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The effect of inclusion on identity management decisions in the workplace : the roles of organizational support, anticipated stigma, and state psychological well-being

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ABSTRACT

THE EFFECT OF INCLUSION ON IDENTITY MANAGEMENT DECISIONS IN THE
WORKPLACE: THE ROLES OF ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORT, ANTICIPATED
STIGMA, AND STATE PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING

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Disclosure decisions are a central challenge for individuals managing a concealable stigmatized identity (e.g., psychological disability) in the workplace due to the costs (e.g., stigma) and benefits (e.g., receiving accommodations) associated with the decisions. Environmental aspects of the employing organization may help to reduce the burden of managing a stigmatized identity and promote disclosure. The current study used vignettes in an online, experimental design to test the hypothesis that intentions to disclose a concealable stigmatized identity would be more likely in inclusive organizations than non-inclusive organizations following a hypothetical disclosure scenario. It was also hypothesized that there would be an indirect effect of inclusion on disclosure through increased support and reduced stigma. Psychological outcomes associated with these decisions were also explored. Participants ($N = 261$) were recruited from Amazon's Mechanical Turk and identified as lesbian, gay, or bisexual, or as having a psychological disability or invisible physical disability. In general, a larger proportion of participants chose to reveal (and a smaller proportion chose to conceal) their identity in the inclusive condition than in the non-inclusive conditions; although, these

differences did not have statistical significance. The indirect effect of inclusion on disclosure was significant through stigma but not support, indicating that differences in likelihood of revealing or concealing may be due, in part, to the negative effect inclusion had on anticipated stigma. Exploratory results showed that positive affect decreased as a result of not revealing, but any changes in stress, anxiety, or negative affect were not a function of disclosure decisions. Additionally, among those who chose to conceal, anxiety decreased relative to those who chose not to conceal only in the inclusion condition.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A vast and growing literature has addressed the general experiences of individuals living with concealable stigmatized identities—devalued social identities that are not easily visible and can be hidden from others (e.g., Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010; Clair, Beatty, & MacLean, 2005; Jones & King, 2014; Quinn, 2006; Ragins, 2008). Much of this work has appropriately focused on individuals' decisions about disclosure, a central challenge of managing a concealable stigmatized identity (Clair et al., 2005). Individuals with concealable stigmatized identities may be compelled to decide if, and the conditions under which, they will disclose (Goffman, 1963; Quinn, 2006). This often involves a cost-benefit analysis of disclosing, weighing the social costs due to stigma and potential discrimination against the cognitive costs and health costs of the effort required to conceal the information.

Identity management decisions are important in the workplace because decision outcomes have implications for individuals' employment experiences (Jones & King, 2014). For example, whether an individual decides to reveal or conceal a hidden identity in the workplace can determine if they face discrimination (e.g., unequal barriers to hiring and promotions; Croteau, 1996), if they are granted access to benefits and resources (e.g., disability accommodations; Santuzzi & Waltz, 2016), and the type of impression they make on others in the organization (Roberts, 2005). These variables could be factored into cost-benefit analyses of disclosure and raise the stakes of disclosure decisions in the workplace.Recent research on

inclusion and diversity climates in organizations suggests that creating an inclusive work environment may be one strategy to reduce the burden of managing a concealable stigmatized identity. Specifically, organizations can reduce the burden of disclosure by making it easier for people to disclose. Inclusive work environments are those in which employees feel like they both belong to the organization and are individually valued (Jansen, Otten, van der Zee, & Jans, 2014). Theoretical work and empirical work in the identity management literature suggests that constructs similar to inclusion, such as acceptance, support, authenticity, and diversity climate, are important antecedents to disclosure (Jones & King, 2014; Sabat, Trump, & King, 2014; von Schrader, Malzer, & Bruyere, 2014). Nonetheless, no empirical studies have directly examined the effect that inclusion might have on disclosure decisions at work.

The present study was designed to build on the lessons from the inclusion literature and diversity climate literature by examining the role of inclusion in how individuals manage concealable stigmatized identities in the workplace. This was accomplished by comparing the willingness of individuals with a concealable stigmatized identity (i.e., invisible physical disability, psychological disability, or non-heterosexual orientation) to disclose in inclusive organizations and non-inclusive organizations. In addition, outcomes associated with inclusion and disclosure decisions (anticipated stigma and organizational support) were measured to examine potential mediators of the relationship between inclusion climate and disclosure decisions. Finally, possible relationships between disclosure decisions and changes to psychological states (anxiety, stress, negative affect, and positive affect), including whether those relationships changed depending on the organizational climate, were explored.

Concealable Stigmatized Identities and the Significance of Disclosure

Concealable Stigma Experiences

Stigma is defined as a belief that an individual or group attribute is devalued in a particular social context (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Goffman, 1969). Individuals who possess a stigmatized attribute (e.g., facial tattoo; Funk & Todorov, 2013) or identity (e.g., lesbian, gay, or bisexual; LGB; Ragins, Singh, & Cornwell, 2007) are often the target of negative attitudes and negative treatment that manifest from stigma and, thus, become stigmatized (Crocker et al., 1998). For example, individuals with a disability in the workplace are believed to be less competent at work than those without disabilities (Ren, Paetzold, & Colella, 2008) and face barriers to hiring and promotion (Erickson, von Schrader, Bruyere, & VanLooy, 2014). Instances of stigma-based discrimination are associated with negative psychological consequences, which has been demonstrated in meta-analysis across a variety of stigma categories (e.g., race, gender, disability, sexual orientation) and a variety of outcome variables, such as self-esteem, depression, anxiety, and affect (Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014). Thus, although the stigmatized attribute or identity is devalued by others, the psychological experience of stigmatization is the burden of the individual to whom the attribute is attached.

The visibility of a stigmatized characteristic is critical in determining the individual's stigma experience and, therefore, is an important distinguishing feature of stigmas (Goffman, 1963). Stigmatized characteristics can be further distinguished by the degree to which their visibility can be controlled by their possessor (i.e., concealability; Jones, Farina, Hastorf, Markus, & Scott, 1984). Concealability offers flexibility regarding how stigmatized identities

can be managed (e.g., the decision to reveal or conceal) by their possessors and, thus, gives stigmatized individuals control over others' ability to react to the stigma feature. For example, a facial tattoo is highly visible and difficult for its possessor to reasonably obscure; therefore, the individual would have little control over others' reception of the feature and be limited in their ability to avoid any stigma-based reactions. In contrast, having received treatment for depression is generally hidden to others unless revealed by the treated individual. Here, others' knowledge of the individual's history of mental illness is subject to the individual's volition. If the individual feels that others' reactions to the stigmatized identity will be negative, he or she might be compelled to conceal their identity; if the individual anticipates acceptance of his or her identity, they might disclose if inclined to do so.

On the surface, such control over identity management might be perceived as an advantage of concealable identities (e.g., Goffman, 1969; Jones et al., 1984; Quinn, 2006). However, increased concealability also has its disadvantages. For example, uncertainty about others' knowledge of one's stigmatized identity or fear of being unwillingly discovered can be distressing experiences (Jones et al., 1984). Quinn and Chaudoir (2009) found that bearing a concealable stigmatized identity predicted increased psychological distress (depression and anxiety) and self-reported physical illness symptoms, and individuals' fear of stigmatization (i.e., anticipated stigma) was statistically demonstrated to mediate these relationships. Thus, for individuals with concealable stigmatized identities, the threat of potential stigmatization may have negative consequences for psychological well-being and physical well-being. Based on their findings, eliminating such concerns about stigma should prevent those negative outcomes to some degree.

Individuals with concealable stigmatized identities may also be at a disadvantage in terms of developing strategies to cope with the experience of stigma (Quinn, 2006). Those with visible stigmatized identities can identify similar others from which to draw support and maintain a positive self-concept through in-group identification. Individuals with concealable stigmatized identities are limited in this regard and, thus, may evaluate themselves especially negatively. In a test of this idea, Frable, Platt, and Hoey (1998) found that participants with a concealable stigmatized identity (gay, bulimic, or family income less than $20,000) reported lower self-esteem and more experiences of negative affect over an 11-day period than those with either a visible stigmatized identity or no stigmatized identity. Moreover, the presence of similar others enhanced self-esteem and affect for those with concealable stigmatized identities but not for those with either a visible stigmatized identity or no stigmatized identity. Their findings suggest a positive effect of group identification on self-esteem and affect for individuals with concealable stigmatized identities. An implication of these findings is that such connections with others would require disclosure, at least in some situations.

In addition to the challenges associated with fear of discovery and gaining social support, unique challenges emerge from the disclosure decision process itself. For instance, bearing a concealable stigmatized identity inherently involves many identity management decisions. Unlike individuals with visible stigmatized identities, decisions can be made regarding if, when, where, how, to what extent, and to whom one should disclose (Goffman, 1963; Jones & King, 2014; Quinn, 2006). Further, the complexity of the disclosure decision process intensifies in situations in which motivational bases for disclosing or concealing are in conflict, a common occurrence in the workplace. For example, an employee with a disability may struggle with the decision to disclose for a needed work accommodation out of fear of negative reactions or

skepticism from others toward their disability (Santuzzi, Waltz, Finkelstein, & Rupp, 2014).

Likewise, a lesbian or gay employee may simply wish to contribute to a conversation with a

coworker about their wedding days, but perceptions of unsupportive coworkers or supervisors

may lead them to be reluctant to reveal this information (Ragins et al., 2007).

In sum, the devaluation of an attribute or identity results in the stigmatization of the

individuals who bear these features. The concealability of a stigmatized identity offers

individuals some degree of control over their stigma experience. Although concealability seems

intuitively beneficial because immediate social repercussions can be avoided, there are hidden

costs associated with concealing stigmatized identities. Additional challenges emerge due to the

complexity of the disclosure decision process; individuals may be motivated to both reveal and

conceal a stigmatized identity, and there can be both negative consequences and positive

consequences associated with either decision. The following sections delve deeper into the costs

and benefits that individuals might consider when deciding to disclose a concealable stigmatized

identity.

Motivations to Conceal

Even in the presence of motivations to reveal a stigmatized identity (e.g., to receive

disability accommodations, to foster relationships with coworkers), individuals could be

motivated to conceal their stigmatized identities for several reasons. For example, some

individuals prefer to keep certain identities private, such as a medical condition (e.g., human

immunodeficiency virus [HIV]; Derlega, Winstead, Green, Serovich, & Elwood, 2004). In other

cases, individuals might face challenges coming to terms with their possession of a stigmatized

identity. For example, Santuzzi and Waltz (2016) suggest that individuals are sometimes unaware that they have a disability (e.g., emotional damage from a traumatic event), or they may be in denial that their impairment is disabling. Additionally, the identity might not be particularly central or important to the individual (Griffith & Hebl, 2002), so disclosing may have negligible meaning to the individual or offer little in the way of fostering intimacy between partners.

The most impactful motivator for concealing a stigmatized identity discussed in the literature is the threat of social stigma (Clair et al., 2005; Jones & King, 2014; Ragins, 2008, von Schrader et al., 2014). Indeed, individuals with concealable stigmatized identities have shown a preference for hiding (vs. revealing) their identity out of fear of stigma-related social repercussions. Von Schrader and colleagues (2014) surveyed individuals with a disability and found that the large majority cited potential instances of prejudice and discrimination, such as the risk of being fired or not hired, the employer placing undue focus on the disability, and differential treatment by coworkers and supervisors, as the main barriers to disclosure. Similarly, in a survey administered to individuals diagnosed with HIV, participants reported that fear of rejection from others was a main reason for nondisclosure (Derlega et al., 2004). Also, Newheiser and Barreto (2014) found that individuals with a concealable stigmatized identity (i.e., invisible physical impairment, psychological impairment, minority sexual orientation, or experience with poverty) reported a strong preference to conceal their stigmatized identity at work due to the belief that revealing would have negative impacts on their relationships with coworkers. Taken together, it appears that individuals' fear of stigma-based consequences (e.g., discrimination, social rejection, negative reactions from others) is a prominent barrier to the disclosure of a concealable stigmatized identity.

If fear of stigmatization is a key motivator of nondisclosure, it is conceivable that disclosure intentions should increase when that fear of stigma decreases. Indeed, Ragins and colleagues (2007) found that experience with past discrimination predicted fear of disclosure among LGB individuals in their current employment position; however, perceived social support from coworkers and supervisors negatively predicted fear of disclosure. Thus, evidence indicates that individuals with concealable stigmatized identities prefer keeping their identity hidden when the potential for stigmatization is present. However, this preference is attenuated when conditions contradictory to stigma, such as in supportive organizations, are perceived.

Motivations to Disclose

Even when in fear of being stigmatized, there are several reasons why individuals might be motivated to disclose a concealable stigmatized identity in the workplace. These could include, for example, attaining worker benefits (e.g., same-sex partner benefits, disability accommodations; Jones & King, 2014), responding to diversity measurement surveys (von Schrader et al., 2014), the desire to maintain a coherent sense of self (Bosson et al., 2012; Clair & Beatty, 2005), fostering social relationships (Collins & Miller, 1994), or group advocacy (e.g., Derlega et al., 2004). In some cases, disclosure of a concealable stigmatized identity can be directly linked to the worker's productivity and overall work experience. For example, receiving a work accommodation for a disability can positively impact worker productivity, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment (Schur, Nishii, Adya, Kruse, Bruyere, & Blanck, 2014). However, disclosing a disability is typically required in order to attain accommodations to support work performance (Santuzzi et al., 2014).

Additional scholarship examined the effect of revealing (vs. concealing) on intraindividual outcomes that may indirectly affect work experience, such as the emotional, cognitive, and psychological burden associated with worrying about discovery or maintaining a false identity. For example, Smart and Wegner (1999) found that participants with an eating disorder who concealed the fact during a conversation relevant to eating disorders had more stigma-related thought intrusion than those who did not conceal. Concealing places demands on cognitive resources, which has been argued to negatively impact work performance (e.g., Jones & King, 2014). Disclosing should help to alleviate those demands.

In other research, Barreto, Ellemers, and Banal (2006) found that individuals with a concealable stigmatized identity who "passed" (i.e., conveyed a valued identity) reported lower performance-related self-confidence about an experimental task than those who revealed a stigmatized identity to an alleged work partner. Further, they found statistical evidence for self-directed negative affect (i.e., guilt and shame from inaccurately conveying oneself) as a mediator of the relationship between passing and lower self-confidence. These findings are consistent with research demonstrating that concealing a stigmatized identity results in threatened coherence of self from being misclassified (contrary to one's actual identity) as non-stigmatized (Bosson, Weaver, & Prewitt-Freilino, 2012).

Concealing (vs. revealing) has also been examined in the context of interpersonal interactions. In a series of experimental studies, Newheiser and Barreto (2014) found that hiding versus revealing both a contextual (study major) and a cultural (mental impairment) stigmatized identity led to a lower sense of belonging for the concealer, lower quality social interactions, and negative impressions of the concealer as rated by interaction partners and external observers. These findings contradict arguments favoring the immediate social advantages of concealing (vs.

revealing) a stigmatized identity (e.g., Goffman, 1963; Jones et al., 1984). Rather, the evidence

suggests that concealing can be interpersonally detrimental.

The consequences of concealing a stigmatized identity can also reach broadly to

organizations. For instance, diversity and inclusion has become an important mission of many

organizations over the last few decades, and this has resulted in organizations implementing

diversity management policies (DeNisi, 2014; Ferdman, 2014). Effectively managing a diverse

workforce requires continued assessments of employee demographics, organizational policies,

and the workplace behaviors of organizational personnel (Mor Barak, 2014). However, such

efforts are largely contingent on individuals' willingness to disclose their identity (von Schrader

et al., 2014). Thus, concealing could have the contradictory effect of perpetuating stigma in the

workplace by limiting efforts to promote positive diversity climates. Moreover, visible instances

of disclosure may shape perceptions of organizational climate (Clair et al., 2005). Disclosure can

be a means for creating awareness of one's stigmatized group and help to educate others who

may hold inaccurate or negative views about a particular attribute or identity (e.g., Derlega et al.,

2004). Observations of others' positive disclosure experiences indicates that the environment is

accepting and supportive of stigmatized categories (von Schrader et al., 2014). Thus, disclosure

is likely an index of inclusivity, and inclusion is associated with an array of positive personal

outcomes and organizational outcomes (discussed later but for a review see Shore et al., 2011).

In sum, although there are advantages and disadvantages to both concealing a stigmatized

identity and revealing a stigmatized identity, concealing has hidden costs that are often

overlooked due to the notion that increased concealability is socially advantageous. Disclosure

(relative to concealing) has several documented benefits regarding individuals' cognitive

functioning, self-concept, and interpersonal relationships. Disclosure can also be a means to

improving the employment experiences of individuals with stigmatized identities. This can happen directly through obtaining worker benefits and indirectly through shaping positive diversity climates. Despite these potential benefits, anticipated stigma reduces individuals' willingness to disclose and is a reminder that revealing a stigmatized identity is not always a positive experience. Thus, there is a need for understanding of the conditions under which disclosure results in net positive outcomes (i.e., when the positive benefit of disclosure outweighs the negative cost of stigma). Recent insights into the processes underlying perceptions of inclusive work climates open a new avenue for exploring the organizational factors that foster positive disclosure experiences by reducing concerns about stigma. In the following sections, I define inclusion and provide evidence of its importance for organizations. Then, I explain how inclusive work environments might inform disclosure decisions and psychological experiences associated with those decisions.

Inclusion in the Work Environment

Inclusion in Organizations

For nearly three decades, the concept of inclusion in the workplace has been a common focus of organizational diversity scholarship. This attention was largely driven by the belief that positive diversity climates are associated with favorable individual outcomes and organizational outcomes (Cox, 1991; Ely & Thomas, 2001; Mor Barak; 2015). However, studies showing the insufficiency of diversity alone to produce these outcomes (for reviews see Kochan et al., 2003; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998) led researchers to reconsider approaches to managing an increasingly diversifying workplace (DeNisi, 2015; Stewart, Crary, & Humberd, 2008). The

resulting emphasis is currently on the concept of *inclusion*. Inclusion broadly refers to the

incorporation of all employees into the organization's formal processes and informal processes

(Mor Barak, 2014). Characteristics of inclusive organizations include those in which all

employees, regardless of individual or group differences, experience fair treatment regarding the

procedures and outcomes of evaluation processes (Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998), equal access to

hiring, promotion, training and development opportunities, and organizational resources (e.g.,

information networks), opportunities to contribute work, ideas, and opinions, and to have a stake

in decision making processes (Chrobot-Mason & Aramovich, 2013). Formal diversity training

programs, such as educational workshops and online training tools, have also been identified as

key characteristics of inclusive organizations (Shin & Park, 2013).

Scholars have linked inclusion to a number of important work-related outcomes, such as

increased job satisfaction (Acquavita, Pittman, Gibbons, & Castellanos-Brown, 2009; Madera,

Dawson, & Neal, 2013; Mor Barak & Levin, 2002), decreased turnover (Chrobot-Mason &

Aramovich, 2013; Kaplan, Wiley, & Maertz Jr., 2011; McKay, Avery, Tonidandel, Morris,

Hernandez, & Hebl, 2007; Nishii & Mayer, 2009), decreased absenteeism (Avery, McKay,

Wilson, & Tonindandel, 2007), increased organizational commitment (Gonzalez & DeNisi,

2009; Chrobot-Mason & Aramovich, 2013), increased organizational citizenship behaviors

(Singh, Winkel, & Selvarajan, 2013), and increased work performance (Gonzalez & DeNisi,

2009; Sabharwal, 2014; Singh et al., 2013).

Impacts of inclusion have also been documented at the individual level. Mor Barak and

Levin (2002) examined the relationship between inclusion and employee well-being and job

satisfaction among a sample of employees at a large hi-tech company. The authors defined

inclusion as employees' feelings of integration into critical organizational processes (e.g., access

to information, connectedness to coworkers, work-group engagement, and influencing the decision-making process; see Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998). They found that inclusion was a significant predictor of both psychological well-being and job satisfaction after controlling for a variety of demographic variables (age, gender, race, education, job position, and management status). Further, inclusion predicted well-being and job satisfaction above and beyond employees' fairness perceptions (i.e., procedural justice, distributive justice, and interactional justice), suggesting that inclusion has relevance to employees beyond constructs typically related to diversity climate.

Though no work seems to have directly examined the relationship between inclusion (as defined in this study) and stigma, several studies have looked at the stigma-reducing effects of policies and practices that are characteristic of inclusion. Hanisch and colleagues (2016) reviewed the literature on workplace interventions that targeted mental illness stigma (Hanish, Twomey, Szeto, Birner, Nowak, & Sabariego, 2016). The included studies contained interventions that addressed stigma-related knowledge, attitudes, and/or behaviors. Intervention strategies consisted of mental health first aid training, mental-health literacy programs, role-playing exercises, education, group discussions, workshops, and online training. Fifteen of the 16 interventions examined were successful in producing one or more of the targeted outcomes, including improving knowledge about identifying and/or treating mental illnesses, improving attitudes (e.g., perceived dangerousness, perceived unpredictability) and openness toward individuals with mental illness, and promoting supportive and affirming behaviors/reducing discriminatory behaviors towards individuals with mental illness.

Another study examined the role of inclusion in the integration of employees with disabilities into the workplace. Novak, Feyes, and Christensen (2011) collected interview data

from employment specialists and observational data from the workplace. They found that coworkers were generally more accepting of employees with disabilities when they had equal peer status while working together, they had quality interactions that transcended stereotypes, and organizational policies and supervisor practices were inclusive of employees with disabilities. These findings are consistent with work demonstrating associations between inclusion and perceptions of support in the workplace. For example, among external employees recruited from outside agencies, perceptions of supervisor support and support from permanent employees within the organization were positively associated with perceived insider status—the perception of being an organizational insider (Lapalme, Stamper, Simard, & Tremblay, 2009). Taken together, these findings suggest that individuals' perceptions of inclusion in organizations are linked to perceptions of support.

