A Workplace Divided

Understanding the Climate for LGBTQ Workers Nationwide
The Human Rights Campaign Foundation – the educational arm of the largest LGBTQ civil rights organization in the United States – improves the lives of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) people by working to increase understanding and encourage the adoption of LGBTQ-inclusive policies and practices.

We build support for LGBTQ people among families and friends, coworkers and employers, pastors and parishioners, doctors and teachers, neighbors, and the general public. Through our programs and projects, we are enhancing the lived experiences of LGBTQ people and their families, as we change hearts and minds across America and around the globe.

The HRC Foundation is a nonprofit, tax-exempt 501(c)(3) organization.

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From our schools to hospitals to workplaces, the Human Rights Campaign Foundation partners with key institutions of our daily lives to make them more inclusive of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) community. Through our Workplace Equality Program, the Human Rights Campaign Foundation works with thousands of employers, in the United States and globally, to better their workplaces.

**Few spaces can have as deep an impact on the everyday lives of LGBTQ people as the workplace.** For starters, it is where most of us spend a majority of our waking hours. Jobs account for our livelihood and financial security; we need work to put food on the table for our families and make ends meet. Work is also about our identity, being able to contribute something of value greater than ourselves and through that ultimately, work - and its conditions - is about basic dignity and fairness.

Despite incredible progress in terms of broad public support for LGBTQ equality and in great strides being made across sectors adopting LGBTQ-inclusive policies, millions of people still do not feel comfortable being out at work. When LGBTQ people are compelled to stay closeted on the job, everyone loses.

The persistence of the workplace closet comes at a great cost to the individual holding back every day, looking over her shoulder in fear, for example of colleagues knowing her true identity. There is also a great cost to the community of workplaces, both public and private sector in terms of lost contributions.

Today, there are no clear, consistent federal laws prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity — and 31 states still lack these protections. Yet, major businesses – from across every industry and region – have shown up in droves to adopt inclusive policies, benefits and practices in order to attract and retain LGBTQ talent. Look no further than the HRC Foundation’s Corporate Equality Index and its 609 top-rated businesses to see this investment in inclusion. What these businesses and we know is that policies are necessary, but not enough to create true culture change.

**Workplaces that go beyond inclusive policies to truly cultivate climates of inclusion are a win-win for employers - they mitigate the costs of the closet and capitalize on the focus and energy that comes from people bringing their full selves to work.**

Allies are key to this transformation. At the HRC Foundation, we strive to provide individuals and allied organizations research and tools they need to support the LGBTQ community. This research is key to that support in that what gets measured, gets managed in workplaces. Whether they are coworkers or supervisors, this research is an awareness-raising tool for allies who want to make a difference. By homing in on the dynamics shown in this research and interrupting the patterns that so frequently keep LGBTQ colleagues in the closet, allies have the ability to proactively speak up and change workplaces.

Over the course of this year we will release deeper dives into the experiences of LGBTQ workers and our intersecting identities – including race, age, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, region, industry of work and more – and the tools employers need to improve and sustain more inclusive workplaces so everyone can thrive together.

Mary Beth Maxwell  
*Senior Vice President for Programs, Research and Training*  
Human Rights Campaign Foundation
Introduction

Since 2008, the Human Rights Campaign Foundation’s Workplace Equality Program has conducted three major national studies of the workplace environment for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) workers: Degrees of Equality, The Cost of the Closet and the Rewards of Inclusion, and now, A Workplace Divided: Understanding the Climate for LGBTQ Workers Nationwide.

In the prior two studies, the number of LGBTQ workers nationwide feeling compelled to be in the closet on the job has remained at above 50 percent. In A Workplace Divided: Understanding the Climate for LGBTQ Workers Nationwide, we seek to uncover the prevalence of LGBTQ workers feeling pressure to hide their sexual orientation and/or gender identity on the job and the cost of that hiding both to individuals and employers writ large. Conversely, we also research the benefits to employers and workers when workplace climates are more welcoming of LGBTQ people. Over this decade of research we have been able to better identify the key shapers of the workplace climate for LGBTQ inclusion, namely everyday non-work-related conversations and the primary impact of one’s immediate supervisor and working group over all other leaders and departments.

