

DISCLOSURE INCONSISTENCIES: THE IMPACT OF BEHAVIORAL,
ATTITUDINAL, AND ENVIRONMENTAL INCONSISTENCIES ON IDENTITY
MANAGEMENT OUTCOMES

by

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ABSTRACT

DISCLOSURE INCONSISTENCIES: THE IMPACT OF BEHAVIORAL, ATTITUDINAL, AND ENVIRONMENTAL INCONSISTENCIES ON IDENTITY MANAGEMENT OUTCOMES

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Individuals with concealable stigmas have to make complicated decisions regarding to whom, when, and where to disclose in order to maximize both psychological and social outcomes. Research has begun to examine the situations that are most likely to lead to beneficial outcomes, but findings remain inconsistent and tenuous. Thus, the purpose of the current study was to employ cognitive dissonance theory to this domain in order to propose and test a set of attitudinal, behavioral, and environmental moderators of these disclosure outcomes. Based on an archival dataset as well as a survey study across three time points, the findings suggest that disclosing at work relates to more beneficial intrapersonal and interpersonal workplace outcomes due to decreases in psychological dissonance when individuals 1) have high levels of identity centrality, 2) perceive high levels of objective workplace support, and 3) perceive low levels of subjective regional support. Interestingly, disclosing outside of work consistently related to positive

outcomes except when individuals perceive high levels of subjective support. Workplace disclosures do not impact nonworkplace outcomes and nonworkplace disclosures do not impact workplace outcomes. Thus, psychological dissonance theories were partially supported in the context of identity management outcomes. I discuss the theoretical and practical implications of each of these findings.

INTRODUCTION

The decision of whether or not to disclose one's stigmatized identity in and out of the workplace is one of the most complicated decisions that individuals with concealable stigmas have to make, as it has the potential to lead to both positive (Balsam & Mohr, 2007; Beals, Peplau, & Gable, 2009; Ragins, Singh, & Cornwell, 2007) and negative outcomes (Comer, Henker, Kemeny, & Wyatt, 2000; Hebl, Foster, Mannix, & Dovidio, 2002; Hebl & Kleck, 2002; Sanchez & Bonam, 2009; Law, Martinez, Ruggs, Hebl, & Akers, 2011). Indeed, a meta-analysis of the intrapersonal, interpersonal, workplace, and nonworkplace outcomes of disclosure found that there was substantial variability in the direction and magnitude of these effects (Sabat et al., 2015). This suggests that there are boundary conditions for the positive and negative outcomes of disclosure, yet extant research is unable to explain these inconsistent findings.

In this paper, I demonstrate how cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1962) can help to elucidate when and why disclosure will lead to successful intrapersonal, interpersonal, workplace, and nonworkplace outcomes, such as increased job and life satisfaction, reduced job and life stress, and decreased perceptions of prejudice within and outside of the workplace. Cognitive dissonance theory suggests that inconsistent relations among opinions, beliefs, knowledge of the environment, and knowledge of one's own actions and feelings can lead to harmful psychological consequences. Thus,

employing this theory, I propose and test a model that suggests that consistency between disclosure behaviors in a single domain and 1) disclosure behaviors in another life domain, 2) personal attitudes regarding disclosure, and 3) regional cues regarding the appropriateness of disclosure will lead to reduced experiences of psychological dissonance, which will in turn lead to positive intrapersonal and interpersonal workplace and life outcomes. Results from an archival dataset as well as a survey study demonstrate partial support for this model of disclosure dissonance, finding that attitudinal and environmental inconsistencies predict harmful disclosure outcomes, whereas inconsistencies among disclosure behaviors across life domains do not. Theoretical and practical implications of these findings are discussed.

IDENTITY MANAGEMENT

According to Goffman's seminal work (1963), a stigma is a characteristic that is devalued within a social setting. Individuals with stigmatized identities often engage in identity management strategies or strategies to remediate or avoid the prejudice and devaluation that they experience during interpersonal interactions (Clair, Beatty, & MacLean, 2005; Goffman, 2009). For individuals with stigmas that are not completely visible (e.g., sexual orientation, religion, mental illness), identity management typically involves deciding whether, when, and how to disclose one's stigmatized identity to others (Goffman, 1963). This decision is highly complex, and has been shown to elicit both positive (Griffith & Hebl, 2002; James, 2009; Lyons et al., 2013) and negative outcomes (Comer et al., 2000; Weiss, 2003; Hebl et al., 2002; for a review, see Clair et al., 2005). As of yet, theoretical arguments have been unable to explain these contradictions. Within this paper, I argue that cognitive dissonance theory may be helpful in explaining these inconsistent research findings.

