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Sexual Minorities in the 2008 General Social Survey: Coming Out and Demographic Characteristics

Gary J. Gates

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The Williams Institute, UCLA

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About the Author

Gary J. Gates is the Williams Distinguished Scholar at the Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law. He studies the demographic and economic characteristics of the lesbian and gay population.

Executive Summary

Data from the 2008 General Social Survey (GSS) indicate that nearly 9% of adults either identify as gay, lesbian, or bisexual or report having had same-sex sexual experiences as an adult. Although 90% of LGB people are out about their identity to other people, only 25% report being out to all of their coworkers in the workplace. The data show that bisexuals differ in several ways from those who identify as gay or lesbian, including being much less likely to be out or have a high school diploma and being much more likely to be women and/or racial or ethnic minorities.

Surveys that ask questions about sexual orientation and behavior are rare. Among the few surveys that ask these questions, few are representative of the US population. Even rarer is information about the coming out process from such surveys. As a result, little is known about how and if thinking of oneself as gay, lesbian, or bisexual, or experiencing same-sex sexual behaviors and telling others about one’s sexual orientation or behavior varies by sex, age, race/ethnicity, and educational attainment.

The General Social Survey (GSS), conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, has monitored social and demographic changes in the United States since 1972. The 2008 GSS marks the first time that survey participants were asked about their sexual orientation (prior surveys had only asked about same-sex sexual behavior). The 2008 survey also includes a module of questions (added with the financial support of the Williams Institute) directed at sexual minorities that ask about the experience of coming out, relationship status and family structure, workplace and housing discrimination, and health insurance coverage.

This report marks the first in a series that will focus on the topics described above. These analyses focus on the coming out experiences and the demographic characteristics of sexual minorities who identify as gay, lesbian, or bisexual or report same-sex sexual behavior.

PRINCIPAL FINDINGS	
How many sexual minorities are there	<p>Nearly 9% of adults either self-identify as gay, lesbian, or bisexual or report having had same-sex sexual experiences as an adult.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1.7% self-identified as gay or lesbian. • 1.1% self-identified as bisexual. • 5.8% self-identify as heterosexual but report some same-sex sexual experiences. <p>More than two-thirds of sexual minorities self-identify as heterosexual.</p>
	<p>More than 3 in 4 lesbian, gay, or bisexual (LGB) adults say that they were first attracted to someone of the same-sex before they were 18 years old.</p> <p>Gay men and lesbians are more likely than bisexuals to report that their first same-sex attraction occurred before age 18 (88.6% vs. 57.6%, respectively).</p>
Coming out	<p>87% of LGB adults have “come out” to another person about their sexual orientation or same-sex sexual experiences. More than 1 in 8 LGB adults (13%) have never told anyone about their sexual orientation or same-sex sexual experiences.</p> <p>Gay men and lesbians are more likely than bisexuals to be out to at least some people (96% vs. 75%, respectively).</p> <p>Younger people are much less likely to be closeted about their sexual orientation or same-sex sexual behavior. Compared to those under age 30, adults aged 30-54 are 16 times more likely to be closeted and those over age 55 are 83 times more likely to be closeted.</p>
	<p>More than a third of LGB men and women are not out to anyone in the workplace.</p> <p>Gay men and lesbians were 6 times more likely than bisexuals to be out to all of their coworkers.</p>

Demographic differences	Sex	<p>Women are more likely than men to be LGB (4.6% vs. 2.9%). Compared to men with similar age, educational, and racial/ethnic characteristics, women are 1.6 times more likely to be LGB.</p> <p>Women are more than twice as likely to be bisexual than men (1.9% v. 0.7%, respectively).</p>
	Age	<p>Younger people are more likely to be LGB.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 7.2% of those aged 18-30 are LGB compared with 3.8% of those aged 30-54 and 1.4% of those aged 55 and older. • When LGB who are 18-30 are compared to men and women of similar age, educational, and racial/ethnic characteristics, they are 7 times more likely than those aged 55 and older to be LGB.
	Education	<p>Bisexuals are more likely than gay and lesbian individuals to report either low (less than a high school diploma) or high (college or graduate degree) levels of education.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 38% of bisexuals have not completed a high school education compared to 13% of heterosexuals, gay men and lesbians. • 47% of bisexuals have a college degree compared to 26% of heterosexuals and 37% of gay men and lesbians
	Race/ethnicity	<p>Bisexuals are more likely to be a racial/ethnic minority than heterosexuals, gay men, or lesbians.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More than half of bisexuals are non-white compared to approximately 30% of heterosexuals, gay men and lesbians. <p>The racial and ethnic characteristics of gay men, lesbians, and heterosexuals are similar to each other.</p>

Introduction

The General Social Survey (GSS), conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, has monitored social and demographic changes in the United States since 1972. The 2008 GSS marks the first time that survey participants were asked about their sexual orientation (prior surveys had only asked about same-sex sexual behavior). The 2008 GSS also includes a module of questions (added with the financial support of the Williams Institute) directed at sexual minorities. The topics of these module questions include:

- Coming out
- Relationship status and family structure
- Workplace and housing discrimination
- Health insurance coverage.