The research reviewed above suggests that inclusion may have implications for the well-being of both employees and employers. Importantly, it seems to be effective in reducing stigma which is critical for the integration of employees who are traditionally disadvantaged in the workplace. Moreover, it may limit barriers to these employees' ability to be fulfilled and productive in their work lives. However, findings regarding the benefits of inclusion, although promising, have been somewhat mixed (Mor Barak, 2015), suggesting that a better understanding of what is meant by inclusion is still needed. This has led to recent research aimed at defining the psychological processes underlying the experience of inclusion.

Components of Inclusion

Although the utility of inclusion in the workplace is widely accepted by academics, practitioners, and organizations, conceptual understanding of the construct is in its infancy. Scholars have recently turned to theory in social psychology to identify the underlying processes of inclusion. Shore and colleagues (2011) developed an initial framework of workplace inclusion based on Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (ODT; Brewer, 1991). ODT posits that individuals have conflicting needs for belonging (i.e., being part of a group) and differentiation (i.e., distinct from other groups or individuals within their own group), and individuals' social identity rests on these needs being balanced. Accordingly, Shore et al. proposed that individuals perceive to be included by their organization when both the need for belongingness and the need for uniqueness are satisfied, that is, when individuals are both accepted members of the organization and valued for their unique identities.

Jansen and colleagues (2014) later extended the Shore et al. framework by proposing an "all-inclusive" model of inclusion. They argued that the uniqueness component in the Shore et al. framework of inclusion only accounts for the non-overlapping aspects of individuals' identities (i.e., an individual's ideas, perspectives, attributes not shared by other group members). Consequently, within organizations that value uniqueness, inclusion perceptions would be achieved only by individuals who are different from the group majority and not by those who are similar to the group majority. Such environments have different implications for atypical (e.g., minority) group members and prototypical (e.g., majority) group members (Jansen et al., 2014; Otten & Jansen, 2015), as prototypical group members will perceive to be less valued than

atypical group members. Indeed, research indicates that members of organizations often perceive an outgroup preference from management (Merritt, Ryan, Mack, Leeds, & Schmitt, 2010).

Alternatively, Jansen et al. proposed that valuing *authenticity*, as opposed to uniqueness, encompasses both the unique and the similar aspects of individuals' identities, and better accounts for the needs of *all* individuals. They derived authenticity from the autonomy component of Self-determination Theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 2000). SDT broadly proposes that motivation is driven by human fundamental needs—autonomy, relatedness, and competence. Autonomy refers to individuals' desire to have freedom of choice and to maintain a sense of coherence of self. That is, just as individuals have a desire to choose what they do, they have a desire to choose who they are (Jansen et al., 2014). Thus, Jansen et al. use complementary insights from ODT and SDT to propose that inclusion contains the underlying components of belongingness (to be liked and accepted by one's group) and authenticity (to be welcomed and encouraged to be one's self)—whether that means being similar or different. Accordingly, they define inclusion as the perception that a group (e.g., organization) provides its members with both a sense of belonging and a sense of authenticity.

An important assumption of their model is that inclusion is achieved only when both needs are satisfied. In other words, groups, such as an employee's organization, can vary in the degree to which they provide members with either a sense of belonging or a sense of authenticity. For example, an organization may grant a member insider status, making them feel like they belong, but it may come with the cost of conformity, therefore, compromising their authenticity. Alternatively, an organization may limit insider status to only select individuals, despite encouraging members to express themselves authentically. In either case, inclusion is not fully experienced because one of the necessary components is lacking.

Accordingly, Otten and Jansen (2015) proposed four categories of inclusiveness that reflect varying levels of the belonging component and the authenticity component (cf. Shore et al., 2011). As shown in Figure 1, the top left cell is *inclusion*, which is characterized by high levels of both belonging and authenticity. Here, employees are liked and accepted by their organization and welcomed and encouraged to express their authentic self. The bottom left cell represents *assimilation*, which is characterized by high belonging and low authenticity. This refers to organizations that accept individuals as members of the organization but only when employees downplay unique aspects of their identity and they conform to organizational norms. For example, in an organization in which younger workers make up the majority, an older employee might be compelled to obscure their age by avoiding perceived age-identifying behaviors (e.g., appearing boring or stubborn; Finkelstein, Ryan, & King, 2012) in order to "fit in."

Belonging

	High	Low
High	*Inclusion*	*Differentiation*
Low	*Assimilation*	*Exclusion*

Authenticity

Figure 1. Four dimensions of organizational climate for inclusion and experimental conditions for the current study.

The top right cell represents *differentiation*, which is characterized by low belonging and high authenticity. In these types of organizations, individuals are not accepted as members of the organization, but they are individually of value. In other words, individuals are allowed and even encouraged to be themselves, but remain marginalized. Using the aging employee example, an older employee may be valued for the experience and work ethic they bring to the organization, but are ultimately excluded from the younger, dominant culture. Finally, the bottom right cell represents *exclusion*, which is characterized by low belonging and low authenticity; individuals are neither accepted members of the organization nor encouraged to be themselves.

To date, very few studies have tested the Jansen et al. model of inclusion or examined associated outcomes (for exceptions see Jansen, Otten, & van der Zee, 2015; Jansen et al., 2014). A notable exception was Jansen et al. (2014) who, in their conceptual study, developed and validated the Perceived Group Inclusion Scale (PGIS) to measure inclusion perceptions. In an employee sample, significant ($ps < .01$) moderate to strong, correlations with both belonging and authenticity were found for diversity climate ($r = .49$ and $r = .55$, respectively) and personal self-verification ($r = .68$ and $r = .62$, respectively). The belonging correlations and authenticity correlations differed for both diversity climate and personal self-verification. Importantly, partial correlations showed that only authenticity significantly accounted for unique variance in diversity climate ($pr = .28$, $p < .01$), and both belonging and authenticity significantly accounted for unique variance in personal self-verification ($pr = .38$ and pr = .13, respectively, $ps < .01$). Belonging and authenticity were also shown to predict several individual outcomes, interpersonal outcomes, and group outcomes. Significant main effects of both belonging and authenticity were found on positive group affect, negative group affect, job satisfaction, interpersonal trust, group conflict, individual creativity, and group performance. Belonging was generally a better predictor

of affective outcomes related to the group (e.g., mood, job satisfaction, interpersonal trust), and authenticity was generally a better predictor of productivity-related group outcomes (e.g., individual creativity, group creativity, group learning behavior). Taken together, their results support inclusion as a construct formed from two components that may work together to predict both important psychological outcomes and work outcomes known to be related to disclosure decisions.

In the next section, I describe how inclusion, as defined by Jansen et al. (2014), might be linked to the identity management experience and how it can lead to positive disclosure experiences for individuals with concealable stigmatized identities.

The Role of Inclusion in Identity Management

Identity management researchers have proposed that variables related to organizational climate are important antecedents to disclosing a concealable stigmatized identity. For example, Jones and King (2014) proposed that disclosure is partially dependent on the degree to which individuals perceive supervisor support and organizational support for their stigmatized category (for similar arguments see Clair, Beatty, & MacLean, 2005; Ragins, 2008). Further, they suggest that disclosure is more likely to occur if anticipated acceptance—the expectation of positive reactions from others—is high. Supporting these assertions, von Schrader and colleagues (2014) found that the large majority of individuals with disabilities in their survey reported that fears of unsupportive supervisors and negative reactions from supervisors and coworkers (e.g., discrimination, being viewed differently) were key contributors to them not disclosing their disability identity. Furthermore, a majority of respondents also reported that factors related to

diversity climate (e.g., company actively recruits/hires individuals with disabilities, includes disability in the company diversity statement) were important contributors to their decisions to disclose their disability identity.

In another study, Sabat, Trump, and King, (2014) examined disclosure behaviors among lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) individuals across both family and work contexts and found that disclosure was higher when anticipated support was high than when anticipated support was moderate or low. Related studies examining sexual identity disclosure outcomes found similar effects of support (Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Law, Martinez, Ruggs, Hebl, & Akers, 2011; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). Thus, there is evidence suggesting that constructs related to inclusion (acceptance and support) are associated with the decision to disclose a stigmatized identity.

Although several studies have examined the consequences of organizational support and anticipated acceptance from others on disclosure, none have directly examined the effects of inclusion (as defined in the current study) on disclosure outcomes among individuals with a concealable stigmatized identity. However, there is evidence to suggest that belonging and authenticity are particularly important to the experiences of individuals with concealable stigmatized identities. Bosson and colleagues (2012) showed evidence that individuals with concealable stigmatized identities face a threatened coherence of self by hiding their identity, but face a threatened sense of belonging if the identity is revealed. In two studies, individuals with concealable stigmatized identities ("nerds" in Study 1 and gay individuals and lesbian individuals in Study 2) reported higher expectations of being classified as stigmatized when they imagined engaging in behaviors consistent with their identity, which, in turn, predicted a threatened sense of belonging. Furthermore, participants reported higher expectations of being *misclassified* as stigmatized (Study 1) and non-stigmatized (Study 2) when they imagined

engaging in behaviors inconsistent with their group status (non-nerds in Study 1; lesbians and gays in Study 2). Importantly, the results indicate that a threatened sense of coherence of self emerges for individuals who behave in ways inconsistent with their identity, even when intentions are to pass as non-stigmatized.

Taken together, the findings reviewed above suggest that identity management decisions might be influenced by environmental factors in organizations and that cues to belonging and authenticity might be particularly salient for individuals with a concealable stigmatized identity. Thus, organizations that convey inclusion in their actions and policies should help to alleviate chronic strain on belongingness needs and authenticity needs. That is, if an individual feels they are liked and accepted by their organization, they should be less worried that revealing their stigmatized identity will result in stigmatization than someone who does not feel like they belong. Likewise, if the individual feels like they are free and encouraged to be themselves, they should feel less pressure to conceal their stigmatized identity and more comfortable expressing their identity. Accordingly, I propose the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: Intentions to disclose a concealable stigmatized identity will be higher in inclusive organizations than in non-inclusive organizations (i.e., assimilation, differentiation, and exclusion conditions).

Similarly, the feeling that one is liked and accepted regardless of their individual identity (i.e., being valued and accepted as opposed to being devalued and rejected) should translate to feelings of support, reduced stigma, and reduced psychological strain (anxiety, stress, and negative affect) from fear of stigmatization. As mentioned, previous research reports that inclusive practices in organizations are related to increased perceptions of support (Lapalme et al., 2009), reduced stigma (Novak et al., 2011), and psychological well-being (Mor Barak &

Levin, 2002). Additional evidence supports these associations with inclusion as defined in the current study (Jansen et al., 2014). Thus, I propose:

Hypothesis 2a: Perceived support will be higher in inclusive organizations than in non-inclusive organizations.

Hypothesis 2b: Anticipated stigma will be lower in inclusive organizations than in non-inclusive organizations.

Hypothesis 2c: Anxiety, stress, and negative affect will be lower and positive affect will be higher in inclusive organizations than in non-inclusive organizations.

Furthermore, conceptual work and empirical work has linked both perceptions of support and decreased fear of stigmatization to a greater likelihood of disclosure (Jones & King, 2014; Ragins et al., 2007). Thus, the link between inclusion and disclosure should occur indirectly through increased support and reduced stigma.

Hypothesis 3: There will be an indirect effect of inclusion on disclosure intentions through perceptions of organizational support and anticipated stigma, such that inclusion will have a positive effect on support and a negative effect on anticipated stigma, which, in turn, will increase disclosure compared to non-inclusive conditions.

Finally, the important question remains as to whether disclosure elicits net positive outcomes, yet research on the psychological experience of disclosure is lacking. One exception is Ragins et al. (2007), who explored psychological outcomes (e.g., stress, anxiety, depression) of disclosure but found no significant relationships between disclosure and these outcomes. In another study, Law and colleagues (2011) found that disclosure was associated with job satisfaction, commitment, and negatively with job-related anxiety. Further, coworker reactions fully mediated all relationships between disclosure and outcomes except for anxiety (partially

mediated). However, the measured psychological experience was limited to a single-item measure of one variable (job anxiety). Taken together, these studies indicate that there is some evidence that identity management decisions affect psychological well-being and that environmental factors may further influence this relationship. However, the nature of the effect of disclosure on psychological well-being remains somewhat ambiguous due the lack of studies examining this relationship and inconsistent results across the studies that did. Accordingly, I propose the following research questions:

Research Question 1: Is there a general effect of disclosure on psychological well-being?

Research Question 2: Does the effect of disclosure on psychological well-being differ depending on the inclusion climate?

In this master's thesis, I conducted a study aimed at testing the aforementioned hypotheses and research questions. The main goal of this study was to improve understanding of the environmental conditions in the workplace that influence the decision to disclose a stigmatized identity and the psychological processes underlying these decisions. Specifically, the proposed study focused on the role of organizational inclusion in influencing disclosure decisions and how that influence might occur (i.e., through increased support, decreased stigma, or both). In addition, I explored how psychological well-being was affected by disclosure decisions, and whether there were differences in this relationship depending on the organizational climate within which the decision took place.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

Sample Size Estimation

A targeted sample size of 262 participants from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) was planned for this study. The sample size was determined from an effect obtained in a pilot study ($r = .24$), representing the relationship between inclusion perceptions and disability disclosure. Sample size estimation was conducted ($\alpha = .05$; $1-\beta = .80$; Two-tailed) using the correlation as an effect index. The correlation was interpreted as reflecting the type of effect that would be found in a two-group comparison. The analysis yielded an estimated total sample of 131, which was then doubled to account for four conditions in the current study.

Recruitment

The sample for this study were individuals who identified with one of three stigma categories—invisible physical disability, psychological disability, and non-heterosexual orientation. Similar stigmatized social categories have been used in past research that examined psychological phenomena associated with bearing a concealable stigmatized identity (e.g., Frable et al., 1998; Newhesier & Barreto, 2014). MTurk was chosen as the platform to conduct this study because it provides a sampling pool that is significantly more demographically diverse

than alternative internet-based platforms and traditional American college samples (Buhrmester,

Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). As such, MTurk is convenient for conducting research using samples

consisting of members of sub-populations with low base-rates, such as members of stigmatized

social categories (e.g., people with disabilities and LGB individuals; Smith, Sabbat, Martinez,

Weaver, & Xu, 2015). Furthermore, MTurk provides research participants with a high degree of

anonymity compared to research studies conducted in person (e.g., in a college lab), which is

particularly important for research in which participants reveal a stigmatized identity (Smith et

al., 2015).

Sample recruitment for the current study occurred in two stages. The first stage consisted

of a pre-screen survey on MTurk to identity prospective participants for the main study based on

inclusion criteria. In the second stage, individuals who met the inclusion criteria were contacted

via MTurk and given the opportunity to participate (by following a web link) in the main study.

Because MTurk provides participants with a high degree of anonymity, and MTurk workers

receive monetary compensation for participating in research, the possibility exists of lying about

one's identity to complete a research assignment for a monetary reward (Smith et al., 2015).

To minimize this risk, a pre-screen survey was developed to identify individuals who met

the inclusion criteria for the main study—have an invisible physical disability, psychological

disability, and identify as LGB, in addition to being 18 years of age or older (Appendix B). This

strategy of screening requires prospective participants to self-identify before they know the

purpose of the research, therefore, minimizing the threat of individuals lying about their identity

so they can participate for payment (Smith et al., 2015). Following recommendations of Smith et

al. (2015), a survey was administered on MTurk which assessed general demographic

information (age, race, gender, employment status, and socioeconomic status) in addition to the

demographic information pertinent for the current study. A total of 916 participants responded to

the pre-screen survey and were compensated $0.25. Thirty-nine of the 916 cases were not

considered for eligibility in the main study for the following reasons: Twenty-four respondents

opted to not be contacted for the next phase of the study, 13 respondents did not provide a

MTurk worker ID, which was necessary to contact the participant for the next phase of the study,

and two cases were incomplete and did not contain sufficient information to determine

eligibility.

Three hundred sixty-six of the 877 remaining pre-screen survey responses met the

inclusion criteria for the main study. These participants were e-mailed via MTurk and given the

opportunity to take part in an additional study for a bonus payment ($1.25). Of the 366

respondents contacted, 290 responded to the main study.

<center>Preliminary Data Screening</center>

The dataset for main study was initially screened for missing data, outliers, and failed

attention checks. There were 20 cases for which 68.7% or less of the study was completed. This

was the point in the study at which the main dependent variables (i.e., disclosure variables) were

assessed; therefore, these cases were deleted because there was no dependent variable data for

these cases. Five of the remaining 270 cases failed an attention check item included to identify

random responding. Within each of these cases, responses to other items were visually inspected

for additional evidence of random responding. For three cases, the failed attention check was

corroborated by random responses on the measure within which the attention check was

embedded, as well as items from other scales (e.g., responses at opposite ends of the rating scale

for homogenous items). These three cases were deleted. Two cases were retained because responses to other items within the same scale did not appear to be random, nor did the responses provided for items from other scales. In fact, responses were as expected given the assigned experimental condition. Furthermore, the responses to the attention check item for these two cases were at the "I prefer not to answer" point on the response scale, which was next to the correct response at the end of the scale (i.e., participants were instructed to selected *Strongly agree*," the last anchor on the scale). It is possible that participants could have mistakenly selected the last observable point on the scale but thought they were selecting the "*Strongly agree*" response option.

The remaining 267 cases were screened for extreme scores on the inclusion scale, which was the manipulation check. The experimental manipulation (inclusion condition) occurred at the beginning of the study, and differences in responses to the remainder of the study materials depend (in theory) on the effectiveness of the manipulation. Thus, responses to the inclusion scale were examined for within-condition outliers. Six outliers were identified—three in the inclusion condition and three in the exclusion condition; there were no outliers in the assimilation or differentiation condition. Upon visual inspection of the data for these six cases, five cases had notably random responses to the inclusion scale and other scales, selected the same response option across multiple scales, and/or had relatively large amounts of missing data across multiple scales. These five cases were deleted. The final case did not appear to have unusual responses like the other five but, nonetheless, was deleted because it may have been the case that the manipulation was not effective for this participant. A final sample of 261was retained after preliminary screening. Additional screening was done as needed based the

statistical analysis appropriate for testing the study's hypotheses and research questions. These

procedures are described in the Results section.

<u>Sample Characteristics</u>

The majority (62.8%) of participants were female (36% male; 3% transgender or

genderqueer), and 81.6% reported as Non-Hispanic White. Participants' mean age was 35.87 (*SD*

= 11.27; range: 19-75 years). Most participants were employed by an organization either full-

time (48.7%) or part-time (9.6%), while 18.4% were self-employed, 12.3% unemployed, 7.7%

full-time student, 4.6% part-time student, and 9.9% reported as one of the following: Retired,

disabled, homemaker, volunteer, or a land keeper. Participants were able to choose more than

one employment status option.

All participants were individuals who identified as (1) being lesbian, gay, or bisexual, (2)

having a *psychological* disability, impairment, or health issue, and/or (3) having an invisible

physical disability, impairment, or health issue. Participants were able to report belonging to

more than one of these categories in the demographic (pre-screen) survey. Of the 261 people in

the sample, 21 (8%) were lesbian or gay and 47 (18%) were bisexual (73.2% were heterosexual;

0.8% were asexual). One hundred eleven (42.5%) reported having a physical disability,

impairment, or health issue, and 191 (72.8%) reported having a psychological disability,

impairment, or health issue. For the main study, participants were asked to choose the one

category that best represents them for the purposes of the study (i.e., LGB, psychological

disability, invisible physical disability). Thus, the main study sample was comprised of 146

(55.9%) individuals who considered themselves to have or have experienced a psychological

disability, impairment, or health issue, 74 (28.4%) individuals who considered themselves to

have or have experienced an invisible physical disability, impairment, or health issue, and 41 (15.7%) individuals who identified as LGB.

Design

This study was an experimental design with perceptions of inclusion as the independent variable and disclosure decisions (i.e., reveal and conceal) as the primary dependent variables. Differences in disclosure decisions were examined across four levels of the independent variable (inclusion, exclusion, assimilation, and differentiation). Anticipated stigma and perceived organizational support were measured and analyzed as potential mediators of the effect of inclusion on disclosure decisions. Additionally, psychological well-being outcomes (i.e., anxiety, stress, negative affect, and positive affect) were measured to explore the relative quality (psychologically positive or psychologically negative) of the disclosure process across the four levels of the independent variable.

Materials and Measures

Inclusion Vignettes

Organizational inclusion vignettes were presented in two parts. An instruction screen was presented first from which participants were instructed to carefully read a description of an organization (vignette). The vignette consisted of four bullet points and a summary statement about the organization's inclusion climate. There were four variations of the vignette corresponding to the four different inclusion conditions (i.e., inclusion, assimilation,

differentiation, and exclusion). The four bullet points on each vignette were designed to correspond to the sub-dimensions of each inclusion component (Belonging: group membership and group affection; Authenticity: room for authenticity and value in authenticity). The amount, length, and wording of the bullet statements, as well as the summary statement, were kept as parallel as possible across the four conditions. The four inclusion vignettes are provided in Appendix C under the "Organizational Inclusion Vignettes" heading.

The inclusion vignettes were pretested using a sample of 91 undergraduate psychology students. The four types of inclusion vignettes were randomly distributed to participants in a classroom setting. Participants were instructed to read the vignette and then complete the PGIS. Descriptive statistics from the pre-test are provided in Table 1. Mean scores on the PGIS (α = .97) were in the expected pattern (i.e., high scores in the inclusion condition, low scores in the exclusion condition, and relatively moderate scores in the assimilation condition and differentiation condition). Further, the belonging and authenticity subscales of the PGIS were sensitive to the differences between the assimilation condition and differentiation condition, where only belonging was operating and only authenticity was operating, respectively. The belonging subscale (α = .96) scores were higher than the authenticity subscale (α = .99) scores in the assimilation condition; the authenticity subscale scores were higher than the belonging subscale scores in the differentiation condition. Thus, the organizational inclusion vignettes effectively manipulated the inclusion components independently and in the intended directions.