This body of research complements our history of work, anchored in the annual Corporate Equality Index, on systems-level change, primarily with major private sector employers to improve workplace policies, benefits and practices at major United States and global corporations. With so many employers investing resources and human capital to create more equitable workplaces, how can they measure the daily impact on their LGBTQ workforce? Are these policies borne out as daily practice and employers’ cultures? How can we as strategic partners to employers and advocates in the LGBTQ community provide reliable data to get measurements of the workplace environment that are actionable and can lay the groundwork for practical remedies to current challenges employees?

This is key because currently LGBTQ Americans are living under a patchwork of state and federal laws. While there has been significant progress since the first study in 2008 - including the first federal law to specifically include the LGBTQ community (The Matthew Shepard and James Byrd Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act), to historic Supreme Court victories ensuring full marriage equality, to groundbreaking advancements in transgender visibility in the media and in politics,
and more - there are still no federal protections on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity with respect to employment, housing, public accommodation, education, and a range of aspects of daily life for LGBTQ Americans.

Even though the Supreme Court’s ruling has brought marriage equality to all 50 states, 31 states still lack clear, fully-inclusive non-discrimination protections for LGBTQ people, meaning that despite the ruling, LGBTQ Americans can get legally married but still be at risk of being denied services for who they are or risk being fired simply for getting married and wearing their wedding ring to the office the next day. Discrimination is a real and persistent problem for too many LGBTQ Americans. Nearly two-thirds of self-identified LGBTQ Americans reported experiencing discrimination in their personal lives. Even at a time of historically broad and deep support for full LGBTQ equality, an estimated 12 million-plus LGBTQ Americans and their families remain at risk, particularly if they live in one of the 31 states where laws do not adequately protect them against being fired, evicted or denied services because of their sexual orientation or gender identity.

The data in the following report tells a story that will be familiar to many LGBTQ workers. It tells a visual story. We chose this design because the experiences as reported by LGBTQ people over and over again is of not being seen or valued for who they are, which means that employers are losing out on potential talent. We hope that this research gives greater visibility to the full spectrum of creativity, perspective and untapped potential of LGBTQ people who hide in plain sight when they do not feel welcome to be themselves at work.

Data can validate experiences and can help to drive change by giving definition to a problem and helping to inform actionable solutions. One thing that we have learned in nearly 20 years as the Workplace Equality Program is that fundamentally many institutions and individuals want to do better and want to treat people fairly and oftentimes they simply need a roadmap and some help to get there.

This is the first of several reports to come out of this study. The following findings in this report are based on the topline data. Subsequent reports will further break down the data to look at workers’ experiences at the intersections of race, gender, age, region, industry and other variables that affect someone’s experience at work.

At the end of this report, we provide a facilitation guide to continue this conversation within your organization. In addition to the subsequent reports, be on the lookout for additional standalone toolkits and resources to improve the workplace environment at your organization.

Methodology

This national study is based on data from a probability-based sample of self-identified LGBTQ people (N= 804) with a shorter survey to gauge perceptions and experiences of non-LGBTQ people (N=811). Probability-based samples of LGBTQ people are rare in social research: most studies are conducted through opt-in or snowball methods of growing respondent pools. All research methods have their value: to capture the most diverse range of representative experiences, we opted for a smaller, probability-based sample rather than a larger, non-probability-based one.
Topline Findings

The following topline results are from the HRC Foundation’s Workplace Equality Program’s 2018 national, probability-based sample of 804 LGBTQ respondents and 811 non-LGBTQ respondents to its LGBTQ Workplace Climate Survey administered in February and March of 2018.