Cognitive Dissonance Theory

Cognitive dissonance theory suggests that people hold a number of cognitions at any given time. According to Festinger, these cognitions can pertain to "knowledge, opinion, belief about the environment, about oneself, or about one's behavior" (Festinger, 1962, p. 3). When any of these two cognitions is in conflict, they produce a psychological

discomfort that corresponds to the degree of disagreement. For the purpose of this paper, I will refer to the inconsistencies that can occur among behavioral, attitudinal, and environmental cognitions as cognitive inconsistencies, and I will refer to the resulting negative affective state as psychological dissonance. For instance, if an individual smokes a large number of cigarettes per day, but also knows that smoking is very bad for their health, they are exhibiting high levels of cognitive inconsistency that should produce a high amount of psychological dissonance that is experienced as a negative affective state (Elliot & Devine, 1994; Harmon-Jones & Harmon-Jones, 2007, Zanna & Cooper, 1974). According to cognitive dissonance theory, individuals in these situations will be motivated to reduce the dissonance in one of three ways: 1) by changing one of the discrepant beliefs or behaviors (e.g., quitting smoking), 2) by acquiring new information that increases the consonance among existing cognitions (e.g., believing that health problems do not occur if one only smokes infrequently), or 3) by reducing the importance of the cognitions (e.g., deciding that one's health is not that important to them). The psychological harm that results from this experienced psychological dissonance will persist unless the dissonance is successfully reduced through one of these strategies.

In the real world, it is sometimes impossible to reduce psychological dissonance. For instance, many customer-service jobs require that individuals display a certain set of positive emotions, even when the employees are experiencing negative emotions (Best, Downey, & Jones, 1997; Hochschild, 1983). This form of emotional labor, or the management and modification of emotions as part of the work role (Hochschild, 1983;

Grandey, 2000), necessitates that individuals experience psychological dissonance. If the job characteristics produce negative emotions but require behaviors that display positive emotions, the employees will likely experience cognitive inconsistencies among their behaviors and attitudes that will subsequently lead to psychological dissonance. If the employee feels that they have no power or autonomy to change their behaviors (Abraham, 2000) but also feels that they are not able to leave the organization, they are likely to experience these heightened negative emotions for an extended period of time (Grandey 2002).

Importantly, these forms of enduring dissonance have the potential to lead to harmful intrapersonal, interpersonal, workplace, and nonworkplace outcomes. Early research on emotional labor examined the individual effects of organizationally mandated emotional displays. Several studies determined that employees in emotionally-demanding jobs, such as flight attendants (Hochschild, 1983), restaurant servers (Adelman, 1989), police officers (Stenross & Kleinman, 1989), and checkout clerks (Tolich, 1983), exhibited more negative mental health outcomes, such as substance abuse, headaches, absenteeism, and other indicators of burnout (Abraham, 1998). Other studies, however, found that the frequency and variety of emotional displays predicted high levels of job satisfaction (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Morris & Feldman, 1996). It was later determined that the negative psychological effects of emotional labor are only observed when a conflict exists between one's expressed and felt emotions (Morris & Feldman, 1996). This discrepancy produces a dissonance known as emotional dissonance, which has been found to mediate the relationship between emotional labor and various negative

psychological outcomes, such as job dissatisfaction, stress, and turnover intentions (Abraham, 1998; Brotheridge & Lee, 1998; Grandey, 2000, 2003; Judge et al., 2009; see Bono & Vey, 2005 for a review). Thus, in alignment with cognitive dissonance theory, employees will experience negative psychological outcomes when they are required to continuously engage in behaviors that conflict with their felt attitudes (smiling and being courteous when dealing with difficult customers).