This report, the first in a series that will focus on the topics described above, will analyze the 2008 GSS and focus on coming out behavior and demographic characteristics of sexual minorities who identify as gay, lesbian, or bisexual or report same-sex sexual behavior.

Surveys that ask questions about sexual orientation and behavior are rare. Among the few surveys that ask these questions, few are representative of the US population. Even rarer is information about the coming out process from such surveys. As a result, little is known about how and if thinking of oneself as gay, lesbian, or bisexual, or experiencing same-sex sexual behaviors and telling others about one's sexual orientation or behavior varies by sex, age, race/ethnicity, and educational attainment.

These data offer an opportunity to explore the basic demographic characteristics of sexual minorities and consider the effects of sex, age, race/ethnicity, and educational attainment on the likelihood of identifying as gay, lesbian, or bisexual, engaging in same-sex sexual behaviors, and being open or "out" about one's sexual orientation or behavior.

Data and methodology

This report uses data from the 2008 GSS, a nationally representative sample of 2,023 adults over the age of 18. These data include several variables that allow for the identification of sexual minorities. Respondents are asked their sexual orientation and asked about the sex of their sexual partners since age 18, in the last five years, and in the last year. All analyses use sampling weights that

produce findings that can be considered representative of non-institutionalized adults in the United States.

In total, 1,773 respondents provided information about either their sexual orientation or sexual behaviors. For these analyses, "sexual minorities" are classified as those who identify as lesbian, gay, or bisexual (LGB) or who report any same-sex sexual experiences. In total, 162 respondents could be classified as a sexual minority¹, categorized as follows:

- LGB identified: 58
- Non-LGB identified: 104
 - 15 report recent same-sex sexual partners (last one or five years)
 - 3 report only same-sex sexual partners since age 18 but no recent same-sex partners
 - 86 report no recent same-sex sexual partners and both same-sex and different sex partners since age 18

Not all sexual minorities completed the questions included in the sexual minority module. In total, 80 of the 162 sexual minorities completed all or some of the module questions. This group includes the following:

- LGB identified: 57
- Non-LGB identified: 23
 - 8 report recent same-sex sexual partners (last one or five years)
 - 1 reports only same-sex sexual partners since age 18 but no recent same-sex partners
 - 14 report no recent same-sex sexual partners and both same-sex and different sex partners since age 18

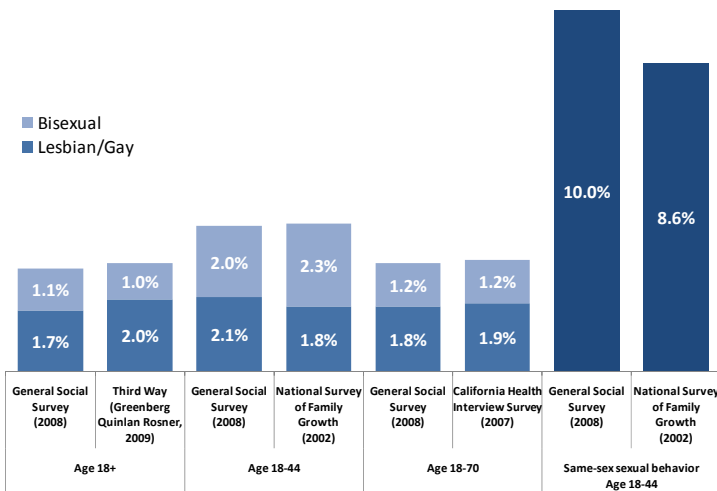
All but one LGB-identified respondent completed the module along with half of the respondents who did not identify as LGB but reported recent same-sex sexual partners or only same-sex partners since age 18. The vast majority of sexual minorities who did not complete the panel were those who reported no recent same-sex sexual behavior and both same-sex and different-sex partners since age 18.

¹ In personal communication with Tom Smith, Director of the GSS, it was determined that the sex of three respondents who reported same-sex sexual experience was likely incorrectly coded. We recoded the sex of these respondents, effectively dropping them from the sexual minority group. One respondent was dropped from analyses as sex could not be determined to be accurate but it was also not clearly a sex miscode.

Comparing GSS to other surveys

The estimates of the gay, lesbian, and bisexual population from the 2008 GSS compare quite closely to data gathered from two other national surveys and a California-based survey that ask sexual orientation of a representative sample of adults.

Figure 1. Sexual orientation and behavior, by various population-based surveys.



A 2009 national poll of adults commissioned by Third Way, a Washington, DC-based think-tank, found that 2% of adults identified as gay or lesbian and 1% identified as bisexual. GSS findings match these figures closely with 1.7% of adults identifying as gay or lesbian and 1.1% as bisexual (see Figure 1).

The 2002 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG), a national survey funded by the US Department of Health and Human Services, asked the sexual orientation of adults aged 18-44 and found that 1.8% identified as gay or lesbian and 2.3% identified as bisexual. Among the same age group in the GSS, 2.1% identify as gay or lesbian and 2% identify as bisexual.