Despite Legal Gains, LGBTQ Workers Remain Closeted on the Job

- 46% of LGBTQ workers are closeted at work
- 50% of non-LGBTQ workers reported that there are no employees at their company who are open about being LGBTQ

Top reasons for not being open at work about their sexual orientation and gender identity:

- Possibility of being stereotyped: 38%
- Possibly making people feel uncomfortable: 36%
- Possibility of losing connections or relationships with coworkers: 31%
- People might think I will be attracted to them just because I am LGBTQ: 27%

Broad Social Acceptance for LGBTQ Community at All-Time High, But Subtle Biases Remain

- 1 in 5 LGBTQ workers have been told or had coworkers imply that they should dress more feminine or masculine (compared to 1 in 24 non-LGBTQ workers)

Both populations share: 73% of LGBTQ workers and 78% of non-LGBTQ workers say that they are comfortable talking about their spouse, partner, or dating to coworkers, but:

- ¼ LGBTQ employers report that coworkers who they are out to seem uncomfortable once they say something related to their sexual orientation or gender identity (e.g. mentioning a partner, spouse, personal history, etc.)
- 36% of non-LGBTQ workers say they would feel uncomfortable hearing an LGBTQ colleague talk about dating, and 59% of non-LGBTQ workers think that it is unprofessional to talk about sexual orientation and gender identity in the workplace

Sexual Orientation for LGBTQ People is Still Sexualized

- 54% of non-LGBTQ workers said that they would be very comfortable working with an LGBTQ coworker; of those who wouldn’t be very comfortable, a majority said it was because they “didn’t want to hear about their coworker’s sex life”
- 18% of LGBTQ workers reported that someone at work has made sexually inappropriate comments to them because their coworker thought their sexual orientation or gender identity made it okay
- 53% of LGBTQ workers report hearing jokes about lesbian or gay people people (and 41% transgender-specific and 37% bisexual-specific jokes), while only 37% of their non-LGBTQ counterparts report hearing the same jokes
Major Employers Losing Talent
Engagement to Anti-LGBTQ Biases at Work

Working in an unwelcoming environment that is not always accepting of LGBTQ people leads to:

- 25% of LGBTQ workers feeling distracted from work
- 28% lying about their personal life
- 17% felt exhausted from spending time and energy hiding their sexual orientation and 13% from gender identity
- 20% of LGBTQ workers avoided a special event at work such as lunch, happy hour, or a holiday party
- 25% of LGBTQ workers avoided certain people at work
- 31% felt unhappy or depressed at work
- 20% have stayed home from work because the workplace wasn’t always accepting of LGBTQ people
- 20% searched for a different job

LGBTQ Workers Lack Faith in Accountability Systems, Sometimes With Good Reason

The top reason LGBTQ workers don’t tell a supervisor or Human Resources about negative comments about LGBTQ people is because they don’t think anything would be done about it and because they don’t want to hurt their relationships with coworkers

- 1 in 10 employees have heard their own supervisor make negative comments about LGBTQ people – this statistic has remained the same since our first study in 2008
- 45% of LGBTQ workers agree with the statement that enforcement of the non-discrimination policy is dependent on their supervisor’s own feelings towards LGBTQ people
- 13% felt that they would be fired because their workplace was unwelcoming of LGBTQ people

LGBTQ Climate Directly Affects Retention and Turnover

- 1 in 4 LGBTQ workers have stayed in a job primarily because the environment was very accepting of LGBTQ people
- 1 in 10 LGBTQ workers have left a job because the environment was not very accepting of LGBTQ people
Bringing the Data to Life

In this report, you will see how the results of our national survey of LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ workers play out over the course of a workday.

You will follow workers before they arrive at their workplace and see how the days of LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ workers diverge, where common themes of invisibility on the job and double standards of inclusion play out day after day.

1 in 5
LGBTQ workers have been told or had coworkers imply that they need to dress more feminine or masculine as compared to...

53% of LGBTQ workers are open to all friends.
1 in 24 non-LGBTQ workers who were told to dress more feminine or masculine
Off to a Different Start

Mindsets Heading into Work:

46% of LGBTQ workers are closeted at work

50% of non-LGBTQ workers don’t think that there are any LGBTQ people at their workplace

28% of LGBTQ workers are totally closeted and not open to anyone in their lives

Non-LGBTQ workers’ feelings towards LGBTQ people have been most shaped by their upbringing, having a friend who is LGBTQ, and their religion.
LGBTQ employees say that they are not open at work because:

- **38%** The possibility of being stereotyped
- **36%** The possibly making people feel uncomfortable
- **31%** The possibility of losing connections or relationships with coworkers
- **27%** “People might think I’m attracted to them just because I am LGBTQ”
Workers Agree: Sharing Creates the Work Environment

Percentage of LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ workers that say these ‘getting to know you’ topics come up at least once a week at work:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>LGBTQ Worker</th>
<th>Non-LGBTQ Worker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouses, relationships, or dating</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social life, such as what you did over the weekend</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV shows, movies or celebrities</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

When asked to reflect on the subjects that often come up in this chit chat, both LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ workers notice the same topics coming up at nearly identical rates.