Here, I propose that within the realm of identity management, there are several situations in which one's disclosure behaviors may conflict with one's attitudes (identity centrality), behaviors (disclosures in others domains), and knowledge of the environment (regional support) to elicit negative outcomes. Below, I describe how cognitive dissonance theory can be applied to this domain to explain the negative intrapersonal, interpersonal, workplace, and nonworkplace outcomes that arise from these and other forms of disclosure inconsistencies.

Attitude-Behavior Dissonance

The discrepancies between personal attitudes and behaviors have a long history within research on cognitive dissonance. When applied to identity management, this form of dissonance may occur when one's behaviors (such as one's decisions to disclose or conceal one's stigmatized identity) conflict with one's attitudes (such as perceiving one's stigmatized identity to be important or unimportant to one's overall self-concept).

Theories of the self have proposed that concealing elicits negative psychological outcomes given the fact that these behaviors are in conflict with one's stigmatized identity, which is assumed to be a positive and central aspect of one's broader self-

concept (Swann, 1983, 1987; 1996; 2004). Thus, although prior theories focus on the negative outcomes of engaging in these concealing behaviors, they imply that these negative effects are caused by a mismatch between outward behaviors and internal desires to express one's identity. Previous research, however, has shown that there is a great deal of variance in the extent to which a stigma is central to one's self-concept (Mohr & Kendra, 2011; de Oliveira, Lopes, Costa, & Nogueira, 2012; Reid & Deaux, 1996; Turner, 1987). Individuals have a large number of identities at any given time, and each of these identities may be stigmatized within a given context. Furthermore, each of these identities may be important or unimportant to one's overall self-concept (Reid & Deaux, 1996; Turner, 1987; Quinn & Earnshaw, 2011). Thus, according to the tenets of cognitive dissonance theory, the strength of one's stigmatized identity is likely to moderate the relationship between disclosure and experienced dissonance, such that this relationship is only positive for stigmas that are highly central to one's overall self-concept. Thus, I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 1a: Stigma identity centrality will moderate the relationship between workplace disclosure and psychological dissonance, such that this relationship will be more negative for more central identities

Hypothesis 1b: Stigma identity centrality will moderate the relationship between nonworkplace disclosure and psychological dissonance, such that this relationship will be more negative for more central identities.

Behavior-Behavior Dissonance

With regards to behavioral inconsistencies, several studies have also tested and found support for the notion central to cognitive dissonance theory that engaging in behaviors that are inconsistent with each other over time can lead to harmful psychological outcomes (e.g., Elliot & Devine, 1994; Kidd & Berkowitz, 1976; Rhodewalt & Comer, 1979; Shaffer, 1975; Zanna & Cooper, 1974). Related to this assertion, I argue that individuals who disclose in one domain but not in another are likely to recognize that they are engaging in discrepant behaviors across situations, which may cause them to experience psychologically harmful dissonance. Thus, in accordance with cognitive dissonance theory, these discrepancies among disclosure decisions across life domains will invariably cause individuals to experience psychological dissonance, which will subsequently lead to other, more harmful intrapersonal, interpersonal, workplace, and nonworkplace outcomes.

Hypothesis 2a: Extent of workplace disclosure will moderate the relationship between nonworkplace disclosure and psychological dissonance such that this relationship will be positive for low levels of workplace disclosure and negative for high levels of workplace disclosure.

Hypothesis 2b: Extent of nonworkplace disclosures will moderate the relationship between workplace disclosure and psychological dissonance, such that this relationship will be positive for low levels of nonworkplace disclosure and negative for high levels of nonworkplace disclosure.

Environment-Behavior Dissonance

Cognitive dissonance theory also postulates that negative internal outcomes can arise when one's behaviors do not match one's knowledge of one's environment.

Research has long examined the impact that culture and social contexts can have on individuals within and outside of organizations. Indeed events at home and at work do not occur in isolation, and several aspects of the broader social context likely impact individuals' experiences within these domains (Brief et al., 2005; Hulin, 1969).

Within this paper, I employ cognitive dissonance theory to argue that specific objective regional factors (such as formal legislation related to one's stigma) and subjective regional factors (such as community acceptance related to one's stigma) interact with individual disclosure behaviors to influence dissonance-induced outcomes. Specifically, I propose that individuals whose behaviors regarding disclosure within a specific domain are inconsistent with the objective and subjective cues provided by that domain are likely to experience increased psychological dissonance and subsequent, negative domain-specific outcomes. Thus, I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 3: The relationship between workplace disclosure and psychological dissonance will be moderated by objective workplace legislation such that the relationship will be negative when there are supportive policies and positive when there are unsupportive policies.