Table 1

PGIS Descriptive Statistics and Cronbach's Alphas from Inclusion Vignettes Pre-test

Condition	α	*M*	*SD*
Inclusion overall (PGIS)	.97		
Inclusion ($n = 25$)		4.43	0.69
Exclusion ($n = 23$)		1.86	0.72
Assimilation ($n = 21$)		2.37	0.83
Differentiation ($n = 22$)		2.94	1.22
Belonging subscale of PGIS	.96		
Inclusion		4.35	0.69
Exclusion		2.08	0.71
Assimilation		2.92	0.87
Differentiation		2.41	1.18
Authenticity subscale of PGIS	.99		
Inclusion		4.52	0.75
Exclusion		1.65	0.84
Assimilation		1.81	0.98
Differentiation		3.43	0.88

Note. PGIS = Perceived Group Inclusion Scale. n = sample size per condition. PGIS scored from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Means and standard deviations reported by condition for overall PGIS, the belonging subscale, and the authenticity subscale. ($N = 91$)

Demographics

A nine-item demographic (pre-screen) survey measured employment status, age, race, gender, sexual orientation, disability status, and socioeconomic status. Items are provided in Appendix B under the 'Demographic (Pre-screen) Survey' heading.

Stigma Checks

Five items assessing perceived stigma, stigma-identification, and openness about stigma were included. The items were adapted from Newheiser and Barreto (2014) and included to assure that (1) the stigmatized identities included in the study are relevant within the sample (high mean perceived stigma), (2) the stigmatized identities are meaningful among the participants in the study (high mean group-identification), and (3) questions about disclosure are appropriate within the sample (low mean openness about stigma). Items and response options are provided in Appendix C under the 'Stigma Checks' heading.

Inclusion

Perceptions of inclusion were measured via the 16-item PGIS (Jansen et al., 2014). The scale consists of two eight-item subscales assessing the components of belonging and authenticity. The scale was designed to be adaptable to varying types of groups. In the current study, individuals' perceptions of their organizational climate for inclusion were measured, so the lead-in was changed to "The organization in which you work..." (the original lead-in is "This

group…"). The full list of items and response options and anchors are in Appendix C under the 'Perceived Group Inclusion Scale' heading.

Organizational Support

Organizational support was measured with six items developed by Ragins and Cornwell (2001). The items were originally developed to assess perceived support for LGB employees, so they were adapted to be administered also to individuals with psychological disabilities and physical disabilities. The original and adapted versions are provided in Appendix C under the 'Organizational Support' heading.

Anticipated Stigma

Anticipated stigma was measured with twelve items originally developed and validated by Ragins et al. (2007) to assess LGB employees' fear of disclosure. The items assess perceptions of career-related or social repercussions in the work place; therefore, they are appropriate for measuring individuals' expectations of stigmatization if others knew about their identity. The lead-in for the original measured was modified so that the scale could be administered also to individuals with psychological disabilities and physical disabilities and so that the scale was not framed solely in the context of disclosure (i.e., Original: "If I disclosed my sexual orientation at work…" Modified: "If others knew about my [sexual orientation] [physical impairment] [mental impairment] at work…"). Items and response options are provided in Appendix C under the 'Anticipated Stigma' heading.

<u>Psychological Well-being</u>

Psychological well-being was measured using independent scales for anxiety and stress, and for negative affect and positive affect. State anxiety and state stress were measured using the anxiety subscale and stress subscale from the short-form version of the Depression Anxiety and Stress Scales (DASS-21; Henry & Crawford, 2005). Participants rate the extent to which symptoms of anxiety (seven items) and symptoms of stress (seven items) apply to them.

Affect was measured using the Brief Measures of Positive and Negative Affect (PANAS scales; Watson & Clark, 1988; 1994). The PANAS contains 20 words (10 positive and 10 negative) describing affective states. Participants rate the extent to which each descriptor describes them in that moment. Anxiety, stress, and affect measures are included in Appendix C under the 'Psychological Well-being' heading.

Procedure

Participants were recruited from MTurk via the two-stage process described previously. The first stage was a pre-screen survey used to identity prospective participants for the main study. A recruitment message (Appendix A) appeared on the MTurk website that explained that the survey measured general demographic information, the approximate time commitment (three minutes), compensation ($0.25), and that participants could be eligible for an additional assignment and bonus (i.e., $1.25 for an approximately twelve-minute study). Participants were compensated the $0.25 for the pre-screen survey regardless of whether they met eligibility criteria for the main study.

Participants who met the eligibility criteria were contacted via MTurk and offered to participate in the additional bonus assignment. MTurk workers who agreed to participate followed a link to a Qualtrics survey hosted on the university server to complete the study. Upon providing informed consent, participants were asked to indicate which of the following statements best describes them (adapted from Newhesier & Barreto, 2014, Study 1a): "I am gay, lesbian, or bisexual;" "I have experienced or am currently experiencing mental health issues that have significantly impacted my life (e.g., depression, eating disorder);" "I have experienced or am currently experiencing physical health issues that are not immediately visible to others but have significantly impacted my life (e.g., epilepsy);" and "None of these statements describes me." (see Appendix C under the 'Stigma Checks' heading). Although participants were pre-screened to meet one of these criteria, they were again asked to select one of these statements to corroborate information they provided on the pre-screen survey and, in the event more than one option was applicable, to select the one that is most central or important to them for the purposes of the study. If a participant chose the last option, the study ended. After choosing an identity option, participants then completed the five items measuring group-identification with their stigma category, openness about their stigma, and perceived stigma (Appendix C).

Next, participants were introduced to the experimental manipulation and were randomly assigned to one of the four organizational inclusion vignettes. They were instructed to read the description carefully then imagine being an employee of that organization and how it would feel working there (see Appendix C under 'Organizational Inclusion Vignettes' heading). After reading the vignette, participants were again prompted to take a moment to imagine how it would feel being an employee of that organization. Before moving on, participants were further instructed to finish the remainder of the study from the frame of mind of a member of that

organization. Participants then completed the PGIS (inclusion manipulation check) followed by

measures assessing organizational support, anticipated stigma, and psychological well-being.

Participants were then introduced to the hypothetical disclosure situation (Appendix C).

Participants read the following workplace scenario depending on their identity (adapted from

Newheiser and Barreto, 2014, Study 1a; words in brackets changed depending on the

participant's reported identity. All other words were the same for all participants):

> Imagine now that one day during the lunch break, one of your coworkers talks about her
>
> cousin who [is gay] [is in treatment for severe depression] [has epilepsy], going into
>
> some detail about her cousin's life. Your coworkers then begin to talk more generally
>
> about people who [are gay, lesbian, or bisexual] [have mental health issues] [have
>
> "invisible" physical disabilities or diseases]. Your coworkers do not know that you [are
>
> gay, lesbian, or bisexual] [have mental health issues] [have "invisible" physical
>
> disabilities or diseases].

After reading the scenario, participants answered several items that assessed their

intentions to disclose their identity. Two items asked: "If you were to find yourself in this

situation, having this conversation with your coworkers, would you choose to reveal this fact

about yourself?" (*Yes/No*) and "If you selected "*No*" in the previous question, would you conceal

this fact about yourself?" (Response options: *Yes/No).* Each of these items contained a follow-up

item that assessed how certain participants were with their responses ("How certain are you

about this decision?" (-3 = *Very uncertain about this decision*, 3 = *Very certain about this*

decision). Additionally, participants were given the opportunity to explain why they made their

decision ("What went into your decision to reveal or conceal your identity? For example, what

did you consider in making this decision? Why were you certain or uncertain about this

decision? Please provide any additional information that might help us to understand why you made this decision."). Finally, participants completed post-disclosure measures of psychological well-being (same measures previously completed). Upon completion of the study, participants were fully debriefed in writing, thanked for their involvement, and their Amazon account was credited.

Overview of Analyses

Hypothesis 1 was tested with a Pearson's chi-square test of independence, which examines whether a relationship exists between two nominal variables (Field, 2013). The Pearson's chi-square statistic tests whether the observed frequency of the dependent variable within each level of the grouping variable is significantly different than the expected frequencies in each cell. The independent variable in this case is the inclusion/exclusion condition, and the dependent variable is whether participants revealed (yes or no) their identity. A significant chi-square statistic would indicate that a relationship exists between inclusion/exclusion and whether participants revealed (i.e., significantly more people chose yes to reveal in the inclusion condition than the non-inclusive conditions). Any significant differences in response proportions were followed up with post-hoc tests to test whether there were differences between inclusion/exclusion conditions.

Hypotheses 2a-c were tested using one-way ANOVA to first test for omnibus effects of inclusion/exclusion condition on each dependent variable (support, anticipate stigma, anxiety, stress, and affect). Any omnibus effects were followed up with post-hoc analyses to examine mean differences among the dependent variable between the inclusion/exclusion conditions.

Support for Hypotheses 2a, b, and/or c will be indicated by significant difference(s) in mean outcome scores between the inclusion conditions and the three non-inclusive conditions (i.e., assimilation, differentiation, and exclusion), such that support and positive affect will be higher and anticipated stigma, anxiety, and stress will be lower in the inclusion condition than the non-inclusive conditions. Negative affect will be higher in the non-inclusive conditions than in the inclusion conditions.

Hypothesis 3, in which an indirect effect of inclusion/exclusion condition on disclosure intentions is proposed to occur through perceptions of support and anticipated stigma, was analyzed with logistic regression analysis using the *PROCESS* macro for SPSS (Preacher & Hayes, 2004). In addition to estimating the relationship between the conditions and the "mediators" and between the "mediators" and the outcome, controlling for the predictor (i.e., Baron & Kenny, 1986), *PROCESS* also provides a significance test of the indirect effect of the predictor on the outcome via a "mediator" using a bootstrapping procedure. Statistical support for the proposed mediation hypothesis will be indicated by significant effects of the inclusion condition (relative to the non-inclusive conditions) on support and stigma, effects of support and stigma on revealing, and the indirect effect inclusion on revealing through support and stigma.

Organizational support and anticipated stigma were hypothesized to be parallel mediators because past research, in addition to demonstrating their relationships with disclosure, suggests that they are distinct, yet related, constructs. Ragins et al. (2007) reports significant correlations of -.33 and -.45 between fear of disclosure (i.e., anticipated stigma) and coworker support and supervisor support, respectively. Other significant correlations between similar constructs have also been reported, such as -.28 between workplace discrimination and organizational support (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001) and .60 between coworker reactions (high scores indicating

fair/inclusive treatment of others) and organizational support (Griffith & Hebl, 2002). In the

current study, the correlation between organizational support and anticipated stigma was strong

($r = -.70$), perhaps, suggesting some overlap among the two variables. Nonetheless, they were

entered as parallel mediators in the analyses that follow because support and stigma are

conceptually distinct constructs, and it is unclear at this point how inclusion might be related

disclosure.

Research Question 1 was tested with a series of 2 Disclosure decision (*yes* vs. *no*) × 2

Time of measurement (*before disclosure* vs. *after disclosure*) mixed-design ANOVA with

disclosure decision as the independent factor, time of measurement as the repeated variable, and

anxiety, stress, positive affect, and negative affect as separate dependent variables. This allowed

for examination of differences in psychological distress from before disclosure to after disclosure

and, importantly, whether changes in distress differed depending on the disclosure decision. Any

significant disclosure decision × time of measurement interaction effects were followed up with

post-hoc tests to examine where mean differences for psychological distress outcomes occurred.

Research Question 2 was tested with a series of 4 Inclusion/exclusion condition

(*inclusion* vs. *exclusion* vs. *assimilation* vs. *differentiation*) × 3 Disclosure decision (*yes* vs. *no*

vs. *it depends*) × 2 Time of measurement (*before disclosure* vs. *after disclosure*) mixed-design

ANOVA with inclusion/exclusion condition and disclosure decision as the two independent

factors, time of measurement as the repeated factor, and anxiety, stress, positive affect, and

negative affect as separate dependent variables. This allowed for further examination of whether

the disclosure decision × time of measurement interaction effect on psychological distress

differed depending on the inclusion/exclusion condition. Any significant three-way interaction

effects were followed up with post-hoc tests to examine where mean differences for

psychological distress outcomes occurred. Testing Research Question 2 will be contingent on the degree of variability observed in disclosure decisions across conditions. If cell sizes are not adequate for analysis, descriptive statistics will be examined in lieu of inferential tests.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Correlations and descriptive statistics for each of the study variables are provided in Table 2. The inclusion variable in the correlation table represents the continuous measure of inclusion (the PGIS) measured after the experimental manipulation.

Table 2

Correlations, Cronbach's Alphas, and Descriptive Statistics for Study Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
(1) Inclusion	(.98)														
(2) Belonging	.96*	(.96)													
(3) Authenticity	.97*	.87*	(.99)												
(4) Reveal	.18*	.18*	.18*	-											
(5) Conceal	-.16*	-.16*	-.14*	-.38*	-										
(6) Support	.78*	.77*	.74*	.14*	-.15*	(.95)									
(7) Stigma	-.74*	-.72*	-.72*	-.25*	.27*	-.70*	(.97)								
(8) Stress T1	-.34*	-.35*	-.31*	-.09	.25*	-.33*	.41*	(.89)							
(9) Anxiety T1	-.23*	-.22*	-.23*	-.08	.14*	-.21*	.38*	.75*	(.82)						
(10) N. affect. T1	-.40*	-.40*	-.38*	-.13*	.21*	-.33*	.46*	.69*	.59*	(.93)					
(11) P. affect. T1	.45*	.44*	.43*	.11	-.11	.37*	-.29*	-.13*	.02	-.22*	(.91)				
(12) Stress T2	-.38*	-.40*	-.35*	-.13*	.23*	-.35*	.43*	.87*	.67*	.76*	.11	(.91)			
(13) Anxiety T2	-.26*	-.26*	-.24*	-.10	.17*	-.24*	.41*	.69*	.86*	.69*	.02	.76*	(.87)		
(14) N. affect T2	-.36*	-.36*	-.34*	-.17*	.24*	-.31*	.46*	.66*	.56*	.91*	-.16*	.80*	.73	(.94)	
(15) P. affect T2	.40*	.40*	.38*	.16*	-.08	.34*	-.28*	-.14*	-.02	-.22*	.92*	-.15*	-.03	-.19*	(.92)
M	2.94	2.95	2.93	-	-	2.64	3.72	2.21	1.77	1.86	2.58	2.11	1.69	1.85	2.50
SD	1.25	1.15	1.43	-	-	1.00	1.61	0.84	0.68	0.89	0.90	0.88	0.70	0.90	0.93

Note. Belonging and authenticity are components (subscales) of inclusion. Reveal and Conceal are dichotomous (0 = *No* and 1 = *Yes*). T1 = Time 1 measurement; T2 = Time 2 measurement. N. = Negative. P. = Positive *p* < .05.

Scores on the five items adapted from Newheiser and Barreto (2014) were analyzed to determine if (1) the identities participants were operating under were personally relevant, (2) questions about disclosure were appropriate (i.e., participants were not generally open about their identities), and (3) the identities were perceived to be stigmatized within this sample. The two group identification items were only moderately correlated, $r = .38$, $p < .001$, and mean scores between the items differed significantly, $t(249) = -6.97$, $p < .001$; therefore the items were not combined to determine an overall group identification score, as they were in previous research (e.g., Newhesier & Barreto, 2014). The mean score for the first group identification item ("This identity is important to me;" $M = 3.41$, $SD = 1.21$) was significantly higher than the mid-point of the scale, $t(256) = 5.48$, $p < .001$. This was also the case for the second group identification item ("I feel a connection to other people who also have this identity;" $M = 3.96$, $SD = 1.04$), $t(251) = 14.47$, $p < .001$. These results suggest that participants in this study have a personal and/or shared attachment to their identities.

The two items for openness about the identity also differed significantly in terms of mean scores, $t(253) = 10.30$, $p < .001$, but were strongly correlated, $r = .73$, $p < .001$; therefore they were combined to represent an overall openness score, consistent with past research (e.g., Newheiser & Barreto, 2014). The mean score for openness ($M = 2.87$, $SD = 1.24$) was lower than the scale mid-point, but this difference was not statistically significant, $t(259) = -1.73$, $p = .085$, indicating that the individuals within this sample are neither overly open or overly closed about their identity on average. It is important to note that one of the openness items ("I am open about this identity at work; most of my coworkers know.") may be more content valid than the other

openness item ("I am usually open about this identity; most people know about it.") given the context of the current study. As noted, the mean score for the work-specific openness item ($M = 2.55$, $SD = 1.35$) was significantly lower than the general openness item ($M = 3.17$, $SD = 1.29$). Furthermore, the work-specific item was significantly lower than the scale mid-point, $t(253) = -5.36$, $p < .001$. Regardless, the indication remains that participants are not overly open about their identities, particularly at work; therefore, assessing disclosure decisions is appropriate among this sample.

The mean score for the single item measuring perceived stigma about one's identity was significantly higher than the scale midpoint ($M = 3.54$, $SD = 1.12$), $t(256) = 7.73$ $p < .001$, suggesting that the identities examined in this study can be appropriately categorized as stigmatized.

Manipulation Check

Next, differences in the continuous measure of inclusion (PGIS) between the inclusion/exclusion conditions were examined to check the effectiveness of the manipulation. As shown in Figure 2, means across the experimental conditions were in the expected pattern with the highest mean score on the PGIS in the inclusion condition ($M = 4.14$, $SD = 0.54$), the lowest in the exclusion condition ($M = 1.54$, $SD = 0.44$), and moderate scores in the assimilation ($M = 3.09$, $SD = 1.26$) and differentiation ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 0.84$) conditions. Furthermore, the assimilation and differentiation means were nearly equal, and the *SDs* were higher than the inclusion and exclusion *SDs*. This aligns with the conceptual definition of assimilation and differentiation (consisting of only one of the necessary two components of inclusion) and the

ambiguity (thus, more variance) this presents in interpreting these types of environments. A one-way ANOVA using the Brown-Forsythe F-statistic to account for unequal variances, Levene's test: $F(3, 257) = 47.23$, $p < .001$, showed differences among the inclusion/exclusion conditions, $F(3, 163.95) = 106.79$, $p < .001$. A set of post hoc comparisons using a Bonferroni adjusted alpha showed that differences in PGIS scores were significant for all comparisons except between assimilation and differentiation. Thus, the experimental conditions appear to have been effective in manipulating the psychological experience of inclusion in the intended directions.
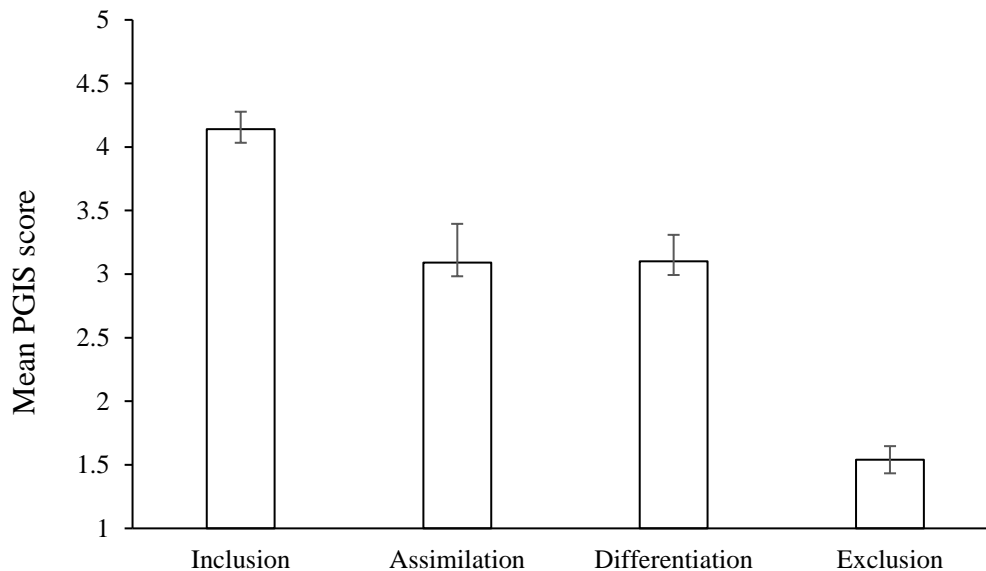

Figure 2. Mean PGIS scores by inclusion/exclusion condition.

Hypothesis 1

Revealing Decisions

A Pearson's chi-square test of independence was conducted using IBM SPSS 23 to examine differences in the percentage of people who would choose "yes" to revealing between

the inclusive, assimilation, differentiation, and exclusion conditions. For Hypothesis 1, the percentage of "yes" responses were predicted to be higher in the inclusion condition than each of the other three conditions. Assumptions of the chi-square test (outlined by Field, 2013) regarding (1) independence and (2) expected frequencies were met in the analyses that follow; each participant represented only one cell in the 4 Inclusion condition (*inclusion vs. assimilation vs. differentiation vs. exclusion*) × 2 Reveal (*yes vs. no*) contingency table, and no cells had expected counts lower than five.

Results are displayed in Table 3. The chi-square statistic was not significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 261) = 4.98$, $p = .173$, Cramer's $V = .14$, indicating that the observed condition × reveal frequencies of yes/no responses were not significantly different than the expected frequencies. However, the pattern of yes or no response/total response proportions was not consistent across conditions. Furthermore, the pattern was in a somewhat contradictory configuration than what was predicted. Rather than observing a higher proportion of "yes" responses in the inclusion condition than each of the non-inclusion conditions, the percentages of "yes" responses were fairly similar in the inclusion, assimilation, and differentiation conditions (36.1%, 36.8%, and 32.3%, respectively). Interestingly, the condition with the notably different percentage of "yes" responses was the exclusion condition (20.9%). In other words, rather than inclusion leading to more "yes" responses than assimilation, differentiation, and exclusion, the exclusion led to fewer "yes" responses than inclusion, assimilation, and differentiation. Thus, Hypothesis 1 was not supported.