The 2007 California Health Interview Survey (CHIS) asked sexual orientation of adults in California aged 18-70 and found that 1.9% identified as gay or lesbian and 1.2% identified as bisexual. Among comparably aged adults in the GSS, 1.8% identified as gay or lesbian and 1.2% as bisexual (unfortunately, sample size limitations do not allow for identification of a California-only sample in the GSS).

The findings also demonstrate that roughly two-thirds of sexual minorities classify themselves as heterosexual.

A final comparison shown in Figure 1 considers reports of any same-sex sexual behavior in the GSS and the NSFG. Again, the results are quite similar with 10% of individuals aged 18-44 in the GSS indicating that they had a same-sex sexual partner since age 18 compared to 8.6% of those in the NSFG.

Classification: Sexual orientation and behavior

In total, 8.6% of adults can be considered sexual minorities as they either self-identify as gay, lesbian, or bisexual or say that had a same-sex sexual experience (see Table 1). The adult population is comprised of the following:

- 2.8% identified as LGB
 - 1.7% gay/lesbian
 - 1.1% bisexual
- 0.8% report exclusive lifetime (since age 18) or recent same-sex sexual partners but do not identify as LGB
 - 0.6% have had only same-sex partners in the last year and/or the last five years
 - 0.2% have had only same-sex partners since age 18
- 0.2% do not identify as LGB and have had both same-sex and different-sex partners within the last five years
- 4.8% report some same-sex sexual experience since age 18 but no recent same-sex sexual activity.

Patterns of sexual orientation and behavior differ between men and women. While the overall percentage of those classified as a sexual minority is not statistically significant between men (9.7%) and women (7.6%), there are two notable (and statistically significant) differences between specific categories. Women are more than twice as likely as men to identify as bisexual (1.5% v. 0.7%, respectively). Men are more than twice as likely as women to have had same-sex sexual partners in their life but not identify as LGB or have a recent same-sex partner (6.8% v. 2.9%, respectively).

Unfortunately, GSS sample sizes do not allow for a detailed or statistically robust analysis of differences in the characteristics of individuals across the various categories of sexual orientation identity and behavior shown in Table 1.

Several reasons could account for this difference in behavior and self-identity. It could be a result of stigma

associated with identifying as gay, lesbian, or bisexual as well as an issue of the timing of same-sex relationships. It may be that those who experienced same-sex relationships only in the more distant past may be less likely to think of themselves as LGB in the present.

While the survey did collect some information about the coming out process that could allow for a direct examination of this issue, the portion of the sample who completed questions about coming out and did not explicitly identify as LGB (n=19) is too small to provide any meaningful clarification in this regard.

Another way to conceptualize and classify sexual minorities (also shown in Table 1) combines both sexual orientation identities along with recent and past sexual behavior. This method categorizes sexual minorities into three broad groups (shown along the columns on the left): those who have a primarily same-sex orientation or same-sex sexual behavior patterns; those who have orientation and behavior patterns that are both same-sex and different-sex; and those who have orientation and behavior patterns that are exclusively different-sex.

Drawing on this categorization system, the remainder of the analyses will classify individuals into three distinct groups (shown along the column on the far right). For ease of reading, the analyses will use the terms lesbian/gay, bisexual, and heterosexual even though these groupings include individuals who may not have explicitly used these terms to describe their sexual orientation identity.

In this system, lesbians and gay men are classified as all individuals who identify as gay or lesbian along with those who report exclusively recent or lifetime same-sex sexual behavior. Bisexuals are classified as those with a bisexual identity or those with both same-sex and different-sex sexual behavior in the last year or last five years. Heterosexuals are classified as those who self-identify as such and whose only report of same-sex sexual behavior is more than five years ago or who report exclusively different-sex sexual behavior.

It is important to keep in mind that even by including individuals with same-sex behaviors (regardless of how they identify their sexual orientation) into the group classified as LGB in these analyses, the sample sizes are still relatively small, especially when using findings for

subgroups of this population. Nevertheless, the remainder of this report will highlight a number of interesting patterns that are statistically significant.

Table 1. Sexual minorities by same-sex and different-sex orientation and behavior.

Behavior/ Orientation Categories		All	Women	Men	Classi- fication	
Primarily same-sex	Orientation	Identify as lesbian or gay	1.7%	1.8%	1.5%	Lesbian/Gay
	Behavior (non-LGB identified)	Exclusive same-sex sexual behavior in recent past (last one year and/or last five years)	0.6%	0.8%	0.4%	
		Exclusive same-sex sexual behavior since age 18 and no recent (last one year and/or last five years) sexual behavior	0.2%	0.1%	0.3%	
Same-sex and different-sex	Orientation	Identify as bisexual	1.1%	1.5%	0.7%	Bisexual
	Behavior (non-LGB identified)	Same-sex and different-sex sexual behavior in the recent past (last one year and last five years)	0.2%	0.4%	0.0%	
		Same-sex and different-sex sexual behavior since age 18 and exclusively different-sex sexual behavior in the recent past (last one year and/or last five years) or no recent sexual behavior	4.8%	2.9%	6.8%	Heterosexual
Primarily different-sex	Behavior/Orientation	Identify as heterosexual and exclusive different-sex sexual behavior	91.4%	92.5%	90.3%	

