren Harlos and Craig Pinder draw attention to how chronic fear of injustices can contribute to a certain type of break down, which has symptoms similar to burnout. (Harlos & Pinder 2000, 272.) Harlos and Pinder write about the myriad of injustices found in the workplace, such as unjust treatment related to decision-making, hierarchies or organisational practices. (Ibid., 255, 273-274.) One cause of fear may be a supervisor whose behaviour is hostile and unpredictable (ibid., 263). This applies to the above interviewee's situation with her supervisor. In addition, since she had concealed her sexual orientation the whole twenty years in the one workplace, her fear of being found out as a lesbian can well be said to have been chronic. Even if I cannot pinpoint the negative attitudes towards homosexuality as the sole cause of exhaustion in this case, it is essential to acknowledge that heteronormativity is, one way or another, intertwined with the problems in the work environment. Considering that workplace climate is not a sexuality or gender neutral question, attention should, as Marja Kaskisaari for one suggests (2002), be focused on the ways in which gender and sexuality are intertwined with problems in the workplace climate and thus contribute to burnout.

In the case of the previously cited interviewee, too, – the woman who thought she had been given an unreasonable amount of work because she had no family – the situation with the supervisor fits the description given by Harlos and Pinder. The difficult situation was one of the reasons that had motivated her to change jobs. Having found a new, interesting albeit temporary job and having just turned 45 years, she was now contemplating the risks. She felt that her age, in part, was the factor that enabled her to take the plunge: having already achieved certain goals in working life, she was now in a place where she would rather risk unemployment than stay and be harassed in a workplace where personal relations were extremely problematic.

For these two interviewees, heteronormativity was not the sole motivation for changing jobs or retiring. Another interviewee, who at the time of the interview was slightly under 60 years and on a prolonged sick leave, tells about leaving his job and changing to a new field of work at the beginning of the 1980s, and how this decision was specifically motivated by the anti-gay atmosphere in the workplace – which he says he continued to have nightmares about afterwards. According to his response in the form, the change into a new field of work meant leaving his job as a subject specialist teacher for "less stressful but poorly paid work close to the subject I used to teach." (s 37) When I asked further about the

matter in the interview, he expressly stated anti-gay attitudes as the primary cause of stress at work. Other than that, he had enjoyed his work. According to him, the anti-gay attitudes had been manifested in the comments of other teachers as well as the constant harassment on the part of the pupils; they would start with the homophobic name-calling as soon as he entered the class. He says the pupils did not know about him being gay but that they had their suspicions. The other teachers, he says, were aware of the pupils' behaviour but did nothing to alleviate the situation. The interviewee's reaction to the situation at his temporary teaching post in Ostrobothnia (Western Finland) exemplifies the adverse impact of fixed-term employment relationships on job commitment and development. It is easier to walk away than to address difficult issues:

[The workplace] atmosphere was as anti-gay as it gets. I did kind of realise that I just had to keep quiet and take off without making any hassle. (…) You should not bury this issue. But when you think that you're there for a year at the most, and I had only six months, [you] just don't bother. There's no point in fighting windmills. It's all about church, country and conservatism there, isn't it.

Looking at the participants in the questionnaire by their age and gender, one notices that the number of those in permanent employment is higher among the older respondents and the men, thus similar to the situation found in the Finnish population as a whole. The interviewee cited above had spent 16 years in permanent employment, but he never returned to teaching after this experience of harassment. At the time of the interview, he had been on sick leave for two years due to back problems. According to him, the current job caused too much strain on his back, but he has been denied disability pension.

In the sexual minority questionnaire, a total of 10 percent (37 persons) of the respondents, representing all age groups, who were in paid work at the time of the questionnaire survey and had changed jobs within the last five years stated negative workplace attitudes towards lesbian, gay and bisexual people as a factor influencing the job change or as its main cause.

Among the trans people of all ages participating in the survey, the number of turnings in their working life courses depended on whether they identified themselves as transgenders or transvestites. According to the survey data on trans people, transvestites had changed their lines of work less often than respondents belonging to the other trans groups. Compared to other trans people and lesbians, gay men and bisexuals, the transvestite respondents who were employed at the time of the questionnaire – most of them straight or bisexual men with female partners – showed a higher number of those who had always remained in more or less similar line of work (over half of the transvestite respondents) and a smaller number of those who had changed jobs within the last five years (one fifth of the

transvestite respondents). The frequency of changing jobs or line of work does not necessarily tell us anything about the influence of heteronormative practices, unless heteronormativity is expressly stated as the motivating factor. None of the transvestite respondents had changed jobs solely on the basis of negative attitudes towards trans people in the workplace, and only one respondent said negative attitudes towards trans people had been an influencing factor. None of the transvestite men who were employed at the time of the questionnaire wore any visible feminine clothing to work. In all likelihood, most of them were seen as conforming to the normative idea of a straight man, and most likely, they were treated accordingly. Nevertheless, transvestite men may experience severe mental stress if they, for example, feel forced to hide their cross-dressing from both co-workers and his partner at home.

For the sake of clarity, I will use the term transgender to refer to all trans respondents, excluding transvestites. In the context of this article, it would be impossible to separately discuss all the various trans identities. All respondents who are identified here as transgender had altered or would like to alter their physical appearance to better match their own gender identity, while three fourths of them had changed their names and social security numbers, or would like to change one or the other or both to match their gender identity. Of all the transgender respondents who had changed jobs, 7 out of 37 said that negative workplace attitudes towards trans people had been an influencing factor or the main cause. Not being able to express one's gender may lead to contradictory feelings in the workplace and, eventually, result in early retirement from working life. This was the case of the trans woman who was working as a man in a male-dominated occupation but had to retire on a disability pension during the early 1990s, when she was slightly over fifty years of age:

Apparently, I managed to hide matters related to my gender (transsexuality) throughout my work history. It wasn't easy, though. There were many times I was close to breaking down. (t 73). *Sometimes the conflict between my physical and mental gender made work totally impossible. (…) To get any 'help' in my difficulties I had to go 'psychotic', different doctors wrote me 'varying diagnoses' and finally gave me the papers for a disability pension.* (t 100)

For her, gender-reassignment treatment improved the situation:

Since the gender-reassignment process my life has taken a positive turn, I've nearly recovered from the difficult psychosis and feel at least ten years younger, I'm more sociable with people, more keen to keep up with the goings on in the world. (t 11)

The positive effects of the gender-reassignment process raise the question of whether she could have avoided the disability pension had she been given the opportunity to live more freely as a member of her preferred gender at an earlier stage. In addition to the possibilities created in the workplace and other social environments, the key role in helping the coping at work of those who challenge the predominant gender boundaries falls on health care professionals. This becomes apparent in the response of another trans woman slightly under 50 years of age, who at the time of the interview was unemployed:

Some three years ago I was diagnosed with depression and almost total burnout, which led to an extended disability leave. In my opinion the reason for my falling ill was that my transsexuality was left untreated [at a certain hospital]. I wouldn't have burnt out at work if my gender had been accepted and treated properly. (t 100)

From the point of view of older employees, the question of coping in a heteronormative workplace is dual. On the one hand, they are more likely to have permanent jobs than the younger employees, thus allowing them more room to influence their work. In her study on non-heterosexuals within the health care sector, Anna Vanhala found that the older employees were more open than the younger ones, which according to her can be explained by the fact that the number of those holding permanent jobs was higher among the older employees. (Vanhala 2003, 67.) With regard to all the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents who were in paid work, there appears to be a similar connection between their type of employment relationship and their openness towards co-workers and supervisors, i.e. the proportion of those who had told their supervisors and co-workers about their sexual orientation was higher among permanent employees. On the other hand, revealing one's sexual orientation or others learning about it some other way always involves an element of risk, as the following example shows:

Sometimes I feel different, isolated, like some sort of a taboo. It's as if I was walking around with "gay" branded on my forehead. I haven't asked for a transfer, I don't know if other departments would take me. So many people know what I am. (s 85, man, slightly under 50 years)

The respondent himself states the negative attitudes towards homosexuality as the reason why he considers it impossible to transfer to another workplace. To look at the above example from the perspective of age, it may be the case that at the age of fifty (or as in this particular example, nearing fifty) people may feel that their options are becoming more limited with age, and that it would be difficult, for example, to change jobs or field of work to find an environment where nobody knows them. According to a representative register-based study, the labour

market situation of people over the age of 50 is heavily polarised in Finland. Some have managed to remain in their long-term jobs, more frequently so during the economic upturn at the end of the 1990s than during the recession at the beginning of the decade. Those who have lost their jobs have found it extremely difficult to find new employment. (Virjo & Aho 2002, 91.) With employability becoming increasingly difficult after the age of fifty, those who decide to leave their stressful jobs face the risk of remaining unemployed until the age of retirement. As Virjo and Aho (2002) point out, the situation is worst for the middle-aged unemployed people who are too young to be entitled to additional days of the means-tested labour market subsidy until being granted old-age pension.

Heteronormative Dresscodes

In addition to its impact on family performatives and the prevalence of negative attitudes towards non-heterosexual and trans people, heteronormativity can be seen at play in the various expectations relating to gender styles in working life. Approaching the subject from the point of view of lesbian mothers, Paula Kuosmanen draws together three manifestations of heteronormativity in the workplace: "the official arrangements of parental and family leaves, unofficial family performatives, and the dichotomy of gendered styles are the mechanisms through which 'private' heterosexual family relationships spill over and become an established part of 'public' workplace cultures, and of the criteria for a 'professional employee'. When reproduced on a daily basis, they become naturalised and construct implicit assumptions and norms of the heterosexuality of all 'private' relationships." (Kuosmanen 2002; see also Valentine 1993; Hall 1989.)

Gendered styles are inscribed in organisational cultures and work tasks (Kuosmanen 2002). They are also part of the phenomenon to which Päivi Korvajärvi (1998) in her research on working life refers to as doing gender. At the same time, they serve as a means of reproducing heteronormativity in the workplace on a daily basis. Kuosmanen believes that not only do these gendered styles, which according to her differ between heterosexual and lesbian women, bear on people's job satisfaction but also on their opportunities to career advancement. Eeva-Leena Vaahtio's (2002) observations on the recruiting practices of entrepreneurs can be interpreted as supporting Kuosmanen's suggestions. In her work focusing on age, Vaahtio studies the recruiting practices of small and medium-sized enterprises (less than 250 employees) operating in a relatively small town. According to her, the people responsible for personnel affairs – most often the managers – had varying assumptions regarding the significance of age. In Vaahtio's study, the ideal age of an employee ranged

between 30 and 40 years. Comments about employees belonging to this particular age group were invariably positive, whereas in the evaluation of older or younger employees the focus was on unfavourable characteristics. The older, experienced employees were considered set in their ways, know-it-all and uninventive, as well as more likely to be off work because of sickness. The young employees, on the other hand, were seen as indiscriminate and irresponsible, still lacking in social skills, independence and maturity. Job applicants nearing or over the age of thirty were assumed to have acquired certain wisdom and life experience.

Besides the notions and prejudices pertaining to age, Vaahtio's study brings forth two other issues of central importance. Firstly, those responsible for recruiting *do* place emphasis on the applicant's family relations, or "degree of socialisation", interpreting the existence of a couple relationship (meaning heterosexual relationships, although Vaahtio herself does not make this point) and a family as a sign of maturity and, with that, the possession of desirable skills in terms of work. This may present non-heterosexual applicants in couple relationships with a challenge: should I tell about my same-sex relationship and risk being discriminated against because of my sexual orientation, or should I say nothing and hope that I will not be labelled as an immature person who is yet to find a proper relationship and family life? One interviewee tells about a friend who applied for a job within traffic and transport:

And then one of my friends, the one I told about and who's (…) gay, he applied for a job. When they got to the question about 'family relations', [the interviewer] asked: 'And you have a wife?' And he said 'um, a companion, male'. That was the end of the interview.

Another important issue addressed in Vaahtio's study is that very often, applicants are evaluated on the basis of "silent information", or having a "good feeling" about the person in question. According to Vaahtio, the employers did not explicitly speak about the applicants' looks but instead talked about their smartness of dress and hair, or their outward or personal appearance. In Vaahtio's opinion, it is most likely that these evaluations of appearance also involve an estimate of the applicant's age, together with all the prejudices this carries. On the basis of the article written by Kuosmanen, it may be further assumed that these evaluations also extend to gendered styles. In fact, some participants in the questionnaires and theme interviews commented about the significance of outward appearance, and especially of certain type of presentation of heterosexual femininity or transgression from the expected presentation. The following is a comment from a transgender woman aged slightly under 50 years:

My bosses were commenting about my earrings, nail polish and dyed hair. Said they weren't suitable for a "grown-up man". At the time I was still a " man". I was working on short fixed-term contracts and was never made permanent. I ended up changing jobs. This was a loss on both sides, because in a way I was a "key player" in the field. (t 144)

This account brings up the question of age; it seems that there is a strong link between dress codes and age. "Adults" should dress different from the young. In her research into the experiences of lesbian women, Paula Kuosmanen writes that having a visibly lesbian style of dress "may prevent colleagues from seeing the lesbian employee as a competent, responsible and accountable worker equal to any female employee who dresses herself in the heterosexual feminine style and, thus, gives an 'adult' appearance" (Kuosmanen 2002). According to Kuosmanen, some lesbian parents who dress in a youthful style may, for tactical reasons, make a point in the workplace about having a family in order to be perceived as responsible employees (ibid.). The fact that none of the people I interviewed told about this kind of behaviour can probably be explained by the more advanced age of the interviewees – they felt no need to give the impression of maturity, but rather to appear younger than their years. Secondly, the oldest among the interviewees had had their children at a time when homosexuality was still considered a criminal offence or had just been decriminalised. Since these people must have found it considerably more difficult to be openly lesbian in the workplace, they can hardly have used telling about their being lesbian mothers as a means of proving their maturity.

The appearance norms are not an exclusively non-heterosexual experience. The supposedly heterosexual interviewees in the ageing study not only recognised the norms but reproduced them, as well. The following is an excerpt of an interviewee's answer when asked if at work or in general there were things considered unsuitable for people of a certain age:

I don't think it's fitting to dress like a 15-year-old at my age, (…) or somehow carry on like young people. So age does in a way set limits to your behaviour, or I don't know, I think it's natural and shouldn't be seen as a limitation. (Ageing study, woman, bank clerk, slightly under 60 years)

Another interviewee in the ageing study told about wanting to wear suits at the age of 25 so as to look more distinguished,

but that at some point it got to be the other way around (laughs), to trying to dress in a way that didn't straight away reveal my age.

Interviewer: *So you dressed like, or tried to dress in like more youthful clothes than most people over sixty, right, didn't you?*

- Well at any rate in a style that didn't make people immediately think, oh, she's sixty something, that's how I tried to dress. But anyway I try to keep it within reason, quite consciously, so that I don't go over the board. I don't want to overdo it, I try to wear what's appropriate but nothing that makes me look older than my age. That's my ambition. I don't know if I'm always that successful at it, but that's always my purpose, anyway. (Ageing study, woman, practical nurse, slightly over 60 years)

When asked whether age brings with it a certain esteem, a third interviewee had this to say about the significance of the style of dress:

Once I even (…) bought a suit and a ruffled shirt and thought that from now on I'll act all dignified as a mature woman of my age is supposed to. But I only came to realise that suits, or frills, weren't my thing, and I haven't bought a suit ever since. One time when I had bought a pair of jeans my ex-husband said that aren't you a bit past the jeans age, which of course annoyed me, and I said really, I didn't notice there was an age limit. (laughs) (woman, waitress and chief shop steward, slightly over 60 years, ageing study)

These supposedly heterosexual interviewees had recognised the same heterosexualised and gendered dress codes as the lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans respondents. The actual extent to which the female interviewees identified with these codes seems to vary irrespective of sexual orientation. The second example above illustrates how difficult it is to walk the tightrope between these norms: one must be careful not to look too old but, on the other hand, try to avoid "going over the board". The first example, where the interviewee expresses her disapproval of going against the age norms and says these norms should not be considered a limitation, implies that "appropriate" clothing is a matter of choice. This type of thinking may explain why those lesbians, gay men, bisexuals and trans people who dress in an unusual style may raise some eyebrows. However, this view completely disregards the ties between identity and the style of dress.

For a fruitful approach to this issue, one can look at Judith Butler's take on gender (1990, 1993), which according to Korvajärvi (1998) can be interpreted as one theory of doing gender, thus providing a potentially useful tool in the research on working life. Butler argues that identity should not be construed as something "internal" and separate from the "external" appearance but a construct of "the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results" (Butler 1990, 25). From this perspective, it is easy to understand why some lesbians find it impossible to wear a dress, or follow the heterosexual practice of "dressing up as a woman" to work. On the other hand, those lesbians who reject the "(hetero) feminine" style of dress are not doing so only to protest against heteronormativity but also to adhere to the dress codes prevalent in lesbian culture. According to these norms, it is undesirable to look straight. Given the significance of both community norms and identity, the question of clothing is much more complex than simply

choosing the style of dress considered "appropriate" for the work community, at least from the point of view of lesbians. In the following, a trans woman slightly under the age of 50 gives further illustration of how difficult it is to separate between one's identity and outward appearance:

My satisfaction partly depends on the role I can take. Unfortunately at work I have to be as a man, not that it affects my work performance. But it does affect the way I feel. (t 100)

In the group of transvestite respondents of all ages who were employed at the time of the questionnaire survey, all but one were men. Half of them expressed their femininity at work through their clothing, but only by having feminine clothing hidden under masculine clothes. In the group of respondents over the age of 45, responses to open-ended questions suggest that the majority of the transvestite men find it impossible to imagine a workplace where they could freely express their femininity. The reflections of a state employee aged slightly under 50 years highlight the problematic assumption of the permanent nature of gendered appearance, a view nurtured by the present gender norms. This assumption is particularly problematic to those who do not wish to commit to either gender full time. In his response, the respondent imagines what it would mean in practice if it were possible to present other sides besides masculinity at work:

But it does make you wonder what it would be like in practice. A total transformation into a woman with wigs and make-up, or the addition of female garments alongside masculine clothing: women's pumps and jumpers. All this plus a little bit of gesturing added, depending on how deep you have immersed yourself in the role. I wonder how such a minor thing as sometimes having breasts and other times not would affect people's attitudes towards you. Us trannies being sort of part-time women, the people around us might find it difficult to deal with the occasional role switching. (t 122)

One can, however, find a workplace where the gender boundaries are relatively flexible. According to a trans woman aged slightly under fifty years, difference can also be a resource at work. In an earlier quotation, she talked about a job where she heard comments about her appearance. Here she talks about a subsequent job:

I think that in the last job my difference was exploited in a positive way, because the pupils were a colourful bunch as well. My personality just happened to fit right in. I've never been one to label people on the basis of their appearance and I think I get along well with 'different' people. So being the genuine, different person you truly are can be a resource. Yes! (t 162)

In addition to being heavily gendered, the norms concerning dress are tied to age. On the basis of an article written by Marja Tikka, Paula Rantamaa concludes that middle-aged women who dress in too youthful a style may be regarded as immature

and in denial of their own age. (Rantamaa 2001, 60.) According to some scholars within women's studies/social gerontology, the imposed ideas of what is appropriate involve age and women's style of dress, in particular (ibid.). Judging from the questionnaire survey and interviews carried out among lesbians, gay men, bisexuals and trans people, it would appear that – besides imposing specific demands on women – the gendered codes of dress are especially aimed at maintaining the gender boundaries (cf. Charpentier 2001); an employee is expected to look either like a (heterosexual) woman or a (heterosexual) man and adhere to the same gender at all times. The expectation of "an adult appearance" is tied in with gendered styles of dress, and it is the combination of these age and gender norms that form the specific appearance norms in working life. These appearance norms come into play when assessing employees' competence and reliability, or their potential in career advancement or other aspects.

Heteronormativity and Age in Working Life Course

Sexual orientation is often reduced to a mere question of sexual practices, as illustrated by some comments made by the respondents, such as "what I do in the bedroom is no one's business [at work]". This type of thinking equating sexual orientation with sexual practices may lead some people to believe that sexual orientation is of no concern at work.

The interviewees constituted a varied group of people, occupying a number of different positions in the heteronormative order. Heteronormativity can be interpreted, for instance, as expectations related to appearance or style of dress. In other words, one is expected to give a close enough performance of either gender and do this in line with the age-related norms. Heteronormativity can also be seen in the norms concerning the life course: people are expected to have children by a certain age, while on the other hand, a lesbian can steer clear of any questions or prejudices simply because she performs a single mother. Other relevant questions here are openness about one's family life and couple relationship at work, as well as the fear and anxiety caused by a work environment where one feels forced to secrecy.

Besides the normative expectations about the life course and gendered styles, I see heteronormativity in negative comments, name-calling, and unpleasant jokes about non-heterosexuals and trans people. The interviewees had also picked up negative attitudes in the subtle tones, facial expressions and gestures of co-workers. "You just sense it" was a common explanation for the interviewees when I asked how the negative attitudes towards lesbians, gay men or trans people showed in the workplace. Another manifestation of heteronormativity is workplace discussion that excludes all but opposite-sex couple relationships and families.

Many interviewees told about situations where heteronormativity was intertwined with other issues, such as differences of opinion regarding task execution or the practical functioning of the organisation. One common feature in many of these situations was that the interviewees were unsure as to whether they were hampered in their career advancement and everyday work or denied promotions, training or sufficient resources because of negative attitudes towards their sexual orientation or transgenderism, or because of something else entirely. They also wondered if, perhaps, everything was just their own imagination, reflecting over the other possible explanations for the treatment they had interpreted as discrimination motivated by their sexual orientation or transgenderism.

In their research on organisation sexuality, Jeff Hearn and Wendy Parkin found that sexuality was a challenging subject to study, for it seemed to "slip through one's fingers". Matters concerning sexuality are kept secret, save for the innuendo, gossip and rumours that are easy to deny afterwards, if necessary. In the course of their research, Hearn and Parkin arrived at the conclusion that the issues initially appearing as methodological difficulties were, in fact, intrinsic features of the object of study itself. In other words, the innuendo, gossip, rumours, leering looks, secrecy and other similar behaviour proved to form part of the organisational processes related to sexuality, rather than being mere methodological difficulties. (Hearn & Parkin 1987, 48.) In this light, it is easy to understand why the interviewees had difficulty in pinpointing the actual reason for certain behaviour, or knowing whether it was heteronormativity or some entirely different, "reasonable" matter that was to blame.

Age becomes significant in many working life situations. Heteronormativity can affect recruitment and success at work through the heterosexual norms concerning both the style of dress and the stage of life course. Hence, the heteronormative gender order and age intertwine with each other in various different ways. This means that studies on ageing and work should recognise that people are assigned their different positions in the labour market and the workplace on the basis of their age, as well as their sexual orientation and gender. The so-called "ageing employees" are never positioned solely according to their age but other axes of difference, as well. While heteronormativity can hardly be said to determine working life courses, it seems plausible to argue that it does have some effect on the way in which working life courses are constructed through, for example, recruitment and promotions, or workplace climate. For example, a heteronormative workplace climate can lead people to change jobs.

The questions related to heteronormativity are not an exclusive concern of non-heterosexuals and trans people. The heterosexual individuals who adhere to the norms related to male or female appearance are assigned a particular position

in the heterosexual order, as well. One might suspect that those who follow the heterosexual norms have a better chance of finding a job or being promoted than those who will not or cannot adapt to these norms.

At present, the promotion of a higher retirement age and a prolonged involvement in working life is regarded as a matter of central concern in the Finnish society. In the case of the age group discussed here, the labour market situation shows a polarisation among people above the age of 50: on the one hand, there are those who manage to remain in their work organisations, and on the other hand those who end up unemployed, with only a proportion of them managing to find new employment (Virjo & Aho 2002). From the perspective of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans employees, in particular, it would be important to focus attention on heteronormative workplace practices that can contribute to their exhaustion and dissatisfaction at work or lead them to leave their jobs. Tackling heteronormativity in the workplace is of specific concern to older non-heterosexual and trans employees, who face a greater risk of becoming unemployed if they leave their jobs. Besides workplace practices, another important point of focus would seem to be the ability of occupational health services to meet the needs of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans employees. Given the substantial role afforded to the health care sector, and occupational health services in particular, in maintaining working capacity and encouraging people to extend their stay in working life, focus should also be placed on weeding out heteronormativity within this sector.

In her study on the significance of age upon recruitment, Eeva-Leena Vaahtio (2002) concludes that, ultimately, chronological age does not have any decisive role in the recruiters' choices. According to her, anyone who takes care of her or himself and invests in education can become the great person who gets the job. However, my research data suggests that in many workplaces the criteria for a great person are heteronormative. Physical appearance is usually thought to be of particular importance in jobs within the service sector (e.g. Adkins 2000). From the point of view of heteronormativity, this emphasis on appearance would seem to be a common feature in many other kinds of jobs, as well. Since there is reason to believe that heteronormativity affects people's general ideas of what a reliable and competent employee should look like, the question of the criteria concerning outward appearance extends beyond the level of customer service to all situations where employees have contact with their co-workers or supervisors. Depending on the co-workers and the management, some workplaces may have organisational cultures that also appreciate employees who do not fit the mould of the average (heterosexual) woman or man. In some workplaces, people have noticed that customer service can actually benefit from people who challenge the gender boundaries.

According to a general view, the older employees' strength lies in their experience and extensive knowledge accumulated during their life course. From the perspective of the present work, it would be important to also pay attention to what kind of experience is considered valuable. Several of the interviewees said that being non-heterosexual or living as a trans person was a strength in terms of understanding difference, especially in the field of education as well social and health care work, where the focus is on customer service. If understanding difference helps non-heterosexuals and trans people to deliver better customer service, one would imagine it could also help heterosexuals and those conforming to the male and female norms to create a more pleasant work environment for their non-heterosexual and trans colleagues. This is a desirable goal that would also serve to promote prolonged involvement in working life.

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YOUNG LESBIAN AND BISEXUAL WOMEN AND THEIR COPING AT WORK

Marja Kaskisaari

There is very little research on young people's coping at work. Professional burnout, which is used as a measure of coping, has been seen as a syndrome that develops over a long period of time as a result of continuous overextension of personal resources. Therefore, professional burnout has been thought to be more common in people with a lengthy employment history. (Kalimo & Toppinen 1997; Työterveyslaitos 2000.) In the past few years, however, there has been growing recognition of the fact that exhaustion at work is becoming increasingly common among young employees (Ek et al. 2003). With the increased understanding of the phenomenon, burnout has evolved into a concept that encompasses a comprehensive array of factors related to the insecurity, stress and malaise experienced in working life (e.g. Tuuli 2001).

There are no previous studies on sexual minorities that comprise the aspect of stress experienced at work. The present article does not directly answer the question of the diagnostic role of burnout among lesbian, gay and bisexual people, either, but merely offers tentative empirical indication of the relationship between exhaustion and sexual orientation. This study has been carried out by means of a questionnaire targeted at lesbian, gay and bisexual people. The focus of the questionnaire was not on burnout as such but mainly on work-related threats, discrimination and openness. Having already introduced the theoretical discussion around professional burnout among lesbian, gay and bisexual people in an earlier article (Kaskisaari 2002), I will now focus on the results of the questionnaire as well the issue of fatigue at work, discussed in the context of the above-mentioned factors of openness, discrimination and work-related threats.