Table 3

Contingency Table for Revealing and Concealing Decisions by Inclusion Condition

Condition	Reveal				Conceal		
	Yes	No	Total		Yes	No	Total
Inclusion	22	39	61		21	35	56
	(36.1)	(63.9)			(37.5)	(62.5)	
Assimilation	25	43	68		31	30	61
	(36.8)	(63.2)			(50.8)	(49.2)	
Differentiation	21	44	65		35	24	59
	(32.3)	(67.7)			(59.3)	(40.7)	
Exclusion	14	53	67		35	29	64
	(20.9)	(79.1)			(54.7)	(45.3)	
Total	82	179	261		122	118	240
	(31.4)	(68.6)			(50.8)	(49.2)	

Note. Values not in parentheses represent the frequency of yes/no responses to revealing and concealing. Values in parentheses are the percentages of yes/no responses to revealing and concealing.

Based on this pattern of results, three separate post hoc chi-square tests (comparing

responses under exclusion to responses under each of the other three conditions) were conducted

to explore any significant differences between the exclusion condition and the other three

conditions. Separate tests were conducted so that the alpha level could be adjusted for only the

number of comparisons being made (in this case, three), as opposed to the option in SPSS for

Bonferroni adjusted alpha based on all possible within-row comparisons. Results of the post hoc

tests are summarized in Table 4. Using a Bonferroni adjusted alpha level for three comparisons

($.05/3 = .017$) as the criterion for significance, the proportion of yes/no responses in the

exclusion condition did not differ significantly from those in the inclusion ($p = .057$),

assimilation ($p = .042$), or differentiation ($p = .138$) condition.

Table 4

Post-hoc Chi-square Tests for Revealing and Concealing Decisions Between
Experimental Conditions

Comparison	χ^2	df	P	Cramer's V
Reveal (vs. Exclusion)				
Inclusion	3.64	1	.057	.17
Assimilation	4.14	1	.042	.18
Differentiation	2.21	1	.138	.13
Conceal (vs. Inclusion)				
Assimilation	2.10	1	.148	.13
Differentiation	5.48	1	.019	.22
Exclusion	3.55	1	.060	.17

Note. Each chi-square statistic represents the group comparison with the condition in parentheses above it. Criterion for significance for each outcome is $p = .017$ (Bonferroni adjusted alpha for three comparisons).

To gain further insight into these results, within-condition differences between

proportions of "yes" responses and proportions of "no" responses were also examined (Figure 3).

Overall, people chose "no" to revealing more than "yes" to revealing across all four conditions. Using a Bonferroni alpha adjustment for four comparisons (.05/4 = .0125), the proportion of people who chose "yes" to revealing (20.9%) in the exclusion condition was significantly lower than the proportion of people that chose "no" to revealing (79.1%) in the exclusion condition. No other within-condition differences were significant. In sum, when making considerations of whether to reveal or not, the exclusion condition appears to have had more influence on participants' decisions relative to the inclusion, assimilation, and differentiation conditions, at least among the sample for this study.
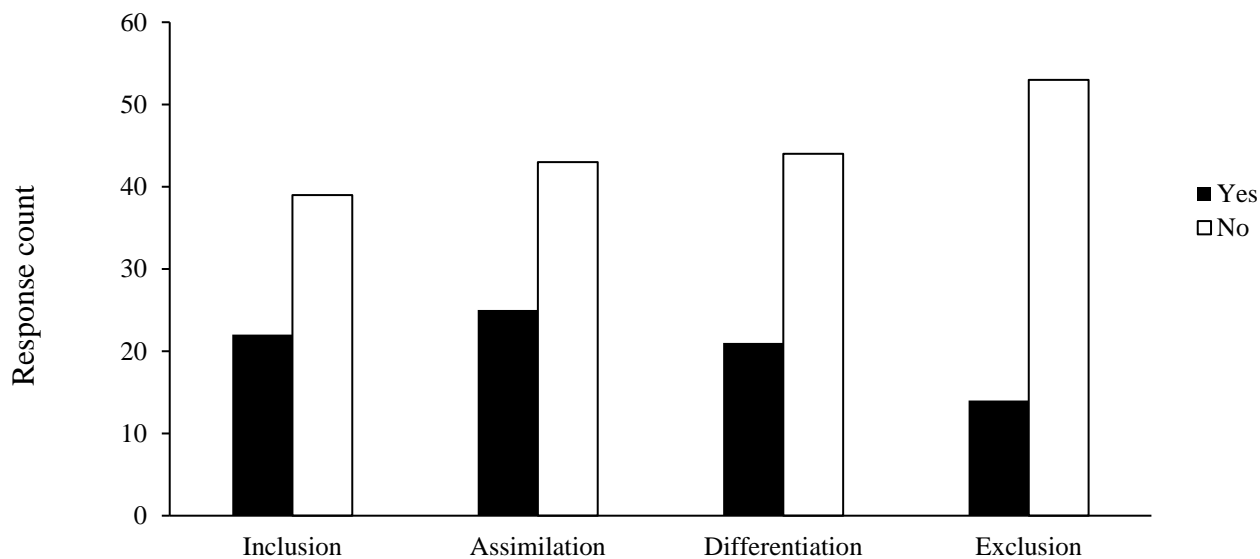

Figure 3. Revealing decisions by inclusion/exclusion condition.

Concealing Decisions

Although no specific predictions were made in this study regarding decisions to conceal between each condition, intuition might suggest that concealing endorsements would be the

opposite of revealing. By this logic, one might expect individuals to be less likely to conceal their stigmatized identity in inclusive organizations than in non-inclusive organizations. Accordingly, a chi-square test was conducted to examine any differences in patterns of responses to concealing across conditions. Results are displayed in Table 3. The test was not significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 241) = 6.07$, $p = .109$, Cramer's $V = .16$, indicating that the observed condition $\times$ conceal frequencies of yes/no responses were not significantly different than the expected frequencies. As with the reveal responses, however, the pattern of yes or no response/total response proportions was not consistent across conditions for concealing. Whereas, the percentages of "yes" responses were somewhat similar in the assimilation, differentiation, and exclusion conditions (50.8%, 59.30%, and 54.7%, respectively), this pattern was notably different in the inclusion condition (37.5%).

These results were followed up with three post hoc chi-square tests of between-condition differences (i.e., comparing "yes" response percentages in the inclusion condition with each of the other three conditions) using a Bonferroni alpha adjustment for three comparisons (.05/3 = .017). Results are displayed in Table 4. No differences were significant (inclusion/assimilation: $p = .148$; inclusion/differentiation: $p = .019$; inclusion/exclusion: $p = .060$).

Within-condition differences between yes/no response proportions were again examined to gain further insight into these results. Results are displayed in Figure 4. Unlike for considerations to reveal where there was a consistent preference for *not* revealing across conditions, the slight preference to conceal observed in the assimilation, differentiation, and exclusion conditions was reversed in the inclusion condition. A significantly (Bonferroni adjusted alpha: .05/4 = .0125) smaller proportion of people chose "yes" (37.5%), as opposed to "no" (62.5%), to conceal in the inclusion condition. No other within-condition differences were

significant for concealing. Overall, the relationship between the inclusion/exclusion conditions and disclosure decisions appeared to be different depending on whether participants were making considerations to reveal or to conceal their identity. At least among this sample, it appeared that the exclusive organization had more influence on considerations to reveal than the other three conditions; whereas, the inclusive organization had more influence on considerations to conceal than the other three conditions. However, these differences were not statistically significant.
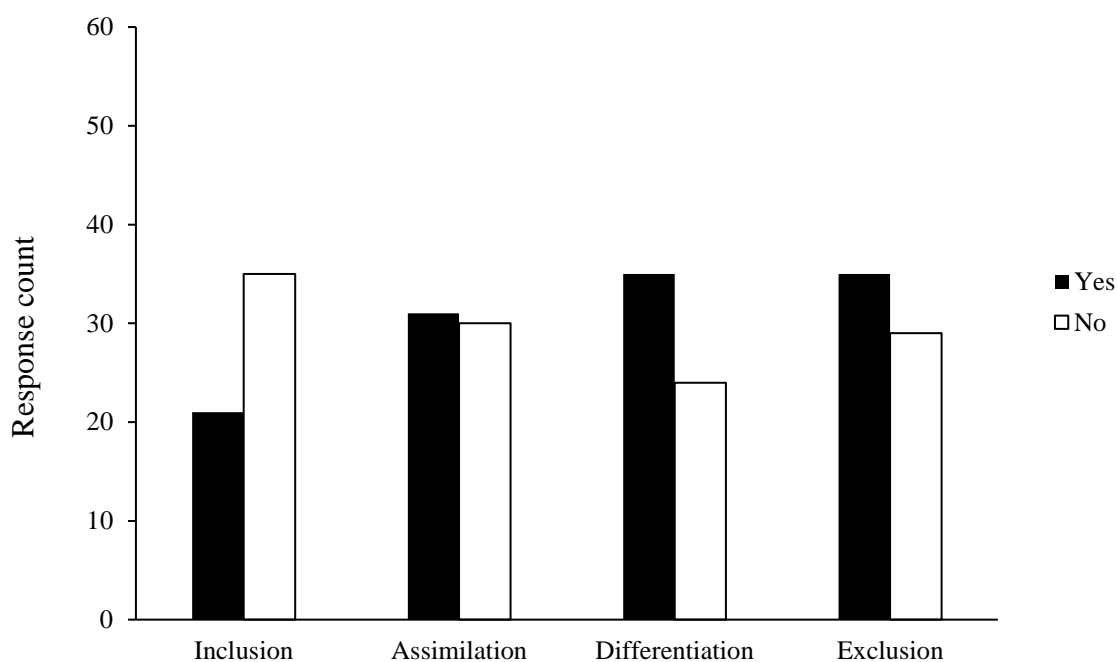

Figure 4. Concealing decisions by inclusion/exclusion condition.

Exploratory Analysis (Confidence Ratings)

In addition to the dichotomous (*yes*/*no*) reveal and conceal measures, confidence ratings for these decisions were also measured. Identity management decisions are almost never an all-or-nothing choice in reality (Jones & King, 2014), so the confidence ratings were used to account

for information that might have been lost through the use of a dichotomous outcome variable. Specifically, the goal of the confidence ratings was to gain additional insight into the psychological process of the decision to reveal or conceal a stigmatized identity by asking participants how confident they were in their decision.

Participants appeared to be generally confident in their decisions as indicated by mean ratings at the upper end of the scale for both revealing decisions (*yes*: $M = 5.37$, $SD = 1.16$; *no*: $M = 5.59$, $SD = 1.36$) and concealing decisions (*yes*: $M = 5.80$, $SD = 1.31$; *no*: $M = 5.33$, $SD = 1.25$). There were no differences in the confidence ratings between those who chose *yes* and those who chose *no* to revealing, $t(258) = 1.29$, $p = .198$. However, those who chose *yes* to concealing reported significantly higher confidence in their decision than those who chose *no* to concealing, $t(235) = -2.85$, $p = .005$. There were no differences in confidence ratings for revealing decision, $F(3, 256) = 1.50$, $p = .215$, or concealing decisions, $F(3, 256) = 1.50$, $p = .215$, between the inclusion/exclusion conditions.

In line with the purpose of including the confidence ratings, the dichotomous decision outcome and the corresponding confidence ratings were combined into a single, bidirectional outcome variable for each decision type (revealing and concealing). The seven-point confidence rating scales were recoded as a 14-point scale with the low end of the scale (starting at 1) reflecting high confidence in not revealing/concealing and the high end of the scale (ending at 14) reflecting high confidence in revealing/concealing. The middle range of the scale [7 (*uncertain about concealing decision*); 8 (*uncertain about revealing decision*)] reflects uncertainty about either the revealing decision of concealing decision.

Participants reported a general tendency to *not* reveal and were fairly uncertain about the decision as indicated by mean scores across conditions: Inclusion ($M = 6.10$, $SD = 4.80$),

assimilation ($M = 6.18$, $SD = 4.96$), differentiation ($M = 5.60$, $SD = 5.02$), exclusion ($M = 4.34$, $SD = 4.32$). There were no significant differences between conditions, $F(3, 256) = 2.05$, $p = .108$. Concealing decisions were generally evenly split between yes and no and participants appeared to be very uncertain about this decision. Mean scores across conditions were as follows: Inclusion ($M = 6.32$, $SD = 5.08$), assimilation ($M = 7.53$, $SD = 5.25$), differentiation ($M = 9.00$, $SD = 5.26$), exclusion ($M = 8.43$, $SD = 5.08$). None of the groups differed based on Bonferroni alpha adjusted significance test ($.05/3 = .017$), $F(3, 233) = 2.93$, $p = .035$. Taken together, using the combined dichotomous-continuous outcome variable did not produce results that differed from those found using the dichotomous outcome alone; therefore, the remainder of analyses regarding disclosure decisions used only the dichotomous outcome variable.

Hypothesis 2a, b, and c

A series of one-way ANOVA were conducted to examine differences between the inclusion/exclusion conditions for support, anticipated stigma, and psychological well-being variables (anxiety, stress, positive affect, and negative affect). The wording of the items on the support measure and the instructions for the anticipated stigma measure were slightly varied based on participant's identity (Appendix C); therefore, there was concern about averaging across all participants to form overall support scores and anticipated stigma scores. There were two variations of the support scale (one for LGB and one for disability in general). There were three variations of the anticipated stigma scale (one for LGB, one for physical disability, and one for psychological disability). For the support scale, mean scores for LGB ($M = 2.51$, $SD = 1.03$) and disability ($M = 2.67$, $SD = 1.00$) were not significantly different, $t(259) = 0.89$, $p = .372$,

providing some evidence that the two variations of the support scale are similar, at least in terms of eliciting similar mean scores across the groups. For the anticipated stigma scale, however, there was a significant overall effect of scale type, $F(2, 257) = 7.09$, $p = .001$. A Tukey HSD post hoc test revealed a significant difference between the physical disability stigma scale ($M = 3.15$, $SD = 1.51$) and the psychological disability stigma scale ($M = 3.98$, $SD = 1.58$). Mean scores between the physical disability stigma scale and the LGB stigma scale ($M = 3.84$, $SD = 1.69$) were somewhat different, though non-significant. There was no difference between the psychological disability stigma scale and the LGB stigma scale. It could be that the different mean scores reflect differences in the degree of stigma anticipated by LGB individuals, people with psychological disabilities, and people physical disabilities rather than differences in how each scale was interpreted.

Measurement invariance tests were conducted on the support scales and the anticipated stigma scales to ensure equivalent factor structures and factor loadings. These analyses were conducted using the *lavaan* (Rosseel, 2012) package and *semTools* (2016) package in R statistical software. For the support scale, two separate confirmatory factor analyses (CFAs) were run for the disability support scale and the LGB support scale to test for configural invariance. The models showed comparable fit; however, the disability support scale showed slightly better fit to the data, $\chi^2(9) = 91.12$; $p < .001$, CFI = .94; TLI = 0.90; RMSEA = 0.21, than the LGB support scale, $\chi^2(9) = 26.13$; $p = .002$, CFI = 0.92; TLI = 0.86; RMSEA = 0.22. When both groups were run together, the chi-square statistic was significant, $\chi^2(18) = 117.25$; $p < .001$, CFI = 0.94; TLI = 0.90; RMSEA = 0.21; AIC = 3315.64; however, the chi-square statistic is sensitive to sample size. While the CFI and TLI indicate adequate fit, the high RMSEA suggests misfit as it is above the <0.08 criterion for adequate fit (< .05 suggests good fit). However, the misfit

appeared to be similar across groups (i.e., the equality constraint did not result in one model fitting worse than the other).

This was followed up with a metric invariance test in which factor loadings were held equal across groups. The metric invariance model, $\chi^2(23) = 121.38$; $p < .001$; CFI = 0.94; TLI = 0.92; RMSEA = 0.18; AIC 3309.77, did not differ significantly from the configural test model, $\Delta\chi^2(5) = 4.13$; $p = .531$, providing evidence that the support scale has the same meaning across both groups. The support scale scores from both the LGB and disability groups were used in the same analyses.

The same steps were taken for the anticipated stigma scale; however, there were three group comparisons because the instructions for the scale varied for LGB, psychological disability, and physical disability. A configural invariance test showed that model fit varied somewhat between the three groups: LGB: $\chi^2(54) = 161.46$; $p < .001$; CFI = 0.84; TLI = 0.81; RMSEA = 0.22; psychological disability: $\chi^2(54) = 269.25$; $p < .001$; CFI = 0.90; TLI = 0.88; RMSEA = 0.17; physical disability: $\chi^2(54) = 332.61$; $p < .001$; CFI = 0.76; TLI = 0.71; RMSEA = 0.27. Fit indices suggest below adequate fit when all three groups were entered in the same model, $\chi^2(162) = 763.32$; $p < .001$; CFI = 0.85; TLI = 0.82; RMSEA = 0.21. A metric invariance test was conducted and the metric model, $\chi^2(162) = 782.50$; $p < .001$; CFI = 0.85; TLI = 0.84; RMSEA = 0.19, did not differ significantly from the configural test model, $\Delta\chi^2(22) = 19.18$; $p = .634$, suggesting that the anticipated stigma scale is interpreted similarly across the three groups. Scores were averaged together across all groups to use in analysis. Scores on both the support scale and the stigma scale should be interpreted with caution given that results of the invariance tests did not show ideal support for similar factor structures across the disability and LGB groups.

H2a: Support

Before analyses were conducted for hypothesis testing, the data were checked for outliers and normality of the dependent variable within each inclusion/exclusion condition. Examination of box plots revealed two extreme scores on the support scale in the inclusion condition (zs = -4.70 and -2.24) and three extreme scores in the in the exclusion condition (zs = 3.32, 3.32, and 2.86). Data for each case was examined for further unusual responding and did not appear to be problematic. Furthermore, results did not change after omitting the extreme cases from analysis; therefore, they were not removed in order to preserve sample size. In addition, there was evidence of skewness and kurtosis of the distribution of support scores. However, a decision was made not transform the distribution based on the robustness of the F-statistic to violations normality when group sizes are equal and greater than 40 (Field, 2013).

Hypothesis 2a was tested with a one-way ANOVA with inclusion/exclusion condition as the independent variable and organizational support as the dependent variable. The Brown-Forsyth F-statistic was used to account for unequal variance across conditions, Levene's test: $F(3, 257) = 6.16, p < .001$. There was a significant overall effect of inclusion/exclusion condition on perceptions of organizational support, $F(3, 238.60) = 75.85, p < .001$. As shown in Figure 5, post-hoc analysis with a Bonferroni adjusted alpha showed that perceived support in the inclusion ($M = 3.54, SD = 0.54$) condition was significantly higher than perceived support in the assimilation condition ($M = 2.90, SD = 0.78, p < .001, d = 0.95$), differentiation condition ($M = 2.58, SD = 0.86, p < .001, d = 1.34$,), and exclusion condition ($M = 1.63, SD = 0.71, p < .001, d = 3.03$,). These results support Hypothesis 2a. Perceived support in the exclusion condition also differed significantly from perceived support in the assimilation condition ($p < .001, d = 1.70$)

and the differentiation condition ($p < .001$, $d = 1.20$). The difference in perceived support between the assimilation and differentiation conditions was non-significant ($p = .065$, $d = 0.39$).
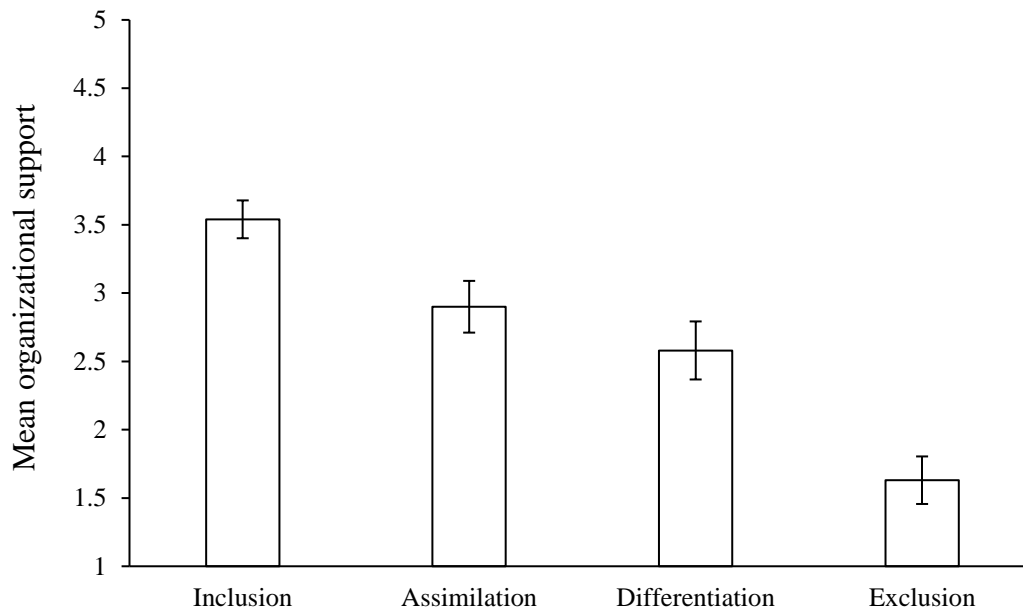

Figure 5. Mean organizational support by inclusion/exclusion condition.

H2b: Anticipated Stigma

Data were again checked for outliers and normality within each condition. There were two extreme scores for anticipated stigma in the exclusion condition ($zs = -3.18$ and -3.11). The data for these cases did not appear to be problematic, and their removal did not change the results; therefore, they were kept in the analysis. There was evidence of non-normality in the distribution of anticipated stigma scores within each condition; however, no transformations were made based on similar reasoning stated previously.