Coming out

Respondents were asked four questions related to coming out with regard to their same-sex sexual attraction, same-sex sexual behavior, and their sexual orientation identity:

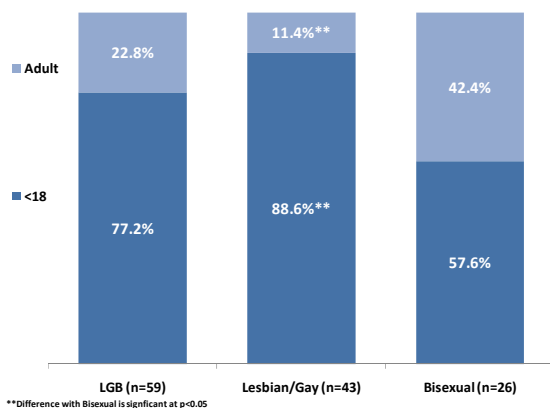
- At about what age were you first sexually attracted to someone of the same sex?
- At about what age were you when you first told someone that you had sex with someone of the same sex?
- At about what age were you when you first told someone that you were gay, lesbian, or bisexual?
- How many of your coworkers know that you are gay, lesbian, or bisexual or that you have same-sex sexual relationships?

The first question primarily addresses the coming out process to oneself. The latter three questions address coming out to other people.

Coming out to oneself

Among those who indicated when they had first experienced a same-sex sexual attraction, more than three in four gay, lesbian, or bisexual individuals (77%) say they were first attracted to someone of the same sex before age 18 (see Figure 3). However, there are statistically significant differences between gay/lesbian versus bisexual individuals. Nearly 9 in 10 gay or lesbian individuals (88.6%) say they were first attracted to someone of the same sex when they were under age 18 compared to less than 6 in 10 bisexuals (57.6%).²

Figure 3. Age of first same-sex sexual attraction, by sexual orientation.



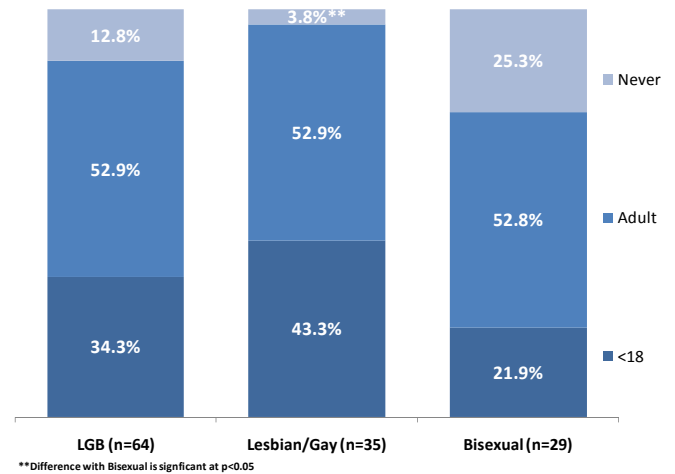
² 18 LGB individuals did not provide an age when they were first attracted to someone of the same sex.

Coming out to others

Respondents who reported same-sex sexual behavior, regardless of how they reported their sexual orientation identity, were asked when (or if) they had told someone about their same-sex sexual activity. Those who explicitly identified as gay, lesbian, or bisexual were asked separately about telling someone about their sexual orientation. Since these analyses classify individuals as LGB based on both identity and behavior, the following charts combine information from both questions about coming out.³

Nearly 13% of LGB individuals have never told anyone about their sexual behavior (see Figure 4). More than a third (34.3%) of them had told someone before they were age 18 and more than half (52.9%) had first told someone as an adult.

Figure 4. Age when you first told someone about being LGB or having same-sex sexual experiences, by sexual orientation.



There are substantial differences in coming out between gay or lesbian individuals and bisexuals. Gay men and lesbians are much more likely to have told someone either about their sexual orientation or same-sex sexual behavior than bisexual men and women. Only 4% of gay men and lesbians have never told anyone compared to more than 25% of bisexuals.

³ Those classified as coming out before they were 18 responded that they told someone about either their sexual orientation or same-sex sexual behavior before they were 18 years old.