This article will discuss some of the factors related to burnout in young lesbian and bisexual women aged 25–30 years. The hypothesis in this article is related to coping at work, and it is formulated upon a corresponding study carried out in the Netherlands on lesbian, gay and bisexual teachers (Graaf et al. 2003). According to the Dutch study, the threat of discrimination correlates with both the level of openness and various health-related factors. The absence of the threat of discrimination nurtures greater openness, promotes good health and reduces the risk of burnout. Based on this, one might assume that the social construction of sexual orientation (including openness and the threats related to discrimination) has an impact on the coping of lesbian, gay and bisexual people at

work. The aim of this study is to contribute to the understanding of the scope of influence sexual orientation has on one's work and the role it plays in well-being and coping at work.

My reason for studying young people is that they are only just beginning to form their views about working life. Then again, young people have many expectations regarding work, and they look to working life to bring security and stability to their lives as a whole (Nummenmaa 1996; Pohjanheimo et al. 2003). In my discussion, I will pay specific attention to women, since young women form a particularly disadvantaged group of wage earners with regard to pay and the frequency of fixed-term employment, part-time jobs and temporary work (Lehto & Sutela 1999, 36; Sutela et al. 2001, 90).

The Impact of Openness on Coping at Work

The questionnaire targeted at sexual minorities clearly illustrates the significance of openness in working life. Traditionally, openness in working life has been associated with an open flow of communication, honesty and fair treatment. Young people, in particular, expect to be treated in a fair and equal manner in working life. This is exemplified by a questionnaire commissioned by the Finnish pension insurer Varma-Sampo – targeted at employees under the age of 35 who were working in six of the company's customer businesses – the results of which indicated that the young employees valued good relations with co-workers and a positive workplace climate. Good relations with co-workers were rated as the second most important aspect of work after the security of employment and the steadiness of income. In terms of the work community, a positive workplace climate emerged as the most important feature. In the area of management, the respondents placed greatest value on having supervisors who trusted their subordinates and allowed them to work independently. Equality between women and men as well as the existence of a just policy of rewarding were rated the second highest in importance. (Pohjanheimo et al. 2003, 5-9.)

Had these questions included, for example, the aspect of equal treatment regardless of sexual orientation, one might assume the young lesbian, gay and bisexual people would have had parallel hopes about working life. But when talking about sexual minorities, openness in working life acquires new meanings. Lesbian, gay and bisexual employees have a special minority position, in that openness about sexual orientation influences their work. They must, for example, consider to what extent it is possible to be open in the workplace. Is openness necessary? What will follow from this openness? There are several possibilities and threats to openness that never occur to employees who belong to the majority.

The lesbian and bisexual women aged 25–30 years (N=112) participating in the questionnaire targeted at sexual minorities were relatively open about their sexual orientation. Those who were extremely open, i.e. those who had told all of their fellow workers about their sexual orientation, accounted for 13 percent of the respondents. As many as two out of three respondents (nearly 60 percent) had told some of their co-workers, while about a fourth (24 percent) of the respondents had completely concealed their sexual orientation from their co-workers. When it comes to telling one's supervisor, 26 percent had told the immediate supervisor, while 12 percent had told a few people working at the managerial level – a result that might be seen as an indication of close and trustworthy relations with supervisors. However, there were as much as 56 percent of those who concealed their sexual orientation from their supervisors. Thus, if we look at the levels of openness towards co-workers and supervisors, we might interpret that the more formal the context (supposing that the relationship to a supervisor is somehow more formal that that between fellow workers) the higher the level of secrecy about sexual orientation. What can also be at play here is the fact that informal relations to co-workers offer a more natural context for telling about one's sexual orientation when compared to the context of concrete work, where such discussions are less likely to take place.

According to Jukka Lehtonen (see the article *Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Youths in the Labour Market* elsewhere in this book), older employees are more open about their sexual orientation than their young co-workers, while young women are more open than young men in the workplace. It seems plausible to conclude that regardless of the young women's relative openness about their sexual orientation at work, a considerable proportion of the respondents employ varying degrees of secrecy in a variety of contexts. As manifested by the respondents' answers to the open-ended questions on the questionnaire form, insecurity about one's employment is one of the major causes of secrecy. People worry about their sexual orientation being found out, because it might risk the renewal of their fixed-term employment contracts. Statistics show that fixed-term employment relationships are most common among young people and those wage earners who are at an early stage in their careers. According to a Quality of Work Life Survey dating from 1997, fixed-term employment relationships were most frequently found among women (43 %) and men (33 %) aged 15–29 years. Compared to men, the number of women in fixed-term jobs was higher in all age groups. The women in these types of jobs were also far more likely to have a high level of education. (Sutela 1999; Pulkkinen 2002, 107.)

In our body of data, more than half of the female respondents under the age of 30 were working on fixed-term employment contracts. In the entire wage-earning population in Finland, the proportion of women (in the year 2000) who were

aged 25–29 years and held fixed-term jobs was 38 percent (Sutela & Vänskä & Notkola 2001, 91). The situation of young lesbian and bisexual women, then, was even worse compared to the corresponding group of wage earners on the average (see also Sari Charpentier's article elsewhere in this book). If we look at the situation of different sexual minority groups, it is still the young women who have the weakest position in the labour market: the number of those who held jobs that corresponded to their levels of education was lower among young people, and especially young women, who also had the lowest paying jobs. Compared to the older employees, the young people also had a higher rate of short-term, part-time and fixed-term jobs (see the previously mentioned article by Jukka Lehtonen). Given the fact that since the 1990s women have faced increasing uncertainty in working life (e.g. fixed-term employment contracts), one might conclude that the fears and threats related to work find a concrete context in the changes occurring in working life.

The Impact of Secrecy on Coping at Work

In the following, I will discuss in more detail the links of openness and secrecy to coping at work. Looking at our entire body of data on sexual minorities, I will analyse the respondents' answers to the open-ended question "If your job satisfaction or exhaustion is connected to your sexual orientation, please explain in what way?". The particular group in focus (such as gay men, lesbians, the elderly, the young) is irrelevant here, since we are looking at a data sample that illustrates the theme on a general level (up to a saturation point) and could therefore hold true for young women, as well. Looking at other empirical data, it might even be argued that the meanings assigned to sexuality depend not so much on age and gender but on one's relationship to sexuality – this relationship being an individual construction, and in this capacity, restricted by a particular historical context (Kaskisaari 1998).

To use a rough categorisation, the data illustrates four different connections between sexual orientation and coping at work: 1) there was no connection, since the person's sexual orientation was not known in the workplace; 2) there was no connection, since the employee's openness was considered insignificant in terms of work; 3) sexual orientation had a negative impact on coping; 4) sexual orientation had a positive impact on coping. According to the data, a person's sexual orientation did not necessarily have any connection to his or her coping at work. In the respondents' experience, there was no relation between their sexual orientation and work. The respondents' answers reflect this experience in two ways. Firstly, sexual orientation was not considered an influencing factor at work, because it was not known to the other employees. The fact that this view presupposes a separation between the spheres of work and private life was not a

problem for the respondents (in fact, this separation can sometimes be considered a desirable situation). They did not see openness in itself as something that increased job satisfaction, nor did they in any way consider the lack of openness as a burden in working life.

Secondly, openness about sexual orientation was considered an insignificant factor in working life, because being open in the workplace was not felt to have any significance in the actual execution of work or in terms of coping at work. One of the interviewees capsules the underlying thinking as follows: "For me, job satisfaction depends on the tasks and their content, while exhaustion depends on the amount of work," not sexual orientation as such.

Although sexual orientation was regarded as a secondary or insignificant factor in terms of one's orientation to work, there were also many of those who attached a lot of meaning to sexual orientation as a contributing factor in coping. Sexual orientation was assigned both positive and negative meanings in terms of coping at work, and these meanings were culminated in openness and the possibilities it brought with it.

Thirdly, I would like to bring up the negative impacts sexual orientation has on work. The respondents' negative experiences relating to their sexual orientation ranged from outright discrimination (unjust distribution of work or social exclusion of an employee who is different from the rest) to the threat of discrimination or weak commitment to the goals of the heterosexist workplace. In some cases, sexual orientation had an indirect adverse effect on work through problems in interpersonal relations; a failed couple relationship, for example, would affect one's motivation at work. Feelings of loneliness or the absence of a couple relationship were all-encompassing aspects of one's experience, even when at work. With regard to coping, the most pronounced negative impact of being lesbian, gay or bisexual, however, resulted from concealing one's sexual orientation. Many respondents felt that the secrecy was not a personal choice but that they had to pretend because of the social pressure: "It does get tiring to pretend to be something you're not. Little by little you even start to believe it yourself." The emotional effects of secrecy included everything from mild frustration (because of the squirming and the avoiding) to feelings of quilt and inferiority, especially in those contexts of work where homosexuals were principally rejected. "Sometimes it can be a bit frustrating because otherwise I try to be direct and avoid lies. I try to get away with 'neutral' expressions like 'I'm seeing someone' or 'I have a partner'". When openness was not an option, the hopes of openness increased the stressfulness of work and stole energy from work.

Fourthly, there are the positive impacts of sexual orientation on one's coping at work, illustrated above all in the positive experiences regarding openness. One positive impact was being able to act natural and be one's true self at work.

Openness was seen to boost social interaction as well as one's work input, because the revealing of one's sexual orientation was felt to stir positive curiosity in others. Unreserved support of the superiors was rated highly important.

I'm happy here. This is largely down to the fact that people accept me as I am. I could get better wages if I left the small company to join a large corporation. But I don't want to do this, because we have such a good spirit in our work community. I don't want to run after better pay and risk ending up in a homophobic, conservative corporation.

I do think it's important that the employer I'm working for accepts my sexual orientation, that it's already out in the open and it's easy to talk about it, and so on.

Openness served as a positive resource at work and increased one's ability to cope. Some lines of work, such as a job in a gay bar, actually induced openness, or were satisfying in some other way – if not so much in terms of openness then at least in a more playful respect: "Tram driving is an ideal job for a lesbian, lots of fine women."

All in all, one might conclude that the job satisfaction of lesbian, gay and bisexual employees depends on the very same factors that people generally expect to find in working life and the social relations therein, in particular. As noted in several studies, fair treatment has a particularly prominent role in people's expectations (Juuti 1996; Elovainio et al. 2002). The three topmost expectations are fair treatment, good workplace climate, and the support of co-workers and superiors. These were also among the factors that increased people's ability to cope at work.

The Impact of Discrimination on Coping at Work

Professional burnout can result from a variety of factors, including experiences of bullying, hurtful behaviour, sexual harassment, and discrimination (Vartia & Paananen 1992, 28-29; Vartia & Perkka-Jortikka 1994). Consequently, one might assume such experiences of discrimination to be the underlying causes of exhaustion at work in the case of lesbian, gay and bisexual people, too. When looking at people's experiences of discrimination, my interest is on finding out what has provoked the discrimination – gender, sexual orientation or some other factor – and how it has affected their ability to cope. In the following, I will discuss these factors with regard to lesbian and bisexual women.

In the light of the existing qualitative research, one might presume lesbian, gay and bisexual people to be particularly preoccupied with the question of whether they will be accepted into the workplace culture and its social networks, or will they be isolated because of being different (Heikkinen 1997; Kuosmanen 2000; Valkonen 2003). Psychological studies have found that a sense of coherence, or

more broadly speaking, life management, has a positive impact on coping at work (Feldt 2000). Social discrimination or the fear of being discriminated against in social contexts is the opposite of full inclusion and acceptance.

In our small body of data (N = 112), 35 percent of the respondents felt threatened by social isolation from the work community. The biggest threat, however, was serious burnout. Of a sizable total of 69 percent, 16 percent felt very much threatened by burnout, while 54 percent felt somewhat threatened. The second biggest threat, equivalent to the threat of social isolation, was the threat of mental breakdown, which was felt by 35 percent of the respondents. Outright physical violence was considered a lesser threat at work, with only one percent of the respondents feeling very much threatened and 17 percent feeling somewhat threatened by it.

One might assume there was a connection between actual experiences of discrimination and the perceived threats at work. This was indeed the case, for there was a significant connection between the experience of being subjected to discrimination and the threat of being socially isolated from the work community. Those who felt threatened by social isolation from the work community had also been discriminated against on account of their gender: for 38 percent of the respondents, experiences of gender discrimination were coupled with the threat of being isolated. To establish a correlation, two categories were created: people who had been discriminated against on account of their gender, and people who had not been discriminated against (including those who chose the option “don't know”). With regard to experiences of discrimination on account of sexual orientation, there was no statistically significant connection to work-related threats. Similarly, no statistically significant connection was shown between people's perceived threats and their experiences of sexual harassment or bullying related to sexual orientation.

Why was it that gender emerged as a more significant factor than sexual orientation? To explain this, we must take a critical look at factors both internal and external to the survey. When looking at the question of sexual orientation in the body of data, one notes that almost a fourth of the respondents concealed their sexual orientation. In practice, this means they could not have experienced discrimination because of their sexual orientation – although bullying can occur even if a person conceals his or her sexual orientation (for example on the basis of appearance or some other factor), but this is relatively rare. The young lesbian and bisexual women had too few experiences of sexual harassment or bullying and discrimination on account of their sexual orientation for these to form a statistically significant set.

To approach this differently, we can look at sexual orientation from the perspective of social gender experience. Unlike sexual orientation, gender is something people cannot hide. While gender is an all-embracing, all-inclusive matter, sexual harassment or bullying related to sexuality, for example, are not something universally experienced in the workplace. This does not make sexual harassment a less substantial issue in working life, nor one that can be ignored. On the contrary, we should analyse the extent to which discrimination, bullying and harassment on account of sexual orientation are gender-related. On the communal and social levels, sexual orientation is very much an issue of gender, of different femininities and their acceptance. The heterosexualised nature of gender contributes to normative ideas pertaining to behaviour, appearance and accepted sexuality as well as the ideas of what is excluded from these norms (Juvonen 1997). One might argue that it is the normative gender that is largely responsible for the heteronormative pressure felt by lesbian, gay and bisexual people. This holds true in matters relating to appearance, for example (see the article by Sari Charpentier elsewhere in this book). The fact that gender is visible, yet does not categorically implicate one's sexual orientation, might be the very reason why it is used both as a means of negotiation and an object of control in heteronormative work communities.

In what ways are people's different experiences of threats in working life related to their actual coping at work? In our questionnaire, we asked the respondents to estimate how often they felt reluctant and mentally exhausted on going to work. Of the young lesbian and bisexual women, 15 percent reported having these types of feelings daily, while 16 percent (totalling around one third of the respondents) reported having them a few times a week. Some symptoms of burnout were experienced by 46 percent of the respondents, including those who felt exhausted on going to work once a week. Similarly, 54 percent had no symptoms of burnout. These figures correspond roughly to the occurrence of burnout in the Finnish population as a whole – a conclusion that obviously needs more substantiation this simplistic statement (Lehto & Järnefelt 2000; Työterveyslaitos 2000). According to a study conducted by the Finnish Institute of Occupational Health, a total of 55 percent of the entire working population felt burnt out at work. Serious burnout was found in approximately seven percent of all employees, while mild burnout was found in 48 percent of employees (Kalimo & Toppinen 1997). The symptoms measured consist of reduced professional self-esteem, cynicism, and fatigue reaching the level of physical exhaustion.

In our body of data, experiences of burnout were also illustrated through the question on the perceived threat of serious burnout – this has already been established here as being a substantial threat, with 69 percent of the young lesbian

and bisexual women feeling threatened by burnout. The question on the threat of burnout encapsulates a number of assumptions about the pace and quality of work, personal contribution and skills, as well as other factors we cannot tell more about solely on the basis of this question. Furthermore, our data showed a clear connection between the perceived threat of burnout and the threat of being socially isolated from the work community. However, there was no connection between the experienced threat of burnout and, for example, gender, sexual orientation or the respondent's openness about his or her sexual orientation.

As a way of summarising the results concerning the sub-data, it might be concluded that openness about one's sexual orientation is not in itself conducive to coping at work. This conclusion runs counter to the hypothesis established at the beginning of this article, the hypothesis being that openness helps to prevent burnout. Correspondingly, secrecy about sexual orientation does not automatically add to young lesbian and bisexual women's mental stress at work. Coping at work is a gender issue, in as much as the gender-related threats (such as the various forms of discrimination) affect coping. Sexual orientation, too, is a gender-related issue. Sexual orientation is also connected to coping through, for example, the questions of openness and fair treatment regardless of gender. Coping relates to a complex gendering at work, telling us about the just or unjust distribution of resources or the personal meanings assigned to work.

Conclusion

The results achieved through the sub-data of the sexual minority questionnaire provide some information on the experiences of young lesbian and bisexual women in working life. Given the limited size of the data, the differences found between the respondents' experiences do not show in the statistics. Young lesbian and bisexual women form an incoherent group, which is why a comparative look at different occupations (see Vanhala 2003) might have been a more fruitful approach for the purposes of this study. There are, however, some general conclusions to be drawn.

Young lesbian and bisexual women are relatively open about their sexual orientation in the workplace. In addition, they are very sensitive to unfair treatment on account of gender, while at the same time being burdened by the threat of burnout. In the light of these characteristics, these women appear quite active and work-oriented. The experienced threat of burnout may be partly caused by factors related to the personal assignment of meanings as well as the unjust and unequal structures in working life. In part at least, the threat of burnout may be explained by the high rate of fixed-term employment among young women. The respondents' answers to the open-ended questions supported the observation that there was a connection between burnout and both insecurity

about employment and fears arising from fixed-term employment contracts. Since discrimination on account of sexual orientation showed only little qualitative impact on coping, it would be interesting to look at the entire body of quantitative data on sexual minority to study the possible connections between sexual orientation and coping at work to be found there. Moreover, there is a need for further research that can produce reliable information on the coping of lesbian, gay and bisexual people, as well as answer questions regarding the gendered relations between burnout and sexual orientation.

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LESBIAN, GAY AND BISEXUAL YOUTH IN THE LABOUR MARKET

Jukka Lehtonen

The position of young people in the labour market tends to be addressed in the Finnish media as a labour force policy issue and, as such, often from the perspective of the society's need to have the young join the regular labour force earlier than they, in fact, do. Issues such as youth unemployment and youth problems often draw public attention. But there are other relevant perspectives on the position and experiences of young people as they relate to working life. In this article, I will focus on Finnish non-heterosexual youth by comparing their situation with that of older generations of non-heterosexual people. I will discuss factors that interact in different ways with the working life situations of the young, such as self-definition of one's sexuality, openness regarding one's sexuality, partnership or family status, as well as various gender styles and cultural factors relating to behaviour or styles of dress. Finally, I will address the position of non-heterosexual young people in the labour market by looking at their involvement in working life on the one hand, and the quality of their employment on the other hand. My discussion is based on the understanding that non-heterosexual youth live in a variety of life situations and do not form an internally homogenous group.

I will seek to draw a general picture of the situation of non-heterosexual youth in working life. In my analysis, gender and sexuality constitute the most important factors. The data, drawn from a survey directed to Finnish sexual minorities, are analysed by gender and two age groups, i.e. respondents under 30 and those over 30. In the following, the age groups will be categorically and in a rather simplified manner referred to as 'young women', 'young men', 'older women', 'older men'. I will additionally draw on the interview data I gathered in 1996 from 30 non-heterosexual youth between 15 and 20 years of age (see Lehtonen 2002a; Lehtonen 2003) and in 2003 from a renewed interview with six of the original 30 adolescents. The interview reports and excerpts will complement the interpretations based on the quantitative data.

Young People Defining Their Sexuality

The roles that non-heterosexuality assumes in the lives of non-heterosexual young people, including their working lives, depends very much on whether they live out their non-heterosexuality. In other words, what kind of a non-heterosexual self-definition do they have, do they tell about their non-heterosexuality to others, and do they have non-heterosexual relationships? Deliberations regarding

one's sexuality typically take place in adolescence. By the time they enter the labour market, most non-heterosexual youths have become aware of their sexual orientation and have found some definition for it. But many find themselves still thinking carefully to whom to disclose their sexuality – years after defining it. Such deliberations tend to become topical, for instance, when starting one's working life. Although deliberating upon one's sexuality is common among all young people, those with a heterosexual orientation or self-definition seldom have to fear becoming attacked if they disclose their heterosexual feelings, relationships or dreams to others.

According to the sexual minorities survey, 42 percent of the young male respondents and 32 percent of the young female respondents reported to have always known about their sexual orientation. The corresponding percentage for older men was 49 and for older women 28. The main difference may be found between men and women: male respondents in both age groups reported to have always known about their sexual orientation more often than female respondents did. It is characteristic of the data that – compared to respondents in the other groups – young female respondents were more likely to define themselves as bisexuals and to report having both same-sex and opposite-sex sexual feelings and behaviour. Moreover, female respondents – both young and older – were more likely than male respondents to find defining their sexuality not meaningful or interesting: traditional sexual categories, such as 'lesbian' or 'bisexual', were not always found descriptive of the experience women had of their sexuality.

Table 63. Age of becoming aware of one's sexual orientation by age and gender.

Age of becoming aware of one's sexual orientation (%)	Young men	Young women	Older men	Older women
Younger than 11	15	5	23	11
Between 11 and 15	75	35	61	33
Between 16 and 19	8	34	11	20
over 19 years of age	2	26	6	36
Total	100	100	100	100

The above table shows the answers of respondents (54 percent of all respondents) who gave the age of becoming aware of their sexuality in years. Again, there is an apparent difference between women and men in that men tend to have known about their sexuality earlier than women (see Grönfors et al. 1984, 139-140; Andersson 1995,20). Counting together respondents who had always

known about their sexuality and those who gave a certain age, we may conclude that 91 percent of the young men and 95 percent of the older men had either always known or had become aware of their sexuality by the time they reached 20, while the corresponding figures for young women and older women were 75 percent and 76 percent respectively.

If we compare the responses of women under 30 with those of women over 30, it appears that younger women became aware of their sexuality earlier than older women did on the average. On the other hand, if we compare the results with those from a Finnish survey from twenty years ago, we may conclude that the female respondents in the earlier survey were more likely to have become aware of their sexual orientation before reaching 20 than those of the present survey: 91 percent of the men and 81 percent of the women had either always been aware or had become aware of their sexual feelings before the age of 20 (Grönfors et al.1984, 419). Among men, there appear no differences between age groups.

Openness at School and Work

Most young people do not openly discuss their same-sex feelings, their first same-sex relationships or sex experiences either with their parents, their friends or their school mates. Only a few disclose their non-heterosexual self-definition to all of their school mates or co-workers. In comparison, heterosexual interests or relationships are not usually concealed in the school environment. On the contrary, they may be even used as a subject of brag and a means to improve one's status within the school community. (Lehtonen 2003, 183-184)

Only a little more than one tenth of all respondents of the sexual minorities survey had come out to all of their school mates or co-workers (see also Lehtonen 1995;1999a; 2002b). Women in both age groups were more likely than men to disclose their sexual orientation to at least some of their school mates or co-workers. In other words, men tended more often to conceal their sexuality from everyone at school or work.

Table 64. Openness towards school mates by age and gender.

Openness towards school mates regarding one's sexuality (%)	Young men	Young women	Older men	Older women
Concealed	24	16	26	16
Told everyone	13	12	12	15

Young respondents concealed their sexual orientation from their co-workers more often than older respondents. Of the young women, only a few had come out to their whole work community, and young men were even more likely to conceal their sexuality from their co-workers.

Table 65. Openness towards co-workers by age and gender.

Openness towards co-workers regarding one's sexuality (%)	Young men	Young women	Older men	Older women
Concealed	40	33	28	24
Told everyone	18	11	18	23

Younger respondents also concealed their sexuality from their superiors more often than older respondents. Of all respondents, those who told their nearest superior, only a few were met by disapproval. The situation of young women in relation to their superiors seemed most difficult: they concealed their sexuality from their superiors as often as young men did, but those who told their superior were more often met by disapproval.

Table 66. Openness towards superiors and reaction of superior by respondent's age and gender.

Openness towards superior and reaction of superior (%)	Young men	Young women	Older men	Older women
Concealed	66	67	53	47
Accepting superior reaction	26	20	30	33

As indicated earlier, most of the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents seemed to have become aware of their sexual orientation already before reaching adult age, although men more often than women. Yet, there are many – typically women – who go through this process later, i.e. when they start their work career and acquire their first work experiences. While most women and men become aware and accept their sexuality already at school age, for some women the process seems to be delayed perhaps due to a stronger social pressure to commit themselves to heterosexual relationships and, thus, to heterosexuality (see also Lehtonen 2003). On the other hand, women tend to live more openly and tell about their sexual orientation at school or work more often than men, while men – young men in particular – are more likely to conceal their non-heterosexuality from all or almost all at school or work.

Concentrating on studying or starting a career may be assumed to cause problems for those who struggle with the question of accepting their sexuality and the pressures caused by secrecy. Similarly, the awakening of one's sexuality and the first experiences of non-heterosexual relationships or affairs tend to consume

energy from other spheres of life. Hence, crises in the study or work community may occur irrespective of how well or poorly the community is prepared to confront issues related to non-heterosexuality.

By the time they go into working life and have their first jobs, many non-heterosexual youth have become well-rehearsed in concealing their non-heterosexual feelings. But even though many have learned the heteronormative rules of behaviour in their society and culture, many – particularly those between fifteen and twenty-five – also actively challenge such constraints on their lives.

The lives of non-heterosexual youth are often, for a few years, filled with deliberations concerning their own sexuality and the choices it entails in terms of human relationships (see Lehtonen 1998a; 1998b). Their "puberty" may be delayed by years because there is no room in their school community or other social networks for non-heterosexual experimentation or deliberations. Typically, non-heterosexual young come out to their friends and parents around the age of twenty. It is also at this point that many establish their first non-heterosexual relationships or participate in lesbian or gay activities. But not all succeed in developing their non-heterosexual lifestyle without problems. Some may find it impossible to accept their non-heterosexual feelings, or have difficulties in coping with negative reactions when they do come out. Loneliness and relationship problems are familiar hardships to many non-heterosexual young people. Additional problems may be caused by heavy alcohol use, drug experimentation or violence, which tend to occur among young people at large (see Lehtonen1999a; 1999b; 2000). Hence, many issues other than working life may be more acute. On the other hand, problems in working life may affect the way young people deal with other issues, as is the case vice versa.

Parents and the Support from Home

Many young people still live with their parents. Thus, a major question in the lives of many non-heterosexual youth is whether they have come out to their family, particularly to their parents (see Lehtonen 2002b). This, along with the parents' attitudes towards the non-heterosexuality of their child, affects the life situation of the young and their chances of getting support from home.

According to the survey, women were more likely to have come out to both their mother and their father than men were, and in all age groups, there was a higher tendency to come out to the mother rather than the father. Young women tended to be more open than older women, while young men concealed their sexuality from their parents more often than older men did.

In the table below, respondents marking openness towards parents not applicable to them were not included. Moreover, some respondents had more than one mother or father, and not all of these parents were necessarily informed. For purposes of forming a general picture, multiple fathers and multiple mothers were counted as one.

Table 67. Openness towards parents and parental reaction by respondent's age and gender.