Hypothesis 4: The relationship between nonworkplace disclosure and psychological dissonance will be moderated by objective nonworkplace legislation such that the relationship will be negative when there are supportive policies and positive when there are unsupportive policies.

Hypothesis 5a: The relationship between workplace disclosure and psychological dissonance will be moderated by subjective regional support such that the relationship will be negative in supportive regions and positive in unsupportive regions.

Hypothesis 5b: The relationship between nonworkplace disclosure and psychological dissonance will be moderated by subjective regional support such that the relationship will be negative in supportive regions and positive in unsupportive regions.

OUTCOMES OF DISSONANCE

Research on outcomes of prolonged dissonance exposure is relatively scarce. However, related theoretical arguments from the emotional labor literature may contribute insight into this domain. Emotional labor produces a psychological dissonance that is similar in form to the types of dissonance outlined in Festinger's theory (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Van Dijk & Brown, 2006). In many customer service organizations, employees experience disconnects between the types of outward demonstrations of emotion they are encouraged to display with their actual felt emotions. This discrepancy elicits emotional dissonance, which is a form of psychological dissonance that is specifically related to one's internally felt and externally portrayed emotions that are required by the workplace context (Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Zapf et al., 1999; 2002). Thus, cognitive dissonance is an umbrella term that includes emotional dissonance (Dijk & Brown, 2006; Hartel et al., 2002; Lewig & Dollard, 2003; Rubin & Riggio, 2005) and both are thought to evoke the same psychological mechanism (Bakker & Heuven, 2006).

Importantly, researchers have been able to theorize and empirically document the negative outcomes of emotional dissonance caused by emotional labor. Specifically, research in this area has found that this form of dissonance can lead to certain negative intrapersonal and interpersonal workplace outcomes (Grandey, 2003). Given the similarities between identity management and emotional labor, I argue that the

dissonance experienced when disclosure decisions are in conflict with one's behaviors, attitudes, or environment will elicit a similar set of negative outcomes. Also, given the fact that these identity management conflicts operate within and outside of the workplace, I argue that psychological dissonance will elicit similarly negative outcomes in nonworkplace domains. The potential for these and other negative intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes provides further evidence for my overall theoretical assertion that consistency should be a key consideration in the effective management of stigmatized identities. Below, I describe how prolonged experiences of psychological dissonance may lead to certain more negative intrapersonal and interpersonal workplace and nonworkplace outcomes.

Intrapersonal Workplace Outcomes

Individuals who engage in emotional labor experience reduced job satisfaction and increased stress through emotional dissonance (Dijk & Brown, 2006). Surface acting in particular causes individuals to experience a mismatch between their enacted behaviors and felt emotions, causing them to feel inauthentic and unhappy with themselves and their jobs (Simpson & Stroh, 2004). In support of these assertions, Judge, Woolf, and Hurst (2009) found that surface acting was associated with more negative mood, and this negative mood mediated the relationship between surface acting and job dissatisfaction. Relatedly, a large amount of empirical research has found that the emotional dissonance caused by emotional labor leads to reduced job satisfaction and happiness (Abraham, 1998; Brotheridge & Lee, 1998; Grandey, 2000, 2003; Judge et al., 2009; see Bono & Vey, 2005 for a review).

Research on emotional labor has also examined and found support for relationship between the emotional dissonance caused by emotional labor and various facets of stress, including increased burnout (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002) and reduced psychological well-being (Judge et al., 2009). Resource depletion theories suggest that the mental energy required to engage in emotional labor can deplete cognitive resources and thus can have detrimental effects on stress and well-being (Gross, 1998). In support of this theory, a large amount of evidence links emotional labor with emotional exhaustion, which is the individual stress component of job burnout. Indeed, a lab study found that the physiological effort required to suppress one's internal emotions caused participants to experience increased emotional exhaustion (Gross & Levenson, 1997). Relatedly, studies have found that emotional dissonance is a key predictor of experiencing emotional exhaustion (Abraham, 1998). Thus, I propose:

Hypothesis 6: Workplace disclosure will lead to positive intrapersonal workplace outcomes through reduced psychological dissonance when individuals have high levels of stigma centrality, engage in high levels of disclosure in nonworkplace domains, and live in regions that have supportive policies and supportive individuals.