The workplace, where we spend most of our daily lives, is full of seemingly innocuous chit chat - it is so common that its prevalence can go unnoticed.
Percentage of LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ workers that say these things you ‘aren’t supposed to talk about at work’ come up at least once a week at work:

- **Politics**
  - LGBTQ Worker: 48%
  - Non-LGBTQ Worker: 44%

- **Religion**
  - LGBTQ Worker: 22%
  - Non-LGBTQ Worker: 21%

- **Sex**
  - LGBTQ Worker: 34%
  - Non-LGBTQ Worker: 22%

- **Workplace gossip**
  - LGBTQ Worker: 66%
  - Non-LGBTQ Worker: 59%

We all share at work, but when LGBTQ workers share, something different happens from when their non-LGBTQ coworkers share...
The Double Standard

When LGBTQ workers try to engage in this everyday chit chat, they are met with a double standard. Every workplace demands some level of sharing which informs the work environment, builds important rapport among workers, and creates team cohesion. Despite this, a double standard for LGBTQ workers persists in significant ways where they receive a message that their sharing is not welcome.

While 80% of non-LGBTQ people agree that LGBTQ people should not have to hide who they are at work, the messages that they send their LGBTQ colleagues betray these good intentions and create the double standard LGBTQ workers are held to in the workplace.

Breaking it Down

- **Both populations share:** 73% of LGBTQ workers and 78% of non-LGBTQ workers say that they are comfortable talking about their spouse, partner, or dating to coworkers, but:
  - 14% LGBTQ employers report that coworkers who they are out to seem uncomfortable once they say something related to their sexual orientation or gender identity (e.g. mentioning a partner, spouse, personal history, etc.)
  - 36% of non-LGBTQ workers say they would feel uncomfortable hearing an LGBTQ colleague talk about dating, and 59% of non-LGBTQ workers think that it is unprofessional to talk about sexual orientation and gender identity in the workplace.

- **The Double Standard Emerges:** non-LGBTQ workers don’t recognize that we all have a sexual orientation and a gender identity, but it is only when an LGBTQ person’s is discussed that they think it is inappropriate for the workplace.

- **Some encouraging signs of change:** in 2012 43% of non-LGBTQ workers agreed that they would be uncomfortable hearing about an LGBTQ worker’s dating, and 75% thought it was unprofessional to discuss sexual orientation or gender identity in the workplace.
The number of LGBTQ employers that report coworkers who they are out to seemed uncomfortable once they said something related to their sexual orientation or gender identity.

1/4

54% of non-LGBTQ feel uncomfortable talking dating with an LGBTQ colleague.

59% of non-LGBTQ think it’s unprofessional to talk about sexual orientation and gender identity in the workplace.

78% say they are comfortable talking about their spouse, partner, or dating to coworkers.

80% of non-LGBTQ people agree that LGBTQ people should not have to hide who they are at work.

LGBTQ workers get the message that their input is making colleagues uncomfortable.

- 54% of non-LGBTQ workers said that they would be very comfortable working with an LGBTQ coworker; of those who wouldn’t be very comfortable, a majority said it was because they “didn’t want to hear about their coworker’s sex life.”