Openness towards parents (%)	Young men	Young women	Older men	Older women
Concealed from the mother	43	20	32	20
Told the mother	57	80	68	78
Mother disapproved	4	20	5	13
Mother tolerated	20	20	21	26
Mother accepted	33	40	48	41
Concealed from the father	54	32	41	30
Told the father	48	69	56	69
Father disapproved	5	3	11	9
Father tolerated	19	31	28	20
Father accepted	22	25	30	41

Regarding parental reactions, the parents of female respondents in both age groups were more likely to react with disapproval than the parents of male respondents. On the other hand, women were more likely to have come out to both their parents than men were. Most accepted were older women by both their mothers and fathers, as well as young women and older men by their mothers. Least accepted in respect of their sexual orientation were young men and young women by their fathers.

After an initial crisis, most parents seem to accept the sexual orientation of their child. The crises seem to hit hardest the fathers of young men and young women. If parents disapprove of their child's non-heterosexuality, they may not be able to support their child, not even in matters relating to working life. On the other hand, young people who conceal their non-heterosexuality from their parents may continue holding up secrecy in their working lives. This tends particularly to be the case if their job has been acquired through parents, if they work in the same place as their parents, or if they work in their parents' firm. Accepting parents, in turn, are more likely to able to help and even defend their child in the labour market if the child runs into problems caused by heteronormative attitudes or homophobic practices. Entering working life may be slowed down for adolescents who experience a crisis because of inflamed family relationships or fear of parental disapproval. Some may even want to (or have to) leave home early because of problems at home, to live on their own and to pursue economic independence. They may choose to study less and work more in order to maintain their financial independence of parents who fail to support them on grounds of their non-heterosexuality.

Same-Sex and Opposite-Sex Relationships

A substantial proportion of the young survey respondents were living in relationships, although many were only experimenting with their very first same-sex relationship. The majority of all respondents had a partner, and women in particular were likely to have partners.

Table 68. Form of couple relationship by age and gender.

Form of couple relationship (%)	Young men	Young women	Older men	Older women
Registered partnership	1	6	11	20
Cohabitation with same-sex partner	25	34	28	42
Same-sex relationship, not living together	26	22	16	18
Marriage	1	3	3	1
Cohabitation with opposite-sex partner	3	5	1	1
Opposite-sex r., not living together	1	2	3	1
No steady relationship	43	28	38	20
Total	100	100	100	100

Respondents in the older age groups lived together with their partners clearly more often than younger respondents. As already indicated, women overall tended to live in relationships more often than men did. Women were also more likely to have registered partnerships than men were. Opposite-sex relationships, again, were most frequent among young female respondents, whereas older female respondents were least likely to live in opposite-sex relationships.

Both female and male respondents in the older age groups were more likely to be married than younger respondents. Of the young married men, three had come out to their spouses and four concealed their non-heterosexuality, while of the young women, 15 had told their spouse and no-one concealed their sexual orientation. Of the older men, nine had come out and eight concealed their sexuality, whereas of the older women, 19 had come out and four concealed their sexuality from their spouse. Of the spouses of young men, eight did not know about their husband's sexual orientation and three accepted it. Of the spouses of young women, one did not know, two tolerated and 11 accepted their wife's sexual orientation. Regarding older men, the spouses of nine respondents did not know, two disapproved, four tolerated and one accepted their husband's sexual orientation. Finally, regarding the spouses of older women, four did not know, four disapproved, four tolerated and 11 accepted the sexual orientation of their wives.

Married men were more likely to conceal their sexual orientation from their spouses than married women or women who had been married. This may interact with the degree of openness at work: as it appeared from the responses, married

men were more likely to fear disclosure of their sexual orientation even at work. The husbands of married young women, in turn, tended more often to know about and even accept their spouse's sexual orientation. Hence, disclosure at workplace may not constitute an equally high risk to such couple relationships.

Young women may be more readily heterosexualised than young men, particularly if a woman has a relationship with a man or children living with her, as tends to be the case with women more often than men. On the other hand, compared to older non-heterosexual people, young non-heterosexuals overall have less often children and less often registered partnerships – or any other forms of same-sex relationships. Consequently, their homosexuality or bisexuality is less likely to become apparent at work through partner associations. Given that, there is also likely to be less concealing of partnerships among the young at work.

15 percent of the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents had children.

Table 69. Relationship to children; openness, and reaction of children.

Relationship to children (N)	Young men	Young women	Older men	Older women
Lived with the children	0	10	11	43
Concealed from the children	3	1	9	13
Had told the children	0	7	6	44
Child did not know	7	2	8	14
Child disapproved	0	0	0	2
Child tolerated	0	0	2	6
Child accepted	0	7	6	35

Men were more likely to conceal their sexual orientation from their child or children than women were, due perhaps also to the fact that men were more likely not to live with their children. It is plausible to assume that those who conceal their sexual orientation from their children also tend to conceal it at work. Even though young respondents had less often children than older respondents, those who did were more likely to have small or school-aged children. Young parents with young children may feel a need to protect their children from potential bullying at school and may, therefore, prefer to conceal their non-heterosexuality, while older parents – with older children – may have less such concerns.

A supportive partnership or family may be assumed to help in coping with problems in working life, such as work-related stress or burnout. As women were more likely to have a partner or a family, we may assume that they were also more likely to receive such support from their partners, spouses or children. But partnership or family may also constitute a source of stress, particularly to those who conceal their sexual orientation from their family and, therefore, fear its disclosure. Given that men were more likely than women to conceal their sexual orientation from both their children and opposite-sex spouses, they were also less

likely to get support from them should their sexual orientation be disclosed at work. Moreover, starting a family – which is less typical among non-heterosexuals than heterosexuals but more typical among non-heterosexual women than non-heterosexual men – tends to collude with people's working lives. Young non-heterosexual women, for instance, like their heterosexual counterparts, tend to meet suspicion on the part of superiors and employers regarding their plans for motherhood, particularly if their non-heterosexuality is not known in their work communities (see also Kuosmanen 2002).

With regard to casual conversation at work, young respondents worked more often than older respondents in places where only opposite-sex relationships were talked about during coffee breaks etc. Men tended to hear less talk about any forms of families or partnerships at their workplaces than women. Same-sex families or partnerships, again, were least likely to be talked about at the workplaces of young men compared to other groups, and most likely at older women's workplaces. Heterosexual relationships or any forms of couple relationships were least likely to become a topic of conversation at the older men's workplaces, while young women were most likely to hear talk about heterosexual relationships at work. Hence, compared to other groups, a heterosexualised workplace climate was most typical among young women.

Gender Styles and Co-Worker Perceptions of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Employees

The respondents were asked to assess how their co-workers perceived their gender, in other words, if co-workers saw them as masculine, feminine, or both masculine and feminine. Here, differences appeared between the young respondents and the older respondents. As indicated in the table below, the respondents were given eight options.

Table 70. Co-workers' perception of respondent's gender as assessed by respondent.

Perception of respondent's gender (%)	Young men	Young women	Older men	Older women
Masculine man	37	1	57	0
Both masculine and feminine man	42	0	32	0
Feminine man	6	0	1	0
Masculine woman	0	10	0	16
Both masculine and feminine woman	0	46	0	51
Feminine woman	0	29	0	18
Some take for a man, others for a woman	3	1	1	1
Don't know	11	13	10	15
Total	100	100	100	100

According to the responses, older men were perceived as masculine more often than younger men, while young men were more likely to be found either feminine or both masculine and feminine. Interestingly enough, while many young men reported to be perceived as feminine, in the same group there were

whereas in my free time and with the team and in other situations where I feel that I'm completely accepted and that people wouldn't find this weird or negative somehow, then I'm a totally different person, really. It gets to you, like some mornings you think, hell, if someone asks me now I'll definitely tell. Or that maybe I should just start talking about Tiina, and if anyone asks I'll tell it like it is. So it does get consuming at times, but then other times I think it's best to let things stay as they are. (Woman, 26 years)

The interviewee described herself as almost having two different personalities at work and in the free time. While at work, she did not talk about her couple relationship, and intentionally only used the first person singular when talking about her activities, even if these had also involved her female partner. The interviewee talked about a period when her female partner had been quite seriously ill. At that time, concealing had been particularly difficult: she had been constantly worried about the situation at home, but only had one co-worker to share these worries with. This example gives us some indication of the possible connection of concealing to burnout and reluctance to work.

People's personal lives are present in the workplace in the form of discussions. Fluent social interaction with fellow workers is often a precondition for succeeding in one's work (Kuosmanen 2000, 77), and in general, discussions in the work community are not limited to matters concerning work. The fact that these discussions presuppose certain reciprocity can be problematic for those who do not want to disclose, for example, matters related to their couple relationships.

That's what the situation was like, for we really talked about anything. And then on the other hand, it's so tiresome to always, like all the time, when there's always some discussion about personal stuff in a way it gets tiresome to hold back. Like then you must choose between telling, like revealing nothing or then talking about it. (Woman, 32 years)

Concealing may lead to awkward situations, such as people asking an engaged gay man about his wife's occupation or a lesbian about her "hubby's" profession. There were many interviewees who thought that openness would be an easier option than concealing in that they could be less cautious about their sayings and doings.

Of course, it would be easier once it was out, like then those tricky situations at work when you don't quite know what to say or comment, perhaps there'd be less of those. Their attitudes might be accepting or very much against it or whatever, really. All the same, it might make certain situations less stressful for me personally, if everyone knew about it. […] Spending years at work and being the only one there to always hide one's own personal life, it gets quite heavy on you. (Man, 29 years)

Concealing not only delimits what a person can talk about but occasionally also affects other forms of participation, as well. Some interviewees were not particularly interested in the social events organised for the members of the work

community outside work. Yet there are also those who would be interested in participating but choose not to because of their own secrecy and the heteronormative rules that govern these events. For them, not being able to attend may mean an involuntary isolation.

I've also skipped those events where, the one's where there was an invitation for two. I've made up some excuse for not being able to go. So there's been situations where this has been a limitation. Of course I could always have gone by myself, but it feels somehow awkward to go when everyone has brought their wives or husbands, and there you'd be, by yourself. There's been situations like that every once in a while, and you've had to make some sort of a decision.

[…]

AV: Does it reflect on work in any way, take for example these events you have skipped, have people, for example, dealt with any work-related matters there?

- Well, they've been like these purely social events, among the work community and the work team of course, but I don't really feel like there's anything I've, like there's been any direct effect on my work. Mostly the effect has been through me being kind of annoyed about feeling somehow left outside. (Man, 31 years)

Similar experiences have also been reported in earlier research: in order to facilitate concealing, people may stand back in social situations in the work community and refrain from informal interaction (Luopa 1994). If an employee has to involuntarily exclude him or herself from social events or discussions, this may to a certain degree alienate him or her from the rest of the work community (Kaskisaari 2002). As I see it, the key aspect in the relationship between openness and the perceived threats is whether or not the concealing is voluntary. If the employee was willing to share his or her private life and personal backgrounds in workplace discussions, then concealing would probably be a hazard to his or her well-being at work.

Special Characteristics of the Health Care Sector

In the different places of work, informal interaction between co-workers is often limited by the confines of working hours and the carrying out of work tasks (Melkas 2003, 66). Naturally, this is the case in health care work, as well. Personal affairs, for example, are often something people either will not or cannot discuss in the presence of the patients. However, all interviewees' work communities featured at least irregular coffee or lunch breaks or other situations where people gathered together and

discussed topics other than work. Some workplaces even had guidelines advising the employees to avoid discussing matters related to work during their breaks so that they could disengage themselves from work for a moment.

According to my interview data, the specific nature of health care is reflected on openness and the decisions regarding openness on at least three levels. First, there is the difference between the psychiatric and somatic areas of health care, which was brought up frequently in the interviewees. Those interviewees who had experiences of both areas usually described the work environments in somatic health care as less broad-minded.

I think I could tell anyone and it wouldn't be a disaster. […] As I said before, it's probably largely down to us working within psychiatry, where people are supposed to be matter-of-fact and have tolerance for all the nuances in human life. (Man, 37 years)

There were also those who saw differences between work in the public sector and the private sector when it comes to openness. Work in the private sector was regarded as being dictated by the customers and their money, and as a result, bearing a heavier influence of the customers.

When you think about the private sector we're in, about whether me being this way affects, say, our customers who pay for our services. I did go over these things in my head at the point when I took the job, thinking it might be easier to be over there in the public sector.

AV: There'd be plenty of patients?

- Yes, there'd be enough of those, and jobs too. I was thinking what would happen if there was, for example, a group of customers who rose up in arms against this. […] Our clientele includes companies where the owners have some type of religious calling, and the jobs there are all filled by members of some particular denomination. What if one of them, for example, started withdrawing their contract because of being treated by a freak like me. I don't know if something like that could have an effect or not. But I have been mulling over these things. (Man, 33 years)

Other central factors in people's decisions about openness are non-heterosexual patients and the co-workers attitudes towards them. Some interviewees made special effort to arrange for non-heterosexual patients to have a nurse who was more accepting of difference, whenever this was possible. Most of the interviewees, however, said they were completely neutral towards non-heterosexual patients. Nonetheless, the way these patients are talked about in the work community does have relevance to openness.

AV: Do people tell gay jokes there?

- Yes they do. Or not so much jokes, but if there's a patient, someone might say something like I bet he's one of those people.

AV: How can they tell?

- Well, from the person's appearance and voice and behaviour, I guess. […] His looks. (Man, 40 years)

There are a few people who seem to have a huge problem with it, like they may feel sick about having to treat a lesbian. (Woman, 24 years)

Sometimes the patients' sexuality was regarded with bemusement or curiosity. The fact that health care training awards little attention to sexual diversity (Socada 1997) is apparent in the employees' attitudes towards patients.

There was one difficult situation when we had this lesbian patient at the ward, and people were kind of saying that maybe I could do something about it, so that situation felt really awkward.

AV: How, what were they expecting you to do about it?

- I was supposed to find out about this woman's sexuality and femininity and stuff, since in a way my work is about the body and such. They were asking me if I could find out how she sees herself as a woman and experiences her own body and sexuality. That's what I was asked to do in the situation, because they were saying that they suspected this woman was having an affair with another woman that although she, this patient, had a husband and children she nevertheless had a relationship with a woman maybe. […]

AV: But was this in any way relevant to her treatment, or was it just that they were curious?

- I think that it was perhaps more about their curiosity and the kind of attitude that this is something to be all bowled over and puzzled about. (Woman, 25 years)

In the following excerpt, one interviewee describes how she arranged for non-heterosexual customers to have the best possible care instead of having to deal with a nurse whose had a negative attitude towards minorities. In addition, there was another interviewee who mentioned taking similar steps. This type of action may be interpreted as an indication of belonging to some kind of an imaginary community (Andersson 1991, cited in Löfström 1993) and working to its benefit, even if the two interviewees only attempted to improve the quality of care and service behind the scenes: since the co-workers did not know about the interviewees' sexual orientation, they were not told about these actions that had a significant impact on the patients' well-being, either.

Sometimes you kind of notice in horror situations where you're on a shift, and when you're just about to finish the shift there comes, say, a female couple and you note that, shit, it's that dreadful one's shift next, she's the worst of them all. You then try to work things so that you either continue your shift a bit so you can take care of it. Or else, without telling the couple in question, naturally you don't say anything to them, you just somehow work things so that some other person will take over. So in a way you also try to protect them. (Woman, 26 years)

The third dimension related to openness within health care involves the physical aspect of care work. With view to the frequency of close physical contact with patients, the interviewees figured that openness would render work more difficult because of the stereotypical views some people have. For example, there are those who in their minds associate any individual or group differing from the heterosexual model with an uncontrollable sexual appetite. In many cases, the interviewee's decision to conceal reflected a desire to avoid being stigmatised in these stereotypical terms.

My work really is so physical, like I touch the patient and am close to them, so I've thought about how it would affect if, for example, a patient knew about me being a lesbian and was sort of against it. Like could they be in that situation and be touched, or like be physically near and accept being cared for, if they were thinking there was something, especially if the patient was a woman. That's what I think about, of her finding the situation somehow unpleasant. (Woman, 28 years)

The [customers'] first reaction would be how nice to have someone wash me, but then once they'd find out, would they be all horrified, worrying that I'll try something. (Woman, 35 years)

Given the negative attitudes people may have, both teaching and care work involving children and young people are generally regarded as difficult fields of work for gay, lesbian and bisexual people (Anastas 1998). Among our interviewees, there were a few people who brought up this particular aspect of childcare.

This may sound like a funny thing to say or think, but from where I stand, if gay, lesbian or straight people can care for the baby, from cradle to grave, they can also touch, feed, keep clean et cetera, the basic things each of us needs at some point. But when, for example, I went over to the baby and kiddie world, with everyone already watching if you can handle properly or if you can relate, with all that watching going on, and the parents there too, I think it would be a completely unnecessary load. Seeing as there is a slightly easier way of going about things. I'm sure there must also be parents who'll bring their baby and let gays and lesbians turn them about and do what needs

to be done. Let alone the older ones. So I would say that in my opinion it doesn't matter, but in a way it's many times good to just say or reveal nothing. (Man, 30 years)

All of the above-mentioned special characteristics of health care work that have an effect on people's openness are largely explained by intolerance and stereotypical images. In my opinion, there is an underlying common denominator of negative attitudes towards sexual minorities, which affect people's decisions about concealing or openness through various intermediate factors. For example negative talk about non-heterosexual patients may lead people to conceal their sexual orientation in the work community, especially if they work in the somatic health care where there is physical contact with patients. Then again, if the members of the work community support and appreciate each other, these negative stereotypes and attitudes may not necessarily find a fertile breeding ground. When this is the case, the element of physical contact or the particular sector one works in has no bearing on the decisions regarding openness.

Why Is Openness or Concealing Significant in Terms of Well-being at Work

In the following, I will discuss whether or not openness is important, and if yes, why this is so. I will award special attention to the following questions: Why is openness connected to social support and communalism? What relation do mental ill-health at work and perceived threats have to the concealing of sexual orientation?

Look at people who work together, one may find that they have very little in common besides their place of work (Melkas 2003, 65). At its best, however, the work community serves as a positive resource, with communalism and team spirit helping people to improve their job performance. Communalism features particularly strongly in the informal interaction, such as casual conversation, occurring in the work community (Vartia and Perkka-Jortikka 1994). These conversations in the corridors and during coffee breaks are generally characterised by certain amount of revealing, perhaps even a convention of opening out, to some degree.

More all less all my colleagues, especially the women, like to chatter about family matters, so I guess they're also interested in the daily lives of others, although they don't ask very much. (Man, 38 years)

At the same time, it is considered inappropriate to go against the unwritten rules by telling things that make other people feel uncomfortable. For example, talking about matters related to one's homo- or bisexuality might be difficult to fit into typical coffee break conversations. In these situations, there are two

conflicting norms of behaviour: on the one hand, it is acceptable and even desirable to talk about one's personal affairs, but on the other hand, most coffee table conversations offer no natural context for talking about, for example, one's same-sex family or couple relationship.

On the one hand, I think it would be easier if I told about it, if it was like public knowledge there. But then somehow it feels stupid to just suddenly blurt it out. (Woman, 27 years)

When presenting themselves to others, says Erving Goffman (1959), individuals attempt to display the values endorsed by the community. While trust, openness and disclosing of one's personal backgrounds may be considered as desirable behaviour in the work community, it is only certain types of backgrounds people value. This appreciation is linked with heteronormativity and the higher status afforded to heterosexuality (Lehtonen 2003, 32-33), which are the reason why many gay, lesbian and bisexual employees have to exercise extra thought and caution in their everyday matters and being both on the levels of words and action (Valkonen 2003).

To approach this from a reverse angle, one could look at how much or little of this evaluation heterosexual people do before telling about their couple relationships and personal backgrounds. This angle may help us to understand the occasional difficulty of everyday interaction in the workplace as experienced by gay, lesbian and bisexual people. While families and couple relationships frequently come up in conversation, talking about anything other than heterosexual backgrounds will often cause embarrassment. At the same time, people may puzzle over people who disclose very little about their personal backgrounds. Knowing just how much to tell without concealing essential parts of one's life requires skill, deliberation and careful choice of words.

Of course, the same holds true, to some extent, in all social interaction: people only reveal parts of themselves through speech (Cain 1991, 72) – they do not reveal everything to everybody. There is always a variety of reasons why individuals would want to regulate the impressions they create of themselves in their surroundings (Goffman 1959, 25). Some topics, such as spouses or partners, are considered as something people readily share. And as the following excerpt shows, people are also interested in knowing about their co-workers' sexual orientation. Some interviewees told that there had even been guessing and blatant curiosity about their sexual orientation in the work community.

Apparently one of them had somehow guessed it, since back at work she asked me who was that woman with you. I didn't give any answer, I didn't want to tell. And then once one of the employees there said to me that we do know what you are. And that why can't you be what you really are. I actually found that quite distressing, as well, because I didn't want to tell, and I think you should have the right, like if you don't want to tell, then you shouldn't feel forced to tell. I mean, in a sense it's ok if you want to tell, but what if you don't, then I

think you should be allowed to keep it a secret if you want. Although, sure, in a way I understand the point and I do try to be open, but at that moment I couldn't be open, because of that earlier experience. And also I was still a mess because of it, so I couldn't do something that was like against my own nature. (Woman, 32 years)

In our culture and society, openness is associated with positive values (Vesala 1998). In the previous excerpt, this is evident not only on individual level – the lesbian woman who reflects upon her openness – but also on the level of the entire work community. This illustrates how the decision about openness can be assigned value from the outside, a process I believe to be one possible explanation for the relation between concealing and the perceived threats. Openness often has the effect of tightening the relationships between the members of a work community; telling is seen as a positive signal to the work community, an indication of honesty and trust that are so highly valued in our culture.

To me, openness is such an important thing. The fact that I am what I am. The fact that I'm genuine. Not putting up an act for these people. I think that's my way of showing them respect, by not giving them any false expectations. (Man, 41 years)

Lying has a markedly more negative ring to it than secrecy or other forms of holding back information (Ketola et al 2002, 8). This was clearly manifested in the interviews: those who did not tell about their sexual orientation wanted to tell no outright lies, either.

If I'm in a relationship, then it's different to talk about my life than if I was single. So I sort of live by my own reality and keep things out in the open, like I don't beat around the bush about saying certain things. And anyway, if you tried to evade it, there'd always be something to give you away, whether it's in a job interview or among your colleagues, so it's way too difficult, I wouldn't bother. Being the blabbermouth I am, I know I'd end up screwing up at some point if I had to uphold a false image. (Man, 34 years)

In the previous job people were so keen to know who I was going away with [on holiday]. It was just like, somehow it felt so difficult to make up some futile story about why I'm going away with a bloke. But I didn't want to lie and say I was going with a woman, either, because I wasn't, since you never know who you can bump into and where. (Man, 29 years)

Lying to one's fellow workers and "making up futile stories" is troublesome. It is here, then, we can find another possible explanation for the connection between openness and well-being. As I see it, Goffman's (1959, 75) conclusion that the maintenance of false impressions involves hazards can also shed light on the situation of gay, lesbian and bisexual people: an individual can undermine his or her interaction with others by becoming exposed in some area of activity, for

this can cast a shadow of doubt over areas where he or she has nothing to hide. The fear of a particular secret being found out may have far-reaching impacts on one's social interaction.

The matters people hide vary greatly in terms of their context and history. However, we can generally identify one common feature, which is that the aim of concealing or silence is to maintain one's social reality (Vesala et al 2002, 29). Concealing may be used as a means of retaining the status quo. Thus, by not disclosing one's sexual orientation one may help to uphold the heterosexual assumption. One might even go as far as to argue that the act of concealing one's sexual orientation, in effect, maintains the heterosexual norm or assumption. The fact of the matter is, however, that keeping silent not only serves the purpose of maintaining the various levels and forms of reality (Eskola 1984) but also works for the protection of the individual or the people around. On individual level, one way of interpreting the act of maintaining the forms of reality is that, in certain work communities, keeping silent about one's sexual orientation may help to secure the appreciation of others and the continuation of the employment relationship.

If an employee feels unfairly treated at work or is aware of others being subjected to this kind of treatment, this will lead to insecurity about the very foundation of work and also make it difficult to anticipate consequences. Constant uncertainty, in turn, is wearing both physically and mentally (Elovainio and Kivimäki 2002). Unjust treatment is also linked with the openness of gay, lesbian and bisexual people: being witness to such treatment may make concealing one's sexual orientation appear as the best option. Then again, there is always the possibility of one's personal backgrounds being found out despite the efforts to conceal, and having to worry about the potential consequences can be wearing.

A Comfortable Level of Openness?

People's decisions about openness or concealing are a sum of different characteristics, different work communities and workplace climates, and different past experiences or personal backgrounds, and as such, they cannot be judged or assigned value from the outside. While concealing is in many cases related to, for example, the perceived threats, there is no basis for arguing that openness automatically increases well-being at work. As I see it, a well-functioning work community and environment will be likely to create a positive circle of well-being: working in a pleasant, well-functioning and stable environment where one feels appreciated as an employee will make it easier to be open, and this in turn may increase communalism and deepen one's sense of belonging to a group.

Similarly, those who work in unhealthy, conflicted or negative environments may not want to or have the courage to be open, which together with other contributing factors may hamper one's integration into the work community.

Naturally, there are differences in individual people's openness or desire to be open – differences that are in no way related to the factors presented in this article. Not everyone wants to talk about their intimate matters in the workplace, no matter how positive the climate with regard to gay, lesbian and bisexual people. Even if the workplace is often one of the places or *the* place where people turn to for social support or a sense of belonging to a group, not everyone feels the need for close affiliation with the work community or for overall social acceptance, for example in the private realm that has no relevance in terms of the actual work tasks. In my opinion, then, it is the freedom of choice that counts – the freedom to choose the level of openness one feels comfortable and happy with. Co-workers who place pressure and demands of openness on others may not, despite their seeming tolerance, be accepting of the fact that there are certain matters people want to keep private and concealed. Work communities that support diversity on the level of both words and practice will encourage people towards openness. If gay, lesbian and bisexual people are presented with the opportunity to tell, most of them will want to take it.

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VOCATION AND THE EVERYDAY – LESBIAN, GAY AND BISEXUAL EMPLOYEES' EXPERIENCES IN DIFFERENT WORK COMMUNITIES WITHIN THE CHURCH

Katri Valve

Me and my partner's relationship has clearly benefited this work community. She's kind of like my substitute. There's this silent approval. Any discomfort is mostly in my own head, you know, worrying about what others think. Like you stress about holding hands in front of the parishioners, if it's appropriate or not. It's really difficult to draw the line, 'cause we live right next door. My partner is sort of a volunteer member of the congregation, and I feel like they do appreciate her input here. She takes care of baking and brewing coffee after service, since I don't like to bake, and I lie on the sofa. It's all become quite closely tied with our life sphere. I like my job and I feel comfortable here. (Woman, maintenance and custodial work)

In the spring and summer of 2003, I carried out interviews with ten employees of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland who identify themselves as gay, lesbian or bisexual. The aim of this article is to analyse the said church employees' decisions that negotiate the boundaries between working life and their sexual identity. The fundamental question in the following discussion is whether it is possible for church employees to be openly lesbian or gay in the workplace. Further, I will discuss lesbian, gay and bisexual employees' perceptions and experiences of discrimination within the Church. A third point of discussion will be the dimension of vocation in church work. How do lesbian, gay and bisexual church employees understand vocation, and does vocation explain their willingness to commit to their work despite the anti-gay views within the Church? How does sexual orientation bear on coping at work and the matters pertaining to the content of work? Finally, I will introduce perspectives into the building of functional work communities that accommodate people's varying ways of life. This is the first study of its kind, the previous research on lesbian, gay and bisexual people working within the Church having focused on identity and theological questions. In her work, Hanna Oranen (1995) has studied the significance of christianity on the construction of lesbian identity. Martti Nissinen (1998) has conducted research on the notions of homoeroticism as found in the Bible and its cultures of origin, while Marja Suhonen (1995; 2002b; 2003a; 2003b, 115–160) has studied the theology of sexuality as well as christian heterosexism.