Hypothesis 2b was tested with a one-way ANOVA with inclusion/exclusion condition as the independent variable and anticipated stigma as the dependent variable. The Brown-Forsyth

F-statistic was used to account for unequal variance across conditions, Levene's test: $F(3, 256) =$ 4.91, $p = .002$. There was a significant overall effect of inclusion/exclusion condition on perceptions of anticipated stigma, $F(3, 241.32) = 45.87$, $p < .001$. As shown in Figure 6, post-hoc analysis with a Bonferroni adjusted alpha showed that anticipated stigma in the inclusion condition ($M = 2.42$, $SD = 1.09$) was significantly lower than anticipated stigma in the assimilation condition ($M = 3.56$, $SD = 1.46$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.89$), differentiation condition ($M = 3.72$, $SD = 1.48$, $p < .001$, $d = -1.00$), and exclusion condition ($M = 5.11$, $SD = 1.13$, $p < .001$, $d = -2.42$,). These results support Hypothesis 2b. Anticipated stigma in the exclusion condition also differed significantly from anticipated stigma in the assimilation condition ($p < .001$, $d = 1.19$) and the differentiation condition ($p < .001$, $d = 1.05$). The difference in anticipated stigma between the assimilation and differentiation conditions was non-significant ($p = 1.00$, $d = -0.11$).
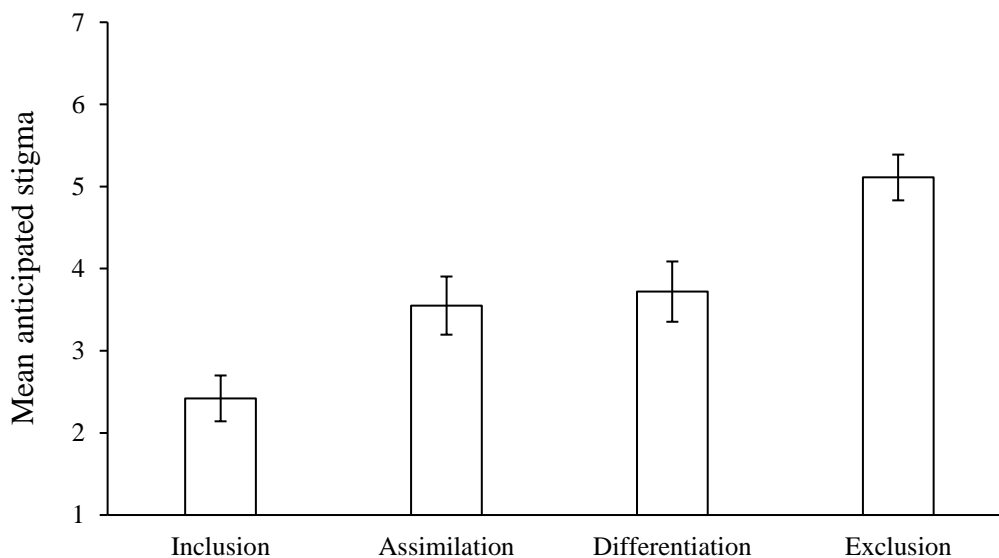

Figure 6. Mean anticipated stigma by inclusion/exclusion condition.

H2c: Psychological Well-being

Hypothesis 2c was tested with four separate one-way ANOVA with inclusion/exclusion condition as the independent variable and stress, anxiety, positive affect, and negative affect as the four dependent variables. As in the previous analyses, data were examined for outliers and normality prior to conducting the main analysis.

Stress

There were four extreme score for stress in the inclusion condition (zs = 2.77, 2.56, 2.35, and 2.13) and one in the assimilation condition (z = 2.61). The data for these cases did not appear to be problematic and results did not change with their removal; therefore, they were kept in the analysis.

The Brown-Forsyth F-statistic was used to account for unequal variances across conditions, Levene's test: $F(3, 257)$ = 3.65, p = .013. There was a significant overall effect of inclusion/exclusion condition on stress, $F(3, 250.80)$ = 13.36, $p < .001$. As shown in Figure 7, post-hoc analysis with a Bonferroni adjusted alpha showed that stress in the inclusion condition (M = 1.87, SD = 0.66) was significantly lower than stress in the differentiation condition (M = 2.33, SD = 0.82, p = .007, d = -0.61) and the exclusion condition (M = 2.65, SD = 0.87, $p < .001$, d = -1.01), but not the assimilation condition (M = 1.97, SD = 0.77, p = 1.00, d = -0.14). In addition, stress in the exclusion condition was significantly higher than stress in the assimilation condition ($p < .001$, d = 0.82), but not the differentiation condition (p = .126, d = 0.38). The difference in stress between the assimilation condition and differentiation condition was non-significant (p = .054, d = -0.45).
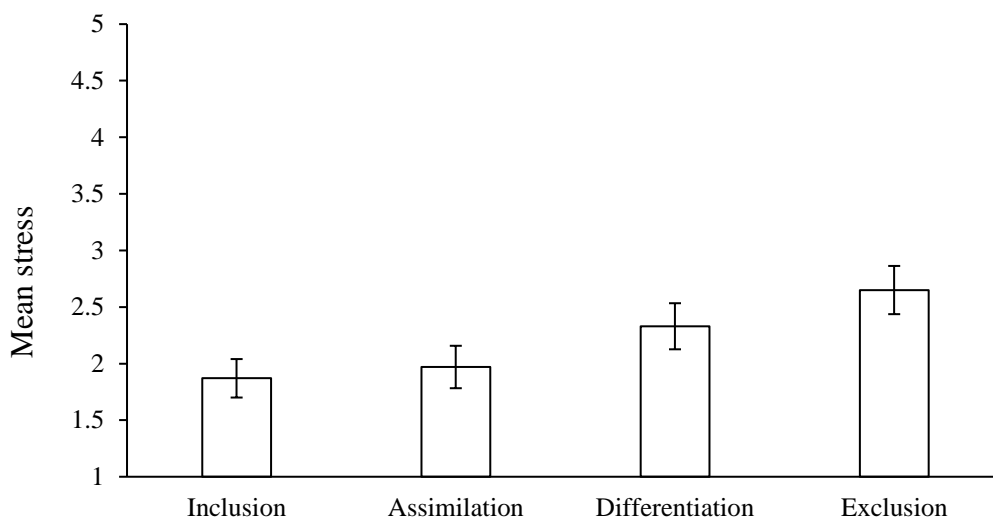
Figure 7. Mean stress by inclusion/exclusion condition.

Anxiety

There were two extreme scores for anxiety in the inclusion condition (zs = 3.41 and 2.88), four in the assimilation condition (zs = 3.42, 2.96, 2.25, and 2.25), and one in the differentiation condition (z = 2.86). The data for these cases did not appear to be problematic in terms of unusual responding, but the removal of the extreme score in the differentiation condition did change the significance of the post-hoc comparisons with the exclusion condition (described below). Because this comparison was not particularly important to the hypothesis, all cases were kept in the analysis. There was evidence of nonnormality in the distribution of anxiety scores in each condition, but data were not transformed for reasons explained previously.

The Brown-Forsyth F-statistic was used to account for unequal variances across conditions, Levene's test: $F(3, 257) = 4.163$, $p = .007$. There was a significant overall effect of inclusion/exclusion condition on anxiety, $F(3, 247.07) = 8.39$, $p < .001$. As shown in Figure 8, post-hoc analysis with a Bonferroni adjusted alpha showed that anxiety in the inclusion condition

($M = 1.57$, $SD = 0.54$) was significantly lower than anxiety in the exclusion condition ($M = 2.08$, $SD = 0.75$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.09$), but not the assimilation condition ($M = 1.62$, $SD = 0.61$, $p = 1.00$, $d = -0.34$) or the differentiation condition ($M = 1.78$, $SD = 0.68$, $p = .421$, $d = -0.78$). Additionally, anxiety in the exclusion condition was significantly higher than anxiety in the assimilation condition ($p < .001$, $d = 0.67$) and non-significantly higher than anxiety in the differentiation condition ($p = .052$, $d = 0.42$). However, the latter difference became significant when the extreme score on anxiety in the differentiation condition was removed ($M = 1.75$, $SD = 0.64$, $p = .009$, $d = 0.47$). There was no significant difference in anxiety between the assimilation condition and differentiation condition ($p = .843$, $d = -0.25$).
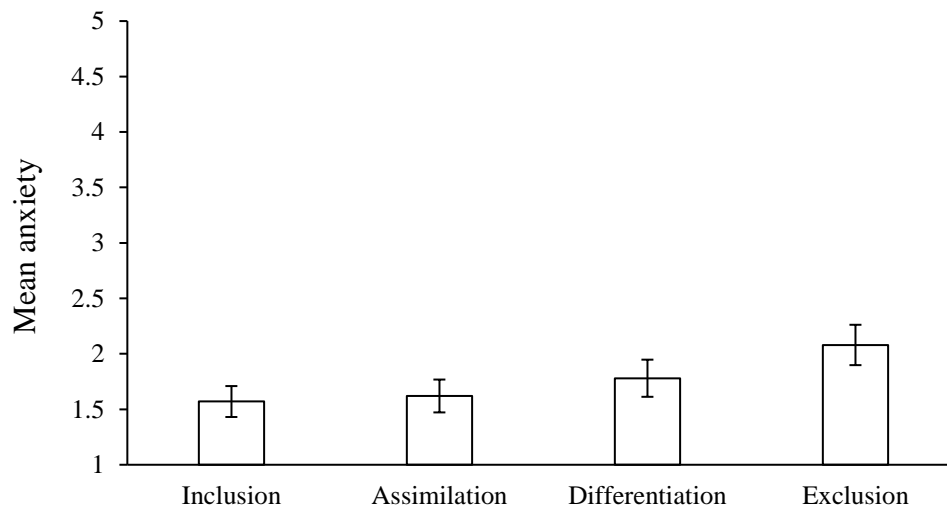

Figure 8. Mean anxiety by inclusion/exclusion condition.

Negative Affect

There were four extreme scores for negative affect in the inclusion condition ($zs = 4.11$, 3.14, 2.81 and 2.33), two in the assimilation condition ($zs = 4.64$ and 2.98), and two in the

differentiation condition (zs = 3.29 and 2.37). The data for these cases did not appear to be

problematic in terms of unusual responding, but two cases appeared to be anomalies (one in the

inclusion condition and one in the assimilation condition) given (1) the magnitude of the

deviation from the mean within the respective condition and (2) the relative extremity of these

values given the range of outliers observed in previous analyses. Consequently, these cases were

removed from analysis. Removal of the extreme case from the inclusion condition changed the

significance of the post-hoc test comparing negative affect between the inclusion condition and

the differentiation condition (described below). There was evidence of nonnormality in the

distribution of negative affect scores in each condition, but data were not transformed for reasons

explained previously.

The Brown-Forsyth F-statistic was used to account for unequal variances across

conditions, Levene's test: $F(3, 255) = 13.30$, $p < .001$. There was a significant overall effect of

inclusion/exclusion condition on negative affect, $F(3, 221.29) = 15.60$, $p < .001$. As shown in

Figure 9, post-hoc analysis with a Bonferroni adjusted alpha showed that negative affect in the

inclusion condition (M = 1.45, SD = 0.55) was significantly lower than negative affect in the

differentiation condition (M = 1.84, SD = 0.83, p = .039, d = -0.55) and the exclusion condition

(M = 2.36, SD = 1.02, $p < .001$, d = -1.11), but not the assimilation condition (M = 1.66, SD =

0.70, p = 0.867, d = -0.33). Negative affect in the exclusion condition was significantly higher

than negative affect in the assimilation condition ($p < .001$, d = 0.80) and the differentiation

condition (p = .002, d = 0.56). The difference in negative affect between the assimilation

condition and differentiation condition was non-significant (p = 1.00, d = -0.23).
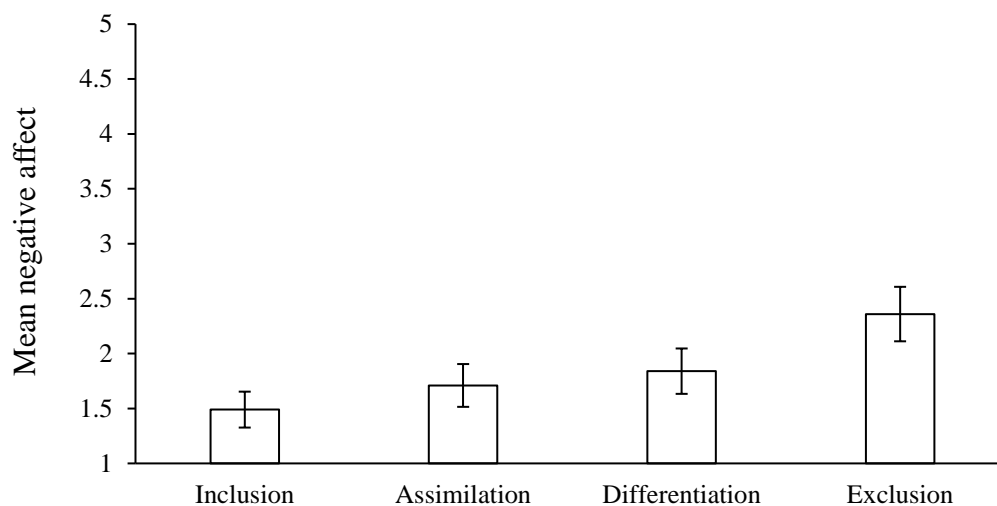
Figure 9. Mean negative affect by inclusion/exclusion condition.

<u>Positive Affect</u>

There were two extreme scores for positive affect in the assimilation condition (both *zs* = 2.70) and three in the exclusion condition (*zs* = 3.62, 2.58, and 2.44). These cases did not appear to be problematic in terms of unusual responding, and removal of these cases did not change the overall pattern of means across conditions; therefore, they were kept in the analysis. It should be noted, however, that removing these cases changed the significance of several post-hoc comparisons. The non-significant differences in positive affect between inclusion and assimilation, and exclusion and each of the other three conditions reported below were significant with the extreme cases removed. There was evidence of nonnormality in the distribution of positive affect scores in each condition. No transformations were performed for reasons explained previously.

Levene's test was non-significant, $F(3, 257) = 1.49$, $p = .218$, indicating that the assumption of equal variances was not violated. There was a significant overall effect of

inclusion/exclusion condition on positive affect, $F(3, 257) = 7.23$, $p < .001$. As shown in Figure 10, post-hoc analysis with a Bonferroni adjusted alpha showed that positive affect in the inclusion condition ($M = 2.94$, $SD = 0.90$) was significantly higher than positive affect in the exclusion condition ($M = 2.23$, $SD = 0.77$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.85$), but not the assimilation condition ($M = 2.59$, $SD = 0.89$, $p = 0.145$, $d = 0.39$) or the differentiation condition ($M = 2.61$, $SD = 0.92$, $p = .211$, $d = 0.36$). There were no other significant differences between conditions.

Taken together, there is some support for Hypothesis 2c—the psychological well-being variables measured in this study were all significantly lower in the inclusion condition than the exclusion condition, but differences varied between the inclusion condition and the assimilation condition and the inclusion condition and the differentiation condition. Despite not always being significant, mean differences were always in the expected pattern.
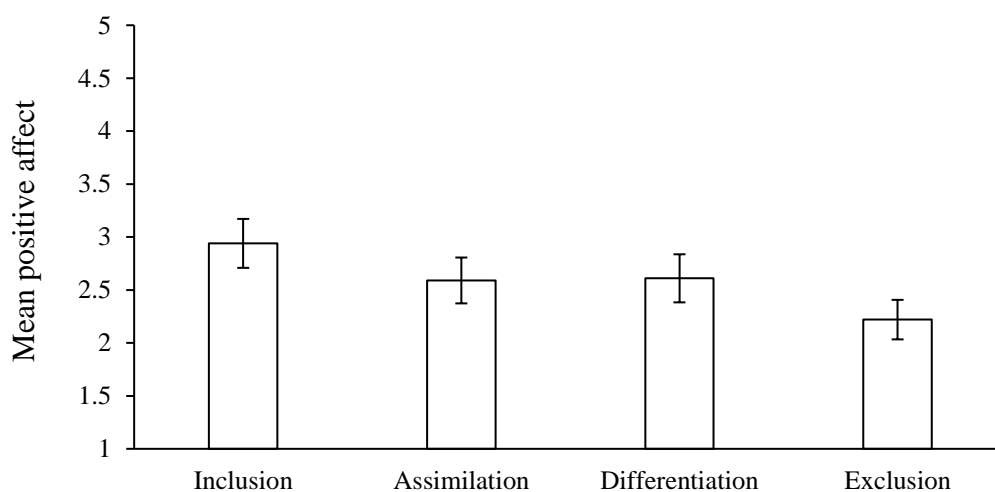

Figure 10. Mean positive affect by inclusion/exclusion condition.

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 was tested with using Hayes (2012) PROCESS macro for SPSS, which provides a significance test of the indirect effect with bootstrapped confidence intervals (10,000 samples in the subsequent analyses). Logistic regression was used given the dichotomous outcome variables (*yes* or *no* to revealing or concealing). It was hypothesized that organizational support and anticipated stigma would mediate the relationship between inclusion/exclusion condition and disclosure. The categorical predictor (inclusion/exclusion condition) was dummy coded with inclusion as the comparison group. This resulted in three dummy-coded predictor variables: (1) inclusion = 0, assimilation = 1, (2) inclusion = 0, differentiation = 1, and (3) inclusion = 0, exclusion = 1. The three dummy-coded variables were labeled "assimilation," "differentiation," and "exclusion." Thus, any observed effects of the predictors reflect variability in the outcome variable resulting from differences between the inclusion condition and one of the other three experimental conditions (i.e., assimilation, differentiation, or exclusion).

Reveal Decisions

An initial test of the bivariate effect of the inclusion/exclusion condition (three dummy coded variables) on the reveal outcome (no = 0, yes = 1) was conducted. This test was essentially Hypothesis 1 in a logistic regression model. As in Hypothesis 1, the overall effect was not significant, $\chi^2(3) = 5.21$, $p = .157$. Using a Bonferroni alpha adjusted for three comparisons as the criterion for significance (.05/3 = .017), the likelihood of revealing (choosing *yes* instead of *no*) did not differ significantly between the inclusion condition and the assimilation condition, β = 0.03, $p = .934$, OR = 1.03, 95% CI [0.50, 2.11], the inclusion condition and the differentiation

condition, $\beta = -0.17$, $p = .657$, OR = 0.85, 95% CI [0.41, 1.77], or the inclusion condition and the

exclusion condition, $\beta = -0.76$, $p = .059$, OR = 0.47, 95% CI [0.21, 1.03]. Despite non-significant

differences between the inclusion/exclusion conditions, individuals were 2.13 times (i.e., the

inverse of the odds ratio for the exclusion dummy variable: 1/0.47) as likely to reveal in the

inclusion condition than in the exclusion condition. Individuals were 1.18 times as likely to

reveal in the inclusion condition than the differentiation condition and 0.97 times as likely to

reveal in the assimilation condition. Furthermore, a significant indirect effect (the effect of a

predictor variable on an outcome variable through a mediator variable) need not always rely on

the bivariate effect being significant (Preacher & Hayes, 2004).

This was followed up with an indirect effects test using PROCESS (Hayes, 2012). Again,

the dummy-coded variables were entered as predictors and the dichotomous reveal variable was

entered as the outcome. Organizational support and anticipated stigma were entered into the

model as parallel mediators. As expected given the results of Hypothesis 2a and 2b, there were

significant effects of the predictors on organizational support and on anticipated stigma. The

regression coefficients for each dummy-coded variable reflect the mean differences in

organizational support and anticipated stigma between inclusion and each of the other three

inclusion/exclusion conditions. Also, as expected given the non-significant bivariate effects of

inclusion/exclusion condition on revealing, the direct effects of the three dummy-coded

predictors were non-significant when holding organizational support and anticipated stigma

constant (assimilation: $\beta = 0.41$, $p = .306$; differentiation: $\beta = 0.22$, $p = .611$; exclusion: $\beta = 0.11$,

$p = .850$).

Also, the indirect effects of inclusion/exclusion condition on revealing through *support*

were all non-significant (assimilation: $\beta = 0.11$, bootstrapped CI [-0.22, 0.53], OR = 1.11;

differentiation: $\beta = 0.16$, bootstrapped CI [-0.35, 0.77], OR = 1.18; exclusion: $\beta = 0.32$, bootstrapped CI [-0.70, 1.45.], OR = 1.38). The negative effect that the non-inclusive conditions (relative to the inclusion condition) have on perceptions of organizational support does not yield changes in revealing decisions.

However, the indirect effects of inclusion/exclusion condition on revealing through *stigma* were all significant (assimilation: $\beta = -0.50$, bootstrapped CI [-0.96, -0.17], OR = 0.61; differentiation: $\beta = -0.57$, bootstrapped CI [-1.07, -0.21], OR = 0.56; exclusion: $\beta = -1.18$, bootstrapped CI [-2.09, -0.41.], OR = 0.31). People in the inclusion condition were 1.64 times more likely to reveal than people in the assimilation condition, 1.77 times more likely of reveal than people in the differentiation condition, and 3.26 times more likely to reveal than people in the exclusion condition, and this difference was due in part to the negative effect that the inclusion condition has on anticipated stigma. Taken together, these results offer statistical evidence that inclusion can indirectly encourage disclosure of a stigmatized identity to the extent that inclusion reduces anticipated stigma. These results partially support Hypothesis 3.

Conceal Decisions

The same analyses were repeated with decision to conceal (*no* = 0, *yes* = 1) as the outcome variable. The overall effect of inclusion/exclusion condition on concealing was non-significant, $\chi^2(3) = 6.113$, $p = .106$. The likelihood of concealing did not differ significantly (Bonferroni adjusted alpha = .017) between the inclusion condition and the assimilation condition, $\beta = 0.54$, $p = .149$, OR = 1.72, 95% CI [0.82, 3.60], the inclusion condition and the differentiation condition, $\beta = 0.89$, $p = .020$, OR = 2.43, 95% CI [1.15, 5.15], or the inclusion

condition and the exclusion condition, β = 0.70, *p* = .060, OR = 2.01, 95% CI [0.97, 4.18].