Working in an unwelcoming environment that is not always accepting of LGBTQ people leads to:

- 25% of LGBTQ workers feeling distracted from work.
- 28% lying about their personal life (down from 42% in 2008).
- 17% felt exhausted from spending time and energy hiding their sexual orientation (13% from hiding their gender identity).
- 31% felt unhappy or depressed at work.
Egregious Behavior in the Workplace

**LGBTQ Workers are Singled Out at Work**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18%</td>
<td>of LGBTQ workers reported that someone at work has made sexually inappropriate comments to them because their coworker thought their sexual orientation or gender identity made it okay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53%</td>
<td>of LGBTQ workers report hearing jokes about lesbian or gay people (and 41% transgender-specific and 37% bisexual-specific jokes) at least one in a while, while only...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37%</td>
<td>of their non-LGBTQ counterparts report hearing the same jokes</td>
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Little Faith in Accountability Systems

The top reason LGBTQ workers don’t tell a supervisor or HR about negative comments about LGBTQ people is because they don’t think anything would be done about it and because they don’t want to hurt their relationships with coworkers.

- **20%** of LGBTQ workers felt that they were passed over for job opportunities because they were LGBTQ.
- **45%** of LGBTQ workers agree with the statement that enforcement of the non-discrimination policy is dependent on their supervisor’s own feelings towards LGBTQ people.
- **13%** felt that they would be fired because their workplace was unwelcoming of LGBTQ people.
Frozen Out of Social Networks

1/5 of LGBTQ workers avoided a special event at work such as lunch, happy hour, or a holiday party.

1/4 of LGBTQ workers avoided certain people at work.
Consequences of Unwelcoming Environments

1 in 5 employees have stayed home from work because the workplace wasn’t always accepting of LGBTQ people.

1 in 5 searched for a different job.

1 in 10 LGBTQ workers have left a job because the environment was not very accepting of LGBTQ people.
Allies Stepping Up

When workers do hear jokes or negative comments about LGBTQ people, LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ workers are less likely to just ignore the comments compared to six years ago.

Workers Willing to Let Negative Comments Go Unaddressed

- LGBTQ Worker
- Non-LGBTQ Worker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>LGBTQ Worker</th>
<th>Non-LGBTQ Worker</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Remedies: Using this Report to Start a Conversation

What is the most surprising finding? What is the least?

Which teams at your organization do you think most need to hear these results?

Would your organization (or Employee Resource Group or Diversity & Inclusion teams) consider adopting a climate survey to assess your workplace for LGBTQ experiences?

How does your organization deal with unconscious or subtle bias in the workplace?
What’s Next: Making Inclusion More Visible at Every Level

For Senior Leaders
- Evaluate personal comfort level speaking specifically and directly to LGBTQ inclusion
- Reflect upon obligation to organization when it comes to recognizing LGBTQ inclusion
- Assess tools leadership has to communicate about corporate inclusion values – address knowledge gaps in the evolving vocabulary of LGBTQ inclusion and utilize partners to bolster comfort

For Mid-level Managers
- Lead conversations about unconscious bias proactively
- Equip teams with a vocabulary around spotting unconscious bias and talking to each other and you as their manager around experiences of unconscious bias
- Be intentional with team-building activities to ensure inclusion (i.e. ensure that they are not over-reliant on one point of bonding such as parenting, happy hours, etc.)

For Individuals
- Ask yourself what informed your earliest impressions and beliefs about LGBTQ identity and how you express that at work
- Define respect for yourself and others and how you demonstrate that in workplace
- Practice mirroring – if your colleague asks about your weekend, ask about theirs
Deena Fidas, Director

Deena Fidas is the Director of the Workplace Equality Program at the Human Rights Campaign Foundation. She leads the team in producing the annual Corporate Equality Index (CEI) survey and report of over 1,200 major employers’ policies, benefits and practices for LGBTQ workers. Fidas consults directly with hundreds of Fortune 500 and other major businesses on the implementation of equitable policies and practices for LGBTQ employees. Fidas consults directly with hundreds of Fortune 500 and other major businesses on the implementation of equitable policies and practices for LGBTQ employees.

In addition, she leads the organization’s public policy efforts with the business community, including historic mobilizations of businesses for marriage equality, federal LGBTQ protections and state-level engagement. Most recently, Fidas expanded the work of the program to include global LGBTQ workforce best practices and launched CEI-style programs in Latin America where she designs trainings, manages in-country partnerships and develops bi-lingual business resources to drive change. She also leads the HRC Foundation’s decade of research on the experiences of LGBTQ workers nationwide.