The people interviewed comprised clergy, deacons, youth workers, church musicians and parish gardeners. There was an equal number of women and men participating, the length of their employment within the Church ranging from 2 to 25 years. The interviewees were residing in various parts of Finland and represented both small and medium-sized work communities. They were contacted through the networks Yhteys (the Alliance) and Arcus, the former of which is a solidarity group operating within the Church with the aim of promoting the rights of sexual minorities (www.yhteys.org). Arcus is an ecumenical group that pools together lesbian and gay church employees and employees' representatives involved in the various church activities (www.seta.fi/arcus). The Arcus mailing list presently holds more than 60 members across Finland.

Along with many other countries, the Finnish churches are debating the status of their lesbian, gay and bisexual employees, as well as the blessing of same-sex partnerships. (Charpentier 2001; Kettunen 1999; Nissinen and Tuovinen (ed.) 2003; Strömsholm 1997; Suhonen 2002a) In the spring of 2002, the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland discussed two motions regarding homosexuality. The first motion proposed that the Church deny employment to those who have registered their same-sex partnerships, while the second one proposed the drafting of a formula for blessing registered same-sex unions and the couple's homes. After an 18-month review by the Doctrinal Committee, the General Synod of autumn 2003 followed the Committee's proposal and let both of these motions rest. A decision was then taken to refer all issues concerning the Registered Partnership Act and its implications for the Church to the Episcopal Conference, which is to elucidate on the theological and legal aspects. This has given the Church a time-out in formulating its stand on church employees and parishioners who have registered their same-sex partnerships. (Kotimaa 7.11.2003.)

According to statistics from the year 2002, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland employed 20 700 people, 8500 of whom were clerical employees consisting of clergy, deacons, youth workers and church musicians. The custodial and maintenance staff includes gardeners, caretakers, office workers and cleaning staff. Women accounted for nearly 70 percent of all church employees. A questionnaire on the work environment within the Church showed the work communities of the Church to be less healthy than other Finnish work communities. Conflicts among the staff were found to be more common than in other workplaces on the average. In addition, workplace bullying was found to be slightly more frequent within the Church than in other fields of work. (Pärnänen 2002.)

Generally speaking, the questionnaire on the work environment within the Church showed positive results. The work communities are supportive and nurturing, the communication is open, the employees have freedom to use their expertise and skills in their work, and there are good opportunities for career advancement. This does not, however, apply to the people interviewed for this article. Many of them found that their opportunities for career development were poor or that career development was difficult because of the attitudes within the Church. Some interviewees found themselves over-competent and over-educated for their jobs and felt they could handle more challenging tasks than the ones allocated to them at the present. According to the work environment questionnaire, the gravest concerns have to do with the amount of overtime, the fragmented free time, and the excessive workload common among church employees. In the case of the interviewees, any stressfulness of work was mainly related to their difficulties in combining their private and professional lives, concealing their sexual identities or covering up their family relations – not being able to talk about the changes in family relations, such as breaking up, let alone mention it in coffee break conversations if one's partner was ill. Some interviewees were to some extent threatened by mental breakdown, burnout or social isolation from the work community.

Openness and Decisions

Every church employee has made decisions to determine his or her own position as an employee and a member of the work community, or to determine how to conceal or express his or her sexual orientation. Owing to the move towards a more open social climate and the ongoing debate around the status of sexual minorities within the Church, church employees are beginning to actively consider the possibility of leading an open life. At the same time, the public discussion has created pressure and made people fearful of having to take a stand. The risk of being stigmatised or discriminated against is present in many of the daily situations involving discussion about the status of lesbian, gay and bisexual people within the Church.

The options available to people have varied depending on the times, but the difference between women's and men's opportunities has been a consistent fact (Juvonen 1994; 2002; Latokangas 1994; Saukkonen 1995). At the end of the 19th century, the women of the upper and middle classes gained access to working life, and with that, the opportunity to participate in the exertion of social influence. Work liberated women from the constraint of forming a family and assuming the role of a wife. In accordance with the new Christian ideal of a woman, women were now free to seek virtuous work (Kauppinen-Perttula 2003).

The Church provided an ideal setting for women to work in. As a precondition for work in the Church, the women had to commit themselves to celibacy. The ban on marriage for deaconesses was only lifted in 1968.

Owing to the fact that women's work in the Church has been associated with a strong sense of vocation, women living in single households or cohabiting with another woman have attracted little attention. As illustrated by the interviews, single men tend to attract more attention. This is especially true in clerical work, where the nature of the work often calls for the participation of the entire family. A man's duty as a servant of the Church has not so much been to serve the congregation from maternal premises, devoting himself to his calling, but to uphold the proper doctrine and decree. In accordance with the example set by Martin Luther, clergymen have leaned on the family institution for support in their position in the patriarchy. (Kauppinen & Perttula 2003.)

The people interviewed for this article represent the more open group of lesbian, gay and bisexual employees within the Church. Openness about one's sexual orientation is not an either-or type of situation but a continuum. The decision of openness is re-considered with every new person or situation one encounters (Luopa 1994.) When looking at people's decisions and openness, one needs to consider their situation in reference to their environment. Instead of seeing openness as a purely personal process, it should be seen as something that shapes the attitudes in the entire work community. The level of openness does not depend solely on an individual person's self-expression, but also on the work community's willingness to receive, listen and ask questions.

The interviewees described the process of becoming more open as being defined by one's family situation or the need to protect one's children, relatives or other family. The need to protect oneself also emerged as an important point. Several of the interviewees talked about “back-up plans”. Expressing certain reservations about the longevity of their employment within the Church, they pointed out that they could always change to another line of work if the Church no longer needed their input.

One of the interviewees stated that he/she actually had the legitimate right not to tell as long as the General Synod refrained from taking a clear stand on the status sexual minorities within the Church or the registration of same-sex partnerships by church employees. The interviewee in question had extensive work experience and a strong opinion of professionalism, of what it meant to be good at one's work and to define the boundaries of work. Only a few interviewees were interested in placing their identity at the forefront, but instead emphasised their desire to perform well and cope at work, as well as their professional views and good relations in the work community.

Several of the interviewees worked outside their own places of residence in order to protect their privacy. According to one of the interviewees, it was a question of maintaining one's sanity. Some referred to having a "bishop's box", or an extra flat where neither of the partners actually lived in. Others had taken various measures to prevent their private lives from becoming public knowledge in the congregation or the work community.

The interviewees' level of openness was regulated by their family relations. Some opted for secrecy in order to protect their families, while others neither tried to conceal nor explicitly reveal their situations in life. By families the interviewees were referring to their children or elderly relatives. Some were willing to answer questions about their private lives provided that these questions related to their life situations.

I find it difficult to imagine taking up the subject of sexual orientation, saying that I was gay. More likely I would approach this from the perspective of my family situation, like say that I was seeing someone or that I have a male partner, since no one ever tells they're straight, do they. My policy is to be as honest as possible, but the dynamics are quite funny, people never ask. (Man, clerical employee)

Openness and the related decisions were also regulated by the fear of losing one's job or insecurity about the stability of the employment, even in cases where the interviewee held a permanent post. One interviewee in a permanent post described her relationship with work as follows:

For example with work, I don't plan ahead more than a year, because you can't take [...] I've noticed that I take my job one bit at a time, like I take nothing for granted, there's this certain guardedness. Even if I have a permanent post, I sort of have one foot at the door all the time. (Woman, clerical employee)

In another interviewee's case, being open had resulted in the work community actually utilising his/her know how. The employee was encouraged to participate in church activities directed at lesbian, gay and bisexual people and to use the knowledge arising from her personal life experience in the professional field. The work community found it important to have contacts with SETA (the Finnish National Organisation for Sexual Equality), with whom they had collaborated in the form of different groups and seminars.

Sometimes, one's private life can fit quite naturally into the working life. In the following, an interviewee reflects upon openness and the maturity of the work community:

We also share the more personal matters at work, I don't think I would've stayed in the work community if the environment had not been accepting. It is easier to work for large parish unions, there's been no need to guard my privacy. There's also another

lesbian in our work community. Everybody shares things over coffee, especially the female colleagues. People are considerate of the different family situations. For example if someone is a single parent or has a family and children, or if there's a break-up then others try to comfort. (Woman, maintenance and custodial work)

In the case of another openly homosexual interviewee, people's attitudes had been the opposite. Upon registering his/her partnership, he/she had contacted the diocese bishop. As he/she saw it, this was an expression of his/her and his/her partner's willingness to be open and truthful about their life situation, to treat their registered partnership as a public matter rather than a secret.

We fell in love in the church, we work together in the church and we have a vocation for working in the church. The church is important like spiritually and as a physical space, too, and it's also been important to seek acceptance from the church. (Clerical employee)

The interviewee had found the bishop's reaction shocking, and the couple felt dismissed. The interviewee described a conversation with her immediate supervisor as follows:

He just listened quietly, sweating […] he had thought it over for a while and in a couple of days came over and said: thank you for putting a face to this problem. Later the supervisor said that you do have my full support. (Clerical employee)

Did the supervisor think that registering a partnership constituted a problem within the Church, or was it homosexuality in general that was the issue? The interviewee's subsequent account would suggest that the supervisor was referring to the conflicting attitudes within the Church. In addition to the supervisor, several of the interviewee's co-workers had been supportive and matter-of-fact about the situation.

Each interviewee had one or several co-workers with whom they had talked about their own life situation. All interviewees placed great importance on the attitudes found within the work community.

This is solitary work to begin with, there's so many lonely moments that it's important to have one or few people around who you trust. (Woman, clerical employee)

The interviewees did not feel threatened by their immediate colleagues. All of them had at least a few close fellow workers with whom they had been able to talk about their sexual orientation. This was seen as an extremely valuable thing, although one of the interviewees wondered if it was fair to inflict such a "secret" on someone, and whether it was unfair to only tell some members of the work community.

As their biggest threats, the interviewees named the people elected to positions of trust and the parishioners. In addition to the employees, the work communities within the congregations comprise a variety of other agents. The people elected to positions of trust hold a key position in the organisation of the Church. The

Church Councils, Parish Boards and other boards of laymen are composed of parishioners elected in congregation elections. The Church Council is responsible for approving the budget, the financial and operational plan, and the final accounts, as well as establishing new posts. The Council can, for example, discontinue a post if it wishes to rid the Church of a "difficult" employee.

The parishioners and the people elected to positions of trust were expressly mentioned as factors that made working in a local congregation appear as a risk. When working for the local parish, the employee's private life is more out in the open, and the boundary between work and private life tends to be less distinct. Those who hold posts involving specialist duties can have a greater distance to the parishioners. For some of the interviewees, their guardedness had increased as they had advanced in their working careers. Their desire to guard their privacy arose from the notions they had of the ecclesiastical culture, of what topics were considered appropriate or inappropriate. On the other hand, the issues were not addressed directly, and people were certainly not asked outright about the type of their relationships. Often, it was the closest colleagues who had to deal with such questions.

Once one of them mentioned in passing that someone had asked him/her about the nature of my relationship with the person I was living with, and that he/she had said why don't you ask her in person. But clearly the person who had been approached, and who was one of the people working in my work community, somehow indicated that she was wondering about it, as well. (Woman, clerical employee)

For each of the interviewees, the decisions they had made were a sum of several things: family life, co-workers, palace of residence, life experience and history had all determined the level of their openness and the direction of their decisions regarding openness. Openness in itself was not considered a desirable objective. Instead, emphasis was placed on finding a meaningful way of life and being able to make decisions that were true to one's nature. The interviewees found it important to have freedom to go about their work normally and to assume responsibility for the people close to them.

Experiences of Stigmatisation and Discrimination

The most recent "Kirkossa töissä" (Employed by the Church) information booklet for church employees (Helin 2003) refers to the prohibition of discrimination as stated in the Employment Contracts Act: "The employer shall not exercise any unjustified discrimination against employees on the basis of age, health, national or ethnic origin, sexual preference, language, religion, opinion, family ties, trade union activity, political activity or any other comparable circumstance. This prohibition also applies to recruitment."

For people working in the various work communities within the Church, discrimination on account of sexual orientation is part of the everyday reality. Among the interviewees, however, only some had experienced discrimination. Internalised discrimination, secrecy and the suppression of certain matters were mentioned as forms of discrimination that reflected the internal culture of the workplace. For many people, internalised discrimination has evolved into a way of coping – a vicious circle that is difficult to escape. Experiences of direct discrimination listed by the interviewees included non-communication, ignoring, calling men sissies, and discrimination upon recruitment.

In a way, discrimination is about not being able to talk about one's situation in life, although this can be a personal choice but not like a voluntary one. Discrimination can be about having differing views as a member of a sexual minority or of sexual minorities but feeling forced to conceal them. Or discrimination can be about a strong heterosexual assumption. The assumption is that I have a family. (Man, clerical employee)

Parish work intertwines with one's way of life in a way that often makes it difficult to keep work and free time separate. The interviewees assigned this problem to workplace cultures that favoured the elimination of boundaries: no boundaries were set for work or between the spheres of work and free time. This was the case for those who worked for the parish.

At one time, the bishop's visitation had focused on the theme of family life, more precisely the coping of families where one of the parents was a parish employee. Both the employees and their spouses were invited to attend.

The single women (or women who were labelled as single) all sat at the same table. The only topics discussed during the two or three hours were family issues. And there we sat. That was an experience I would definitely like to have missed. I've never felt so stigmatised. Even if to me it's obvious that I do have a family. (Woman, clerical employee)

One of the interviewees had ended up resigning his clerical post after nearly twenty years of active work within the Church, first in the parish youth activities and later as a church employee. The interviewee felt unable to combine his work and family life.

They'll bless me when I'm dead and buried but won't give blessing to my choices, so why be part of a church like that. (Man, clerical employee)

A further threat and a major issue in terms of the interviewees' status as church employees were the statements of the bishops. During the year 2002, a few diocese bishops had sent letters to their clergy, stating their opinions regarding the blessing of homosexual couple relationships and the registration of same-sex partnerships within the Church.
One of the interviewees described a sermon given at a revivalist gathering:

It was so heavy, about us going to hell. I tried to act all casual and sat at the same table with this "Mr Degree in Theology" during coffee and when he noticed me, he realised what he'd been saying but didn't apologise. (Man, clerical employee)

Another interviewee described her employment in the Church as a total disaster. She was under scrutiny among the parishioners, and rumours were circulating about her living together with a same-sex partner. The reverend asked her about this directly, telling that the congregation was pressuring him and that he was obligated to report the matter to the bishop. In his discussion with the interviewee, the bishop specifically emphasised that she was very well suited to parish work. In the following, the interviewee describes her discussion with the bishop:

I more or less told him the whole story of my life. There I was pouring my heart out as if in pastoral care until I realised that the bishop was shrinking in his chair. He was looking more and more perplexed and I was in tears, on and off. We felt so helpless both of us that it was a complete disaster. I kept reassuring him that I was just a regular person who has a sound relationship and everything else in order. Then I went home and realised that nothing was the same anymore. (Woman, clerical employee)

In a few days, the bishop called her at home to say that she had to promise two things: "You must give up your homosexual lifestyle and move away from this woman at once."

It would've taken a lobotomy or something to detach myself from this life.
(Woman, clerical employee)

The experiences of discrimination and stigmatisation were largely dependent upon the readiness of the Church leadership and the supervisors of the various units to raise matter-of-fact discussion on the subject and to create room and adequate settings for diverse life realities in working life. The rendering visible of hidden stories is an effective means of reducing the fear and prejudice encountered by many lesbian, gay and bisexual church employees.

Vocation and Commitment

In the stories of the clerical employees, one prominent feature was that sexual identity appeared to be all- pervasive, affecting the structuring of one's professional identity. Professionalism and its various dimensions involve a continuous process, as does the construction of identity. (Roivainen 2001; Kaskisaari 1995.) One of the interviewees described her relationship to work as a deep commitment characterised by "an understanding, a way of relating, a presence and a tolerance for chaos that arise from the different way of being".

According to the interviewees, one aspect of coping and performing well at work is the fact that each employee is a whole defined not only by occupation but also by life style choices, social relations and a clearly structured identity. The structuring of one's identity had played a substantial role in the structuring of one's professional identity and the commitment to the word of the Church. Having a lesbian, gay or bisexual identity had given meaning to the work. One interviewee described the commitment to work as something arising from the experience of marginality, of having once been helped by others, as well as the belief in solidarity, equality and grace.

I can't imagine doing work where I can't on some deeper level be what I am. I don't broadcast it and I do put up certain shields, but if you put my back against the wall, I am what I am. (Woman, clerical employee)

There are these profound links between like your own being, the private life, work and like faith and such if you like. So it's like quite a compact package, my life. (Woman, clerical employee)

I lead a relatively open life, and another effect has been that processing my sexual identity has also proved a useful tool at work. (Woman, clerical employee)

The church employees, especially those in clerical duties, saw the dimension of vocation as fitting seamlessly into the work. On the one hand, vocation was regarded as part of the everyday, while on the other hand it was considered something without which it would have been impossible to working within the Church. However, there were also those who did not think vocation was a significant aspect of their work. Some said they had found meaningful work that just happened to be within the church. The significance of vocation was evident in the interviews with members of the custodial and maintenance staff, as well:

I do think that this is sort of like a vocation. (Woman, custodial and maintenance work)

Yes it is, but when someone starts raving over calling or something I sort of look at my pay slip, thinking that this work actually has to earn my keep. Like you work to get paid. It's often sort of like a reality check for me. But on the other hand there's all these

quite difficult things going on in life that in some sense make it easy to do this work, and having the experiences I have helps. In that sense this work suits me mentally. (Woman, clerical employee)

A common feature for many interviewees was that they had well-functioning social relations, strong networks that allowed them to process the relationship between their own professionalism and sexual identity, a specified status as an employee, and a good self-confidence. Some had undergone extensive therapy.

The Challenges of Changing the Work Culture of the Church

The task of breaking the culture of non-communication within the Church and initiating matter-of-fact discussion on the diversity of sexual identities will require a long process of consciousness-raising, involving a change in the general attitudes in individual work communities and across the entire Church. The discussion as to what constitutes good sexuality and what is sexual diversity remains largely inconclusive and open. For lesbian, gay and bisexual employees, the working life situation is to a great extent determined by the general attitudes and the cultural transition within the Church. The change in the general attitudes is not merely a question of individual people coming out in the open, but an organisation wide process of change that reciprocates people's everyday experiences. In this process of change, stories have a key role to play. In challenging lesbian, gay and bisexual people within the Church to step forward into the arenas of cultural transition, we are balancing their privacy, personalities, life choices and professional skills against the traditions of the Church. As argued by Pontus Salmi, who has studied the work communities and leadership within the Church, a common understanding, or the structuring of collective knowledge, is achieved through stories. Organisational culture builds on the stories structured therein. Hidden stories and experiences challenge the work community. (Salmi 2003.) As indicated by the interviews, the promotion of cultural change and a well-being in the work community requires a dialogue between people's everyday experiences and the work community.

The current cultural transition within the Church regarding sexual minorities is comparable to the question of the ordainment of female pastors. In this case, the new order was recognised throughout the Church, but no one was forced to act against his personal belief. The changes were slow to happen, and they could not be endorsed without a majority backing. In the case of sexual minorities, the process of change is already ongoing in the Church (Juva 2003.) The question here is the ability of the work communities to receive everyday stories, which requires certain amount of maturity. In the dialogue of everyday experiences, one essential factor is the dimension of inclusion. At the core of inclusion is that the members of the community are included because of their intrinsic value, not

because their difference or essential being fulfils a certain purpose. After all, these are the very people who open new meaningful views with their existence (Hyväri 2001, 222). The internal meaning assigned to work builds not only on the goals and contents set by the organisation but also on the experience of inclusion of each individual employee. Besides what is said out loud, a work community is constructed by the different beliefs, values and life choices that form part of each employee's life. (Salmi 2003.)

According to the interviewees, having a good work community and co-workers is paramount in terms of coping at work and the length of one's stay in working life. Career advancement was considered a secondary factor, with most interviewees emphasising the role of the work community in the choices they make. Organisational cultures are slow to change. However, this change can be facilitated if the members of the organisation feel included and have the ability to analyse their own set of values, ways of life, and the culture. In terms of continuous learning process, the interviewees found it important to have adequate settings created by the supervisors and the administration.

In their interviews, the employees described the various characteristics associated with a good work community. Importance was placed on social diversity and the existence of an open environment allowing room for critical review of work and the work community. Another positive aspect was a democratic supervisor who treated employees in an equal fashion. Further weight was placed on interpersonal relations, directness, calling things by their right names, and the absence of bullying.

The work in itself is testing enough without this on top of it, and the demands can extend from hell to heaven. (Woman, clerical employee)

The less secretive a work community is the better environment it will offer for professional development. Tension will invariably create covert stories of what should or should not be. In an organisation where the members see work and its development as meaningful rather than an exercise in survival, everyone will benefit. The need for constant evasive action, however, will prevent the emergence of such an environment. Openness and the existence of different realities have a cumulative effect; even if openness and the decisions arising from one's various situations in life are purely individual, openness is not merely a question of privacy but a contributing factor towards a healthier work culture and more developed work practices.

The Church of Sweden has appointed an employee to survey the working conditions and working life situations of lesbian, gay and bisexual people as well to deal with questions concerning discrimination against sexual minorities. Inspired by a joint project between the Church and the unions representing church employees (see

http://www.normgivande.nu/NG_kyrkan.asp), these active measures are an attempt to promote awareness of the sexual diversity and the status of employees in the long term.

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LESBIAN, GAY AND BISEXUAL TEACHERS – INVISIBLE IN THE MIND OF THE STUDENTS?

Jukka Lehtonen

Teachers and other school employees do not generally perceive their position or task to have anything to do with sexuality – unless they happen to teach Sexual Education. Nevertheless, whether they are aware of it or not, school employees are involved in constructing conceptions of sexuality and gender in their interactions with pupils. Although sexuality tends to be seen as a personal or private matter that should not be visible at school, teachers and other school employees are constantly required to solve everyday situations that in various ways refer to sexuality. Such everyday practices tend to be routine-like and, as such, maintained by both teachers and students without awareness of them. It is only when someone does not adhere to them that they become visible and challenge the boundaries of the private sphere.

In this article, I will discuss the situation of lesbian, gay and bisexual teachers from two perspectives. On the one hand, I will analyse how lesbian, gay and bisexual teachers themselves talk about their work, and, on the other hand, how adolescents view the sexuality of their school teachers. The data for the first perspective is derived from the Equal Project questionnaire survey, which included approximately 30 responses from lesbian, gay and bisexual teachers. The second perspective draws on my earlier studies on sexuality and gender at school, particularly on my interviews with 30 non-heterosexual young people (Lehtonen 2003). At the time of the interviews, the adolescents were between the ages 15 and 20. The results of the questionnaire will be reflected against the interview data gathered by Miia Valkonen in her pro gradu thesis on lesbian, gay and bisexual teachers. Her interview involved 12 teachers (Valkonen 2003).

The themes of this article are: openness among lesbian, gay and bisexual teachers, experience of discrimination, and the potential that non-heterosexual teachers offer when fully integrated in their work community as lesbian, gay or bisexual teachers. In addition, I shall look into the heteronormative notion of the sexuality of teachers. I will first discuss the experiences of lesbian, gay and bisexual teachers and then the young people's views on their teachers' sexuality.

Stories of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Teachers

A total of 45 respondents of the sexual minorities in working life survey, conducted in connection with the Sexual and Gender Minorities at Work project, worked in the field of education and culture and were employed by cities or municipalities. Of these respondents, 18 were male and 27 were female; 18 lived

in the Greater Helsinki area, 15 in other cities, seven in small towns, and the remaining five in built-up areas in rural localities. Of these 45 respondents, all but one answered the question concerning openness towards pupils or clients. According to the responses, five did not have pupils or clients, one respondent had come out to all pupils or clients, 11 had told one or a few, and 27 had not told any pupils or clients about their sexual orientation. The majority of the respondents worked as teachers. When asked about the reactions of their pupils or clients, 31 replied that pupils or clients were unaware of their sexual orientation. According to one respondent, pupils or clients had reacted mostly with disapproval, five respondents had found the reactions mostly tolerating and two mostly accepting. We may conclude that most teachers concealed their sexual orientation, very few had come out to most of their pupils, and approximately one fourth had told some of their pupils. Reactions to the disclosure varied; some reported to have met positive reactions, some had found the reactions negative.

The above figures do not allow generalisation because of the small size of the sample and the possible bias therein. Besides, the 45 respondents were not all teachers but some worked in other areas or tasks in the field of education and culture. Teachers who participated in the survey were more likely than non-heterosexual teachers on the average to be open to at least some of their pupils. Since the questionnaire was distributed through various channels of SETA, the Finnish National Organisation for Sexual Equality, it may be assumed to have attracted respondents that are more open about their sexuality. But even this considered, it appears that a great majority of non-heterosexual teachers concealed their sexual orientation from their pupils.

Of the 45 municipal employees in the field of education and culture, the majority of whom were teachers, 20 concealed their sexual orientation from their co-workers; 20 had told one or a few co-workers, and one had come out to all co-workers. The co-workers' reactions to the coming out had been mostly accepting by eight, and mostly tolerating by 16 respondents. None had been met by disapproval. 15, or one third of the respondents, replied that they had lesbian, gay or bisexual co-workers at their workplace; three had one non-heterosexual co-worker, 12 had more than one. 25 respondents did not know of other lesbian, gay or bisexual employees at their workplace. Of the 15 respondents who knew or assumed to have lesbian, gay or bisexual co-workers, nine had learned about their co-workers' orientation from themselves, whereas six justified their assumption by marking: "You can see it". A total of 13 respondents considered it a positive thing to have lesbian, gay or bisexual co-workers, and none viewed it negatively. Seven replied that it made no difference. It seems, then, that a majority of the respondents viewed positively having lesbian, gay or bisexual colleagues in their school.

13 respondents told that their superior was aware of their sexual orientation, while the superiors of 14 respondents were not aware. 17 respondents reported not to know whether their superior was aware of their sexual orientation. None of the respondents had told about their sexual orientation at the job interview. Five had told at the beginning of their employment, three after probation, and eight after a few years of employment. A majority of the teachers, however, seemed to conceal their sexual orientation from the other teachers, i.e., their colleagues, and an even greater number from their superiors. Nevertheless, colleagues were told more often than pupils. Quite many respondents had non-heterosexual colleagues, and it may be assumed that some were open about their sexuality only to them. All in all, teachers appeared to be very selective about disclosing their sexuality at work, thus ensuring mostly positive feedback or at least tolerating rather than disapproving reactions.

In her reply to an open-ended question, an elderly female teacher said to have been unaware of her sexual orientation while making her occupational choice. "When I chose to become a teacher I was hiding even from myself. I dated and married a person of the opposite sex because that was what everyone else was doing." The teacher had come out to some of her colleagues.