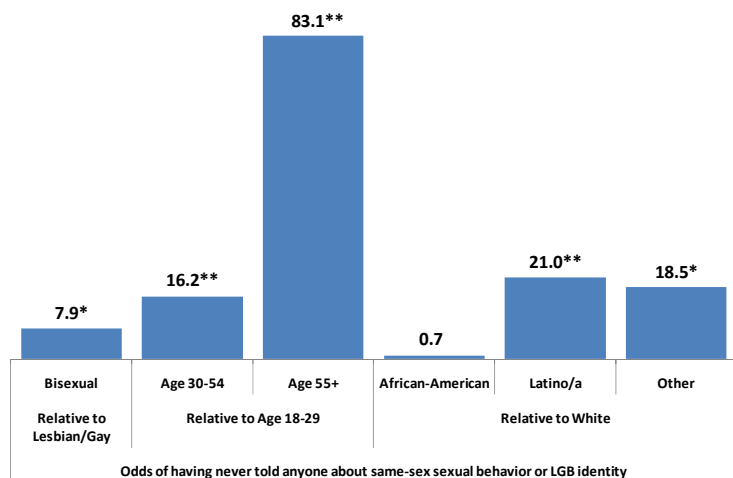
Differences in coming out by selected demographic characteristics

Simple analyses assessing differences in having never told anyone about either same-sex sexual activity or a gay, lesbian, or bisexual identity show no statistically significant differences by sex, age, race/ethnicity, or education attainment. However, more complex multivariate analyses suggest some differences by age and race/ethnicity.

Multivariate logistic regression allows for consideration of the joint impact of sex, age, race/ethnicity, and educational attainment on the likelihood of never having told anyone about one's sexual orientation as gay, lesbian or bisexual or one's same-sex sexual behavior.

Bisexuals are nearly 8 times more likely to be closeted than gay men and lesbians with similar age, racial/ethnic, and educational characteristics (see Figure 5). Relative to those under age 30, adults aged 30-54 are more than 16 times more likely to be closeted and those over age 55 are 83 times more likely to be closeted. Relative to white men and women, Latino/as and those in other racial/ethnic categories are 21 and 18 times more likely to have never told anyone about their same-sex sexual behavior or LGB identity.

Figure 5. Odds of never telling anyone about same-sex sexual behavior or gay, lesbian, or bisexual sexual orientation, by sex, age, race/ethnicity and educational attainment (n=64).



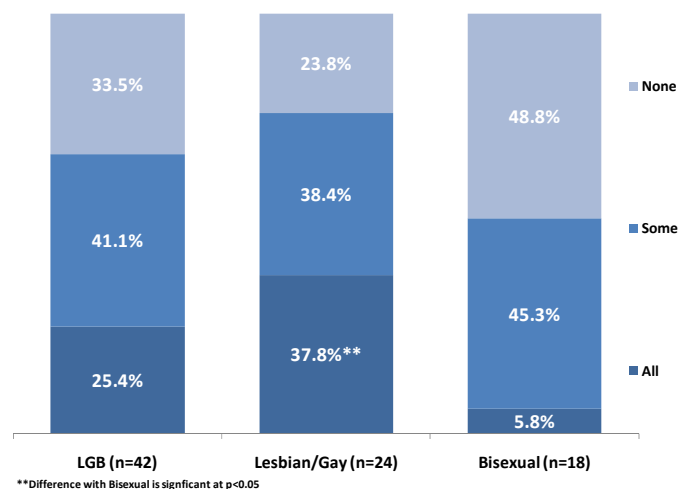
**Difference is significant at p<0.05
*Difference is significant at p<0.10

Out in the workplace

More than a third of LGB men and women (33.5%) were not out to anyone at work. More than 25% were out to all of their coworkers and 41.1% were out to some coworkers (see Figure 6).⁴ These figures are very similar to findings from a 2009 study by the Human Rights Campaign showing that 28% of LGBT people were not out to anyone in the workplace, 27% were out to all of their coworkers, and 45% were out to some coworkers.⁵

Similar to the general findings about being out to others, gay men and lesbians are more open about their sexual orientation at work than their bisexual counterparts. Gay and lesbian individuals were more than 6 times more likely than bisexuals to say that they were out to all of their coworkers (37.8% vs. 5.8% respectively).

Figure 6. How many coworkers know that you are gay, lesbian, or bisexual (n=42).



**Difference with Bisexual is significant at p<0.05

Unfortunately, sample sizes for the group that answered questions about being out at work are not sufficient for reliable analyses of differences by age, race/ethnicity, or education. No substantial differences were observed based on the sex of respondents.

⁴ The wording of this question refers to co-workers knowing that the respondent is "gay, lesbian, or bisexual". Of the 42 individuals who responded to this question and are categorized as LGB in these analyses, 5 respondents were individuals who reported recent or exclusive same-sex sexual activity but actually identified their sexual orientation as heterosexual.