Intrapersonal Life Outcomes

Although the studies described above are specific to dissonance produced by emotional labor and are therefore specific to workplace domains, I predict that similar phenomena will be observed within other forms of dissonance and within nonworkplace domains. Specifically, I predict that psychological dissonance caused by inconsistencies

between one's disclosure behaviors and one's attitudes, behaviors, and knowledge of environments will ultimately lead to reduced life satisfaction. Similarly, I propose that the negative health and stress outcomes elicited by emotional labor through dissonance will be comparable to those that are experienced by identity management related dissonance in nonworkplace domains. Specifically, I propose that behaving in ways that conflict with one's internal emotions, with one's behaviors in other domains, or with one's knowledge of one's environment will induce psychological dissonance, which will then elicit increased life stress. In support of these assertions, research has shown that concealing a central stigmatized identity from family members is related to depression (Beaber, 2008; Juster et al., 2013) and life stress (Driscoll, Kelli, & Fassinger, 1996; Velez, Moradi, & Brewster, 2013). Thus, I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 7: Nonworkplace disclosure will lead to positive intrapersonal life outcomes through reduced psychological dissonance when individuals have high levels of stigma centrality, engage in high levels of disclosure in workplace domains, and live in regions that have supportive policies and supportive individuals.

Interpersonal Workplace Outcomes

Individuals who engage in workplace identity management strategies that are inconsistent with their attitudes, behaviors, or environments may also be more likely to experience negative interpersonal workplace outcomes such as increased perceptions of workplace prejudice. The psychological dissonance that is produced by workplace disclosure inconsistencies is likely to cause individuals to become hypervigilant and

preoccupied with their stigmas. Being aware of these inconsistencies leads to the negative affective state of dissonance, which may then cause an increased focus on the stigmatized identity that is producing this dissonance. Thus, individuals within these situations will become mentally preoccupied with their stigmatized identities until the psychological dissonance surrounding these identities is reduced (Smart & Wegner, 2000).

This would then cause these individuals to perceive increased prejudice from others within their place of work. Not all experiences of prejudice and discrimination are objective or easy to distinguish. Stigmatized individuals often find themselves in attributional dilemmas in which they are unsure whether the interpersonal negativity they experience at work is caused by coworkers' and supervisors' prejudice or by one's individual failings (Dion, 2002). When individuals are hypervigilant and preoccupied with their stigmatized identities due to psychological dissonance, they will be more likely to ascribe any negative interpersonal workplace behaviors that they encounter to stigma-related prejudice (Kaiser, Vick, & Major, 2006). Empirical research has demonstrated that workplace stigma concealment leads to hypervigilance (DeJordy, 2008; Pintel, 1999; Pintel & Paulin, 2005; Sabat, Lindsey, & King, 2015) as well perceived workplace prejudice (Ahmad et al., in preparation; Roebuck, Ryans, & Lyon, 2014). I therefore argue that individuals who experience psychological dissonance as a result of their identity management decisions will be more likely to perceive that they have experienced increased workplace prejudice from others. Thus, I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 8: Workplace disclosure will lead to reduced perceptions of prejudice through reduced psychological dissonance when individuals have high levels of

stigma centrality, engage in high levels of disclosure in nonworkplace domains, and live in regions that have supportive policies and supportive individuals.

Interpersonal Life Outcomes

The processes that cause workplace identity management that conflicts with stigma centrality, disclosure in other domains, or regional cues to elicit negative interpersonal workplace outcomes through dissonance is likely to operate in similar ways outside of the workplace. Individuals may also experience increases in perceived prejudice from family and friends if they engage in disclosure strategies that conflict with other disclosure related cognitions that could elicit psychological dissonance.