I want to talk about my relationship like everyone else. I do not hide it, but I don't impose it either. I tend to think that something that is not deliberately concealed will not arouse very much negative interest. Some of my colleagues who know [about my sexuality] behave like scared rabbits: they never mention my partner and keep me at a distance.

In general, regarding talk about family and personal life, the respondents found it important to have equal opportunities with other members of their work community. One female teacher working in a vocational school, however, replied that she would not be very keen to disclose her sexual orientation at work:

Over the years I must simply have become so "comfort-loving" that I don't bother to tell anything, and for me it's enough to have one or two colleagues to share things with. People I work with are not so significant to me that they need to know more about me than is necessary for carrying out our job. Most of my colleagues are old and religious, and their values and lifestyles are both remote and not interesting to me.

The same respondent told that she does not deliberately hide her lesbianism, but does "not actively bring it out either, since there are no natural situations for coming out". Some lesbian, gay or bisexual teachers tend to remain distant to other members of their work community, and some deliberately keep their distance from others. The workplace climate seems to play a crucial role in determining how much of their personal lives teachers want to reveal at work. One respondent told about his thoughts concerning the attitudes of his superior.

The problem is that it's difficult to prove to what extent your sexual orientation affects the treatment you get. My impression is that superiors pretend to be more tolerant than they really are. They do justify their actions, but in reality, I suspect they are quite homophobic. That's why they consistently nullify me as an employee even though both my pupils and many of my colleagues find me a good teacher, even an excellent one.

A fairly young male subject specialist teacher, in turn, told to find the secrecy and the lying, and particularly keeping constantly silent and evading the subject "strenuous!" The same respondent had not disclosed his orientation to anyone at his workplace nor did he know of other lesbian, gay or bisexual employees. Another male teacher, in turn, described an almost completely opposite experience: all of his co-workers knew about his orientation and had reacted positively to his coming out. He and his partner had registered their partnership, and teachers at his school congratulated them warmly. He also pointed out that sexuality is part of his personality and that it provides skills and resources for his professional life that enable him to transgress norms and progress in his work in his own way.

Secrecy is energy-consuming and distressing to some teachers, while openness gives strength for others and allows them to better use all their resources in their work and work community. Both Elenie Opffer and Pat Griffin have also pointed out that non-heterosexual teachers often find openness positive and important despite the fears and setbacks related to it (Opffer 1994, 301-304, 312-316; Griffin 1991, 167-196). Perhaps the most typical strategy is, however, the one used by the following male teacher: "I neither reveal, nor conceal. I let those know who guess it anyway. I do not impose it to anyone."

Openness – A Difficult Choice

For her study, Miia Valkonen interviewed 12 lesbian, gay or bisexual teachers and analysed their experiences. Five of her interviewees were male, seven were female. Seven worked in the Greater Helsinki area, and five in middle-sized towns. Valkonen found the experiences of teachers to be quite varied. Her study was published jointly by SETA and the Sexual and Gender Minorities at Work project.

More than a half of the teachers interviewed by Valkonen were under no circumstances prepared to tell about their sexuality to their pupils (Valkonen 2003). Some of them justified their view by saying that the teacher's sexuality is no concern of pupils. On the other hand, children tend to be unable to think of sexuality as something related to their teachers. A few of the interviewees did, nonetheless, have experience of how children behaved after they learned that their teacher was lesbian or gay. Male teachers tended to have more negative

experiences than female teachers. Some were subjected to name-calling and called "homos", even though calling a teacher "homo" does not necessarily prove that the name-caller is actually aware of the teachers' homosexuality (Lahelma 2002).

According to Valkonen, the support from colleagues is of paramount importance for keeping the peace in and outside the classroom. Strict intervention by colleagues may bring to an end a situation where a teacher keeps being insulted. In such situations, it is again beneficial if at least one of the colleagues is aware of the teacher's sexuality and views him or her favourably. Otherwise colleagues may downplay the problem and find that the teacher takes the matter too seriously. Female teachers, on the other hand, had only positive experiences of pupils' reactions. Smaller pupils tend still to be unaffected by prejudiced ideas about sexuality. In many cases, pupils had been gradually informed by their teacher and had, without exception, come to accept their teacher's sexual orientation. And after an incident where a pupil had in an outburst of anger revealed their teacher's lesbianism, one teacher had become the school expert in the eyes of her class on matters relating to homosexuality. Another lesbian teacher moved to another locality because of her partner's new work, and on her departure openly told her pupils the reason for her leaving. The pupils had appreciated her openness and wished she would have stayed.

It is not, however, the pupils that non-heterosexual are the most afraid of, but the pupils' parents. Children tend to be less prejudiced and more open to new ideas. They are also unable think of sexuality as something that would affect their teacher's work. But it is the parents' reactions to the homosexuality of their child's teacher that the teachers seem to fear above all else. The interviewed teachers had thought of ways to defend themselves in case of possible attacks from parents. One teacher interviewed by Valkonen had decided that if ever attacked by parents she would not defend herself in any way, but, if necessary, will find a new job or even change her profession. Another teacher had safeguarded herself by telling about her sexual orientation to her superior, and now counted upon the superior's professional skills in dealing with the parents (Valkonen 2003).

All teachers interviewed by Valkonen preferred that at least one member in the work community was aware of their sexual orientation. Most people have the need to be accepted by their community as they are, and no-one wants to remain completely invisible at their workplace. Having to wonder about potential colleague reactions and the possible outcomes of an accidental disclosure consumes considerable amounts of energy. Many of the interviewees had, indeed, told about their sexuality to their closest co-workers, and some planned to become gradually open about their sexuality to their entire work community. Nearly all homosexual and bisexual teachers who had come out to their work community reported to have met positive reactions. On the other hand, this may

indicate that only teachers who considered their colleagues to be able to deal with the matter had come out. Nonetheless, teachers found the atmosphere in the teachers' room the more natural and relaxed, the more people in their work community knew about their sexual orientation. This finding encourages homosexual and bisexual teachers toward openness. But it seems that coming out needs to be done with skill and caution: Some colleagues may not even realise the possibility of having lesbian, gay or bisexual people in their midst, and some may have a negative idea about homosexual or bisexual people. Hence, before coming out, almost all interviewed teachers had first observed the situation in the teachers' room and listened to their colleagues' opinions on homosexual and bisexual issues, such as on the public discussion that arose during the preparation of the Registered Partnership Act. (Valkonen 2003)

Interviewees told about their sexual orientation to a colleague most commonly in private conversations, after careful deliberation. Many interviewees mentioned that once colleagues learn to know their new colleague as a person, and find him or her a good and professionally skilled teacher, sexuality tends to be no longer of great significance. None of the interviewees reported their relationship with a colleague to have deteriorated after coming out, on the contrary. Furthermore, almost all Valkonen's interviewees found it very useful to have lesbian, gay or bisexual colleagues. The support of people who think similarly is important, and people with similar experiences tend to understand each other better. It is easier to openly and freely discuss matters troubling one's mind, without fear of disapproval, with people who have deliberated on the same issues. For the development of their professional skills and their teacher's persona, the interviewees considered it important to be able to discuss all kinds of things. Any close colleague may, of course, provide good support, but particularly in situations where the sexual orientation of a lesbian, gay or bisexual teacher is only known by a few colleagues, or the teacher is ill at ease with his or her sexuality, the matter may be too sensitive to discuss with others than non-heterosexual colleagues. In fact, some of the interviewees suggested that SETA, for instance, organise discussion groups for lesbian, gay and bisexual teachers in their home town. (Valkonen 2003)

The Heterosexualisation of the Teacher's Professional Image

The teacher tends to be perceived as an asexual and neutral being, and even as a conventional and puritan figure – at least if we think of the traditional image of a Finnish elementary school teacher (*kansankynttilä*, "candle of the people" – a noble and blameless citizen, a force of enlightenment) (Palmu 1999, 187; Gordon et al. 2000, 166; cf. Epstein & Johnson 1998, 115; 122-123; 131). The non-heterosexual young people I interviewed said they thought of teachers as

"people without sex" or "asexual beings". Some had difficulties in answering my question "Did your teachers talk about their sexuality?" I deliberately opened the discussion for this particular topic by using the broad term "sexuality", in order to leave the question open for a variety of interpretations. The following examples show that the youth were not accustomed to talk about their teachers' sexuality – at least not with reference to the term "sexuality".

Sam (20): *Yes, they told that they had a husband or a wife, and children. No teacher ever told about their own experiences.*

Janne (15): *At least not in a way that we'd know if someone was gay or lesbian or something, but otherwise they did [tell], if they had children or were married to another teacher at our school.*

Sexuality was understood as sex or as homosexuality, but not as heterosexuality, even if marriage and family were included in the term. But marriage, an opposite-sex couple relationship or a child are no proofs of a person's heterosexuality, although they tend to be taken as such – as long as other signs do the challenge the heterosexual assumption. The interviewees had heard about their teachers' families or children either directly from the teachers themselves or from other pupils, or they had seen the teacher's spouse or child at school. Having a family, being a mother or a father, is perceived as something asexual, even as something contrary to sexuality – or at least to being sexy (see Palmu 1999, 184). Although pupils know that in order to have children even teachers must engage in sex, they do not necessarily think in those terms.

Mira (18): *In those connections it did not occur [to me], if they only talked about their kids, I seldom had associations that "these are sexual beings we are talking with". But when somebody goes on maternity leave, that's perhaps a case where maybe a couple of times the thought has crossed my mind.*

The everyday understanding of the word "mother" automatically implies heterosexuality (Epstein 1999, 35), which also explains why it tends to be difficult to connect lesbianism and motherhood. Lesbian motherhood is not a familiar phenomenon, although many women with a lesbian identity have children (Kuosmanen 1997, 100). Even pregnancy may seem confusing for the young. For teachers, again, it seems easier to talk about their children than their couple relationships, and sometimes teachers mention their children in examples while teaching, or their children participate in the classroom work, school festivities or school outings. Some pupils find out about their teacher's children through photographs (see also Heikkinen 1999, 132). Pasi (20) told: "I suppose, she had a picture of her daughter in her wallet or on the front thing of her calendar, and we looked at it like, who's that?"

The pupils often know about their teachers' spouses and marriages. School festivities, annual outings of the class, camp schools and other special events at school are occasions to which teachers sometimes bring along their spouses or other family members. According to Mahadi Didi Khayatt, partners who are brought along to school events are usually regular long-standing partners of the opposite sex, and bringing such a partner to school events is seen to confirm the teacher's heterosexuality (Khayatt 1992, 146-147). The marriage or engagement of a teacher may be revealed through a ring (see also Wallis & VanEvery 2000, 413). A ring around the ring finger justifies the assumption of a heterosexual marriage. Johanna (18) told that girls "always check if they have a ring" and conclude from that whether or not the teacher is married. Pupils actively ask teachers about their spouses, families and marriage. This is particularly common when getting acquainted with a new teacher. Also substitute teachers are asked about their family situation, although this may sometimes only serve the purpose of testing how much personal information the substitute teacher can be brought to tell.

Pasi (20): *We asked "Are you married?" "Do you have kids?" and stuff like that. Then we knew, and that's it, then we didn't need to ask more.*

The conception regarding the teacher's heterosexuality is usually based on either an automatic assumption or the teacher's stories or behaviour. Sara made an exception by asking her teacher directly whether she was straight:

Sara (17): *At the beginning of upper secondary school I had a Finnish teacher whom I thought for a long time to be lesbian, but it turned out she's not. I asked her directly and she told me that she's not.*

JL: *How did you have the courage to ask?*

Sara: *She was quite young. I had just been in her class. I asked "How about you, are you straight?", and she said "I'm straight, but most of the people I studied with are gay". Actually most of her closest friends were homosexual, she said. So she does have a rather personal contact with the whole issue.*

If a teacher has gay or lesbian friends and they tell about it, or the matter is otherwise disclosed, pupils may question the teacher's sexuality. To become stigmatised, it is enough that the teacher is seen to socialise outside the school with known gay men or lesbians, or that the teacher visits a known gay or lesbian couple (see Epstein & Johnson 1998, 137). Unmarried teachers may be considered potentially gay or lesbian if they do not confirm to have opposite-sex interests through speech or behaviour.

Sometimes pupils attempt to "marry" a single teacher to another, or they wonder why the single teacher is unmarried or does not have children (cf. Khayatt 1992, 147; Epstein 1999, 37). Young teachers are perhaps subjected to this kind of pressure more than teachers that seem old in the pupils' eyes. Elderly teachers tend rather to be seen as old maids or bachelors who have already passed their sex life.

JL: *Were the pupils in general interested in whether someone was married or single?*

Mira (18): *Yes! We laughed a lot at our form master who was a spinster. And then my history teacher, he was a strange bloke, who used to tell dirty jokes all the time, but he was an awfully wise man [...] Then we asked if he was married. He would never say as much but we knew that he wasn't married. And then we laughed at him: "Ha ha, who would have him, what would it be like for him to be with his wife and what would it be like for his wife to be with him". But this did not happen until the ninth grade, all this happened on the ninth grade. Then [...] we talked especially about our form master, whether she was a lesbian. But it wasn't really serious in that way. About our history teacher we never said that he'd be gay because he told such dirty jokes and in that way showed that kind of a heterosexual attitude toward women. But about the form master there was some talk, but it ended when someone saw her at the railway station and a man was seeing her off.*

On the one hand, teachers are expected to be asexual, but on the other hand, they are expected to lead an exemplary life outside the school, which in practice means heterosexual marriage and family life (see also Epstein & Johnson 1998, 123). With regard to their sexuality, teachers are forced to balance on the borderline between the public sphere, i.e. the school, and the private sphere, i.e. outside the school. Some teachers who do not have "evidence" of their heterosexuality in the form of marriage or family, may deliberately express their sexual orientation in other ways. In Mira's view, the history teacher proved heterosexuality by telling "dirty jokes". A consciously held false front relationship with a member of the opposite sex may also serve the purpose, as does emphasising traditional gender positions through behaviour (see Epstein & Johnson 1998, 146). In fact, the public self-image that teachers uphold at school tends to contradict with the diversity of their sexuality in their private sphere (see Kehily & Nayak 1996, 214-215; Palmu 1999, 187). As Palmu (1999, 187) among others has pointed out, although it is not considered part of the official school, sexuality plays a role in the everyday practices and informal interactions in schools.

Stories About Non-Heterosexual Teachers

In some American research studies, lesbian and gay teachers have been asked why they do not tell about their sexuality. One fear was that other teachers, students or the parents of students would have less confidence in them if they found out (see Griffin 1991, 171; cf. Dankmeijer 1993, 95-105; 2002). Loss of confidence is attributed to the negative stigmata attached to homosexuality: gay men and lesbians have been considered poor role models and educators, and potential HIV carriers. The possibility of sexual abuse has been seen as a further threat associated with gay men, in particular (see Harbeck 1991, 132-133; Woods & Harbeck 1991, 141-166; cf. Epstein & Johnson 1998, 136).

According to my earlier questionnaire survey (Lehtonen 1995, 126, 138), only a few (approximately 10 percent) of the homosexual and bisexual respondents seemed to have had openly non-heterosexual teachers at school. Some responses concerning a teacher's non-heterosexuality were based on mere guesswork: Only a few teachers had told about their sexual orientation or had been disclosed. Some teachers conceal their sexuality for fear of unjust treatment or direct discrimination (on attitudinal climate, see Lietzen 1993, 23; Valtanen 1991, 13; Nissinen 1995, 171-173; on professional burnout and heteronormative work climate, see Kaskisaari 2002). Teachers who conceal their non-heterosexuality cannot talk about their couple relationships, the companions they live or travel with, what they did the night before or what kind of friends they have (on strategies of concealing employed by gay men, see Heikkinen 1997, 69-72; 2002). These matters might reveal the teacher's non-heterosexuality to others. The situation for bisexual teachers seems even more complex. A determining factor for disclosing or hiding their couple relationship is whether their partner is of the same or of the opposite sex. Heterosexual teachers do not have similar problems in talking about such matters, and pupils tend to at least know if their teachers are married or have children.

Non-heterosexual teachers do not, however, need to be very active in lying, hiding or inventing false front relationships to conceal their sexuality, since they tend to be automatically assumed to be heterosexual (see Luopa 1994, 60-64). What suffices is that they do not disclose their relationships. They may be considered single, old maids, or just people living alone. Homosexual labelling is gender-related: a female couple living together may be considered two friends sharing an apartment. But if two men share an apartment, they are more likely to be suspected of being gay.

If teachers themselves do not directly tell or imply certain aspects of their family situation, and if the pupils do not conclude from other signs that the teacher has a family, is married or is otherwise potentially heterosexual, they may think more closely about the teacher's sexual orientation. The interviews revealed

that pupils do reflect on whether a teacher was lesbian or gay, or, in more rare cases, bisexual. The interviewed young people had either themselves thought about the idea or heard others talk about it.

Veera (18): *And there's this general suspicion that our Swedish teacher might prefer boys to girls. He is male himself. But it's only because he never talks anything about his private life.*

To some interviewees, the whole idea of a teacher's homosexuality seems uncomfortable. The image of a homosexual teacher may be found inappropriate or even distressing due to the pupil's own situation. Sometimes an "unpleasant or weirdly behaving" teacher is labelled homo (see Lahelma 1996, 485; 2002). Moreover, teachers who in their behaviour transgress traditional gender boundaries may be seen as homosexual or bisexual. In such cases, gossiping may persist even if the teacher is married.

Nadja (20): *I suppose we did have one bisexual male teacher, in Biology. At least there was talk about it. He had a wife, but anyhow.*

JL: *What did people talk about?*

Nadja: *He was called a missis, a lady he was called. And he used to have a 2-inch layer of makeup on his face.*

JL: *He was labelled bisexual because of that?*

Nadja: *Yeah.*

In Nadja's example, the marriage was explained by the assumed bisexuality of the teacher. The case is an example of gendered social control over teacher behaviour: a man with makeup is an abomination. According to Noora (18), boys tended to react to male femininity and homosexuality more negatively than girls. She told that "our history teacher is gay, his gestures being like that", and that particularly the boys in her class had a negative attitude toward him. Pupils may gossip about many features and facts connected to their teacher, and gossip related to the teacher's sexuality is most typical and found most juicy, as Debbie Epstein and Richard Johnson (1998, 139) have pointed out. For men, makeup and femininity in general, including certain kind of gesturing, were considered signs of potential homosexuality. For women, along with general masculinity, the typical sign was a short haircut. Moreover, the divorce from a man and a close relationship with a woman could be interpreted as a sign of lesbianism. Silja told about two of her female teachers who lived together and had been seen kissing each other. She remembers one of the women as "a woman with short hair, a really masculine woman". The femininity of a male teacher is subject to stricter

control than the masculinity of a female teacher. Female teachers, however, tend to be subjected to stricter control regarding sexual decency (see also Palmu 1999, 186) and are expected to take an interest in motherhood.

According to the respondents of the questionnaire survey I conducted in the early 1990's (Lehtonen 1995, 126-127, 138-142), reactions to teachers with known lesbian or gay orientation varied with the teacher's personality and popularity. Moreover, those who did not have known lesbian or gay teachers tended to assess the situation for such teachers more negatively and perceive the attitudinal climate as fairly discriminating (see Lehtonen 1999b, 34-38,43). As pointed out also by Madiha Didi Khayatt (1992, 158), some lesbian and gay teachers choose a distant position with regard to their pupils in order to avoid questions about their private life.

The assumed homosexuality of a teacher does not always give rise to rumours or gossip – or at least the stories are not spread outside the class. Pupils may think that the matter would be detrimental to the reputation of the class and decide not to tell outsiders. Or they may think that the teacher, whom they may very well like, could get into trouble if other teachers, parents or other classes found out (cf. Kontula 1997, 71). The initiative to keep silent may also come from an individual student. Sami remembered a classmate who abruptly ended all discussion on their teacher's sexuality by stating that it was no-one else's concern. What we are talking about here is an open secret, something that everybody knows but no one mentions. The whole class may be seen to be "in the closet" (see Epstein & Johnson 1998, 140-144). Sometimes people choose to overlook even fairly clear signs of a teacher's potential non-heterosexuality (cf. Epstein & Johnson 1998, 140, Epstein 1999, 36-38). Henna's story of a primary school teacher shows that it is possible for teachers to talk about their couple relationships without simultaneously discussing their sexual orientation.

Henna (19): *In primary school, there was one male teacher. I remember I went to the neighbouring school from the first to the third grade. I remember that I had a crush on this male teacher. He was always telling about his male pals. But it didn't occur to anyone, but now afterwards I saw one old classmate who continued to go to school in his class, and she said that there was talk about him, that he was actually gay. But at the time you really didn't know. But now that you think about it, maybe he really was gay.*

JL: *What did he tell about his male pals?*

Henna: *We all thought that he was a lot of fun. Like he told us how he and his male friend went someplace and they were eating, and a seagull pooped on them. Funny stories like that. But he always told about his male friend. Never about a woman. It could have been just a male friend. At that age you don't think about it. But*

afterwards I've thought that he must have been gay, on the second grade or so you don't even realise. If he would have told stories like that in the secondary school, I'm sure we would have been suspicious at once.

In addition to rumours and their own assumptions of the homosexuality or bisexuality of a teacher, the interviewees told stories of teachers they knew to be homosexual. Mikko (20) had seen his history teacher at a gay restaurant after having completed school. While still at school, he had thought the teacher to be gay and had heard stories to that effect. But he had not been sure about it until he met him later on. Mikko remembered that another teacher who was assumed to be gay, whom the students found unpleasant, was bullied and his sexuality was openly talked about, but the History teacher was protected because he was popular, and therefore suspicions about his homosexuality were not played up (see Epstein 1999, 38). Many non-heterosexual teachers may hide their sexuality at school but nevertheless actively visit gay or lesbian meeting places (Lehtonen 1995, 108; on compartmentalisation, see Davies 1992, 79-81). Petteri had met his Family Education teacher at a gay bar.

Petteri (19): *She could never have imagined that I was gay, 'cause I was a board member of the students' union, and she used to be rather close to me then. I was the first student he ran into in a gay party.*

JL: *Did she tell you that?*

Petteri: *Yeah. We didn't talk much then. But in the next party we met again. Our Family Education teacher.*

JL: *She didn't bring up these issues in any way in her Family Education classes?*

Petteri: *No way, she was careful not to even mention gays.*

JL: *Did she say anything at all?*

Petteri: *I have talked a bit about it with her, 'cause she teaches Family Education. She teaches girls, and how would people react? And she said that she had told a couple of nice female teachers about it. Other teachers at her school don't know anything about it. But they don't ask either.*

Some teachers who conceal their sexual orientation tend to avoid close relationships with their co-workers at school and avoid bringing up themes related to non-heterosexuality in their classes for fear of being disclosed (cf. Woods & Harbeck 1991, 141-166; Wallis & Van Evary 2000, 413; see also Heikkinen 1997, 68-72). Hence, the resources of non-heterosexual teachers in teaching and addressing sexual

diversity are not always put to use, particularly if they try to hide their sexuality and therefore often eliminate all signs of the existence of non-heterosexuality from around them.

Miska (15) told about his gay teacher who came out in public. He was Miska's primary school teacher. Most of the teachers whose orientation is known do not come out in public but prefer to tell to some teachers or students only (cf. Davies 1992, 79-81). Miska's teacher had been interviewed in a magazine where he told that he lived together with his male companion. Miska recalled, however, that before coming out the teacher had referred to his companion as his "wife". Some lesbian or gay teachers feel the need to invent an opposite-sex partner in order to avoid questions on their sexuality at school (see Khayatt 1992, 147). They let their students and teacher colleagues believe that they are involved in a heterosexual relationship. Miska's mother had wondered about his teacher's sexuality already before the teacher came out:

Miska (15): *My mom suspected it already then because of the way he talked and everything. If I saw him somewhere now, I could tell he's gay, but then I couldn't. I was not at all into what kind of clothes and stuff...*

JL: *I suppose he wore rather ordinary clothes at school, not necessarily any leather gear, do you think?*

Miska: *He used to wear a leather jacket and a leather tie, and then Levi's and a shirt with a collar.*

JL: *Fairly traditional gay wear.*

Miska: *Yeah.*

JL: *How was he treated at school?*

Miska (15): *Well, quite OK, I think. He's been on some interviews. And one teacher had told him that "I knew that you're brave, but I didn't know just how brave!" He [the gay teacher] told about it with shining eyes. Now pupils sometimes write Mika and Peter with a heart on the board when he enters the class. Our first graders think he is all nuts when he told about it, but I go like, yippee.*

The pupils' homes seem to be another controlling factor (Palmu 1999, 199). Parents tend to play quite an important role in determining openness regarding non-heterosexuality in schools. Teachers may be afraid of the parents' reactions, and, on the other hand, heads of schools or other teachers may think that the teachers' non-heterosexuality needs to be concealed from parents although they themselves might find it acceptable (see Epstein & Johnson 1998, 124). If some parents know or guess that a teacher is non-heterosexual, the information may spread to other parents or students. Supportive attitudes of other teachers are

crucial in determining how parents react to a non-heterosexual teacher. If other teachers and the headmaster react to it in an unconstrained manner in front of the students, it is also easier for the students to accept it.

Day-to-day Balancing at School

Lesbian, gay and bisexual teachers feel the need to balance in their everyday life at school in how they express and talk about important aspects of their lives to other members of the school community. They consider carefully whether to tell about their couple relationship to their colleagues, superiors, students, or the students' parents. If they decide to conceal their sexuality, they make deliberations as to how to do it: by not telling about it, by keeping silent about all personal matters, or by actively creating a fake image of heterosexuality? Both concealing and expressing their sexuality may affect their teaching work, or their relationship with the other members of the school community. Openness or secrecy may thus change the teacher's position either negatively or positively. Co-workers may be supportive and respect the teacher who tells about his or her life situation, or the teacher may lose the colleagues' confidence and become subjected to nasty rumours and stigmatisation. Teachers who conceal their couple relationship and sexual orientation may also be reluctant to deal with themes connected to sexual diversity in their classes, and avoid intervention in cases of homophobic name-calling or other negative phenomena affecting lesbians, gays or bisexuals. Through openness, in turn, non-heterosexual teachers can provide models for a diversity of lifestyles to students and other members of the school community.

Students are interested in their teachers, including their teachers' family life and "private sphere", but teaching staffs seem more heterosexual in the eyes of pupils than they actually are if we look at the existing sexual diversity among teachers. The heteronormative culture at schools reinforces the tendency that, in practice, non-heterosexual teachers remain invisible in most schools and young people are left without models that could provide alternatives to a heterosexual adulthood.

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V
CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SEXUAL AND GENDER DIVERSITY AS A RESOURCE

Jukka Lehtonen and Kati Mustola

Sexuality and gender intertwine with our everyday practices at work in many different ways. Heteronormative thinking sets the boundaries for feminine or masculine behaviour and physical appearance in the workplace, and also determines the appropriate expression of sexuality and gender. Every employee regardless of his or her gender or sexual orientation is part of the workplace culture. Consequently, any measures to improve the status of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans employees will also bear on other employees and their job satisfaction. By taking action against discrimination, bullying and sexual harassment, we can create a more pleasant workplace climate for everyone to work in. If workplace networks learn to appreciate the diversity of the work community, this will allow more room for diversity – and not only in terms of minority groups but of all individual expression and competence. A workplace that endorses diversity will actively increase the well-being of all employees and, as a result, their productivity.