However, compared to the inclusion condition, individuals were 1.72 times as likely to conceal

in the assimilation condition, 2.43 times as likely to conceal in the differentiation condition, and

2.01 times as likely to conceal in the exclusion conditions.

      With support and stigma entered into the model as parallel mediators, the three direct

effects of assimilation (β = 0.13, *p* = .747), differentiation (β = 0.47, *p* = .274), and exclusion (β

= -0.33, *p* = .567), relative to inclusion and holding support and stigma constant were non-

significant. The indirect effects of inclusion/exclusion condition on concealing through *support*

were non-significant (assimilation: β = -0.83, bootstrapped CI [-0.48, 0.22], OR = 0.92;

differentiation: β = -0.13, bootstrapped CI [-0.72, 0.35], OR = 0.88; exclusion, β = -0.26,

bootstrapped CI [-1.40, 0.68], OR = 0.77). Just as with revealing, differences in concealing

between inclusion and each of the three non-inclusive conditions were not due to the positive

effect of inclusion on perceptions of organizational support.

      However, the indirect effects of inclusion/exclusion condition on concealing through

stigma were significant (assimilation: β = 0.53, bootstrapped CI [0.21, 1.00], OR = 1.70;

differentiation: β = 0.60, bootstrapped CI [0.27, 1.09], OR = 1.83; exclusion: β = 1.29,

bootstrapped CI [0.57, 2.09], OR = 3.63). Differences in concealing between inclusion and each

of the three non-inclusive conditions were not due to the positive effect of inclusion on

perceptions of organizational support. Compared to the inclusion condition, people were 1.70

times as likely to conceal in the assimilation condition, 1.83 times as likely to conceal in the

differentiation condition, and 3.63 times as likely to conceal in the exclusion condition, and this

difference was due, in part, to the negative effect that the inclusion condition has on anticipated

stigma. These results offer additional support to the role of inclusion in influencing identity

management decisions among individuals with a stigmatized identity.

Research Question #1

To explore whether disclosure had an effect on psychological outcomes between T1 and

T2, a series of 2 Disclosure decision (*yes* vs. *no*) × 2 Time of measurement (*T1: before*

disclosure vs. *T2: after disclosure*) mixed-design ANOVA were conducted with stress, anxiety,

positive affect, and negative affect as four separate dependent variables. As in previous analyses,

disclosure decisions were operationalized as separate revealing decisions and concealing

decisions. This yielded eight different analyses—four 2 Disclosure decision × 2 Time of

measurement mixed-design ANOVA with *revealing* decisions (yes vs. no) as the between-

subjects factor and four 2 Disclosure decision × 2 Time of measurement mixed-design ANOVA

with *concealing* decisions (yes vs. no) as the between-subjects factor.

Revealing Decision × Time of Measurement

Stress

There was a small, yet, non-significant, effect of revealing on stress collapsed across T1

and T2 measurements, $F(1, 257) = 3.46$, $p = .064$, $d = -0.23$. Those who chose *yes* to revealing

($M = 2.02$, $SD = 0.86$) reported lower stress than those who said *no* to revealing ($M = 2.22$, $SD = 0.86$). There was a significant main effect of time of measurement on stress regardless of

revealing decision, $F(1, 257) = 12.21$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.12$. Stress at T1 ($M = 2.17$, $SD = 0.85$) was

significantly higher than stress at T2 ($M = 2.07$, $SD = 0.85$). More pertinent to the research question, the revealing decision × time of measurement interaction was non-significant, $F(1, 257) = 2.23$, $p = .137$.

Anxiety

The effect of revealing on anxiety across both measurement times was non-significant, $F(1, 257) = 2.06$, $p = .152$, $d = -0.19$. There was a significant main effect of time of measurement on anxiety regardless of revealing decision, $F(1, 257) = 12.93$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.13$. Anxiety at T1 ($M = 1.75$, $SD = 0.68$) was significantly higher than stress at T2 ($M = 1.66$, $SD = 0.69$). The interaction term was non-significant, $F(1, 257) = 0.48$, $p = .488$.

Negative Affect

There was a significant main effect of revealing on negative affect across both measurement times, $F(1, 257) = 6.03$, $p = .015$, $d = -0.31$. Those who chose *yes* to revealing ($M = 1.66$, $SD = 0.93$) reported significantly lower negative affect than those who chose *no* to revealing ($M = 1.93$, $SD = 0.93$). The effect of time of measurement on negative affect regardless of revealing decision was non-significant, $F(1, 257) = 0.33$, $p = .567$. The interaction term was non-significant, $F(1, 257) = 2.31$, $p = .130$.

Positive Affect

There was a significant main effect of revealing on positive affect across both measurement times, $F(1, 257) = 4.95$, $p = .027$, $d = 0.28$. Those who chose *yes* to revealing ($M = 2.72$, $SD = 0.95$) reported significantly higher positive affect than those who chose *no* to revealing ($M = 2.46$, $SD = 0.89$). There was also a significant main effect of time of measurement on positive affect regardless of revealing decision, $F(1, 257) = 8.90$, $p = .003$, $d = .08$). Positive affect at T1 ($M = 2.63$, $SD = 0.91$) was significantly higher than positive affect at T2 ($M = 2.56$, $SD = 0.93$). The interaction term was significant, $F(1, 257) = 4.08$, $p = .045$. As shown in Figure 11, among those who revealed, the difference between positive affect before disclosure ($M = 2.74$, $SD = 0.92$) and after disclosure ($M = 2.71$, $SD = 0.98$) was non-significant ($p = .560$, $d = 0.03$). However, among those who did not reveal, there was a significant decrease in positive affect ($p < .001$, $d = 0.14$) from before disclosure ($M = 2.52$, $SD = 0.89$) to after disclosure ($M = 2.40$, $SD = 0.89$).
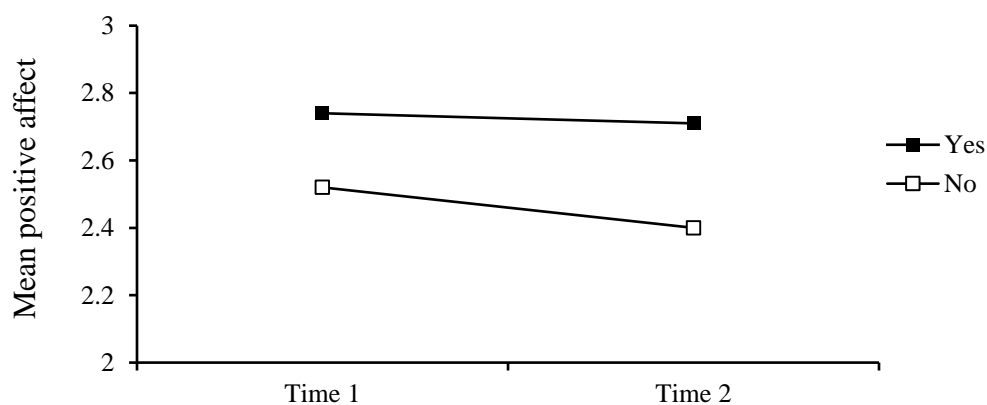

Figure 11. Interaction between revealing decision and time of measurement for positive affect.

Note. Vertical axis truncated for visual interpretation. Response scale was from 1 to 5.

Concealing Decision × Time of Measurement

Stress

There was a significant main effect of concealing on stress collapsed across T1 and T2 measurements, $F(1, 236) = 15.62$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.50$. Those who chose *yes* to concealing ($M = 2.39$, $SD = 0.85$) reported higher stress than those who said *no* to concealing ($M = 1.97$, $SD = 0.82$). There was also a significant main effect of time of measurement on stress regardless of revealing concealing, $F(1, 236) = 7.98$, $p = .005$, $d = 0.10$. Stress at T1 ($M = 2.22$, $SD = 0.82$) was significantly higher than stress at T2 ($M = 2.14$, $SD = 0.86$). The concealing decision × time of measurement interaction was non-significant, $F(1, 236) = 0.02$, $p = .896$.

Anxiety

There was a significant main effect of concealing on anxiety across both measurement times, $F(1, 236) = 6.31$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.31$. Those who chose *yes* to concealing reported higher anxiety ($M = 1.85$, $SD = 0.73$) than those who chose *no* to concealing ($M = 1.64$, $SD = 0.63$). There was also a significant main effect of time of measurement on anxiety regardless of concealing decision, $F(1, 236) = 10.52$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.12$. Anxiety at T1 ($M = 1.79$, $SD = 0.67$) was significantly higher than anxiety at T2 ($M = 1.71$, $SD = 0.69$). The interaction term was non-significant, $F(1, 236) = 0.52$, $p = .473$.

Negative Affect

There was a significant main effect of concealing on negative affect across both measurement times, $F(1, 236) = 13.30$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.46$. Those who chose *yes* to concealing reported significantly higher negative affect ($M = 2.09$, $SD = 0.98$) than those who chose *no* to concealing ($M = 1.68$, $SD = 0.79$). There was no effect of time of measurement on negative affect across concealing decisions, $F(1, 236) = 0.08$, $p = .782$, ($M_{T1} = 1.88$, $SD_{T1} = 0.89$; $M_{T2} = 1.88$, $SD_{T2} = 0.89$). The interaction term was non-significant, $F(1, 236) = 1.19$, $p = .277$.

Positive Affect

The effect of concealing on positive affect across both measurement times was non-significant, $F(1, 236) = 2.02$, $p = .157$, $d = 0.18$, ($M_{No} = 2.63$, $SD_{No} = .92$; $M_{Yes} = 2.46$, $SD_{Yes} = 0.93$). There was a significant main effect of time of measurement on positive affect regardless of concealing decision, $F(1, 236) = 16.79$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.11$. Positive affect at T1 ($M = 2.60$, $SD = 0.91$) was significantly higher than positive affect at T2 ($M = 2.50$, $SD = 0.93$). The interaction term was non-significant, $F(1, 236) = 0.26$, $p = .613$.

Taken together, these results suggest that disclosure decisions have some impact on psychological distress. Those who revealed generally reported lower distress and higher positive affect than those who did not reveal; though, only the effects on negative affect and positive affect were significant. Those that concealed reported significantly higher distress than those that did not conceal. However, with the exception of positive affect, disclosure decisions did not appear to influence changes to psychological outcomes from before disclosure to after disclosure.

Research Question #2

Based on the results of Research Question #1, disclosure decisions did not seem to influence changes to psychological outcomes generally. However, it was possible that differences in these patterns might emerge when the inclusion/exclusion conditions were introduced as an additional moderator. A series of 4 Inclusion/exclusion condition (*inclusion* vs. *assimilation* vs. *differentiation* vs. *exclusion*) × 2 Disclosure decision (*yes* vs. *no*) × 2 Time of measurement (*T1: before disclosure* vs. *T2: after disclosure*) mixed-design ANOVA were conducted, with inclusion/exclusion condition as an added between-subjects factor. Just as with Research Question 1, eight separate analyses were conducted to examine each of the four psychological outcomes of both revealing decisions and concealing decisions. The pattern of responses to revealing or concealing yielded discrepant cell sizes. For revealing, cell sizes ranged from 14 to 53, with four cells below 30. For concealing, cell sizes ranged from 21 to 35, with three cells below 30. Thus, interpretation of any comparisons between cells may be limited by inadequate cell sizes.

Before testing the three-way interaction, the inclusion/exclusion condition × time of measurement interaction was tested for each psychological outcome. Across both time points, negative affect was significantly higher in the exclusion condition ($M = 2.30$, $SD = 1.04$) than in the inclusion condition ($M = 1.47$, $SD = 0.57$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.04$), the assimilation condition ($M = 1.67$, $SD = 0.72$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.72$), and the differentiation condition ($M = 1.85$, $SD = 0.85$, $p = .008$, $d = 0.48$). The two-way interaction was not significant for any of the psychological outcomes; however, there was a marginally significant interaction for negative affect, $F(3, 253) = 2.58$, $p = .054$. Whereas negative affect slightly increased in the inclusion condition,

assimilation condition, and differentiation condition from T1 toT2, it decreased in the exclusion

condition. Despite the decrease in negative affect in the exclusion condition and the increase in

negative affect in the other three conditions from T1 to T2, negative affect was higher in the

exclusion condition at both time points. These results did not differ between the LGB group and

disability group; however, cell sizes for the LGB group were small, ranging from nine to twelve.

<u>Inclusion/exclusion Condition × Revealing Decision × Time of Measurement</u>

<u>Stress</u>

There was a significant main effect of inclusion/exclusion condition on stress regardless

across all levels of the other independent variables, $F(3, 251) = 12.21, p < .001$. Stress was

lowest in the inclusion condition, highest in the exclusion condition, and intermediate in the

assimilation condition and differentiation condition. More importantly for the goal of Research

Question #2, the three-way interaction was non-significant, $F(3, 251) = 0.27, p = .850$. It appears

that the influence, or lack thereof, of revealing on changes to stress did not differ across

inclusion/exclusion conditions.

<u>Anxiety</u>

There was a significant main effect of inclusion/exclusion condition on anxiety across all

levels of the other independent variables, $F(3, 251) = 6.77, p < .001$, with mean patterns across

conditions similar to those found for stress. The inclusion/exclusion condition × time of

measurement interaction was non-significant, $F(3, 251) = 1.03, p = .381$; thus, any overall

changes in anxiety from T1 to T2 regardless of revealing decision were not different across inclusion/exclusion conditions. More importantly, the three-way interaction was non-significant, $F(3, 251) = 0.16$, $p = .925$. Any changes to anxiety as a function of revealing did not differ across inclusion/exclusion conditions.

Negative Affect

There was a significant main effect of inclusion/exclusion condition on negative affect across all levels of the other independent variables, $F(3, 251) = 8.71$, $p < .001$ with mean patterns similar to those found for stress and anxiety. The inclusion/exclusion condition $\times$ time of measurement interaction was non-significant, $F(3, 251) = 1.03$, $p = .381$; thus, any overall changes in negative affect from T1 to T2 regardless of revealing decision were not different across inclusion/exclusion conditions. The three-way interaction was non-significant, $F(3, 251) = 1.64$, $p = .182$. Any changes to negative affect as a function of revealing did not differ across inclusion/exclusion conditions.

Positive Affect

There was a significant main effect of inclusion/exclusion condition on positive affect across all levels of the other independent variables, $F(3, 251) = 3.95$, $p = .009$. Positive affect was highest in the inclusion condition, lowest in the exclusion condition, and intermediate in the assimilation condition and differentiation condition. The inclusion/exclusion condition $\times$ time of measurement interaction was non-significant, $F(3, 251) = 1.43$, $p = .235$; thus, any overall changes in positive affect from T1 to T2 regardless of revealing decision were not different

across inclusion/exclusion conditions. The three-way interaction was non-significant, $F(3, 251) =$ 1.06, $p = .365$. Any changes to positive affect as a function of revealing did not differ across inclusion/exclusion conditions.

Inclusion/exclusion condition × Concealing decision × Time of measurement

Stress

There was a significant main effect of inclusion/exclusion condition on stress regardless across all levels of the other independent variables, $F(3, 230) = 12.88, p < .001$. Stress was lowest in the inclusion condition, highest in the exclusion condition, and intermediate in the assimilation condition and differentiation condition. The inclusion/exclusion condition × time of measurement interaction was non-significant, $F(3, 230) = 1.24, p = .295$; thus, any overall changes in stress from T1 to T2 regardless of concealing decision were not different across inclusion/exclusion conditions. More importantly, the three-way interaction in question was non-significant, $F(3, 230) = 1.27, p = .286$. It appears that any influence of concealing to changes in stress did not differ across inclusion/exclusion conditions.

Anxiety

There was a significant main effect of inclusion/exclusion condition on anxiety across all levels of the other independent variables, $F(3, 230) = 7.69, p < .001$, with mean patterns across conditions similar to those found for stress. The inclusion/exclusion condition × time of measurement interaction was non-significant, $F(3, 230) = 2.17, p = .092$; thus, any overall

changes in anxiety from T1 to T2 regardless of concealing decision were not different across inclusion/exclusion conditions. The three-way interaction was significant, $F(3, 230) = 3.05$, $p = .030$. To untangle this effect, four separate conceal × time of measurement mixed ANOVA were run to test the interaction within each condition.

Inclusion. As shown in Figure 12a, among those who chose *no* to concealing, the difference between anxiety at T1 ($M = 1.54$, $SD = 0.55$) and T2 ($M = 1.47$, $SD = 0.60$) was non-significant ($p = .360$, $d = 0.11$). However, among those who chose *yes* to conceal, the difference between anxiety at T1 ($M = 1.66$, $SD = 0.55$) and T2 ($M = 1.38$, $SD = 0.38$) was significant ($p = .004$, $d = 1.66$).

Assimilation. There was no significant difference in anxiety ($p = .658$, $d = 0.04$) between T1 ($M = 1.52$, $SD = 0.53$) and T2 ($M = 1.50$, $SD = 0.52$) for those who chose not to conceal, and there was no significant difference in anxiety ($p = .791$, $d = -0.03$) between T1 ($M = 1.71$, $SD = 0.67$) and T2 ($M = 1.73$, $SD = 0.67$) for those who chose *yes* to conceal (Figure 12b).

Differentiation. As shown in Figure 12c, among those who chose *no* to concealing, the difference between anxiety at T1 ($M = 1.70$, $SD = 0.74$) and T2 ($M = 1.47$, $SD = 0.71$) was significant ($p = .001$, $d = 0.32$). However, among those who chose *yes* to conceal, the difference in anxiety between at T1 ($M = 1.94$, $SD = 0.63$) and T2 ($M = 1.92$, $SD = 0.69$) was non-significant ($p = .710$, $d = 0.03$). In addition, while there was no difference in anxiety between those who chose *no* to concealing and those who chose *yes* to concealing at T1 ($p = .192$, $d = -0.35$), this difference was significant at T2 ($p = .019$, $d = -0.64$).
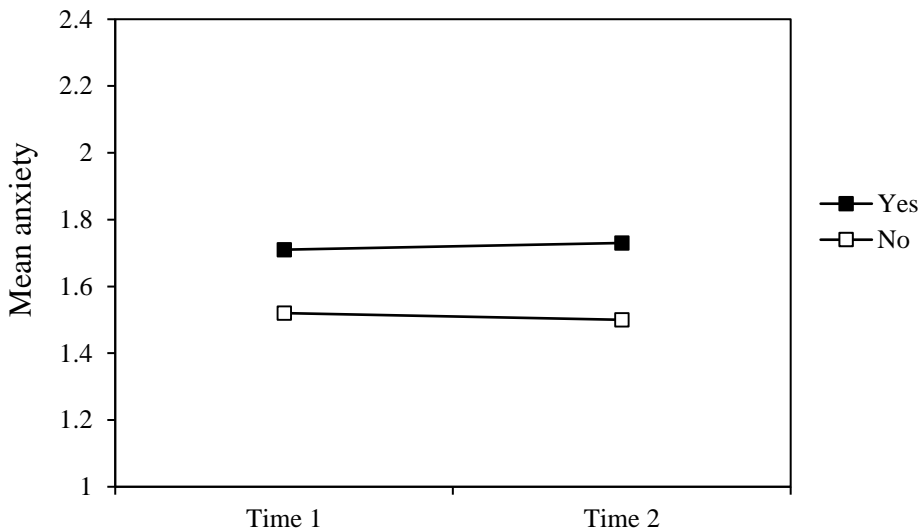
Exclusion. There was no significant difference in anxiety ($p = .217$, $d = 0.16$) between T1 ($M = 2.03$, $SD = 0.63$) and T2 ($M = 1.93$, $SD = 0.60$) for those who chose not to conceal, and

there was no significant difference in anxiety ($p = .618$, $d = 0.03$) between T1 ($M = 2.11$, $SD = 0.83$) and T2 ($M = 2.08$, $SD = 0.92$) for those who chose *yes* to conceal (Figure 12d).
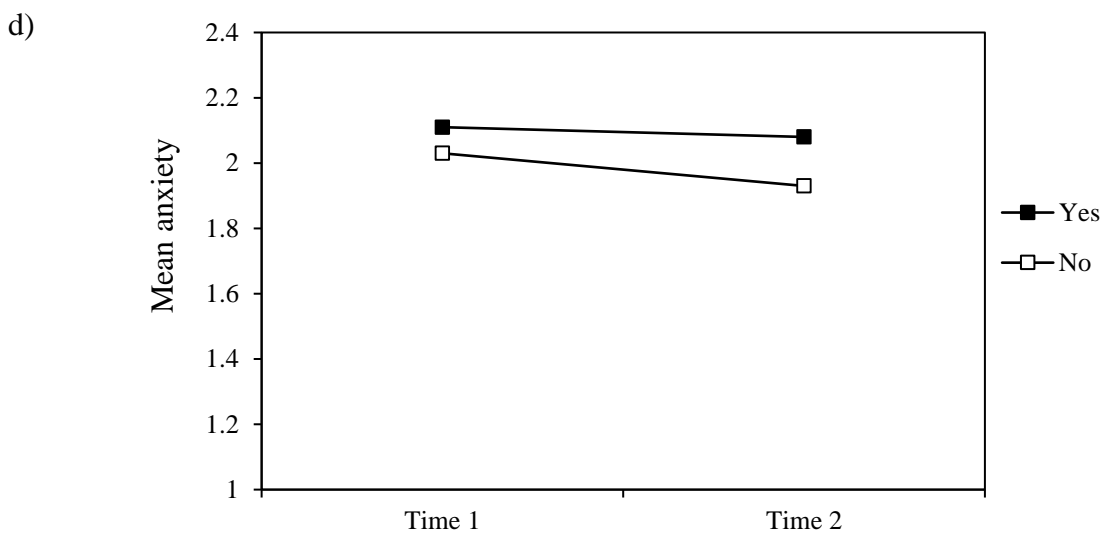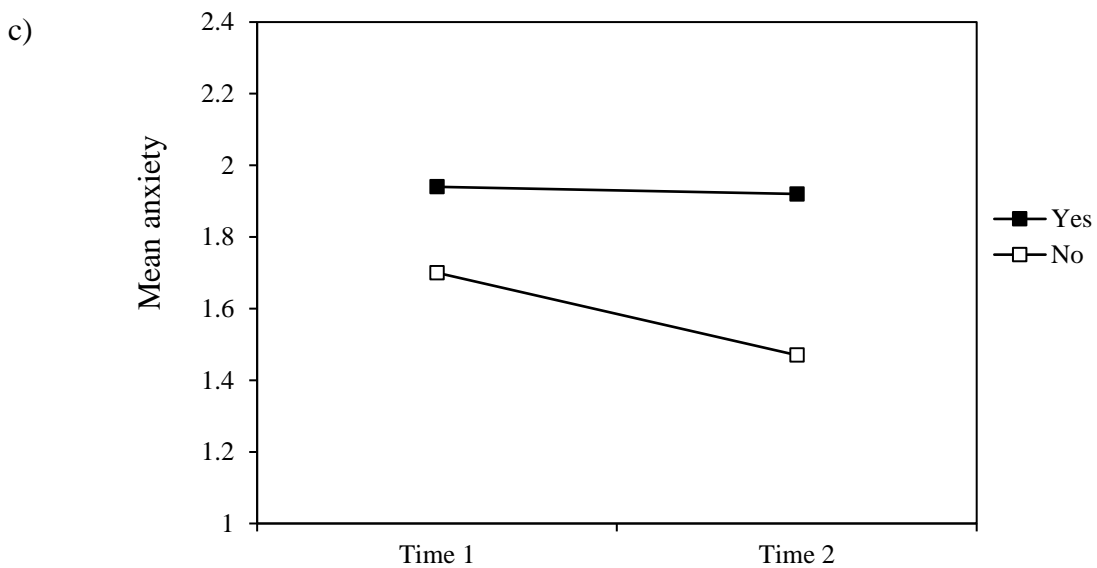
a)