A contributor to national discussions on LGBTQ workplace inclusion, Fidas has been a featured guest on various programs including the Diane Rehm Show, On Point, CNN Money, Marketplace, Guest Means Business and dozens of print media including Associated Press, The Wall Street Journal, Forbes, Fortune Mexico’s Reforma and other news outlets. Prior to joining the Human Rights Campaign in 2007, she worked in fundraising for the American Civil Liberties Union and Hillary Clinton for President, among other clients. Fidas holds a master’s degree in sociology from American University in Washington, D.C., where she also worked as a researcher for the university’s Women & Politics Institute.

Beck Bailey, Deputy Director

Beck Bailey joined HRC in June of 2014. As Deputy Director, Bailey focuses on helping America’s largest employers become more LGBTQ inclusive through employee engagement, training and education. He regularly supports corporate stakeholders — from executive leadership to human resource professionals, to employee network leaders — in building greater LGBTQ inclusion through public speaking, facilitated workshops, customized training and in one-on-one consultation. Bailey also conducts outreach to engage corporations in deepening their impact by supporting legislative action to create workplace protections for LGBTQ people.

A lifelong LGBTQ advocate and out transgender man, Bailey often speaks about his personal journey as a way to increase awareness and understanding. He proudly serves on the Advisory Board of Reaching Out MBA (ROMBA). Beck holds a BS in Management from Virginia Tech and an MBA from the Isenberg School of Management at UMass Amherst.

Liz Cooper, Associate Director

Liz Cooper joined HRC in August 2010. As Associate Director, Liz engages directly with employers to identify and improve policies and practices affecting LGBTQ employees. Cooper brings her background in sales marketing research to develop the Program’s resources on LGBTQ diversity and inclusion best practices aimed at employers, employees, and consumers. She has a special focus on engaging new businesses to participate in the CEI survey, and oversees the annual Buying for Workplace Equality Guide. In her eight years at HRC, Cooper has enlisted the support of dozens of major businesses for pro-equality public policy across the country. She also uses her advocacy to elevate the role of allies in the LGBTQ community. Cooper holds a BA in Political Science from Davidson College in North Carolina and an MA in Writing from Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C.

Lana Williams, Manager

Lana Williams joined the Workplace team in November 2016. As the Workplace Equality Program Manager, she is responsible for the oversight and coordination of the daily activities for the annual Corporate Equality Index and Buying for Workplace Equality Guide. In this role, she provides companies with the resources they need to improve non-discrimination policies, benefits and other practices that are essential for businesses to retain talent and customers, and remain committed to equality in the workplace. Williams is also responsible for managing global business engagement, including the Equidad MX survey. Williams brings her background in communications and management to support her work in advocating for LGBTQ workplace equality. Williams graduated from The New School in New York City with a MS in Nonprofit Management and holds a BA in Communication from Wake Forest University in North Carolina.

Madeline Perrou, Assistant

Madeline Perrou joined the Workplace team in October 2017 as the Workplace Equality Program Assistant. In this role, she provides support to the entire team through assisting companies with the Corporate Equality Index, researching and updating brands for the annual Buyer’s Guide, and completing daily administrative tasks. Perrou has been with the Human Rights Campaign for several months beginning with her internship with the Federal Club Program in the summer of 2016 and a temporary position with Membership Outreach. She recently graduated from Appalachian State University in North Carolina with a BS in Political Science, a concentration in American Politics and a minor in Gender, Women, and Sexuality studies.
Mary Beth Maxwell, Senior Vice President for Programs, Research and Training

A longtime leader in social justice movements, Mary Beth (M.B.) Maxwell leads the groundbreaking and innovative efforts of HRC’s educational arm, the HRC Foundation. She oversees the organization’s public education and programmatic initiatives covering a wide range of issues affecting LGBTQ people in the United States and around the globe. Her portfolio includes the programs focused on the workplace, children and youth, LGBTQ families, health and aging, HIV and AIDS; religion and faith; and the global LGBTQ movement.

Maxwell previously served in the Obama Administration as the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy at the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL) where she was a key figure in shaping the Administration’s policy agenda for working families, including raising the minimum wage, expanding paid leave, ensuring labor standards for home care workers, and advocating for collective bargaining rights and workers’ voice in the workplace. She played a lead role in the Administration’s many accomplishments for LGBTQ workers.