Many lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people consider their sexual orientation and the various aspects of their gender expression irrelevant in terms of their everyday work. This view is even more common among the rest of the population. Sexual orientation and gender identity do, however, have an important role to play in working life. When a person's gender identity is the reason for being rejected upon recruitment, or when a person is pondering whether or not to tell others in the work community about his or her same-sex partnership, sexual orientation and gender identity take on a decisive role.

Research Results

In the world of work, Finnish people consume a considerable amount of energy to hide or cover up their sexual orientation or gender identity. To many, having to hide their personal life is a cause of anxiety and ill-health that can lead to frequent sick leaves and deliberate isolation from other members of the work community.

Half of all lesbian, gay and bisexual employees hide their sexual orientation from all or most of their co-workers. Their Swedish counterparts are much more open about their sexual orientation in their places of work.

If people are not aware of the fact that there are homo- or bisexual people in the work community, coffee break conversations can take very negative tones towards lesbian, gay and bisexual people and, unintentionally, hurt some members of the community. The tones of these conversations tend to be much more positive if there are openly homo- or bisexual people in the workplace.

Good-humoured conversation takes on harassing tones, if someone tells jokes about "trannies" or "queers" during the coffee break and offends some other members of the work community. Almost half of all of lesbian, gay or bisexual employees have been subjected to this type of harassment – the percentage is higher among those who conceal their sexual orientation than among those who are open about these matters.

According to the sexual minority questionnaire, 12 percent of lesbian, gay and bisexual employees have experienced outright bullying at work because of their sexual orientation. Eight percent of the respondents had been subjected to homophobic or other offensive name-calling.

In the case of trans employees, 50 percent hide their gender identity in the work community. There are, however, notable differences between transsexuals, transgender people and transvestites, with the latter being far more likely to hide their gender identity and experience.

Half of the trans people in our survey had been subjected to offensive jokes about "trannies" or "queers" during the coffee break or other informal situations during work. Eight percent of the respondents had been subjected to workplace bullying because of their gender identity, while six percent of them had been called a "tranny" or some other offensive name.

Negative name-calling and jokes directed at lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people are particularly common in male-dominated fields. This behaviour – rooted in the need to reinforce heterosexual masculinity – has an adverse effect on the status and opportunities of both the targeted group and their fellow workers. The social climate in the workplace affects the well-being of every single employee.

In their places of work, 19 percent of male respondents and 12 percent of female respondents had witnessed discrimination based on a person's sexual orientation. Of these men and women, eight and six percent respectively had been personally subjected to sexual orientation discrimination. In the case of lesbian and bisexual women, employment discrimination is more generally related to their gender than their sexual orientation. 21 percent of the lesbian and bisexual women felt they had been discriminated against because of their gender.

Eight percent of trans people had been discriminated against because of their gender expression or gender identity.

Only a few of the lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans employees who had been discriminated against had contacted their trade union or the health and safety authorities. Many lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people do not know where to turn to for help, or do not believe that their problem would be handled in an appropriate fashion.

Some respondents were unaware of their rights: 13 percent of lesbians, gays and bisexuals did not know about the anti-discrimination legislation dating from 1995.

For lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans youths, questions about their own identity may consume so much energy that their careers may be delayed or interrupted. Confusion in other areas of life makes it difficult to focus on occupational choices. Ageing lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people in particular may find it difficult to cope with the heteronormative work environment and, as a result, be tempted by the idea of early retirement.

Many lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people question the traditional, gendered choices of occupation. Homo- and bisexual men, for example, are more likely to work in female-dominated fields than the rest of the male population.

People's choices of occupation and place of work are closely interlinked with their choice of residence. Many lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people choose to live in places they consider to offer a more positive environment for minority groups. More than one third of the respondents who had moved to another location at one point or another stated aspects of social climate as their motivating factor.

Recommendations

The following list of recommendations is based on the research results of the project *Sexual and Gender Minorities at Work*, as well as the experiences gained through our training activities and collaboration with various partners during the project.

A. The Constitution, the Equality Act, the Penal Code and the Employment Contracts Act all prohibit employment discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation. In line with the rulings of the European Court of Justice, discrimination against trans people can be equated with gender discrimination, which is prohibited in the Directive on the Equality between Women and Men. In Finland, however, we are yet to see any clear stand on this issue, barring the few statements issued by the Equality Ombudsman. From the perspective of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people, the current legislation is insufficient.

1. There is a lack of information as to the prohibition of discrimination stated in the Constitution Act of Finland and the Penal Code, both effective since the year 1995. Equally little information seems to be available on the new Equality Act, adopted in February 2004, and other legislation related to

working life. In our sexual minority survey, 13 percent of the respondents had no knowledge of the eight-year old legislation prohibiting discrimination. Clearly, more information on these (as well as the new laws pertaining to occupational health and health and safety at work) should be made available not only to lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people but the rest of the population, as well. Labour market organisations, employers, trade union representatives, health and safety authorities, and occupational health staff in particular should be offered more training and information on the subject. They should be provided with the necessary means to inform, train and educate the various agents in the field of work on the relevant legislation and its successful application in the workplace.

2. The new Equality Act is insufficient from the point of view of sexual minorities. The prohibition of discrimination on the ground of sexual orientation should have been awarded equal scope with the prohibition of discrimination based on ethnic origin. The current situation allows people to be treated differently and, at the same time, prevents sexual orientation discrimination from becoming fully visible.
3. In accordance with the new Equality Act, the health and safety authorities have a central role in dealing with cases of sexual orientation discrimination in working life. They have not, however, been allocated proper resources, nor do they have the necessary training or information to carry their duties out to the full. What Finland needs is an ombudsman dedicated especially to the handling of issues concerning sexual orientation and the prevention of related social injustice. Another option would be to extend the duties of the Ombudsman for Minorities to cover lesbian, gay and bisexual people, as well as disabled people. This would give the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people a more substantial presence in the social debate. It is unlikely that the health and safety authorities will manage the raise as much public debate as the current Ombudsman for Minorities has with his statements on ethnic discrimination. At the moment, matters concerning the status of transsexual people fall within the duties of the Equality Ombudsman. Sadly, this is another area hampered by insufficient funding and poor communication.
4. Although discrimination against trans people is included in the category of gender discrimination – a fact known to very few people – the authorities lack adequate means for arguing cases of discrimination against trans people. In addition to a more clear-cut delegation of responsibilities, we need legislation that contains a clearly stated prohibition of discrimination against trans people and provides tools for dealing with possible cases of discrimination. Moreover,

the public should be informed about what instances to contact for help. The reform of the Finnish Act on Equality between Women and Men provides a perfect opportunity for implementing these changes.

5. Problems have also arisen from the fact that employees living in registered partnerships are not awarded equal treatment with their married co-workers. This form of unequal treatment should be explicitly prohibited in legislation.
6. When sharing information on legislation that even indirectly affects the status of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people, care should be taken to include the perspective of sexual and gender diversity. Training and information campaigns on e.g. sexual harassment, name-calling and bullying should directly address the bullying of trans people, the homophobic name-calling and the sexual harassment of lesbians.

B. In the sphere of work, there are many authorities and organisations whose various agents can contribute to the equal treatment of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people. These agents should take a more active role in developing working life practices that recognise the sexual and gender diversity of employees.

1. The employment authorities and employees within the service sector should be offered basic and advanced training as well as information on how to deal with sexual and gender diversity. Their workplace practices should be developed so as to question the heteronormative way of thinking and better accommodate the diverse backgrounds and life situations of job applicants and employees.
2. The categories of sexual and gender minorities incorporate a wide variety of people and groups with special needs. Those who are at a particular disadvantage in working life should be supported through campaigns and projects designed to help them in entering the labour market and coping at work. At present, rehabilitation and employment projects award little attention to sexual and gender diversity. The various working life schemes and projects dealing with, for example, well-being at work, combining of family life and work, dismantling of gender dichotomy in the labour market, or bullying at work could be used as an opportunity to introduce the angle of sexual and gender diversity.
3. The Occupational Safety and Health Inspectorates should appoint an employee to act as a responsible party in matters concerning sexual orientation. With view to the new duties assigned to the health and safety authorities in the Equality Act, it is important that each Occupational Safety and Health Inspectorate appoint one of their employees to handle the communication on legislation and related issues within their particular area

of operation. These employees could undertake training and information activities, or try to resolve cases of discrimination and bullying. These measures would make it easier for lesbian, gay and bisexual employees to contact the Inspectorates and report cases of discrimination. Those Inspectorates responsible for safeguarding gender equality should provide their employees with training to make them more attuned to the needs of trans people.

4. There should be more training for labour protection delegates and more information made available on anti-discrimination legislation pertaining to sexual orientation and gender identity. These measures would increase awareness on the principle of non-discrimination, and, ideally, help problems to be solved within the confines of the workplace.
5. Labour market organisations have a central role to play in improving the status of people belonging to sexual and gender minorities. For one, they should acknowledge the fact that their members include lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people, who expect their rights, too, to be included on the organisation's agenda. Secondly, labour market organisations should address issues related to lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people in their training, campaigning and information sharing. In order to render sexual and gender diversity more visible, trade magazines should occasionally feature interviews with lesbian, gay, bisexual or trans employees. By assuming an active role in collective bargaining and exerting their influence in the society, labour market organisations can further the cause of equality and employee rights.
6. Occupational health services should be developed so as to provide lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans employees with more adequate treatment as well as to prevent problems caused by a hetero- and gender normative environment that is hostile towards homosexuals and trans people. To achieve this, we need to see more versatile training on both basic and advanced levels, accompanied by an active approach to the question of workplace climate. Work counselling is another efficient means of resolving inflamed personal relations and dismantling practices that contribute to discrimination, bullying and burnout at work. Moreover, employers should take more active interest as to how their potential occupational health practitioners approach sexual and gender minority issues, or how professionally they handle sexual and gender diversity.

C. During their life cycle, lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people go through many different phases that can have a variety of implications in terms of working life. Efforts should therefore be made to accommodate changes arising from diversity and people's varying situations in life. At the same time, we should do away with the idea of minorities as inherently homogenous groups of people.

1. In the field of work, many questions involving sexuality and gender can be addressed through educating the youth. If we educate children and young people on these issues in the school or during vocational training, this will eventually help the task of dismantling gender dichotomy in working life and creating a more accepting environment towards employee diversity in working life. Fostering a diverse school environment where all forms of bullying or unjust treatment are prohibited is the best way of ensuring that young people will continue to uphold these values once they enter into working life. If we, by contrast, impose gendered choices of school subjects or occupation on women and men or girls and boys, this will lead to greater pressure to adapt to the heteronormative way of thinking and disregard gender and sexual diversity.
2. In order to rid working life from gender dichotomy, we need to further encourage lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people's tendency to transcend the traditional, gendered choices of occupation and career.
3. Schools and other educational institutions should take action to support and enhance the status of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans children and youths so as to prevent problems arising from a hetero- and gender normative climate – having to keep secrets from others, fearing the loss of one's credibility or friends, and feeling lonely can lead to problems with e.g. mental health and substance abuse. By offering support to young people, we can improve their chances of acquiring the schooling or career that suits their lifestyle and aspirations.
4. In the course of their working lives, lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people – especially the older generation – have been exposed to a variety of factors related to the workplace climate that have adversely affected their coping and well-being at work. Therefore, it would be important to take account of the diversity and different life situations of employees not only in the workplace, but also in the context of recreational and social activities, such as workplace parties and outings. If people are free to express all sides of their personalities in their work communities, not only will they cope better but also be more likely to get help in case they need it.

D. By replacing negative secrecy with an environment of openness, we can open doors to lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people to become fully integrated and productive members of their work communities.

1. A heteronormative workplace culture accentuates thinking and practices that nurture the idea that all employees are heterosexual and express their gender in a certain way – men in a masculine and women in a feminine – or at least imply that this should be the case. These preconceived patterns may feel restrictive from anyone's point of view, but it is lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people who find them particularly oppressive. For some employees, the perpetually heterocentric coffee break conversations and anti-gay jokes add to their feelings of detachment. In order to create more room for diversity, we need to begin with challenging the preconceived notions of heterosexual masculinity and heterosexual femininity on the level of everyday practice at work.
2. The main responsibility for the creation of a more open environment should not be laid upon lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people only, for they face the risk of being discriminated against or losing the respect of their fellow workers. As with other aspects of workplace climate, the main responsibility should be placed with the employer and the supervisors. To build a more open environment, they can, for example, set clear anti-discrimination codes and initiate equality policies setting out preventive measures for tackling discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people. These codes should clearly state that employees have the right to be open about their sexual orientation or gender identity, or if they so choose, to conceal it. The University of Helsinki, for example, has adopted a policy against discrimination where it places particular emphasis on openness with regard to sexual orientation (see www.helsinki.fi/tasa-arvo/english/).
3. Although not all lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people support openness, it seems that, generally speaking, openness about sexual orientation, relationships or gender identity will increase one's sense of community, motivation and well-being at work, whereas concealing these personal matters or living in fear of them being exposed tends to create problems and cause isolation from the rest of the work community. However, openness is not possible if it involves the risk of discrimination, bullying or exclusion from the work community. We should be careful not to force openness on anyone but merely create favourable conditions for it.

E. Employers are responsible for ensuring a just work environment.

1. Employers should be aware of the various means of promoting equal treatment in the workplace and also be familiar with relevant legislation. This will serve to increase well-being at work – at a low cost – and, as a result, reduce the number of sick leaves and increase productivity. In the area of information sharing and support, the employers' organisations have a substantial role to play.
2. It is in the interest of employers to encourage equality and anti-discrimination policies that attempt to address and tackle problems within the work community. These policies will help employers to maintain or adopt just practices in dealing with the staff. All policies regarding equality or discrimination at work should include specific guidelines on how to intervene with discrimination occurring on the basis of a person's sexual orientation or gender expression, how to prevent such discrimination, and how to promote the well-being of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people at work.
3. To speed up the process of creating a work environment that is more accepting towards sexual and gender diversity, employers can organise work counselling and take a more active and efficient approach to heteronormative bullying and name-calling in the workplace.
4. By treating all employees in an equal fashion, regardless of the type of their partnership or family situation, employers can prevent problems arising from combining family life and work.

F. There are many ways to improve workplace climate.

1. Workplace climate can be developed through discussion, information and training focusing or touching on issues related to sexual orientation and gender identity. The training can be handled by experts working within the Occupational Safety and Health Inspectorates, trade unions or various organisations for lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people. Information sharing and training are best used as preventive instead of corrective measures.
2. The physical environment in the workplace can be adapted so as to render visible the diversity of employees and to limit the presence of heteronormative and sexist elements. Bulletin boards should carry material that encourages intervention in cases of discrimination and increases the visibility of diversity. Sexist and heteronormative imagery and material can be removed by unanimous decision. It would also be a good idea to make sure that every employee has easy access to the collective guidelines (outlined in equality and anti-discrimination policies) e.g. on the Internet or in print.

G. In the context of training on lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans issues, it is possible to address topics that are normally ignored or suppressed.

1. In the organisation of training on lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans issues, it is important to bear in mind that, very often, lack of information is not at the heart of the problem. When dealing with people's attitudes, their fear of the unknown, beliefs, and above all, feelings, we sometimes need to complement factual information with more hands-on elements. If people can participate in collective discussion, analyse real-life examples and tangible situations at work and listen to lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people talk about their personal experiences, they will acquire new levels of understanding.
2. In addition to people's feelings and experiences, training on lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans issues should focus on the type of language used. By discussing the powerful terms and concepts related to the topic, people can learn to understand the phenomenon itself. Those responsible for the training and information activities should use everyday vocabulary that respects the diverse make-up of different minority groups.
3. It would be advisable to reserve sufficient time and facilities for the training, and also make an effort to motivate people into participating. This is the responsibility of the employer. Regard for lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans issues should not be considered a question of individual discretion and conscience but a question of just treatment. Consequently, these issues should be familiar to every employee, at least at the level of personnel management.
4. Those who find it difficult to arrange purpose-built training and information sharing on lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans issues should at least address these in the context of their other training and information activities so as to avoid the marginalisation and trivialisation of the said groups of people. One example of this type of training and information sharing is the Be Equal, Be Different project, which awards equal attention to the different discriminatory grounds. In this project, sexual orientation is discussed on a par with racism and disability, while attention is also given to discrimination occurring on multiple grounds.

H. Research offers a means of pinpointing shortcomings, while at the same time serving the purpose of increasing knowledge and understanding on the situation of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people in the labour market.

1. Further research is needed on different work communities and environments. It is also important to map out and evaluate the changes ongoing in the work communities and the various employment sectors at large.
2. Research should be utilised to support decision and policy making geared towards the promotion of just treatment.
3. Research on working life should increasingly focus on not only gender but also the impacts of sexuality and gender diversity.
4. There should be increased funding for research in the field. Also, the various government ministries should study lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans issues within their particular scope of duties.

I. Different places of work and institutions have their own specific traditions and cultures. Therefore, we must approach the topic of sexual and gender diversity with a varied set of tools and adapt to the situation as needed.

1. In the area of customer service, employees can be offered training that incorporates lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans issues and customer service skills.
2. Sweden and the Netherlands provide excellent examples of reforms and versatile training and information schemes on sexual orientation carried out within the police, the armed forces and schools, among others (visit e.g. www.normgivande.nu or www.lesbigay.nl).
3. The various working life networks and collectives that offer support for lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people can contribute to a more equal work environment. In Finland, such networks can be found within the social and health care sector, the Church and the educational sector. This type of networking can exist in other sectors, as well, or within a single company: the Deutsche Bank in Germany has adopted a policy that actively supports networking among the company's lesbian, gay and bisexual employees.
4. We can draw on good practice and experiences gained outside our national borders and adapt them to suit the Finnish environment. With view to this, it would be useful to collect the results of national and international programmes and pilots into a single database, built perhaps by the Ministry of Labour or some other authority.

J. The responsibility for promoting just practices in working life does not lie solely with the large players and communities but with all individual employees, regardless of their gender experience or sexual orientation.

1. Each employee is responsible for his or her own behaviour with regard to discrimination, bullying, name-calling and harassment. To achieve equality and create a comfortable work environment, individual employees need to work together as one and treat others with respect.
2. Each employee can take an active role in issues and possible problems related to workplace climate. All employees can help to build a more diverse and accepting environment by taking a stand and promoting diversity issues in the work community. This will allow others to benefit from these positive attitudes and knowledge and also encourage lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people to share their personal matters in the work community. This, in turn, will reduce the anxiety caused by having to conceal one's private life. Diversity is more enriching when it is visible in the workplace.

VI
APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 – COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

Kati Mustola

Rolling the Snowball

Information about the survey was spread through various organisations, as well as websites and mailing lists found on the Internet. Together with an invitation to participate in the questionnaire, information was posted on the following websites, among others: www.seta.fi, ranneliike.net, quntele.fi, www.dtm.fi, www.saunalahti.fi/~mscfin.

On the discussion forum hosted by the Transvestite Association Dreamwear Club at the address www.dreamwearclub.net, people were discussing the survey and urging others to participate. A print version of the questionnaire form and a pre-paid envelope was included in the club's mailings to its members.

SETA Österbotten (Ostrobothnia) spread information about the survey among the Swedish-speaking population. Since many of the Swedish-speaking Finns regularly visit Swedish websites and discussion forums, information about the survey was also spread through the websites of organisations based in Sweden.

Questionnaire forms and information brochures on the survey – complete with the project website address and information on the web-based questionnaire form – were mailed to all local SETA organisations and several SETA member organisations. In autumn 2002, Turku, Tampere and Jyväskylä organised theme evenings on working life issues concerning lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people.

The information brochure on the project included contact details of the researcher, together with an invitation to order questionnaire forms for personal use or further distribution. Several dozen people contacted us or ordered forms via mail, telephone or e-mail.

Once we had received some 300 responses to the sexual minority questionnaire, we carried out a preliminary analysis. This showed an emphasis on people who belonged to young age classes and lived in Southern or Western Finland. Hence, an effort was made to extend the snowball sampling to the eastern and northern parts of Finland, as well as to the older age groups. We contacted local SETA organisations in Kuopio, Oulu and Rovaniemi, asking them to send the questionnaire form and a pre-paid envelope to all of their members.

To recruit people over the age of 30, we collaborated with the nationwide Mummolaakso – Gummedalen (Granny Valley) association and its local branch operating in the Turku region (Turun Seudun Mummolaakso ry). These

associations for lesbian and bisexual women have members of all ages, but most members are over the age of 30. These associations included the questionnaire form and a pre-paid envelope in the mailings to their members, together with a message where their chairpersons encouraged people to participate in the survey.

People were also given the option to complete the questionnaire form anonymously on the Equal project website at http://www.valt.helsinki.fi/sosio/tutkimus/equal/. Owing to problems with browser compatibility, some people were unable to fill in the electronic form. All those who contacted us about these problems and left their contact details received were replied and mailed a print version of the questionnaire, together with a pre-paid envelope. One person who contacted us did not want to give any contact details.

The questionnaire form was also made available in pdf format on our website for people to print it out and mail it anonymously – in this case, the postage was paid by the respondent.

The quickest respondents completed the form in around twenty minutes. Those who answered the open-ended questions at more length needed an hour or so to complete the form.

The respondents' answers to the question "Through which channel did you hear about this survey?" give us an idea of how the snowball spread. Those who had learned about the questionnaire survey through the actual snowball method, i.e. through friends, acquaintances or co-workers, represented 13 % of the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents and 7 % of the trans respondents. SETA and its member organisations had been the source for 17 % of the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents, while 79 % of the trans respondents had learned about the survey through the Transgender Support Centre of SETA, the patient rights group for transsexuals, Trasek, or the Transvestite Association Dreamwear Club. We did not ask the respondents about their organisational backgrounds, which is why we do not have any comparative data on the Swedish survey, which was targeted at members of lesbian, gay and bisexual organisations.

With the use of the Internet and electronic communication being the current trend, 67 % of the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents and 46 % of the trans respondents completed the web-based form. Those who had learned about the survey on the Internet accounted for 41 % of the lesbian, gay and bisexual respondents and 10 % of the trans respondents.

In addition, people were informed about the survey through various trade organisations. The survey was advertised in the trade magazines of the Union of Health and Social Care Professionals (Tehy), the Finnish Union of Practical Nurses (SuPer), the Finnish Transport Workers' Union (AKT), and the Service Union United (PAM). A few respondents had heard about the Equal project and

the related survey through the media, namely the TV, radio and newspapers. The Z magazine, published by SETA, proved the most effective means of distributing information.

Table 95. The source through which respondents learned about the sexual minority questionnaire survey, shown by gender.

Where did you hear about this survey (%)	Male	Female	Total
Friends/acquaintances	12	13	12
Colleagues	1	1	1
Z magazine	6	7	6
SETA and its member organisations	17	17	17
Web pages on the Internet	35	9	20
Mailing lists aimed at sexual and gender minorities	10	23	18
Other mailing lists	3	4	3
Trade union newsletters or other communication	3	5	4
General media	1	1	1
Other	10	17	14
Several of the above sources	1	4	3
Total	100	100	100
N	(299)	(404)	(703)

Table 96. The source through which respondents learned about the gender minority questionnaire survey.

Through which source did you hear about this survey (%)	
Friends or acquaintances	6
Co-workers	1
Z magazine	1
Trasek ry	7
Dreamwear Club ry	45
The Transgender Support Centre of SETA	27
Internet websites	3
Mailing lists for lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people	6
Other mailing lists	1
Trade union	1
The media	1
Other	1
Total	100
N	(107)

Cross-tabulation Testing and Re-classification of the Openness Variable

The statistical significance of the results gained through the sexual minority questionnaire was tested by means of the χ^2 test. In the case of the gender minority questionnaire, statistical significance could not be tested due to the small size of some of the sub groups (10 and 15 respondents), yielding only a couple of entries in each cell of a table.

For question 55 ("How many of your co-workers know about your sexual orientation?") on the questionnaire form targeted at sexual minorities, the respondents were divided into two categories: those who concealed their sexual orientation from all or almost all of their co-workers, and those who had told about their sexual orientation to at least half of their co-workers. The latter group was named as "those who tell". Those who had chosen the option "I don't know if they know" (88 respondents) were grouped together with "those who conceal".

In another variation of the openness variable, the group of respondents who answered "I don't know if they know" were excluded from the analysis altogether. The exclusion of this group did not have any notable impact, as the relative proportions remained almost completely unchanged. The 16 respondents who had no fellow workers were excluded from the new variation, since the question was not relevant to them. This re-classified openness variable was applied in chapters *Outline Results of a Questionnaire Targeted at Sexual Minorities* and *To hide One's True Self? Openness and Well-being of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Health Care Employees*, written by Anna Vanhala. (For further information on the formation of sum variables describing social support and the conceived threats, as featured in the latter of these two chapters, see Vanhala 2003.)

APPENDIX 2 – QUESTIONNAIRE FORM SEXUAL MINORITIES IN WORKING LIFE

This survey is part of an EQUAL project, funded by the European Social Fund ESF and the Finnish Ministry of Employment. The Europe-wide Equal programme aims to combat all forms of inequality and discrimination in employment, and with that, to prevent marginalisation. A joint project between the Department of Sociology at the University of Helsinki, STAKES (the National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health), and SETA (the Finnish National Organisation for Sexual Equality), the Finnish EQUAL project *Sexual and Gender Minorities at Work* is an attempt to both map and improve the situation of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people in the labour market.

By completing this questionnaire form, you will be giving a valuable contribution to a survey that marks the first Finnish study of its kind into the situation and experiences of sexual and gender minorities in working life. This is why it is important that we hear about your particular experiences.

This survey concerns those who are currently or have previously been involved in working life in Finland, and who define themselves as belonging to a sexual or gender minority.

Please note that this questionnaire form is intended for lesbian, gay, bisexual and other people whose sexual feelings or behaviour are directed towards persons of their own sex. This questionnaire uses an umbrella term of sexual minorities to refer to all these groups. There is a separate form for transgendered (transsexual) people, transvestites and other trans people. These people are covered by an umbrella term gender minorities. If you belong to both a gender and a sexual minority, please complete the form you consider more relevant in terms of your working life experiences.

You can fill in the questionnaire anonymously. All your answers will remain strictly confidential, and no details will be published that could indicate, for example, your place of work. An outline of the survey results will be compiled into a book, due for publication in the year 2004.

Complete the form by writing your answer in the space provided or by circling the number representing the most appropriate answer. Please circle only one option for each question. In questions where no options are offered, answer in your own words using the space provided. If you run out of space, use extra paper or the margins of the form. Your comments are welcome and appreciated.

You can also fill in the questionnaire online at www.valt.helsinki.fi/sosio/tutkimus/equal, where you can also find a printable version of the form in pdf format.

Please answer all questions and return the completed form by the end of February 2003 at the address below, using the pre-paid envelope.

We would appreciate it if you could spread information about the survey and urge other lesbian, gay and bisexual people to complete the questionnaire.

Additional forms, pre-paid envelopes and information can be obtained through local SETA organisations, the Transgender Support Centre of SETA, or researcher Kati Mustola at the address Department of Sociology/Research Unit, P.O. Box 35, 00014 University of Helsinki, or: e-mail kati.mustola@helsinki.fi, tel. 09-19124703.

Both questionnaire forms are also available in Swedish.