b)
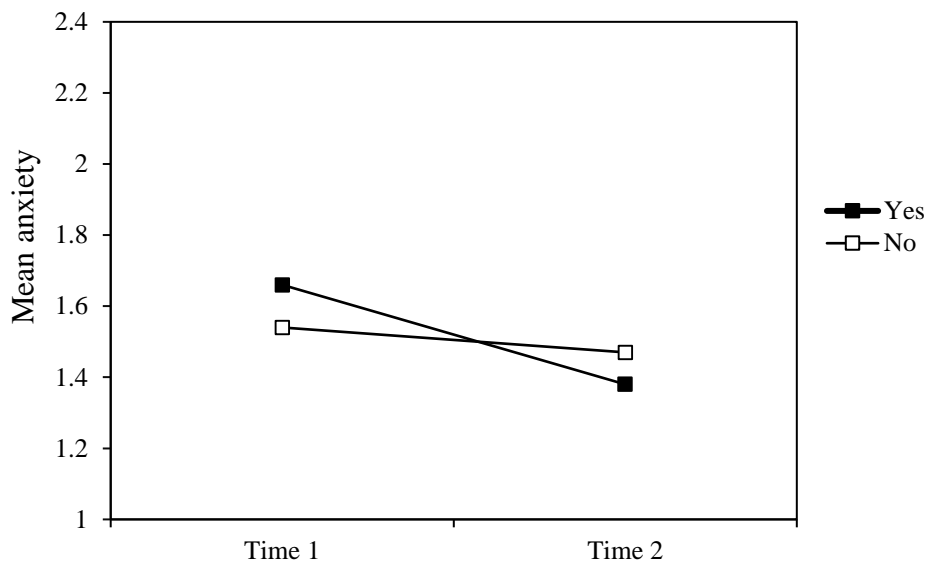
Figure 12 (continued)

c)

d)

Figure 12. Concealing decision by time of measurement interaction for anxiety in the (a) inclusion condition, (b) assimilation condition, (c) differentiation condition, and (d) exclusion condition.

Note. Vertical axes truncated for visual interpretation. Response scale was from 1 to 5.

In sum, it appears that the pattern of change in anxiety as a function of concealing decision is different in the inclusion condition than the three non-inclusive conditions. Whereas there was no change in anxiety from T1 to T2 among those who chose to conceal in the non-inclusive conditions, anxiety decreased significantly from T1 to T2 among those who chose to conceal in the inclusion condition. In addition, there was a general decline in anxiety from T1 to T2 among those who chose to conceal across all four conditions; however, this decline was pronounced in the differentiation condition.

Negative Affect

The effect of inclusion/exclusion condition on negative affect across all levels of the other independent variables, $F(3, 230) = 10.99$, $p < .001$, with mean patterns across conditions similar to the results of Hypothesis 2c. The inclusion/exclusion condition $\times$ time of measurement interaction was non-significant, $F(3, 230) = 2.51$, $p = .059$; thus, any overall changes in negative affect from T1 to T2 regardless of concealing decision were not due to the inclusion/exclusion condition. The three-way interaction was non-significant, $F(3, 230) = 0.36$, $p = .781$. Any changes to negative affect as a function of concealing did not differ across inclusion/exclusion conditions.

Positive Affect

There was a significant main effect of inclusion/exclusion condition on positive affect across all levels of the other independent variables, $F(3, 230) = 9.51$, $p < .001$. The pattern of means across conditions was similar to the results of Hypothesis 2c, with the positive affect

highest in the inclusion condition, lowest in the exclusion conditions, and intermediate in the assimilation condition and differentiation condition. The inclusion/exclusion condition $\times$ time of measurement interaction was non-significant, $F(3, 230) = 1.40$, $p = .244$; thus, any overall changes in positive affect from T1 to T2 regardless of concealing decision were not due to the inclusion/exclusion condition. The three-way interaction was non-significant, $F(3, 230) = 0.59$, $p = .619$. Any changes to positive affect as a function of revealing did not differ across inclusion/exclusion conditions.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

Summary of Findings

The goal of this study was to test the effect of inclusive (vs. non-inclusive) organizations on individuals' willingness to disclose a concealable stigmatized identity. Additionally, the role of organizational support and anticipated stigma in the relationship between inclusion and disclosure were examined. Finally, potential psychological well-being outcomes of disclosure decisions were explored. Hypothesis 1 concerned the relationship between inclusion and disclosure. It was predicted that inclusion would be positively associated with disclosure such that participants would be more likely to disclose in the inclusive condition than in the any of the non-inclusive conditions (i.e., assimilation, differentiation, or exclusion). Hypothesis 1 was not supported. The proportion of participants who responded *yes* to reveal did not differ significantly between the inclusion (36.1%), assimilation (36.8%), differentiation (32.3%), and exclusion conditions (20.9%).

Hypothesis 2a-c concerned the relationships between inclusion and measures of organizational support, anticipated stigma, stress, anxiety, negative affect, and positive affect. There was general support for this hypothesis. Perceptions of organizational support were highest in the inclusion condition, lowest in the exclusion condition, and moderate in the assimilation and differentiation condition. The reverse was observed for anticipated stigma. Importantly, differences in levels of organizational support and anticipated stigma between each

condition (except between assimilation and differentiation) were significant. Thus, Hypothesis 2a and 2b were supported. In regard to the measures of psychological well-being, differences between the inclusion condition and exclusion condition were significant for all outcomes, but significant differences between inclusion and either the assimilation condition or differentiation condition varied. Hypothesis 2c was, therefore, partially supported.

There was partial support for Hypothesis 3 predicting the indirect effect of inclusion on disclosure through organizational support and anticipated stigma. The indirect effect was significant for anticipated stigma but not for organizational support, suggesting that the positive effect of inclusion on disclosure was due to the negative effect of inclusion on anticipated stigma.

Finally, two research questions addressed the psychological consequences of disclosure. The first research question was whether disclosure decisions had any effect on psychological well-being. There was little support for disclosure decisions having an influence on psychological outcomes. The only significant disclosure decision × time of measurement interaction was on positive affect for revealing decisions. The second research question was whether any effect of disclosure decisions on psychological outcomes differed depending on the inclusion/exclusion condition. Again, there was very little support for the three-way interaction. The only significant disclosure decision × time of measurement × inclusion/exclusion condition interaction was on anxiety for concealing. In general, any differences between T1 measurement and T2 measurement of psychological outcomes did not appear to be a function of disclosure decision or inclusion/exclusion condition.

Interpretation of Results

Hypothesis 1

Results did not support Hypothesis 1—that disclosure would be more likely in the

inclusive condition than the non-inclusive conditions. In fact, the proportion of those who chose

yes to revealing was slightly higher in the assimilation condition than in the inclusion condition.

Although the proportion of *yes* responses to revealing in the exclusion condition was notably

different than the proportion of *yes* responses in the other three conditions, this difference was

not statistically significant. Despite the lack of evidence supporting Hypothesis 1, there were

some interesting takeaways from these analyses that might also offer some explanation for null

results.

One of the strengths of this study was that disclosure decisions were examined as

separate revealing decisions and concealing decisions. Past research has typically focused only

on revealing decisions (e.g., whether or not disclosure occurred; Ragins et al., 2007) or

considered revealing and concealing to be opposing identity management strategies (i.e., the

individual either reveals or conceals; Newheiser & Barreto, 2014). In the current study, there

appeared to be some differences between the pattern of results for revealing and the pattern of

results for concealing. There was a general tendency *not* to reveal regardless of condition—the

proportion of *no* responses to revealing in each of the four inclusion/exclusion conditions were

greater than 63.2%. This suggests that, at least among this sample, individuals favored not

disclosing (over disclosing) their stigmatized identity regardless of the climate for inclusion. The

pattern was different for concealing. There was a near even split in the proportion of *yes/no*

responses to concealing in the assimilation condition (50.8%/49.2%), and a slight tendency to

conceal in the differentiation condition (59.3%) and exclusion condition (54.7%). However, this tendency reversed in the inclusion condition where the majority of respondents (62.5%) chose not to conceal. Additionally, the differences between the within-condition proportions of *yes* responses to *no* responses were statistically significant for revealing in the exclusion condition and concealing in the inclusion condition.

These findings were interesting because they might suggest that decisions to reveal and decisions to conceal operate differently. In other words, revealing and concealing are not necessarily competing identity management strategies; revealing ≠ not concealing and not revealing ≠ concealing. Rather, decisions about concealing can vary among individuals who choose not to reveal a hidden identity with some choosing to actively conceal their identity, others taking a more passive approach to identity management, and others, perhaps, falling at some degree in between. This idea is consistent with theoretical work on stigmatized identity management in which disclosure decisions are conceptualized as dynamic strategies that can vary across individuals and situations, as opposed to one-time, "all-or-nothing" decisions (Jones & King, 2014). Future studies can build on these findings and should continue to examine revealing decisions and concealing decisions as separate identity management strategies.

The different patterns of responses across revealing decisions and concealing decisions might also suggest that considerations about the work climate might operate differently depending on whether cues to inclusion or exclusion exist. There appeared to be contradictory effects of exclusion and inclusion on revealing decisions and concealing decisions, respectively. For revealing decisions, there were similar response proportions across the inclusion, assimilation, and differentiation conditions, but a markedly different response proportion in the exclusion condition. Conversely, for concealing, the response proportions were similar across the

assimilation, differentiation, and exclusion conditions, but were notably different in the inclusion

condition. Thus, participants in this study were equally likely to reveal in each condition except

for the exclusion condition where they were noticeably less likely to reveal (though this

difference was not significant) and were equally likely to conceal in each condition except for

the inclusion condition (also not significantly different). This might suggest that, at least among

the four types of inclusion/exclusion conditions examined in this study, cues for exclusion

(absence of belonging and authenticity) had more weight in considerations to reveal, and cues for

inclusion (presence of belonging and authenticity) had more weight in considerations to conceal.

Insights from Prospect Theory (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979) might also help to explain

this pattern of results. Prospect Theory suggests that decision outcomes follow from a valuation

of gains or losses from a subjective reference point. For example, an individual with $0

(reference point) would place greater value on the difference in gain (or loss) between $100 and

$200 than they would between $1,100 and $1,200. Brought into the context of the current study,

an appropriate reference point for revealing decisions and concealing decisions might be

determined from the expected response probabilities of each decision outcome. These expected

probabilities were roughly 69% (no) and 31% (yes) for revealing and roughly a 50/50 split for

concealing—49% (no); 51% (yes). That is, across conditions, there was a general tendency to *not*

reveal (binomial test was significant at *p* < .001), and there was neither a preference to conceal or

not conceal.

To interpret this conceptually, an understanding of what are considered gains and losses

in the context of identity management decisions is needed. As mentioned, avoiding stigma (e.g.,

discrimination, prejudice, and social rejection) is the primary motivator in individuals' decision

to not reveal a stigmatized identity (Clair et al., 2005; Jones & King, 2014). There are many

benefits of disclosure that are person- and/or context-specific (e.g., disability accommodations, same-sex partner benefits, interpersonal benefits); therefore, these are best inferred in the context of the disclosure scenario. Plausible benefits of disclosure in the current study are group advocacy and/or educating others. Taken together, the preference to *not* reveal shown by the data in this study suggests that the threat of stigma outweighed the benefit of disclosure (possibly to advocate for one's group or educate others). Thus, the "status quo" (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979) of reference points regarding decisions to reveal a stigmatized identity is a strong preference to *not* reveal, suggesting that a revealing decision is generally perceived to be high risk. This idea is corroborated by low scores on the openness about identity at work item in the current study.

Prospect Theory also suggests that the value placed on losses is greater than the value placed on gains. Therefore, when a decision outcome can result in both losses and gains, and when the reference point favors the losses, the losses will likely get preference in the decision. The results of the current study support this idea. Because the threat of stigma overwhelmingly outweighed the benefits of disclosure by default, it was highly unlikely that environmental cues would reverse this preference. Rather, participants were attuned to cues that supported their expectations of stigma. The exclusion condition was successful in this regard and exacerbated the preference to *not* reveal.

A different pattern was observed in regard to concealing decisions but is also consistent with Prospect Theory. Concealing a stigmatized identity is an active attempt to hide one's identity or pass as having an identity that is more socially desired (Clair et al., 2005; DeJordy, 2008). Thus, it is costly due to the cognitive effort and emotional effort involved in maintaining secrecy (DeJordy, 2008; Frable et al., 1998; Smart & Wegner, 1999), but it is also subjectively

beneficial because of the perceived social advantages (Newheiser & Barreto, 2014). Based on the results of the current study, there was no preference for concealing or not concealing; participants were, on average, indifferent about the decision outcomes. That is, both outcomes were evaluated as equally desirable. In such situations of indifference, Prospect Theory suggests that risk seeking is more likely. Furthermore, there was no room for an adapted "status quo" in terms of a reference point; therefore, the influence of situational changes on decision outcomes was not stifled by a default preference. The inclusion condition might have represented a situation in which risky behavior (i.e., not concealing) was maximized relative to the other conditions.

In sum, Prospect Theory offers a useful framework for interpreting the results of the current study in that it accounts for the influence of decision reference points, including the ability of situations to shift reference points, and value functions for losses and gains on decision outcomes. Given the parallels between these results and what would be predicted by tenets of Prospect Theory, future studies could use Prospect Theory to guide hypotheses about identity management decisions.

These findings also have theoretical implications for the inclusion construct. Results showed that when making considerations to reveal, the inclusion condition, assimilation condition, and differentiation condition all operated similarly, but when making considerations to conceal, the assimilation, differentiation, and exclusion conditions all operated similarly. This might suggest that both components of inclusion (belonging and authenticity) do not always need to be simultaneously operating for outcomes of inclusion to occur. Rather, individuals might take liberal or conservative approaches to inclusion perceptions depending on the situational context. For example, to the extent that perceptions of inclusion have influence over considerations to

reveal a stigmatized identity, the presence of any indicators of inclusion might be sufficient to affect an optimal identity management decision—the decision the individual would prefer given the ideal situation. Alternatively, when making considerations to conceal—an undesirable identity management decision—the absence of any cues (or presence of ambiguity) concerning how inclusive an environment is might be sufficient to promote concealing a stigmatized identity.

Taken together, there was a lack of support for Hypothesis 1; however, unexpected findings point toward the promise of the role that perceptions of inclusion and perceptions of exclusion might have in identity management decisions. Furthermore, these decisions should be examined in light of findings from the current study that suggest that revealing and concealing might be distinct identity management strategies that may be differentially affected by aspects of the work environmental.

<u>Hypothesis 2</u>

Hypothesis 2 was generally supported by the results of the current study. These results align with theoretical arguments and empirical evidence suggesting that inclusion is positively associated with organizational support (e.g., Lapalme et al., 2009) and negatively associated with anticipated stigma (Hanisch et al., 2016). Thus, it was not surprising that mean scores for support were significantly higher and means scores for stigma were significantly lower in the inclusion condition than in each of the non-inclusive conditions, supporting Hypothesis 2a and 2b.

Also, as expected, mean scores for stress, anxiety, and negative affect were significantly lower in the inclusion condition, and the mean score for positive affect was significantly higher

in the inclusion condition, than in the exclusion condition. Where results departed from predictions was the differences in the psychological well-being variables between the inclusion condition and the assimilation and differentiation conditions. In addition to significant differences between the inclusion condition and exclusion conditions in well-being measures, there was also significant differences between inclusion and differentiation for stress and negative affect. Inclusion did not differ from assimilation on any of the well-being measures. One explanation could be that, for some psychological consequences, sense of belonging may be more or equally important than value in authenticity for keeping psychological well-being intact. For stress and negative affect, the absence of belonging (but not value in authenticity) in the differentiation condition resulted in significantly higher stress and higher negative affect than in the inclusion condition. However, for anxiety and positive affect, the presence of one inclusion component or the other did not result in any differences between these outcomes across the inclusion, assimilation, and differentiation conditions. The implications of these results are discussed in more detail below. One plausible explanation of these different effects on the psychological well-being outcomes could be due to measurement error, perhaps from limitations of self-report measures, particularly for use in measuring internal psychological states. Nonetheless, results offered partial support for Hypothesis 2c.

Hypothesis 3

Partial support was found for Hypothesis 3. The indirect of inclusion on disclosure was significant through anticipated stigma but not through organizational support. The lack of a significant indirect effect through organizational support may be due to conceptual overlap

between the inclusion construct and the support construct. Indeed, recent definitions of inclusion in the workplace include support as a main component of inclusion, in addition to belonging, authenticity, and other components (Ferdman, 2014). Consequently, perceptions of support might not follow from perceptions of inclusion but, rather, be interpreted in the same way. Another explanation could be from redundancy between support and stigma indicated by the strong correlation observed between the two ($r = -.70$).

The finding is important, however, because stigma is the main reason cited in the literature for individuals to conceal a stigmatized identity (Clair et al., 2005; Newheiser & Barreto, 2014; von Schrader et al., 2014). If inclusion is effective in promoting disclosure through its deleterious effect on stigma, then inclusive work environments have the potential to foster positive disclosure experiences. Thus, a major contribution of this study is demonstrating that inclusion negatively impacts anticipated stigma, which, in turn, influences disclosure decisions to some degree. Future studies should continue to investigate the role of inclusion in reducing stigma in the workplace, and how it is related to identity management decisions.

<div align="center">Research Questions</div>

Given the limited and mixed conclusions in the published literature regarding the effect of disclosure decisions on psychological consequences, this question was explored in the current study. Results generally did not support differences in psychological distress/well-being outcomes before and after disclosure decisions. The only significant interaction effect was on positive affect for revealing decisions. Positive affect did not change from T1 to T2 for those who revealed, but it decreased from T1 to T2 for those who did not reveal. Taken at face value,

this result suggests that not disclosing a stigmatized identity is associated with a decrease in positive affect. However, the lack of any other significant effects of disclosure decisions on psychological outcomes makes it difficult to draw any definitive conclusions.

Exploratory analyses were also conducted to examine whether any effects of disclosure decisions on psychological outcomes were different depending on the inclusion/exclusion condition. Again, there was very little support for the three-way interaction. The only significant interaction effect was on anxiety for concealing decisions. Among those who chose to conceal, there was no difference in anxiety from T1 to T2 in the assimilation, differentiation, and exclusions conditions. However, in the inclusion condition, anxiety significantly decreased from T1 to T2 for those who chose to conceal.One explanation might be that the anxiety associated with *concealing* a stigmatized identity is reduced in inclusive work environments relative to non-inclusive work environments. Concealing a stigmatized identity is linked to anxiety via the threat of being outed (Goffman, 1963; Quinn, 2006; Quinn & Chaudoir, 2009). Conversely, those who do not conceal should be inherently less prone to fear of being revealed; otherwise, they likely would have concealed. Results of the current study show that the inclusive organization was associated with increased support, reduced stigma, and positive effects on psychological well-being. Therefore, inclusive work climates may be effective in attenuating elements of the environment that would induce fear of one's identity being revealed (e.g., unsupportive coworkers and stigma-based behaviors), an effect that should be particularly salient among individuals who are concealing and have activated anxiety. Consequently, the decision to conceal in the current study was associated with a reduction in anxiety in the inclusion condition because the removal, at least partially, of sources of negative consequences of being revealed resulted in

reduced fear of those consequences. It should be noted that the cell size for those who chose to conceal in the inclusion condition was 21, so this interaction should be interpreted with caution.

Nonetheless, the lack of significant results regarding the research questions could be due to the absence of an effect in reality. However, it could also be due to no significant effects on disclosure in the current study. In general, there were no significant, within-condition differences between the proportion of those who would reveal and those who would not reveal (except for within the exclusion condition), nor were there significant, within-condition differences between the proportion of those who would conceal and those who would not conceal (except for within the inclusion condition). Additionally, there were no between-condition differences of the proportion of participants who would reveal or conceal. The lack of variability among the disclosure decisions may not have allowed for any consistent variability among the psychological well-being outcomes.