Prior to joining the Obama Administration, Maxwell was the Founding Executive Director of American Rights at Work, a leading voice for modernizing and reforming our nation’s labor laws. She has also served in various other senior-level positions at Jobs with Justice, NARAL Pro-Choice America, and the United States Student Association. She lives in Washington, D.C., with her 15-year-old son.

Jay Brown, Deputy Director of Programs, Research and Training

An experienced non-profit leader with nearly 20 years of experience, Jay Brown helps drive the innovative work of the HRC Foundation, the organization’s educational arm. He works closely with the Senior Vice President of Programs, Research and Training and a team of professionals who manage HRC Foundation programs — aiming to ensure equality for LGBTQ people at every intersection of their identities and lives. These programs span a range of issues, including the workplace, children, youth and LGBTQ families; health and aging; HIV and AIDS; religion and faith; and the global LGBTQ movement.

Brown has a long-standing history with the LGBTQ movement and the organization, including previous roles as HRC’s Communications Director and HRC’s Director of Research and Public Education. He’s held senior communications and marketing roles at Carnegie Mellon University and Reading Is Fundamental, and also has experience consulting for progressive organizations on strategic communication and organizational development needs.

A longtime advocate for transgender equality and an transgender man, Jay lives in Maryland with his spouse, Kendra, and their two children.

PerryUndem Research/Communication

Tresa Undem, Partner

Tresa Undem has conducted public opinion research for 17 years for non-profit organizations, foundations, universities, and government agencies. She works on a number of health-related policy issues, including health care reform implementation, delivery system reform, health IT, costs, and quality. Tresa also works on LGBT issues, reproductive health, and food/nutrition. She has briefed numerous state and federal policymakers on her work, including members of Congress, White House officials, and the Department of Health and Human Services leadership. Tresa holds a Master’s Degree from the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania. She is a member of the American Association of Public Opinion Research, and has been a reviewer, presenter, and discussant at national conferences.

Naomi Mulligan Kolb, Managing Director

Naomi Mulligan Kolb has conducted public opinion research since 2008. Her expertise is managing complex studies for numerous policy organizations, foundations, and universities, from research development to implementation and analysis. In addition to conducting and analyzing public opinion research across a broad range of issues, Naomi leads the supervision of survey fielding and focus group recruiting. Naomi began her public policy research career while studying in Washington, DC at UCLA’s Center for American Politics and Public Policy. She holds a BA in Sociology from the University of California, Los Angeles.

Kathleen Perry, Associate Analyst

Kathleen joined PerryUndem in May 2014. In her role as an associate analyst, she has contributed to research on a broad range of progressive policy issues, including health care reform, reproductive rights, and social justice. Kathleen employs both qualitative and quantitative research methods to analyze data and communicate results. She holds a BA in Government and Politics from the University of Maryland, College Park and an MA in Global Security and Government Analytics from Johns Hopkins University.

Tony Frye, Creative

Tony Frye has over 25 years of graphic design experience specializing in publication design, corporate identity, brand creation and how best to apply design to advertising, marketing and public relations. Tony has a broad array of clients including non-profit organizations and associations such as Human Rights Campaign, Governors Highway Safety Association, PATH, The Campaign for Tobacco Free Kids and PFLAG, educational institutions such as National Institute for Literacy, National Science Foundation, Spelman College, Wellesley College and Xavier University; and publications such as American Community Banker and Metro Weekly — winning awards for it’s art direction and redesign from 2000-2007.

His design work has been recognized for excellence by juried exhibits from PRINT magazine, The Art Directors and Illustrators Clubs of Metropolitan Washington. He has also lectured in the field of design and illustration and currently serves as an Adjunct Professor at the University of Baltimore Klein Family School of Communications Design, specializing in the Publishing Arts.

Additional thanks to John Baez, Vice President of Marketing, Bob Villaflor, Senior Design Director, Human Rights Campaign for their creative guidance and Kelly James, Intern at the Human Rights Campaign Foundation for her production assistance on this report.