⁵ Human Rights Campaign, Degrees of Equality Report 13, 2009, http://www.hrc.org/documents/HRC_Degrees_of_Equality_2009.pdf (accessed on 14 July 2010)

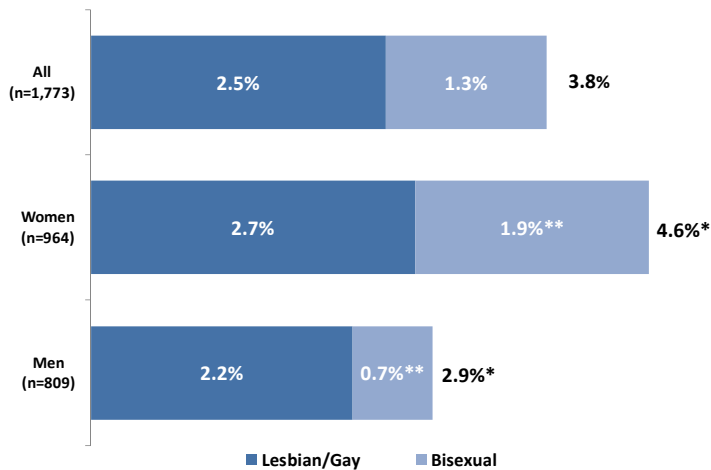
Demographic analyses: comparing LGB individuals with heterosexuals

The remainder of the analyses will consider demographic differences between gay/lesbian versus bisexual individuals as well as offer comparisons with the heterosexual population. Characteristics analyzed will include sex, age, race/ethnicity, and educational attainment.

Sex

The likelihood of being gay, lesbian, or bisexual differs by sex. Women are more likely than men (4.6% v. 2.9%) to be LGB (see Figure 7). This difference is primarily a result of the finding that women are more likely than men to be bisexual (1.9% v. 0.7%). Among lesbian and bisexual women, more than 40% are bisexual while less than one in four (24%) gay/bisexual men are classified as bisexual. The difference in the percentage of men and women who are gay or lesbian (2.2% vs. 2.7%, respectively) is not statistically significant.

Figure 7. Sexual orientation, by sex.



**M/W difference is significant at p<0.05
*M/W difference is significant at p<0.10 level

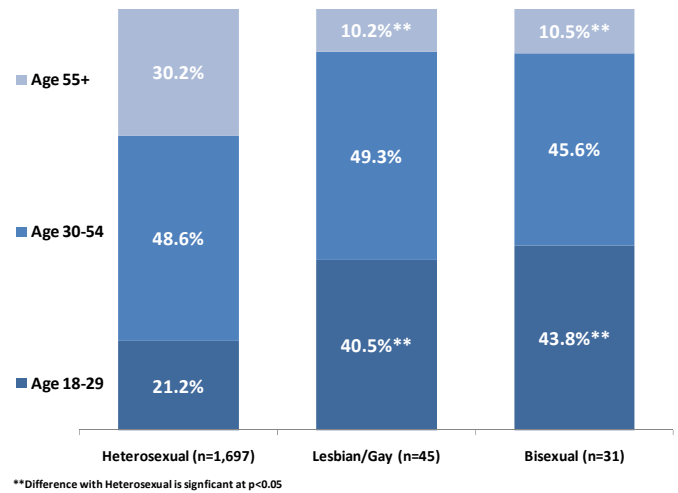
These findings are similar to the national surveys shown in Figure 1, all of which also show that women are more likely to be bisexual than men. However, the GSS 2008 finding that a higher proportion of women are LGB is somewhat unusual.

Age

The likelihood of being LGB varies substantially by age. Younger people are more likely to be LGB. From another perspective, LGB individuals are, on average, younger than heterosexuals. Heterosexuals have an average age of 45.6 compared to 37.8 for gay men and lesbians and 34.1 for bisexuals.⁶

The differences in age between LGB individuals and heterosexual individuals are primarily driven by substantial differences in the age distribution at both ends of the age spectrum. While 21% of heterosexuals are between the ages of 18 and 29, that group comprises more than 40% of LGB individuals. Conversely, while 30% of heterosexuals are age 55 and older, only about 10% of LGB people are in that age group (see Figure 8).

Figure 8. Age distribution, by sexual orientation.

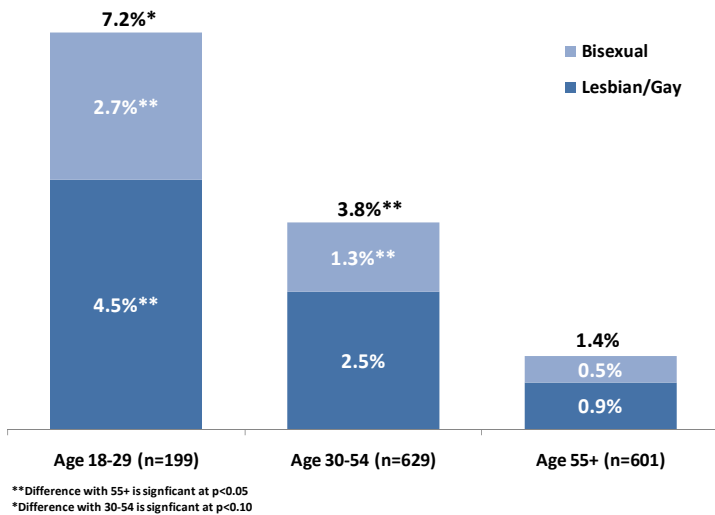


**Difference with Heterosexual is significant at p<0.05

Another way to view the age differences is to note that younger people are more likely to be LGB than are older people. While 7.2% of those aged 18-29 are classified as LGB (see Figure 9), the same is true for only 3.8% of those aged 30-54 and 1.4% of those over age 55. Further, less than 1% of those aged 55 and older are gay or lesbian compared to 4.5% of those aged 18-29. For bisexuals, the same comparison is 0.5% versus 2.7%.