1. Your year of birth 19__

2. Your gender
1 male
2 female
3 other, specify _____

3. Your native language
1 Finnish
2 Swedish
3 other, _____

4. Your nationality
1 Finnish
2 other, please specify if you wish to _____
3 dual citizenship (Finnish and some other), specify which other if you wish to _____

5. Do you belong to an ethnic minority?
1 no
2 yes, please specify which if you wish to _____

6. Are your sexual feelings, thoughts or fantasies directed
1 only towards your own sex
2 primarily towards your own sex
3 as much towards your own as towards the opposite sex
4 primarily towards the opposite sex
5 only towards the opposite sex

7. Is your sexual behaviour directed
1 only towards your own sex
2 primarily towards your own sex
3 as much towards your own as towards the opposite sex
4 primarily towards the opposite sex
5 only towards the opposite sex
6 I don't have sexual activity

8. Which definition do you use of yourself?
1 homosexual
2 homo[1]
3 lesbian
4 bisexual
5 other, please specify _____
6 I don't use any definitions

9. At what age did you begin to feel sexually attracted towards persons of your own sex?
1 I have felt as long as I can remember
2 age in years _____
3 don't know

[1] *Corresponds to 'gay' in colloquial in-group usage. (translator's note)*

10. To whom have you told and from whom you conceal your sexual orientation? Below are listed different people and categories of people, please circle on each item the number representing the most appropriate answer.

Use the following scale:
0 = not applicable (I haven't got the relationship in question)
1 = I have told everyone in this category
2 = I have told some people in this category
3 = I conceal my sexual orientation from everyone in this category

I have/haven't told about my sexual orientation to

my mother (or female guardian)	0 1 2 3
my father (or male guardian)	0 1 2 3
my spouse (opposite sex)	0 1 2 3
my children	0 1 2 3
my sisters and brothers	0 1 2 3
my other relatives	0 1 2 3
non-heterosexual friends/acquaintances	0 1 2 3
heterosexual friends/acquaintances	0 1 2 3
neighbours	0 1 2 3
friends at school or college	0 1 2 3
work colleagues	0 1 2 3
my immediate supervisor at work	0 1 2 3
pupils/clients, etc	0 1 2 3

11. How have the following people reacted to your sexual orientation?

Use the scale:
0 = not applicable (I haven't got the relationship in question)
1 = he or she doesn't/they don't know about my sexual orientation (it has not come up)
2 = mostly with disapproval
3 = mostly tolerating
4 = mostly accepting

mother (or female guardian)	0 1 2 3 4
father (or male guardian)	0 1 2 3 4
spouse (opposite sex)	0 1 2 3 4
children	0 1 2 3 4
sisters and brothers	0 1 2 3 4
other relatives	0 1 2 3 4
non-heterosexual friends/acquaintances	0 1 2 3 4
heterosexual friends/acquaintances	0 1 2 3 4
neighbours	0 1 2 3 4
friends at school or college	0 1 2 3 4
work colleagues	0 1 2 3 4
immediate supervisor at work	0 1 2 3 4
pupils/clients, etc	0 1 2 3 4

12. Your couple relationship at the present time

1 registered partnership with same sex partner
2 cohabitation with same sex partner
3 marriage with opposite sex partner
4 cohabitation with opposite sex partner
5 I have a steady relationship with a same sex partner but we live separately
6 I have a steady relationship with opposite sex partner but we live separately
7 I don't have a steady companion at the moment

13. Do you have children (your own, your partner's or joint) who live (wholly or in part) in the same household with you?

1 yes, how many _____? Children's ages _____
2 no

14. Do you have children who don't live in the same household with you?

1 yes, how many _____? Children's ages _____
2 no

15. The area where you live in Finland

1 the Province of Southern Finland
2 the Province of Western Finland
3 the Province of Eastern Finland
4 the Province of Oulu
5 the Province of Lapland
6 the Province of Åland

16. Is your place of residence in

1 the capital area (Helsinki, Espoo, Kauniainen or Vantaa)
2 Tampere, Turku, Oulu, Kuopio, Lahti or Jyväskylä
3 other town
4 built-up area in a rural locality
5 thinly populated rural locality

17. Where did you live at the age of 15?

1 in the capital area
2 in Tampere, Turku, Oulu, Kuopio, Lahti or Jyväskylä
3 in other town or urban district
4 built-up area in a rural locality
5 thinly populated rural locality
6 abroad

18. Did you ever move away from a locality because you felt it had a negative atmosphere regarding sexual minorities?

1 yes, it was the main reason for moving
2 yes, it was a partial reason for moving
3 other reasons were behind my moving away
4 I haven't moved

19. Did you ever move to a locality because you felt it had a positive atmosphere regarding sexual minorities?

1 yes, it was the main reason for moving
2 yes, it was a partial reason for moving
3 other reasons were behind my moving
4 I haven't moved

20. Have you done your obligatory military service or voluntary service?

0 I haven't done military service
1 I did military service
2 I did non-military service
3 I interrupted military service
4 I was exempted
5 I am a total objector

21. Have issues related to sexual orientation affected your decision or willingness to do your military service as a conscript?

1 yes, they have increased my willingness to do military service as a conscript
2 yes, they have lessened my willingness to do military service as a conscript
3 no
4 on't know

22. How important Christianity is to you?

1 very important
2 moderately important
3 not very important
4 not at all important
5 don't know

Education and Employment History

23. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

1 comprehensive school
2 upper secondary general school, matriculation examination or equivalent
3 qualification from vocational school
4 qualification from vocational college
5 lower university degree or diploma from polytechnic
6 higher university degree
7 licentiate's or doctoral degree

24. What is your occupation? If retired, what was your occupation? _____

25. Is your job in keeping with your qualifications?

1 yes, fully
2 yes, partly
3 no
4 I'm not working

26. In your childhood or adolescence, what was your ideal profession? _____

27. Have you decided not to pursue a vocational training or career because of negative attitudes on sexual minorities in that field?

1 yes, it was the main reason
2 yes, it influenced to some extent
3 no
4 don't know

28. Have you decided for a vocational training or career because of positive attitudes to sexual minorities in that field?

1 yes, it was the main reason
2 yes, it influenced to some extent
3 no
4 don't know

29. Are you currently

1 working as employee
2 an entrepreneur (on family farm or business, self-employed)
3 unemployed or laid off
4 on maternity, paternity or parental leave
5 a student
6 on disability pension or prolonged sick leave
7 on pension granted on grounds of age or years of work
8 on unemployment pension
9 on part-time pension
10 performing domestic work at home
11 something else, please specify _____

30. If you are not currently involved in working life (as employee or entrepreneur), how long have you been away from working life?

1 I haven't been away from working life
2 I have been away from working life: number of years _____
(if less than one year, enter months _____)

31. How many years altogether have you been in gainful employment?

Work experience is counted from 15 years on. Include also summer and part-time jobs and assess how many years' work experience you have when converted into full-time employment.
Number of years _____ (if less than one year, enter months _____)

32. During your life have you

1 always been in fairly same kind of occupations
2 been in 2-3 distinctly different occupations
3 been in several distinctly different occupations?

33. Have you changed your job in the past 5 years?

1 yes, how many times? _____
2 no

34. Was changing your job influenced by negative attitudes toward sexual minorities at your place of work?

0 I haven't changed my job
1 not at all
2 to some extent/ somewhat
3 it was the major/main reason for changing my job

35. Have you been unemployed or laid off during the past 5 years

1 once
2 several times
3 I haven't been unemployed or laid off during the past 5 years

36. How many months altogether have you been unemployed or laid off during the past 5 years?

1 number of months _____
2 I haven't been unemployed or laid off during the past 5 years

37. Consider your training and employment history or your choice of occupation and career. In what ways has your sexual orientation influenced your decisions, and have your experiences from school years already affected them?

_____

Current Place of Employment

The next questions concern your present job. If you are not currently working, please answer with reference to your last place of work.

38. How many years have you been in your job?
Enter full years _____ (If less than one year, enter months _____)

39. What is the field of activity of your workplace?

1 manufacturing, construction
2 private services
3 municipality or joint municipal board
4 state
5 church
6 other, specify _____

40. If you are employed by a municipality, in which of the following sectors?

0 I'm not employed in the municipal sector
1 social welfare
2 health care
3 education and culture
4 administration
5 technical services (energy supply, transport, water supply, fire and rescue services, construction)
6 other, specify _____

41. If you are employed by the church, does your job consist of

0 I'm not employed by the church
1 pastoral work (pastors, lectors, church musicians, deacons, children's or youth workers)
2 other type of work

42. Do you work (mostly)

1 full-time
2 part-time

43. Is your contract of employment

1 permanent (continuing until further notice)
2 temporary

44. Do you consider it possible that in the course of the next 12 months you will be given notice or, if you work on temporary basis, your contract will not be renewed?

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know
4 I'm currently not working

45. What is your monthly income from principal occupation before taxes? Include additional payments on shift work and seniority bonuses and equivalent, but not earnings from overtime.

1 350 euros (2080 mk) or under
2 351-850 euros (2081 - 5059 mk)
3 851-1680 euros (5060 – 9994 mk)
4 1681 - 2500 euros (9995 - 14896 mk)
5 2501 - 3400 euros (14870 – 20220 mk)
6 3401 - 5000 euros (20221 – 29730 mk)
7 5001 - 6700 euros (29731 – 39840 mk)
8 6701 - 8400 euros (39841 – 49944 mk)
9 above 8400 euros
10 don't know

46. How many employees are there in your workplace? Workplace is considered to be one unit, for instance a factory, an office, a hospital, a store, a building site etc.

1 1 – 4 persons
2 4 – 9 persons
3 10 – 29 persons
4 30 – 99 persons
5 100 persons or more

47. How many of them are women?

1 only a few or a minority
2 about half
3 the majority or almost all
4 I work alone

48. Is your most immediate supervisor

1 a man
2 a woman
3 I have no supervisor

49. How large part of your working time is spent interacting with people other than your co-workers (for instance clients, patients or pupils)?

1 almost all of it
2 about three quarters of the work time
3 about half
4 about one fourth
5 less than one fourth
6 none of it
7 don't know

50. As part of the duties of your job, do you supervise the work of others or assign tasks to other employees?

1 yes, how many persons currently work under your supervision? _____ persons
2 no

51. How often do you see your co-workers in your free time?

1 almost daily
2 at least once a week
3 at least once a month
4 less frequently
5 never
6 I have no co-workers
7 don't know

Openness

52. In your place of work are there others who belong to sexual minorities?

1 no others
2 I'm not aware
3 yes, one
4 yes, more than one

53. How do you know this person or these persons belong to a sexual minority?

0 I'm not aware of others in my workplace who would belong to sexual minorities
1 you can see it
2 there has been talk
3 the person(s) in question told themselves about their sexual orientation

54. Does it make a difference to you that there are others belonging to sexual minorities at your workplace?

0 I'm not aware of others in my workplace who would belong to sexual minorities
1 it is a positive thing
2 it is a negative thing
3 it makes no difference to me

55. How many of your co-workers know about your sexual orientation?

0 I have no fellow workers
1 none
2 one or a few
3 about half
4 almost everybody
5 everybody
6 I don't know if they know

56. How many of your clients, pupils etc. know about your sexual orientation?

0 I have no clients, pupils or equivalent at my work
1 none
2 one or a few
3 about half
4 almost everybody
5 everybody
6 I don't know if they know

57. Does your supervisor know about your sexual orientation?

0 I have no supervisor
1 he/she doesn't know
2 he/she knows
3 I don't know if he/she knows

58. How did people come to know about your sexual orientation at work?

0 it is not known
1 I told myself
2 they heard from others
3 other, please explain? _____

59. If you told about your sexual orientation yourself, when did you do it?

0 I have not told myself
1 at the job interview
2 when starting the job
3 after probation
4 after a few years

60. How do you tell about or conceal issues related to your sexual orientation at work. What is your experience of the situation and how do others react to your concealing or revealing your sexual orientation? _____

Atmosphere at Work

61. To what extent do the following issues apply to you:

Use the scale: 1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = never, 5 = don't know.
Circle the most appropriate number after each question.
Please answer every question (one circle on each row of numbers).

Are you given advice or assistance in your work?	1 2 3 4 5
Do you receive support and encouragement from supervisors when you have difficulties at work?	1 2 3 4 5
Do you receive support and encouragement from co-workers when you have difficulties at work?	1 2 3 4 5
Do you feel you are a respected member of the working community?	1 2 3 4 5
Are you involved in planning your work activities? (e.g. what must be done, how and with whom)?	1 2 3 4 5
Do you consider your work meaningful?	1 2 3 4 5
Do you feel your work is subjected to contradictory expectations from different quarters?	1 2 3 4 5
Do you feel you are expected to act in a way conventionally associated with your gender?	1 2 3 4 5

62. How often do the following incidents occur at your work, or do they occur at all:

Use the scale: 1 = daily or almost daily, 2 = a couple of times a week, 3 = about once a week, 4 = a couple of times a month, 5 = less frequently, 6 = never

You are involved in a conflict or argument with other members of the working community	1 2 3 4 5 6
You are involved in a conflict or argument with clients, pupils, or equivalent	1 2 3 4 5 6
You face physical violence from co-workers at work	1 2 3 4 5 6
You face physical violence from clients, pupils, etc.	1 2 3 4 5 6
Your co-workers **threaten** you with physical violence	1 2 3 4 5 6
Clients, pupils, or equivalent **threaten** you with physical violence	1 2 3 4 5 6
You receive acknowledgement from others in the working community or from clients	1 2 3 4 5 6

63. Do the following situations occur at your place of work:

Use the scale: 1 = a lot, 2 = quite a lot, 3 = to some extent, 4 = not at all

Rivalry?	1 2 3 4
Disagreement between superiors and employees?	1 2 3 4
Disagreement between employees?	1 2 3 4
Disagreement between groups of employees?	1 2 3 4

64. Have sexual minorities (gays, lesbians and bisexuals) been a topic of discussion at your workplace, e.g. during coffee breaks?

1 yes, mostly in a positive tone
2 yes, mostly in a negative tone
3 no discussion

65. Have gender minorities (trans people) been a topic of discussion at your workplace, e.g. during coffee breaks?

1 yes, mostly in a positive tone
2 yes, mostly in a negative tone
3 no discussion

66. Have the couple relationships and family life of members of the staff been a topic of discussion at your workplace?

1 yes, but only the relationships and family life of opposite sex couples
2 yes, but only the relationships and family life of same sex couples
3 yes, both same sex and opposite sex couples' relationships and family life
4 couple relationships and family life of the staff are not discussed at my workplace

67. Bullying or harassment at work refers to ostracizing a member of a working community, invalidating his or her work, intimidating, talking behind his or her back, or other forms of oppressive behaviour. Does this kind of behaviour occur at your workplace?

1 never
2 occasionally
3 continually
4 don't know

68. Have you yourself been subjected to such harassment?

1 no
2 yes, at the present time
3 yes, earlier in this job but no longer
4 yes, earlier in another job
5 don't know

69. Is there harassment at your place of work that is connected to sexual orientation?

1 never
2 occasionally
3 continually
4 don't know

70. Have you yourself been subjected to harassment because of your sexual orientation?

1 no
2 yes, at the present time
3 yes, earlier in this job but no longer
4 yes, earlier in another job
5 don't know

71. Is there name-calling targeted at sexual and gender minorities at your place of work (calling somebody homo, "tranny", etc.)?

1 never
2 occasionally
3 continually
4 don't know

72. Have you yourself been subjected to such name-calling?

1 no
2 yes, at the present time
3 yes, earlier in this job but no longer
4 yes, earlier in another job
5 don't know

73. At your place of work, are jokes being made about sexual and gender minorities that you consider unpleasant?

1 yes, continually
2 yes, occasionally
3 never
4 don't know

74. Sexual harassment refers to such conduct of sexual nature that is one-sided, unwelcome, and may involve pressure. Is there sexual harassment at your place of work?

1 yes, continually
2 yes, occasionally
3 never
4 don't know

75. Have you yourself been subjected to sexual harassment?

1 n o
2 yes, at the present time
3 yes, earlier in this job but no longer
4 yes, earlier in another job
5 don't know

76. If yes, were the perpetrators men or women?

1 men
2 women
3 both

At your work, to what extent do you feel threatened by:

77. Physical violence

1 very much threatened
2 somewhat threatened
3 not at all threatened
4 don't know

78. Mental breakdown

1 very much threatened
2 somewhat threatened
3 not at all threatened
4 don't know

79. Serious burnout
1 very much threatened
2 somewhat threatened
3 not at all threatened
4 don't know

80. Being socially isolated from the working community
1 very much threatened
2 somewhat threatened
3 not at all threatened
4 don't know

81. How often do you feel reluctant and mentally exhausted on going to work?
1 daily or almost daily
2 a few times a week
3 once a week
4 once or twice a month
5 less frequently
6 never
7 don't know

82. During the past 12 months how many days were you away from work because of personal illness? If none, enter zero (0) _____ days

83. Have you considered retiring on a pension already before retirement age?
1 haven't considered
2 I consider it sometimes
3 I consider it often
4 I have started a private pension scheme
5 I have applied for retirement or I am already retired
6 don't know

84. If you could now choose between continuing at work and retirement, what would you do? This question applies only to those aged 45 years or older.
0 I'm under 45
1 continue working
2 retire
3 don't know

85. If your job satisfaction or exhaustion is connected to your sexual orientation, please explain in what way? Explain also how you have sought or received support in your situation

_____

Which of the factors listed below weaken your job satisfaction (in your present job or, if you are currently not in working life, your latest job)?

86. Lack of appreciation
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

87. Lack of opportunities to influence my work
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

88. Insecurity about the continuation of your employment
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

89. Relations with supervisors
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

90. Atmosphere at work
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

91. Lack of opportunities for career progression
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

92. Intolerance towards sexual and gender minorities
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

93. Intolerance towards ethnic minorities and immigrants
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

94. Narrow gender roles
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

Which of the factors listed below increase your job satisfaction?

95. Interesting tasks
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

96. Independence in working
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

97. Appreciation of the work
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

98. Relations with supervisors
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

99. Opportunities for career progression or promotion
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

100. Opportunities to influence my own work
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

101. Workplace atmosphere
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

102. Security of employment
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

103. An equal and tolerant environment with regard to sexual and gender minorities
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

104. An equal and tolerant environment with regard to ethnic minorities and immigrants
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

105. Flexible gender roles
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

106. What is your social gender in your workplace, or how do your co-workers interpret your gender? Select the most appropriate description.
1 masculine man
2 both masculine and feminine man
3 feminine man
4 masculine woman
5 both feminine and masculine woman
6 feminine woman
7 some take me for a man others for a woman
8 don't know

107. What is your psychological gender? In your feelings, thoughts and fantasies are you

1 entirely woman
2 mostly woman
3 as much woman as man
4 mostly man
5 entirely man
6 don't know

108. At some workplaces conventional female behaviour is expected from women and conventional male behaviour from men. At other places attitudes to sex and gender are more flexible. Tell about a situation at your place of work where attempts have been made to restrict the gender-related behaviour or appearance of others. _____

Discrimination

In working life inequality and discrimination can be found for instance in pay, recruitment, career promotion, or access to training. Do you think discrimination or unfair treatment occurs in your organisation that is based on:

109. Age, especially regarding young people? Please answer both A and B sections.

A. Occurs in my organization	B. I have been affected
1 yes	1 yes
2 no	2 no
3 don't know	3 don't know

110. Age, especially regarding old people?

A. Occurs in my organization	B. I have been affected
1 yes	1 yes
2 no	2 no
3 don't know	3 don't know

111. Sex, especially regarding women?

A. Occurs in my organization	B. I have been affected
1 yes	1 yes
2 no	2 no
3 don't know	3 don't know

112. Sex, especially regarding men?

A. Occurs in my organization	B. I have been affected
1 yes	1 yes
2 no	2 no
3 don't know	3 don't know

113. Sexual orientation?

A. Occurs in my organization	B. I have been affected
1 yes	1 yes
2 no	2 no
3 don't know	3 don't know

114. Transsexuality or gender minorities?

A. Occurs in my organization	B. I have been affected
1 yes	1 yes
2 no	2 no
3 don't know	3 don't know

115. Being employed on temporary or part-time basis?

A. Occurs in my organization	B. I have been affected
1 yes	1 yes
2 no	2 no
3 don't know	3 don't know

116. The fact that an employer belongs to an ethnic minority or is an immigrant?

A. Occurs in my organization	B. I have been affected
1 yes	1 yes
2 no	2 no
3 don't know	3 don't know

Have you experienced unfair treatment or discrimination in working life in the following situations or aspects?

117. In recruiting?

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

118. Was sexual orientation an influencing factor?

1 yes, it was the main cause
2 yes, to some extent
3 no, it wasn't

119. In pay?

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

120. Was sexual orientation an influencing factor?

1 yes, it was the main cause
2 yes, to some extent
3 no, it wasn't

121. In opportunities for advancement in career?

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

122. Was sexual orientation an influencing factor?

1 yes, it was the main cause
2 yes, to some extent
3 no, it wasn't

123. In opportunities for training arranged by your employer?

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

124. Was sexual orientation an influencing factor?

1 yes, it was the main cause
2 yes, to some extent
3 no, it wasn't

125. In getting information?

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

126. Was sexual orientation an influencing factor?

1 yes, it was the main cause
2 yes, to some extent
3 no, it wasn't

127. Your co-workers' or supervisors' attitudes to you?

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

128. Was sexual orientation an influencing factor?

1 yes, it was the main cause
2 yes, to some extent
3 no, it wasn't

129. Did you know that since 1995 a law has been in force in Finland that prohibits discrimination in working life on the basis of sexual orientation?

1 I knew
2 I didn't know

130. If you were discriminated against in working life because of your sexual orientation, would you be willing to take your case to court?

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

131. If you have experienced a situation at work where you or somebody else has faced direct or indirect discrimination because of their sexual orientation, describe the incident. Tell also how you felt and how you acted. _____

132. Are you a member of a labour union, an organization for salaried employees or other employee organization similar to a union (membership in an unemployment fund)?

1 yes, which? _____
2 no
3 don't know

133. To which central organization your union is affiliated?

0 I don't belong to a union
1 SAK (The Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions)
2 STTK (Finnish Confederation of Salaried Employees)
3 AKAVA (The Confederation of Unions for Academic Professionals in Finland)
4 other
5 don't know

If you have been discriminated against in working life because of your sexual orientation, did you contact any of the following?

134. Trade union
0 I haven't been discriminated against
1 yes
2 no

135. Employee representative
0 I haven't been discriminated against
1 yes
2 no

136. Your supervisor
0 I haven't been discriminated against
1 yes
2 no

137. Your co-workers
0 I haven't been discriminated against
1 yes
2 no

138. Occupational safety and health authorities (Occupational safety and health inspectorate)
0 I haven't been discriminated against
1 yes
2 no

139. Occupational health services
0 I haven't been discriminated against
1 yes
2 no

140. SETA
0 I haven't been discriminated against
1 yes
2 no

If you were discriminated against in working life because of your sexual orientation, would you contact any of the following?

141. Trade union
1 yes
2 no

142. Employee representative
1 yes
2 no

143. Supervisor
1 yes
2 no

144. Co-workers

1 yes
2 no

145. Occupational safety and health authorities (Occupational safety and health inspectorate)

1 yes
2 no

146. Occupational health services

1 yes
2 no

147. SETA

1 yes
2 no

148. What kind of measures would you want trade unions to take in order to improve the situation of sexual and gender minorities? _____

149. At some workplaces action has already been taken to change attitudes and practices in order to better accommodate the sexual and gender diversity of employees. What kind of experiences do you have on the positive practices this has entailed? _____

150. Where did you hear about this survey?

1 friends/ acquaintances
2 colleagues
3 Z magazine
4 communication through SETA or is member organizations
5 web pages on the Internet
6 e-mail lists aimed at sexual and gender minorities
7 other e-mail lists
8 trade union newsletters or other trade union communication
9 general media (TV, radio, newspapers and other media)
10 other, specify _____

Since this questionnaire can cover only a part of the issues related to sexual minorities in working life, feel free to tell about those matters that you consider important to bring up. If you run out of space, use extra paper. Your comments are welcome and appreciated. _____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!

We shall conduct interviews on a number of people for the survey. If you are interested in participating in an interview, enter your contact information: _____

Unfortunately we cannot carry out interviews among a very large group. We contact those who we would like to interview by 31.5.2003.

APPENDIX 3 – QUESTIONNAIRE FORM GENDER MINORITIES IN WORKING LIFE

This survey is part of an EQUAL project, funded by the European Social Fund ESF and the Finnish Ministry of Employment. The Europe-wide Equal programme aims to combat all forms of inequality and discrimination in employment, and with that, to prevent marginalisation. A joint project between the Department of Sociology at the University of Helsinki, STAKES (the National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health), and SETA (the Finnish National Organisation for Sexual Equality), the Finnish EQUAL project *Sexual and Gender Minorities at Work* is an attempt to both map and improve the situation of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people in the labour market.

By completing this questionnaire form, you will be giving a valuable contribution to a survey that marks the first Finnish study of its kind into the situation and experiences of sexual and gender minorities in working life. This is why it is important that we hear about your particular experiences.

This survey concerns those who are currently or have previously been involved in working life in Finland, and who define themselves as belonging to a sexual or gender minority.

Please note that this questionnaire form is intended for transgendered (transsexual) people, transvestites and other trans people, as well as those with an atypical gender identity and expression. This questionnaire uses an umbrella term of gender minorities to refer to all these groups. There is a separate form for lesbian, gay, bisexual and other people whose sexual feelings and/or behaviour are directed towards persons of their own sex. These people are covered by an umbrella term sexual minorities. If you belong to both a gender and a sexual minority, please complete the form you consider more relevant in terms of your working life experiences.

You can fill in the questionnaire anonymously. All your answers will remain strictly confidential, and no details will be published that could indicate, for example, your place of work. An outline of the survey results will be compiled into a book, due for publication in the year 2004.

Complete the form by writing your answer in the space provided or by circling the number representing the most appropriate answer. Please circle only one option for each question. In questions where no options are offered, answer in your own words using the space provided. If you run out of space, use extra paper or the margins of the form. Your comments are welcome and appreciated.

You can also fill in the questionnaire online at www.valt.helsinki.fi/sosio/tutkimus/equal, where you can also find a printable version of the form in pdf format.

Please answer all questions and return the completed form by 28 February 2003 at the latest.

We would appreciate it if you could spread information about the survey and urge other trans people to complete the questionnaire. Additional forms, pre-paid envelopes and information can be obtained through local SETA organisations, the Transgender Support Centre of SETA, or researcher Kati Mustola at the address Department of Sociology/Research Unit, P.O. Box 35, 00014 University of Helsinki, or: e-mail kati.mustola@helsinki.fi, tel. 09-19124703.

Both questionnaire forms are also available in Swedish.

1. Your year of birth 19__

2. Your biological sex at birth

1 male
2 female
3 other, specify _____

3. What is your psychological gender? In your feelings, thoughts and fantasies are you

1 entirely woman
2 mostly woman
3 as much woman as man
4 mostly man
5 entirely man
6 no gender specification
7 other, specify _____
8 don't know

4. Which trans definition do you prefer to use of yourself? Please circle only one option.

1 transgendered[12]
2 transsexual
3 trans woman
4 trans man
5 transvestite
6 transgender
7 intersexual
8 other, specify _____

5. Do you express your gender (your desired gender if you are a transsexual, or your feminine side if you are a transvestite man) through your physical appearance and clothing

A. At work

1 yes
2 no
3 only tentatively
4 I am not currently involved in working life

B. At home

1 yes
2 no
3 only tentatively

C. With friends and acquaintances

1 yes
2 no
3 only tentatively

2. 1 The term 'transgendered' is used here as a literal translation of a Finnish term that is synonymous with 'transsexual' but avoids the emphasis on sexuality. (translator's note)

6. What is your social gender in your workplace, or how do your co-workers interpret your gender? Only select the most appropriate description.