Another plausible explanation could be the use of crude measures of internal psychological states. Perhaps individuals are not attuned to subtle changes in psychological states from situational stimuli; nonetheless, these changes can be occurring. Another reason for these null results might be the timing of the two measurement points which were only separated by a few minutes. Further, time 2 (post-disclosure) measurement occurred immediately after the disclosure decisions. Perhaps this was not enough time for participants to process the disclosure situation and interpret any psychological response as related to their disclosure decisions. Future studies might consider physiological measures (e.g., heart rate variability, cortisol samples) as they might provide a more sensitive and less invasive way of measuring psychological distress variables than self-report measures.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

Results of the current study offer both theoretical insights and practical insights. First, there does not appear to be any studies in the published literature that have simultaneously examined revealing decisions and concealing decisions. The potential distinctiveness of these two identity management strategies was indicated in the results of the current study showing different patterns in the *yes/no* responses for revealing and concealing. It was also evident in what appeared to be different effects of inclusion and exclusion on revealing and concealing decisions. These results might suggest that considerations to reveal and considerations to conceal operate uniquely. This departs from existing research which defines revealing and concealing as occurring in opposition, such as at opposing ends of a bi-directional continuum. In other words, lack of revealing does not necessitate concealing and vice-versa. Thus, the findings of the current study might inform theory on stigmatized identity management by offering insights into the distinct roles of revealing decisions and concealing decisions.

Findings of the current study also suggest that aspects of the inclusion climate might work in different ways depending on whether an individual is considering whether to reveal or whether to conceal. If, as results suggest, exclusion is more impactful on considerations to reveal and inclusion is more impactful on considerations to conceal, how individuals approach a particular identity management decision might depend on what indicators of inclusion or exclusion are operating in the workplace. This finding can potentially inform the theoretical development of identify management, in terms of adding to understanding of the environmental antecedents of revealing or concealing a stigmatized identity. It also has theoretical implications for inclusion in the workplace, suggesting that inclusion climates and exclusion climates might

both have unique effects on outcomes (e.g., different identity management strategies). Organizations might also use these findings to inform policies aimed at creating inclusive work climates by showing the value of providing employees both with a sense of belonging and a sense that they can be authentic in reducing the tendency to conceal a stigmatized identity.

Additionally, some of these results support the experience of inclusion as requiring both a sense of belonging and a sense that authenticity is valued, a key theoretical assumption of inclusion in the workplace (Jansen et al., 2014; Shore et al., 2011). For example, participants' mean scores on the PGIS (inclusion measure) were highest among those who were assigned to the inclusion condition, where both belonging and authenticity were operating. Furthermore, mean scores on organizational support were highest and mean scores on anticipated stigma were lowest in the inclusion condition, indicating that outcomes of inclusion are pronounced when belonging and authenticity are operating. One the other hand, differences in some outcomes (psychological well-being, revealing, concealing) did not always differ significantly between those in the inclusion condition and those in the assimilation or differentiation conditions (where only one component was operating). This might suggest that, in relation to certain outcomes, belonging and authenticity are indiscernible, or their importance might vary by individual. For example, when considering the climate for inclusion (Is it supportive? Is there stigma?), cues to both belonging and authenticity may be important. However, when considering internal states (e.g., Am I stressed?) or preferences (e.g., Should I disclose?) belonging and authenticity might overlap or be weighted differently. For example, a person with a low dispositional need to belong might weigh more heavily environmental cues that indicate value in individuality. In another scenario, if an employee feels like they can be themselves in their organization, they might also feel like they belong (i.e., I can express myself without social repercussions). Thus,

whether belonging and authenticity work together, separately, or redundantly to influence outcomes may vary by the outcome and/or individual. This study is among the very few to examine inclusion as a dual-component construct, and the findings potentially offer theoretical insights and raises interesting questions about the experience of inclusion and the relation to important outcomes. However, future studies could build on these findings by examining the role of context (e.g., different decision outcomes in the workplace) and individual differences (e.g., someone who has systematically experienced exclusion versus someone who has not experienced exclusion) in how inclusion (or exclusion) is experienced.

Another key insight of the current study is the indirect effect of inclusion on revealing decisions and concealing decisions through a reduction in anticipated stigma. Although many researchers have cited stigma as the main reason that individuals hide a stigmatized identity, very few studies have empirically demonstrated the effects of reduced stigma on disclosure decisions and none apparently have gone as far as showing how stigma could be effectively reduced in the workplace. In the current study, inclusion was shown to have a negative effect on anticipated stigma, which, in turn, resulted in notable, though non-significant differences in revealing decisions and concealing decisions. Nonetheless, these promising initial results suggest that inclusion in the workplace is a worthwhile avenue for continued investigations of its effects on identity management decisions and stigma in the workplace. These findings could also benefit organizations and practitioners who wish to creative inclusive policies or interventions aimed at reducing sources of stigmatization (e.g., discrimination, social rejections, prejudice/biases) or aimed at increasing diversity. By putting in place polices that communicate acceptance and value in authenticity, individuals might be more willing to disclose identities that are traditionally difficult for organizations to track, yet represent large proportions of social categories that have

been the targets of attempts at improving their integration in the workplace (e.g., people with disabilities and minority sexual orientation).

Another important contribution of the current study is its operationalization of inclusion. Previous work has examined the effects of climate on disclosure, but none have specifically focused on the experience of inclusion. Rather, studies have typically measured individuals' knowledge of their company's HR and/or diversity policies as an index of related constructs, such as support or diversity climate. The current study extended past work by answering calls from researchers (e.g., Ferdman, 2014) and focusing on individual's psychological experience of inclusion (i.e., feelings of belonging and authenticity in response to the individual's work environment), thus, offering a common framework from which to observe the effects of climate on disclosure and other outcomes. Additionally, the current study extended previous work on climate and inclusion by manipulating (as opposed to measuring) inclusion, thus, potentially providing a more convincing signal of causality. Finally, these findings add to the relatively limited amount of work on stigma that assumes the perspective of the stigmatized individual, as opposed to that of external observers and, therefore, is better positioned to inform evidence-based organizational policies that promote inclusive work environments and disclosure-supportive practices.

Limitations

One limitation of this study was the hypothetical nature of both the experimental manipulation (i.e., organizational vignettes) and the disclosure scenario. Vignettes are a useful methodological tool because they provide a relatively cost and time efficient means of

conducting experimental organizational research but are often criticized for lacking realism, which may limit their external validity (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014). In the current study, however, the purpose of the organizational vignettes was to manipulate the experience of inclusion more so than to simulate a realistic experience of working in an organization. This is not to say that the latter purpose was not important given the overarching goal of this research (i.e., to better understand identity management decisions in the workplace). However, given the apparent absence of research in the published literature on the role of inclusion in identity management decisions, precedence on how characteristics of an organization might be optimally linked to the experience of inclusion was lacking. Thus, given the primary goal of the organizational vignettes, their development was grounded in theory on inclusion in organizations. Nonetheless, future research examining inclusion in organizations and its outcomes might improve generalizability to the workplace by considering how policies and practices in organizations are linked to the experience of inclusion (Ferdman, 2014).

The use of vignettes to simulate a disclosure scenario limits the extent to which the decisions observed in this study can be generalized. First, participants were presented with limited information about the organization (e.g., climate cues, members of the organization). Individuals likely have more information about the organization and its members that weigh into identity management decisions. Additionally, the hypothetical scenario could only elicit decisions about *intentions* to reveal and/or conceal instead of the *action* of revealing and/or concealing. Thus, the extent to which conclusions can be drawn (based on these findings) about individuals' actual identity management decisions is limited. Future research on this topic could look to best practices in designing vignettes that increase realism (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014, Hughes & Huby, 2004). An additional limitation regarding the disclosure decisions follows from

an error in the procedure. Only participants who chose *no* to reveal were originally intended to see the question about concealing. However, all participants say both the reveal question and the conceal question. The reveal question was seen first in all cases which may have potentially contaminated responses to the conceal question (e.g., choosing yes to reveal may have resulted in confusion when presented with the conceal question). Examination of the qualitative responses did support reasonable explanations for all patterns of possible responding to both questions in all but four cases. Nonetheless, results concerning the concealing decision should be interpreted in light of this potential contamination.

Another limitation of this study was the use of a categorical framework for inclusion. It is unlikely that different types of organizational inclusion climates in practice are distinguishable by definitive cut-offs of belonging and authenticity. Rather, different organizational climates likely vary on a continuum. This study, however, was designed to work within a specified model of inclusion (i.e., Jansen et al., 2014) to potentially differentiate the effects of belonging and the effects of authenticity on disclosure decisions and determine whether there is value added by one component or the other.

The current study was also limited by the overt presentation of belonging and authenticity in the organizational inclusion vignettes. Individuals likely do not perceive belonging and authenticity directly. Rather, individuals perceive environmental cues (e.g., organizational diversity policies, the actions of supervisors and coworkers) that provide them with a sense of belonging and a sense of authenticity. Future studies should attempt to empirically link the experience of inclusion to organizational policies and practices.

Analyses regarding tests of any indirect effects (i.e., mediators) should be interpreted in light of the statistical limitations of the methods used in this study. The results of these analyses

do not offer conclusive support for mediation (i.e., a causal path). Rather, these results provide some statistical evidence that inclusion influences disclosure indirectly through reduced anticipated stigma. However, the opposite causal order is also plausible; supportive or stigma-based organizational practices or behaviors could contribute to individuals' feelings of inclusion. Conclusions about the causal sequence of the inclusion-stigma-disclosure relationship should be reserved for studies that use the appropriate experimental methodologies. For example, future studies might manipulate the mediator variable along with the independent variable (e.g., inclusive versus non-inclusive organizational policies crossed with discriminatory versus non-discriminatory (or supportive versus non-supportive) organizational practices. Going a step further, studies could alter the order in which the inclusion manipulation and stigma (support) manipulation is presented so that stronger conclusions can be made about the causal sequence of these experiences.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was to design a study aimed at adding understanding to the conditions in the workplace that promote disclosure of a concealable stigmatized identity and the psychological outcomes associated with those decision. This was achieved by examining (1) the direct relationship between inclusive (vs. non-inclusive) organizations and identity management decisions, (2) the indirect relation though perceptions of organizational support and anticipated stigma, and (3) the effect that identity management decisions had on psychological well-being. Overall, results of this study point toward the promise of inclusion in promoting positive disclosure experiences in the workplace. Although, there did not appear to be a conclusive relationship between inclusion and disclosure in the current study, differences in disclosure decisions across experimental conditions observed within this sample suggest that continued investigation into the relationship between inclusion and disclosure is warranted. Furthermore, differences in revealing decisions and concealing decisions between the different inclusion conditions appeared to be due to the effect of inclusion in reducing anticipated stigma. Inclusion, therefore, appears to be effective in reducing the most prominent motivation for concealing, or not revealing, a stigmatized identity.

This study, therefore, provided an initial glimpse into the relationship between inclusion and disclosure. Given the popularity of inclusive practices in organizations, there is great potential for the positive effects of inclusion to be experienced in the workplace, and identity

management decisions appear to be another useful outcome of inclusion. Understanding the antecedents and outcomes of identity management decisions has become increasingly important as we become more aware of the ubiquity of hidden or invisible identities and as organizations continue to look for new ways to increase their diversity and improve their diversity management strategies. Providing inclusive work environments may be one way that organizations can aid their members in being fully themselves at work, thereby, creating optimal conditions for individuals to fully integrate with their workgroup and be productive employees. Diversity does not stop with what can be seen, so diversity management should not either. Inclusion may be the diversity management tool that allows us to acknowledge and embrace all identities, whether or not we know they are there.

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APPENDIX A

RECRUITMENT SCRIPT

Recruitment Script

In this survey, you will be asked for general demographic information (e.g., age, race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, employment status, etc.). The survey will take approximately 3 minutes to complete, and you will be compensated $0.25. **TO BE ELIGIBLE FOR THIS SURVEY, YOU MUST BE AT LEAST 18 YEARS OLD AND ABLE TO READ AND COMPREHEND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.**

Based on your responses to this survey, you will be invited to complete an additional assignment (approx. 12 minutes) for a $1.25 bonus. Please make sure you indicate whether you would like to be invited to participate in the bonus assignment and, if so, provide your MTurk Worker ID so we can follow up with you. **NOTE:** You will be compensated $0.25 for completing the demographic survey regardless of your eligibility for the bonus assignment.

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC (PRE-SCREEN) SURVEY

Demographic (Pre-screen) Survey.

1. Please select the option that best applies to your current employment status (you can select more than one option).
> Employed full-time for an organization
> Employed part-time for an organization
> Part-time student
> Full-time student
> Self-employed
> Volunteer
> Unemployed
> Other (please specify): _____

2. What is your age? _____

3. What is your gender?
> ___Male   ___Female   ___Other (please specify):_____

4. What is your race?
> Non-Hispanic White
> Hispanic or Latino
> Black or African American
> Asian or Asian American
> Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
> American Indian or Alaskan Native
> Other (please specify):_____

5. Do you think of yourself as:
> Straight or heterosexual
> Lesbian, gay or homosexual
> Bisexual
> Something else (please specify):_____
> Don't know

6. Do you consider yourself to have any physical impairment, disability, or health issue (e.g., epilepsy, diabetes, chronic pain)?
> ___Yes (please describe):_____
> ___No

7. Do you consider yourself to have any psychological impairment, disability, or health issue (e.g., depression, eating disorder, anxiety)?
> ___Yes (please describe):_____

> ___No

8. How would you describe your *family's* socioeconomic status while you were growing up?

___Poor

___Working Class

___Middle Class

___Upper class

___Other (please specify):_____

9. How would you describe your *current* socioeconomic status?

___Poor

___Working Class

___Middle Class

___Upper class

___Other (please specify):_____

APPENDIX C

MATERIALS AND MEASURES

Stigmatized Identity Item (Newheiser & Barreto, 2014).

Please indicate which of the following statements best describes you (If more than one applies, choose the one that is most central or important in your life).

I am gay, lesbian, or bisexual.

I have experienced or am currently experiencing mental health issues that have significantly impacted my life (e.g., depression, eating disorder, anxiety).

I have experienced or am currently experiencing physical health issues that are not immediately visible to others but have significantly impacted my life (e.g., epilepsy, diabetes, chronic pain).

None of these statements describes me.

Stigma Checks (Newheiser & Barreto, 2014).
1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*)

Openness

I am usually open about this identity; most people know about it.

I am open about this identity at work; most of my coworkers know.

Group-identification

This identity is important to me.

I feel a connection to other people who also have this identity.

Perceived stigma

Other people generally have negative attitudes toward people who have this identity.

Organizational Inclusion Vignettes.

Please read the directions carefully.

Directions:

On the following page, there is a description of an organization.

Please read the description of the organization carefully, then take a moment to imagine yourself as an employee within that organization and how you would feel working there.

Vignettes.
(Participants were randomly assigned to one of the following four vignettes)

Inclusion.

The organization in which you work:

- Promotes acceptance among all employees

- Often acknowledges its employees' contributions

- Welcomes individuality among all employees

- Encourages self-expression within work groups

Summary: This organization opens insider access to all employees and values employees maintaining their individuality.

Assimilation.

The organization in which you work:

- Promotes acceptance among all employees

- Often acknowledges its employees' contributions

- Welcomes conformity among all employees

- Encourages self-reservation within work groups

Summary: This organization opens insider access to employees who downplay their individuality and conform to the dominant organizational culture.

Differentiation.

The organization in which you work:

•   Disapproves acceptance among all employees

•   Often disregards its employees' contributions

•   Welcomes individuality among its employees

•   Encourages self-expression within work groups

Summary: This organization does not open insider access to all employees, but it sees individuality as valuable to the organization.

Exclusion.

The organization in which you work:

•   Disapproves acceptance among all employees

•   Often disregards its employees' contributions

•   Welcomes conformity among its employees

•   Encourages self-reservation within work groups

Summary: This organization does not open insider access to all employees and does not value employees maintaining their individuality.

Post-manipulation prompt

Before moving on, take a moment to imagine yourself as an employee within the organization described above. For example, imagine what the day-to-day experience of working in this organization might be like, or what interactions with your coworkers and supervisors might be like. Then, complete the remainder of the study from the perspective of being an employee in this organization.

Perceived Group Inclusion Scale (Jansen, Otten, van der Zee, & Jans, 2014).
1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*)

Please answer the following questions as if you were an employee working in the organization described previously.

The organization in which you work…

Belongingness subscale
1. …gives me the feeling that I belong
2. …gives me the feeling that I am part of this group
3. …gives me the feeling that I fit in
4. …treats me as an insider
5. …likes me
6. …appreciates me
7. …is pleased with me
8. …cares about me

Authenticity subscale
9. …allows me to be authentic
10. …allows me to be who I am
11. …allows me to express my authentic self
12. …allows me to present myself the way I am
13. …encourages me to be authentic
14. …encourages me to be who I am
15. …encourages me to express my authentic self
16. …encourages me to present myself the way I am

Organizational Support (Adapted from Ragins & Cornwell, 2001).
1 (*Very unlikely*), 2 (*Somewhat unlikely*), 3 (*Somewhat Likely*), 4 (*Very likely*)

Original version.

Does your organization…

1. Have a written nondiscrimination policy that includes sexual orientation?
2. Include sexual orientation in its definition of diversity?
3. Include awareness of gay-lesbian-bisexual-transgender issues in diversity training?
4. Offer same-sex domestic partner benefits?
5. Offer gay-lesbian-bisexual resource or support groups?
6. Welcome same-sex partners at company social events?

Adapted version.

Please answer the following questions from the perspective of an employee working in the organization described previously.

How likely is that your organization…

1. Has a written nondiscrimination policy that includes [disability] [sexual orientation]?
2. Includes [disability] [sexual orientation] in its definition of diversity?
3. Includes awareness of [gay-lesbian-bisexual-transgender] [disability] issues in diversity training?
4. Offers same-sex domestic partner benefits? -OR- Will provide accommodations for employees with disabilities?
5. Offers [gay-lesbian-bisexual] [disability] resource or support groups?
6. Welcomes [same-sex partners] [individuals with disabilities] at company social events?

Anticipated stigma (Adapted from Ragins, Singh, & Cornwell, 2007).
1 (*Completely disagree*) to 7 (*Completely agree*)

Please answer the following questions from the perspective of an employee working in the organization described previously.

If others at work knew about my [sexual orientation] [physical impairment] [mental impairment]…

1. I would lose my job
2. I would be excluded from informal networks
3. I would not be promoted
4. My prospects for advancement would be stifled
5. My mobility would be restricted
6. I would not get a raise
7. I would be ostracized
8. My career would be ruined
9. People would avoid me
10. I would be harassed
11. I would lose the opportunity to be mentored
12. Coworkers would feel uncomfortable around me

Psychological Distress

Anxiety and Stress: DASS-21 Anxiety and Stress subscales (Henry & Crawford, 2005).

INSTRUCTIONS: Please read each statement and circle a number 0, 1, 2 or 3 which indicates how much the statement applies to you right now, that is, at the present moment. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any statement.

The rating scale is as follows:
0 Did not apply to me at all
1 Applied to me to some degree, or some of the time
2 Applied to me to a considerable degree, or a good part of time
3 Applied to me very much, or most of the time

Anxiety items bolded; Stress items not bolded

1. I find it hard to wind down
2. I am aware of dryness of my mouth
3. I am experiencing breathing difficulty (e.g., excessively rapid breathing, breathlessness in the absence of physical exertion)
4. I might tend to over-react to situations
5. I am experiencing trembling (e.g., in the hands)
6. I feel that I am using a lot of nervous energy
7. I am worried about situations in which I might panic and make a fool of myself
8. I find myself getting agitated
9. I find it difficult to relax
10. I am intolerant of anything that keeps me from getting on with what I am doing
11. I feel I am was close to panic
12. I feel that I am rather touchy
13. I am aware of the action of my heart in the absence of physical exertion (e.g., sense of heart rate increase, heart missing a beat)
14. I feel scared without any good reason

Negative affect and positive affect: (Brief Measures of Positive and Negative Affect (PANAS scales; Watson & Clark, 1988; 1994)

This scale consists of a number of words and phrases that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then mark the appropriate answer in the space next to that word. Indicate to what extent you feel this way right now, that is, at the present moment. Use the following scale to record your answers:

1	2	3	4	5
very slightly or not at all	a little	moderately	quite a bit	extremely

_____ Guilty

_____ Afraid

_____ Nervous

_____ Distressed

_____ Hostile

_____ Jittery

_____ Irritable

_____ Upset

_____ Ashamed

_____ Scared

_____ Active

_____ Alert

_____ Attentive

_____ Determined

_____ Enthusiastic

_____ Excited

_____ Inspired

_____ Interested

_____ Proud

_____ Strong

Stigma Disclosure Scenario (Adapted from Newheiser & Barreto, 2014).

Directions:

On the following page there is a description of a situation you might experience in the organization you are imagining working for. Please read the description and imagine how you would feel or react in the situation.

Scenario. (Words in brackets will change depending on the identity selected earlier in the study)

Imagine now that one day during the lunch break, one of your coworkers talks about her cousin who [is gay] [is in treatment for a severe depression] [has epilepsy], going into some detail about her cousin's life. Your coworkers then begin to talk more generally about people who [are gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender] [have mental health issues] [have "invisible" physical disabilities or diseases]. Your coworkers do not know that you [are gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender] [have mental health issues] [have "invisible" physical disabilities or diseases].

Disclosure decision items.

If you were to find yourself in this situation, having this conversation with your coworkers, would you choose to reveal this fact about yourself?" You will have the opportunity to explain your decision later. (Response options: *Yes/No*)

How certain are you about this decision? (Response options: *-3 = Very uncertain about this decision, 3 = Very certain about this decision*)

If you selected "No" in the previous question, would you conceal this fact about yourself? You will have the opportunity to explain your decision later. (Response options: *Yes/No*).

How certain are you about this decision? (Response options: *-3 = Very uncertain about this decision, 3 = Very certain about this decision*)

What went into your decision to reveal or conceal this fact about yourself? For example, what things did you consider in making this decision? What affected your degree of certainty about your decision? Please provide any information that might help us to understand why you made this decision. (Open-ended text response)