⁶ The differences between heterosexuals and GL/B are statistically significant (p<0.05), but difference in average age between gay men/lesbians and bisexuals is not significant.

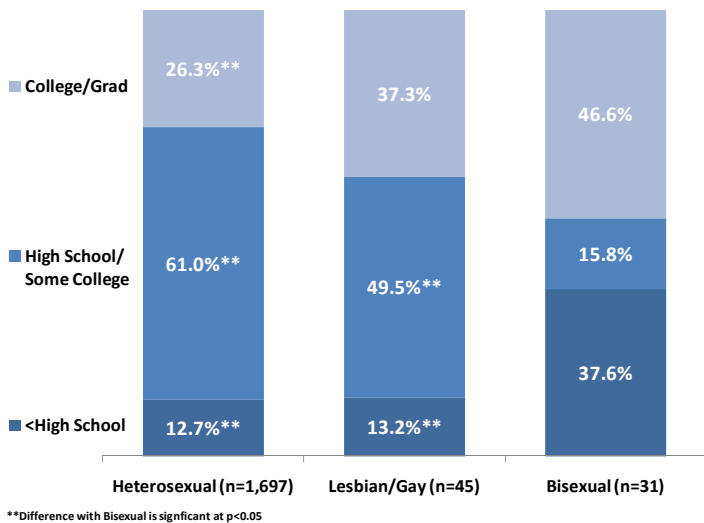
Figure 9. Sexual orientation, by age.



Education

Educational characteristics of bisexuals differ substantially from both heterosexuals and gay/lesbian individuals. Bisexuals are more likely than heterosexuals and gay and lesbian individuals to report both low (less than a high school diploma) and high education levels (college degree or higher).

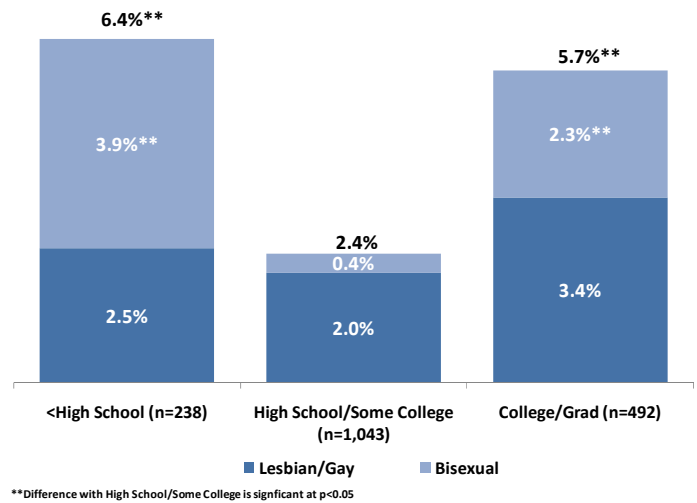
Figure 10. Educational attainment, by sexual orientation.



Only about 13% of heterosexuals, gay men, and lesbians have less than a high school degree, compared to nearly 38% of bisexuals (see Figure 10). At the other end of the educational spectrum, bisexuals are more likely than heterosexuals to have a college or graduate degree, 47% versus 26%.

The educational characteristics of heterosexuals versus gay men and lesbians are quite similar though a higher (though not significantly different) proportion of gay and lesbian individuals report having a college degree (see Figure 10). This is consistent with many studies showing that gay men and lesbians report higher levels of education than their heterosexual counterparts.⁷ Differences in the bisexual educational distribution are the primary reason that individuals with less than high school education and those with a college education are more likely to be LGB than those with a high school degree or some college.

Figure 11. Sexual orientation, by educational attainment.



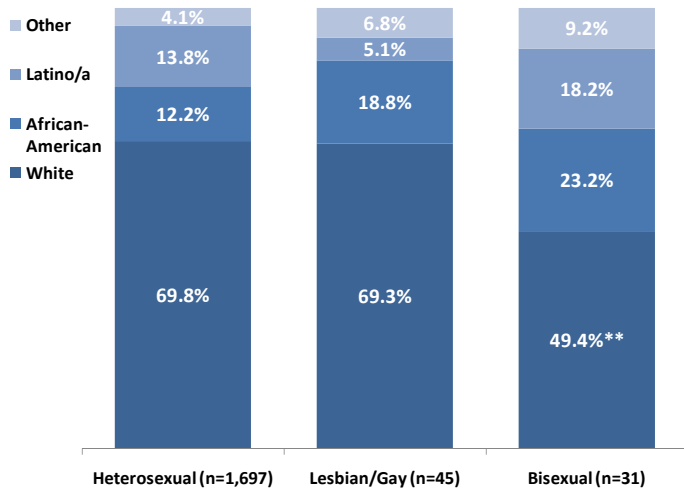
The percentages of LGB people among those with less than a high school degree (6.4%) and among those with a college or graduate degree (5.7%) are significantly higher than the 2.4% percent LGB among those with a high school diploma or some college (see Figure 11). These differences are due to higher percentages of those who are bisexual among those with less than a high school diploma and those with a college or graduate degree (compared to those with a high school diploma).