Experiences of dissonance in these situations should also cause individuals to become preoccupied and hypervigilant of their stigmatized identities, which would cause those individuals to perceive any hostility, isolation, or lack of warmth that they experience from family and friends to be caused by their stigmas as opposed to other factors. This can occur even if the interpersonal negativity that they experience has nothing to do with their stigmatized identities. Research has found that nonworkplace stigma concealment predicts hypervigilance (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2010; Pachankis, 2007; Schrimshaw, Siegal, Downing, & Parsons, 2012) and perceived experiences of nonworkplace prejudice (Bos et al., 2009). Research has also shown that individual differences in hypervigilance lead to increased perceptions of prejudice (Crosby, 1984; Feldman-Barett & Swim, 1998; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). One study found that even after controlling for initial levels of perceived discrimination, differences in the extent to which individuals thought about their racial identities (i.e., racial centrality, racial ideology, and racial regard) elicited

increases in subsequent perceptions of racial discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Thus, it appears as though the psychological dissonance associated with stigma identity management inconsistencies can ultimately lead to increases in perceived prejudice. Thus, I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 9: Nonworkplace disclosure will lead to reduced perceptions of prejudice through reduced psychological dissonance when individuals have high levels of stigma centrality, engage in high levels of disclosure in workplace domains, and live in regions that have supportive policies and supportive individuals.

Although each particular stigmatized identity carries with it specific burdens, all concealable stigmas share several important commonalities. Individuals with concealable stigmas all face the possibility of being discredited within social interactions, and must make complicated decisions regarding when, how, and to whom to disclose (Goffman, 1963). Furthermore, individuals with concealable stigmas have been shown to experience increased stress, depression, and discrimination compared to individuals without concealable stigmas (Meyer, 2003; Sabat et al., 2015). Given these similarities, many theoretical models including the current model of disclosure dissonance purport to describe the experiences of individuals with any number of concealable stigmatized identities, including but not limited to sexual orientation, religion, early stages of pregnancy, mental illness, and HIV-status.

Despite these broadly applicable theoretical arguments, I test these propositions on a sample of lesbian, gay, or bisexual (LGB) individuals for two important reasons.

First, LGB people continue to face a great deal of workplace and societal barriers (Meyer, 2003; Ragins, 2008). Indeed, studies have shown that 16-68% of LGB individuals report experiencing prejudice within their working lives, in the form of selection discrimination, increased workplace harassment, fewer promotion opportunities, and/or increased likelihood of termination (Badgett, Lee, & Ho, 2007). Uniquely, these minorities also experience a large degree of discrimination and prejudice from family members (D'Augelli & Grossman, 2001; Pilkington & D'Augelli, 1995). As a result, these individuals face complicated identity management dilemmas within their organizations as well as within their homes.

Second, for sexual orientation minorities, there are a lot of regional differences with regards to formal legislative support and informal societal support across the country. Before 2015, same-sex marriages were only legal in 38 states, and workplace discrimination is currently legal in 29 states. Also, the country remains highly divided regarding its acceptance of sexual orientation minorities (Smith, 2011), with several states and regions across the U.S. demonstrating very high levels of support and several others exhibiting very low levels of support (Flores & Barclay, 2015). Thus, regional differences in acceptance of LGB individuals should strongly contribute to the cognitive inconsistencies described in this model.

STUDY 1 - METHOD

I first test my model of “disclosure dissonance” by creating a dataset that combines three archival datasets, including 1) a dataset from Pew Research titled, “A Survey of LGBT Americans”, 2) a dataset from the Human Rights Campaign State Equality Index, and 3) a dataset from Harvard’s Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES). Below, I describe these three datasets in more detail.

Pew Research Dataset

Pew Research Center is a nonpartisan fact tank that conducts surveys within the U.S. using nationally representative samples. This center focuses on social science research topics, including but not limited to political attitudes, demographic research, and social trends shaping our country. The data from this study are provided online, open-access, to researchers and practitioners interested in conducting independent analyses. The dataset of interest is titled, “A Survey of LGBT Americans,” and focuses on attitudes, experiences, and values of sexual orientation and gender identity minorities. This dataset was published in June 2013, and included items assessing workplace/nonworkplace disclosure, identity centrality, and workplace/nonworkplace prejudice.