1 masculine man
2 both masculine and feminine man
3 feminine man
4 masculine woman
5 both feminine and masculine woman
6 feminine woman
7 some take me for a man others for a woman
8 other, specify _____
9 don't know

7. At what age did you become aware that you were different from others in terms of your gender?

1 I have been aware as long as I can remember
2 age in years _____
3 don't know

8. Have you altered your physical appearance through gender-reassignment treatment or self-care (e.g. epilating, hormonal treatment, speech training, genital surgery etc.) to better match your own gender identity?

1 I feel no need
2 no, but I would like to
3 yes, through _____treatment
4 other, specify _____

9. Have you changed your legal name and/or your social security number to match the gender you perceive yourself to be?

1 not applicable/I feel no need
2 I have changed my name
3 I have changed my social security number, but not my name
4 I have changed my name and my social security number
5 no, but I would like to change my name
6 no, but I would like to change my name and social security number
7 other, specify _____

10. If you have changed your legal name and/or your social security number or asked your co-workers to call you by a name that better matches your identity, what is the situation in your workplace?

1 not applicable/I feel no need
2 I have not, but I would like to
3 I have, but my co-workers do not know I have changed my name or my social security number
4 I have, and my co-workers call me by my new name
5 I have, but my co-workers call me by my old name
6 I have, and some co-workers call me by my old name, some by my new name
7 I have, but my co-workers avoid addressing me by my first name or only use my family name
8 other, specify _____

11. If you have undergone a gender-reassignment process or are currently doing so, how has this affected your situation at work or at school? _____

12. To whom have you told and from whom you conceal your gender identity. Below are listed different people and categories of people, please circle on each item the number representing the most appropriate answer.

Use the following scale:
0 = not applicable (I haven't got the relationship in question)
1 = I have told everyone in this category
2 = I have told some people in this category
3 = I conceal my gender identity from everyone in this category

I have/haven't told	
my mother (or female guardian)	0 1 2 3
my father (or male guardian)	0 1 2 3
my spouse (opposite sex)	0 1 2 3
my children	0 1 2 3
my sisters and brothers	0 1 2 3
my other relatives	0 1 2 3
friends/acquaintances who belong to a gender minority	0 1 2 3
my other friends/acquaintances	0 1 2 3
neighbours	0 1 2 3
friends at school or college	0 1 2 3
work colleagues	0 1 2 3
my immediate supervisor at work	0 1 2 3
pupils/clients, etc.	0 1 2 3

13. How have the following people reacted to your gender identity? Use the scale:
0 = not applicable (I haven't got the relationship in question)
1 = he or she doesn't/they don't know (or it has not come up)
2 = mostly with disapproval
3 = mostly tolerating
4 = mostly accepting

mother (or female guardian	0 1 2 3 4
father (or male guardian)	0 1 2 3 4
spouse	0 1 2 3 4
children	0 1 2 3 4
sisters and brothers	0 1 2 3 4
other relatives	0 1 2 3 4
friends/acquaintances who belong to a gender minority	0 1 2 3 4
other friends/acquaintances	0 1 2 3 4
neighbours	0 1 2 3 4
friends at school or college	0 1 2 3 4
work colleagues	0 1 2 3 4
immediate supervisor at work	0 1 2 3 4
pupils/clients, etc	0 1 2 3 4

14. Which definition do you use of your sexual orientation?

1 heterosexual
2 homosexual
3 homo[13]
4 lesbian
5 bisexual
6 other, specify _____
7 I don't use any definitions

15. Your couple relationship at the present time (if none of the answers applies to your situation, answer in your own words in the space provided under item "other, specify")

1 marriage with female partner
2 marriage with male partner
3 registered partnership with female partner
4 registered partnership with male partner
5 cohabitation with female partner
6 cohabitation with male partner
7 I have a steady relationship with a female partner but we live separately
8 I have a steady relationship with a male partner but we live separately
9 I don't have a steady companion at the moment
10 other, specify _____

16. Do you have children (your own, your partner's or joint) who live (wholly or in part) in the same household with you?

1 yes, how many _____? Children's ages _____
2 no

17. Do you have children who don't live in the same household with you?

1 yes, how many _____? Children's ages _____
2 no

18. If you are a transvestite man, do you feel the need to wear feminine clothing

0 I am not a transvestite man
1 daily
2 weekly
3 on a monthly basis
4 less frequently

19. If you are a transvestite man, how do you express your femininity at work?

0 I am not a transvestite man
1 I don't wear feminine clothing to work, nor do I feel the need to do so
2 I can't wear feminine clothing to work, but I would like to do so
3 I wear feminine clothing to work under masculine clothing
4 I wear androgynous clothing that is both masculine and feminine
5 I can wear feminine clothing to work if I choose to

20. If you are a transvestite man, does work-related stress increase your need to dress up in feminine clothing?

0 I am not a transvestite man
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

---

[3] *1 Corresponds to 'gay' in colloquial in-group usage. (translator's note)*

21. Your native language
1 Finnish
2 Swedish
3 other, specify_____

22. Your nationality
1 Finnish
2 other, please specify if you wish to _____
3 dual citizenship (Finnish and some other), specify which other if you wish to _____

23. Do you belong to an ethnic minority?
1 no
2 yes, please specify which if you wish to _____

24. The area where you live in Finland
1 the Province of Southern Finland
2 the Province of Western Finland
3 the Province of Eastern Finland
4 the Province of Oulu
5 the Province of Lapland
6 the Province of Åland

25. Is your place of residence in
1 the capital area (Helsinki, Espoo, Kauniainen or Vantaa)
2 Tampere, Turku, Oulu, Kuopio, Lahti or Jyväskylä
3 other town
4 built-up area in a rural locality
5 thinly populated rural locality

26. Where did you live at the age of 15?
1 in the capital area
2 in Tampere, Turku, Oulu, Kuopio, Lahti or Jyväskylä
3 in other town or urban district
4 built-up area in a rural locality
5 thinly populated rural locality
6 abroad

27. Did you ever move away from a locality because you felt it had a negative atmosphere regarding gender minorities?
1 yes, it was the main reason for moving
2 yes, it was a partial reason for moving
3 other reasons were behind my moving away
4 I haven't moved

28. Did you ever move to a locality because you felt it had a positive atmosphere regarding gender minorities?
1 yes, it was the main reason for moving
2 yes, it was a partial reason for moving
3 other reasons were behind my moving away
4 I haven't moved

29. Have you done your obligatory military service or voluntary service?

0 I haven't done military service
1 I did military service
2 I did non-military service
3 I interrupted military service
4 I was exempted
5 I am a total objector

30. Have issues related to gender affected your decision or willingness to do your military service as a conscript?

1 yes, they have increased my willingness to do military service as a conscript
2 yes, they have lessened my willingness to do military service as a conscript
3 no
4 don't know

31. How important Christianity is to you?

1 very important
2 moderately important
3 not very important
4 not at all important
5 don't know

Education and Employment History

32. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

1 comprehensive school
2 upper secondary general school, matriculation examination or equivalent
3 qualification from vocational school
4 qualification from vocational college
5 lower university degree or diploma from polytechnic
6 higher university degree
7 licentiate's or doctoral degree

33. What is your occupation? If retired, what was your occupation?

_____

34. Is your job in keeping with your qualifications?

1 yes, fully
2 yes, partly
3 no
4 I'm not working

35. In your childhood or adolescence, what was your ideal profession?

_____

36. Have you decided not to pursue a vocational training or career because of negative attitudes on gender minorities in that field?

1 yes, it was the main reason
2 yes, it influenced to some extent
3 no
4 don't know

37. Have you decided for a vocational training or career because of positive attitudes to gender minorities in that field?

1 yes, it influenced to some extent
2 yes, it influenced to some extent
3 no
4 don't know

38. Are you currently

1 working as employee
2 an entrepreneur (on family farm or business, self-employed)
3 unemployed or laid off
4 on maternity, paternity or parental leave
5 a student
6 on disability pension or prolonged sick leave
7 on pension granted on grounds of age or years of work
8 on unemployment pension
9 on part-time pension
10 performing domestic work at home
11 something else, please specify _____

39. If you are not currently involved in working life (as employee or entrepreneur), how long have you been away from working life?

1 I haven't been away from working life
2 I have been away from working life: number of years _____
(if less than one year, enter months _____)

40. How many years altogether have you been in gainful employment?

Work experience is counted from 15 years on. Include also summer and part-time jobs and assess how many years' work experience you have when converted into full-time employment.
Number of years _____ (if less than one year, enter months _____)

41. During your life have you

1 always been in fairly same kind of occupations
2 been in 2-3 distinctly different occupations
3 been in several distinctly different occupations?

42. Have you changed your job in the past 5 years?

1 yes, how many times? _____
2 no

43. Was changing your job influenced by negative attitudes toward gender minorities at your place of work?

0 I haven't changed my job
1 not at all
2 to some extent/ somewhat
3 it was the major/main reason for changing my job

44. Have you been unemployed or laid off during the past 5 years?

1 once
2 several times
3 I haven't been unemployed or laid off during the past 5 years

45. How many months altogether have you been unemployed or laid off during the past 5 years?
1 number of months _____
2 I haven't been unemployed or laid off during the past 5 years

46. Consider your training and employment history or your choice of occupation and career. In what ways has your gender influenced your decisions, and have your experiences from school years already affected them? _____

Current Place of Employment

The next questions concern your present job. If you are not currently working, please answer with reference to your last place of work.

47. How many years have you been in your job?
Enter full years _____ (If less than one year, enter months _____)

48. What is the field of activity of your workplace?
1 manufacturing, construction
2 private services
3 municipality or joint municipal board
4 state
5 church
6 other, specify _____

49. If you are employed by a municipality, in which of the following sectors?
0 I'm not employed in the municipal sector
1 social welfare
2 health care
3 education and culture
4 administration
5 technical services (energy supply, transport, water supply, fire and rescue services, construction))
6 other, specify _____

50. If you are employed by the church, does your job consist of
0 I'm not employed by the church
1 pastoral work (pastors, lectors, church musicians, deacons, children's or youth workers)
2 other type of work

51. Do you work (mostly)
1 full-time
2 part-time

52. Is your contract of employment
1 permanent (continuing until further notice)
2 temporary

53. Do you consider it possible that in the course of the next 12 months you will be given notice or, if you work on temporary basis, your contract will not be renewed?
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know
4 I'm currently not working

54. What is your monthly income from principal occupation before taxes? Include additional payments on shift work and seniority bonuses and equivalent, but not earnings from overtime.

1 350 euros (2080 mk) or under
2 351 - 850 euros (2081 - 5059 mk)
3 851 - 1680 euros (5060 - 9994 mk)
4 1681 - 2500 euros (9995 - 14896 mk)
5 2501 - 3400 euros (14870 - 20220 mk)
6 3401 - 5000 euros (20221 - 29730 mk)
7 5001 - 6700 euros (29731 - 39840 mk)
8 6701 - 8400 euros (39841 - 49944 mk)
9 above 8400 euros
10 don't know

55. How many employees are there in your workplace? Workplace is considered to be one unit, for instance a factory, an office, a hospital, a store, a building site etc.

1 1 - 4 persons
2 5 - 9 persons
3 10 - 29 persons
4 30 - 99 persons
5 100 persons or more

56. How many of them are women?

1 only a few or a minority
2 about half
3 the majority or almost all
4 I work alone

57. With regard to the social interaction at your place of work, is there a clear gender division between men and women?

1 yes
2 no
3 I work alone

58. Do men and women interact with each other socially at your workplace?

1 a lot
2 to some extent
3 very little
4 I work alone

59. In your work community, do you feel social pressure to express or suppress your gender?

1 I feel pressure to be more feminine than I myself feel the need to
2 I feel pressure to be more masculine than I myself feel the need to
3 I feel pressure to suppress my feminine expression
4 I feel pressure to suppress my masculine expression
5 there's no pressure either way

60. Is your most immediate supervisor

1 a man
2 a woman
3 I have no supervisor

61. How large part of your working time is spent interacting with people other than your co-workers (for instance clients, patients or pupils)?

1 almost all of it
2 about three quarters of the work time
3 about half
4 about one fourth
5 less than one fourth
6 none of it
7 don't know

62. As part of the duties of your job, do you supervise the work of others or assign tasks to other employees?

1 yes, how many persons currently work under your supervision? _____ persons
2 no

63. How often do you see your co-workers in your free time?

1 almost daily
2 at least once a week
3 at least once a month
4 less frequently
5 never
6 I have no co-workers
7 don't know

Openness

64. In your place of work are there others who belong to gender minorities?

1 no others
2 I'm not aware
3 yes, one
4 yes, more than one

65. How do you know this person or these persons belong to a gender minority?

0 I'm not aware of others in my workplace who would belong to gender minorities
1 you can see it
2 there has been talk
3 the person(s) in question told themselves about their trans identity

66. Does it make a difference to you that there are others belonging to gender minorities at your workplace?

0 I'm not aware of others in my workplace who would belong to gender minorities
1 it is a positive thing
2 it is a negative thing
3 it makes no difference to me

67. How many of your co-workers know about your gender identity?

0 I have no fellow workers
1 none
2 one or a few
3 about half
4 almost everybody
5 everybody
6 I don't know if they know

68. How many of your clients, pupils etc. know about your gender identity?

0 I have no clients, pupils or equivalent at my work
1 none
2 one or a few
3 about half
4 almost everybody
5 everybody
6 I don't know if they know

69. Does your supervisor know about your gender identity?

0 I have no supervisor
1 he/she doesn't know
2 he/she knows
3 I don't know if he/she knows

70. How did people come to know about your gender identity at work?

0 it is not known
1 I told myself
2 they heard from others
3 against my will, please explain? _____
4 other, please explain?_____

71. If you told about your gender identity yourself, when did you do it?

0 I have not told myself
1 at the job interview
2 when starting the job
3 after probation
4 after a few years

72. If you conceal your gender identity or gender experience at work, how stressful or distressing do you find the secrecy and the fear of being found out?

1 not stressful at all
2 to some extent stressful
3 very stressful
4 I don't hide my identity

73. How do you tell about or conceal issues related to your gender at work. What is your experience of the situation and how do others react to your concealing or revealing your gender identity?_____

74. Describe the kind of workplace where you would feel or have felt safe about openly expressing or telling about your gender identity? _____

Atmosphere at Work

75. To what extent do the following issues apply to you:

Use the scale: 1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = never, 5 = don't know.
Circle the most appropriate number after each question.
Please answer every question (one circle on each row of numbers)

Are you given advice or assistance in your work?	1 2 3 4 5
Do you receive support and encouragement from supervisors when you have difficulties at work?	1 2 3 4 5
Do you receive support and encouragement from co-workers when you have difficulties at work?	1 2 3 4 5
Do you feel you are a respected member of the working community?	1 2 3 4 5
Are you involved in planning your work activities? (e.g. what must be done, how and with whom)?	1 2 3 4 5
Do you consider your work meaningful?	1 2 3 4 5
Do you feel your work is subjected to contradictory expectations from different quarters?	1 2 3 4 5
Do you feel you are expected to act in a way conventionally associated with your gender (the gender others identify you as being)?	1 2 3 4 5

76. How often do the following incidents occur at your work, or do they occur at all:

Use the scale: 1 = daily or almost daily, 2 = a couple of times a week, 3 = about once a week, 4 = a couple of times a month, 5 = less frequently, 6 = never

You are involved in a conflict or argument with other members of the working community	1 2 3 4 5 6
You are involved in a conflict or argument with clients, pupils, or equivalent	1 2 3 4 5 6
You face physical violence from co-workers at work	1 2 3 4 5 6
You face physical violence from clients, pupils, etc.	1 2 3 4 5 6
Your co-workers **threaten** you with physical violence	1 2 3 4 5 6
Clients, pupils, or equivalent **threaten** you with physical violence	1 2 3 4 5 6
You receive acknowledgement from others in the working community or from clients	1 2 3 4 5 6

77. Do the following situations occur at your place of work:

Use the scale: 1 = a lot, 2 = quite a lot, 3 = to some extent, 4 = not at all

Rivalry?	1 2 3 4
Disagreement between superiors and employees?	1 2 3 4
Disagreement between employees?	1 2 3 4
Disagreement between groups of employees?	1 2 3 4

78. Have sexual minorities (gays, lesbians and bisexuals) been a topic of discussion at your workplace, e.g. during coffee breaks?

1 yes, mostly in a positive tone
2 yes, mostly in a negative tone
3 no discussion

79. Have gender minorities (trans people) been a topic of discussion at your workplace, e.g. during coffee breaks?

1 yes, mostly in a positive tone
2 yes, mostly in a negative tone
3 no discussion

80. Have the couple relationships and family life of members of the staff been a topic of discussion at your workplace?

1 yes, but only the relationships and family life of opposite sex couples
2 yes, but only the relationships and family life of same sex couples
3 yes, both same sex and opposite sex couples' relationships and family life
4 couple relationships and family life of the staff are not discussed at my workplace

81. Have the couple relationships and family life of trans employees been a topic of discussion at your workplace?

1 yes, mostly in a positive tone
2 yes, mostly in a negative tone
3 couple relationships and family life of trans employees are not discussed at my workplace

82. Bullying or harassment at work refers to ostracizing a member of a working community, invalidating his or her work, intimidating, talking behind his or her back, or other forms of oppressive behaviour. Does this kind of behaviour occur at your workplace?

1 never
2 occasionally
3 continually
4 don't know

83. Have you yourself been subjected to such harassment?

1 no
2 yes, at the present time
3 yes, earlier in this job but no longer
4 yes, earlier in another job
5 don't know

84. Is there harassment at your place of work that is connected to gender identity?

1 never
2 occasionally
3 continually
4 don't know

85. Have you yourself been subjected to harassment because of your gender identity?

1 no
2 yes, at the present time
3 yes, earlier in this job but no longer
4 yes, earlier in another job
5 don't know

86. Is there name-calling targeted at sexual and gender minorities at your place of work (calling somebody homo, "tranny", etc.)?

1 never
2 occasionally
3 continually
4 don't know

87. Have you yourself been subjected to such name-calling?
1 no
2 yes, at the present time
3 yes, earlier in this job but no longer
4 yes, earlier in another job
5 don't know

88. At your place of work, are jokes being made about sexual and gender minorities that you consider unpleasant?
1 yes, continually
2 yes, occasionally
3 never
4 don't know

89. Sexual harassment refers to such conduct of sexual nature that is one-sided, unwelcome, and may involve pressure. Is there sexual harassment at your place of work?
1 yes, continually
2 yes, occasionally
3 never
4 don't know

90. Have you yourself been subjected to sexual harassment?
1 no
2 yes, at the present time
3 yes, earlier in this job but no longer
4 yes, earlier in another job
5 don't know

91. If yes, were the perpetrators men or women?
0 I have not been subjected to sexual harassment
1 men
2 women
3 both

At your work, to what extent do you feel threatened by:

92. Physical violence
1 very much threatened
2 somewhat threatened
3 not at all threatened
4 don't know

93. Mental breakdown
1 very much threatened
2 somewhat threatened
3 not at all threatened
4 don't know

94. Serious burnout
1 very much threatened
2 somewhat threatened
3 not at all threatened
4 don't know

95. Being socially isolated from the working community

1 very much threatened
2 somewhat threatened
3 not at all threatened
4 don't know

96. How often do you feel reluctant and mentally exhausted on going to work?

1 daily or almost daily
2 a few times a week
3 once a week
4 once or twice a month
5 less frequently
6 never
7 don't know

97. During the past 12 months how many days were you away from work because of personal illness? If none, enter zero (0) _____ days

98. Have you considered retiring on a pension already before retirement age?

1 haven't considered
2 I consider it sometimes
3 I consider it often
4 I have started a private pension sc
5 I have applied for retirement
6 don't know

99. If you could now choose between continuing at work and retirement, what would you do? This question applies only to those aged 45 years or older.

0 I'm under 45
1 continue working
2 retire
3 don't know

100. If your job satisfaction or exhaustion is connected to your gender, please explain in what way? Explain also how you have sought or received support in your situation, for example during a gender-reassignment process or in the overall coping as a transvestite or a transgender employee. _____

Which of the factors listed below *weaken* your job satisfaction (in your present job or, if you are currently not in working life, your latest job)?

101. Lack of appreciation

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

102. Lack of opportunities to influence my work

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

103. Insecurity about the continuation of your employment

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

104. Relations with supervisors

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

105. Atmosphere at work

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

106. Lack of opportunities for career progression

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

107. Intolerance towards sexual and gender minorities

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

108. Intolerance towards ethnic minorities and immigrants

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

109. Narrow gender roles

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

Which of the factors listed below *increase* your job satisfaction?

110. Interesting tasks

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

111. Independence in working

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

112. Appreciation of the work

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

113. Relations with supervisors

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

114. Opportunities for career progression or promotion

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

115. Opportunities to influence my own work

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

116. Workplace atmosphere

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

117. Security of employment

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

118. An equal and tolerant environment with regard to sexual and gender minorities

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

119. An equal and tolerant environment with regard to ethnic minorities and immigrants

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

120. Flexible gender roles

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

121. At some workplaces conventional female behaviour is expected from women and conventional male behaviour from men. At other places attitudes to sex and gender are more flexible. Tell about a situation at your place of work where attempts have been made to restrict the gender-related behaviour or appearance of others. _____

122. At your place of work, what attempts have been made to accommodate the specific characteristics of your gender? Are there any special arrangements (e.g. with regard to toilet facilities, shower and changing facilities, or work uniforms)? How do people label or group you in terms of your gender (for example, do people address you by a man's, a woman's or a neutral name; do people group you together with men or women, or neither), and is this in keeping with your own wishes? _____

Discrimination

In working life inequality and discrimination can be found for instance in pay, recruitment, career promotion, or access to training. Do you think discrimination or unfair treatment occurs in your organisation that is based on:

123. Age, especially regarding young people? Please answer both A and B sections.

A. Occurs in my organization	B. I have been affected
1 yes	1 yes
2 no	2 no
3 don't know	3 don't know

124. Age, especially regarding old people?

A. Occurs in my organization	B. I have been affected
1 yes	1 yes
2 no	2 no
3 don't know	3 don't know

125. Gender, especially regarding women?

A. Occurs in my organization	B. I have been affected
1 yes	1 yes
2 no	2 no
3 don't know	3 don't know

126. Gender, especially regarding men?

A. Occurs in my organization	B. I have been affected
1 yes	1 yes
2 no	2 no
3 don't know	3 don't know

127. Sexual orientation?

A. Occurs in my organization	B. I have been affected
1 yes	1 yes
2 no	2 no
3 don't know	3 don't know

128. Transsexuality or gender minorities?

A. Occurs in my organization	B. I have been affected
1 yes	1 yes
2 no	2 no
3 don't know	3 don't know

129. Being employed on temporary or part-time basis?

A. Occurs in my organization	B. I have been affected
1 yes	1 yes
2 no	2 no
3 don't know	3 don't know

130. The fact that an employer belongs to an ethnic minority or is an immigrant?

A. Occurs in my organization	B. I have been affected
1 yes	1 yes
2 no	2 no
3 don't know	3 don't know

Have you experienced unfair treatment or discrimination in working life in the following situations or aspects?

131. In recruiting?
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

132. Was gender (e.g. your gender identity or gender expression) an influencing factor?
1 yes, it was the main cause
2 yes, to some extent
3 no, it wasn't

133. In pay?
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

134. Was gender an influencing factor?
1 yes, it was the main cause
2 yes, to some extent
3 no, it wasn't

135. In opportunities for advancement in career?
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

136. Was gender an influencing factor?
1 yes, it was the main cause y
2 yes, to some extent
3 no, it wasn't

137. In opportunities for training arranged by your employer?
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

138. Was gender an influencing factor?
1 yes, it was the main cause yy
2 yes, to some extent
3 no, it wasn't

139. In getting information?
1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

140. Was gender an influencing factor?
1 yes, it was the main cause
2 yes, to some extent
3 no, it wasn't

141. Your co-workers' or supervisors' attitudes to you?

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

142. Was gender an influencing factor?

1 yes, it was the main cause
2 yes, to some extent
3 no, it wasn't

143. If you were discriminated against in working life because of your gender, would you be willing to take your case to court?

1 yes
2 no
3 don't know

144. If you have experienced a situation at work where you or somebody else has faced direct or indirect discrimination because of their gender identity or gender expression, describe the incident. Tell also how you felt and how you acted. _____

145. Are you a member of a labour union, an organization for salaried employees or other employee organization similar to a union (membership in an unemployment fund)?

1 yes, which? _____
2no
3don't know

146. To which central organization your union is affiliated?

0 I don't belong to a union
1 SAK (The Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions)
2 STTK (Finnish Confederation of Salaried Employees)
3 AKAVA (The Confederation of Unions for Academic Professionals in Finland)
4 other
5 don't know

If you have been discriminated against in working life because of your gender identity or gender expression, did you contact any of the following?

147. Trade union

0 I haven't been discriminated against
1 yes
2 no

148. Employee representative

0 I haven't been discriminated against
1 yes
2 no

149. Your supervisor

0 I haven't been discriminated against
1 yes
2 no

150. Your co-workers
0 I haven't been discriminated against
1 yes
2 no

151. Occupational safety and health authorities (Occupational safety and health inspectorate)
0 I haven't been discriminated against
1 yes
2 no

152. Occupational health services
0 I haven't been discriminated against
1 yes
2 no

153. Transgender Support Centre of SETA
0 I haven't been discriminated against
1 yes
2 no

If you were discriminated against in working life because of your gender identity or gender expression, would you contact any of the following?

154. Trade union
1 yes
2 no

155. Employee representative
1 yes
2 no

156. Supervisor
1 yes
2 no

157. Co-workers
1 yes
2 no

158. Occupational safety and health authorities (Occupational safety and health inspectorate)
1 yes
2 no

159. Occupational health services
1 yes
2 no

160. Transgender Support Centre of SETA
1 yes
2 no

161. What kind of measures would you want trade unions to take in order to improve the situation of sexual and gender minorities?

_____

162. At some workplaces action has already been taken to change attitudes and practices in order to better accommodate the sexual and gender diversity of employees. What kind of experiences do you have on the positive practices this has entailed?

_____

163. Where did you hear about this survey?

1 friends/ acquaintances
2 colleagues
3 Trasek (national patient rights group for transsexuals)
4 Dreamwear Club (transvestite association)
5 communication through the Transgender Support Centre of SETA
6 Z magazine
7 web pages on the Internet
8 mailing lists aimed at sexual and gender minorities
9 other mailing lists
10 trade union newsletters or other trade union communication
11 general media (TV, radio, newspapers and other media)
12 other, specify _____

Since this questionnaire can cover only a part of the issues related to gender minorities in working life, feel free to tell about those matters that you consider important to bring up.

_____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!

We shall conduct interviews on a number of people for the survey. If you are interested in participating in an interview, enter your contact information:

_____

Unfortunately we cannot carry out interviews among a very large group. We contact those who we would like to interview by 15.9.2003.

MINISTRY OF LABOUR
Finland

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