⁷ For example, see Romero AR, Baumle, AK, Badgett, MVL, Gates, GJ. Census Snapshot: United States, The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law, December 2007, http://www.law.ucla.edu/williamsinstitute/publications/USCensusSnaps_hot.pdf (accessed 14 July 2010) and Carpenter, C, Gates, GJ. Gay and Lesbian Partnership: Evidence from California, *Demography* 45(3), August 2008, http://www.law.ucla.edu/williamsinstitute/publications/DemogArticle_CarpenterGates_v2.pdf (accessed 14 July 2010).

Race and ethnicity

Bisexuals are much more likely to be a racial/ethnic minority than either gay men and lesbians or heterosexuals. More than half of bisexuals are non-white (see Figure 12) and they are less likely than heterosexuals to be white (49.4% v. 69.8%, respectively). The racial and ethnic characteristics of gay and lesbian people do not differ significantly from heterosexuals.

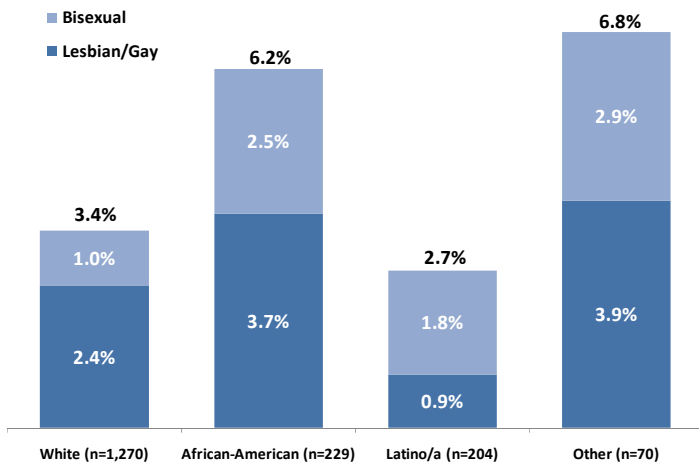
Figure 12. Race/ethnicity, by sexual orientation.



**Difference with Heterosexual is significant at p<0.05

None of the differences in the overall percentage of LGB individuals by race and ethnicity are statistically significant (see Figure 13).

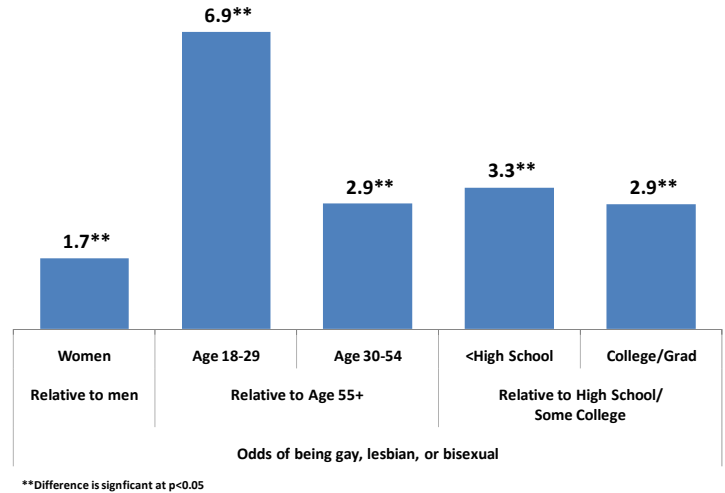
Figure 13. Sexual orientation, by race/ethnicity.



Multivariate analyses

The final analyses use multivariate logistic regression once again to explore the joint impact of sex, age, race/ethnicity, and educational attainment on the likelihood of being LGB versus heterosexual. The results are very similar to the simple analyses shown in Figures 7-13.

Figure 14. Odds of being LGB, by sex, age, educational attainment, and race/ethnicity (n=1,774).



**Difference is significant at p<0.05

The multivariate analyses show that women are 1.7 times more likely to be gay, lesbian, or bisexual than men with similar age, racial/ethnic, and educational characteristics (see Figure 14). Those aged 18-29 are nearly 7 times more likely and those aged 30-54 are nearly 3 times more likely than those aged 55 and older to be LGB. Those with less than a high school diploma are 3.3 times more likely and those with a college or graduate degree are 2.9 times more likely than those with a high school diploma to be LGB. None of the observed differences with regard to race and ethnicity were statistically significant.

For more information, contact:

The Williams Institute

UCLA School of Law

Box 951476

Los Angeles, CA 90095-1476

T (310) 267-4382

F (310) 825-7270

williamsinstitute@law.ucla.edu

www.law.ucla.edu/williamsinstitute