The survey was implemented by the GfK Group known as KnowledgePanel, which is a nationally representative panel of online survey participants. These members

are recruited through probability sampling methods and include those with and without Internet access. Members completed a survey of demographic characteristics, including their sexual orientation and gender identity. Of the total members, 3,645 (or 5.2%) identified as LGBT. Of those LGBT individuals, 1,924 were invited to participate in the current study examining attitudes of LGBT individuals within the United States (participants were not told of the nature or purpose of the study before participating). The final dataset contains completed responses from 1,154 individuals identifying as lesbian (24.0% or $N = 277$), gay (34.5% or $N = 398$), and bisexual (41.5% or $N = 479$). Of the remaining LGB participants, 32 (or 2.9%) also identified as transgender.

Participants in the remaining sample were diverse in terms of age and race. The most common age category included participants between the ages of 45 and 54 ($N = 234$ or 21%). The majority identified as White, Non-Hispanic ($N = 841$ or 75.5%), followed by Hispanic ($N = 117$ or 10.5%), followed by Black, Non-Hispanic ($N = 76$ or 6.8%), followed by multiracial ($N = 48$ or 4.3%) followed by “Other”, Non-Hispanic ($N = 32$ or 2.9%).

Human Rights Campaign State Equality Index

The Human Rights Campaign (HRC) is a civil rights organization that aims to promote equality for LGBT individuals. In 1995, it expanded its efforts beyond lobbying for LGBT-friendly politicians and policies by establishing an educational division, responsible for collecting, analyzing, and distributing data regarding discriminatory LGBT policies within the United States. Within the scope of this educational pursuit, HRC has recently established the State Equality Index (SEI), which synthesizes a

complete list of all cities and states that have established supportive laws pertaining to same-sex marriage and LGB workplace protection through the year 2013. With regards to same-sex marriage laws, this index includes any city or state-level laws that allow same-sex couples to receive marriage licenses or to receive equivalent state-level spousal rights. With regards to workplace protection, this index includes any city or state-level laws that prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation in the public sector or in both public and private sectors. For the first study, regional differences in workplace and marriage legislation will be based on the 2013 SEI, given that this was the same year in which individuals participated in the Pew Research dataset.

Harvard's Cooperative Congressional Election Dataset

The CCES is a national stratified sample administered by youGov/Polimetrix. The survey consistent of two waves of questions, one wave administered pre-election years and one wave administered post-elections. Both waves include questions regarding general political attitudes, demographic factors, and political information. The dataset used for the current study was published in 2012, and was used to assess regional differences in public acceptance for sexual orientation minorities.

Sample matching is a methodology for selection of “representative” samples from non-randomly selected participants. To achieve this, the current study first established a target sample of nationally representative U.S. adults through the use of the American Community Survey, a high quality large-scale survey (the decennial Census can also be used for this purpose). Second, for each member of the target sample, a matched participant was selected from the pool of opt-in respondents within the current panel.

These participants were selected to be as close as possible to the target sample in terms of age, race, gender, education, marital status, number of children under 18, family income, employment status, citizenship, state, and metropolitan area. In doing so, the matched sample should have similar properties to a truly randomized sample representative of the entire U.S. population. Given the matched sampling technique, the sample demographic characteristics were representative of the national population.

Measures

Workplace Disclosure. To assess workplace disclosure, participants rated their answer to the following question, “Thinking about the people you work with closely at your job, how many of these people are aware that you are LGB” using the response options of (1 = All or most of them, 2 = Some of them, 3 = Only a few of them, 4 = None of them).

Nonworkplace Disclosure. Participants also responded to four items assessing the extent to which they have previously disclosed to their family members. Specifically, they were asked, “Did you ever tell your father/mother/brothers/sisters about your LGB identity?” For each of these four question stems, they answered with the following responses (1 = Yes told my father/my mother/one or more sisters/one or more brothers, 2 = No I did not tell my father/my mother/any brothers/any sisters, 3 = Not applicable). Participants were also asked, “Have you told any close friends about your LGB identity?” with response options (1 = Yes, told one or more close friends, 2 = No, did not). A nonworkplace disclosure score was created by summing the total number of people told

divided by the total number of people that could possibly be told. This composite scoring system is similar to ones used in previous measures of disclosure (Mohr & Fassinger, 2001) and demonstrated acceptable reliability ($\alpha = .83$).

Identity Centrality. To measure identity centrality, participants responded to one item regarding the valence and strength of their LGB identity. Specifically, they responded to the question of “How important, if at all, is being LGB to your overall identity?” with the response options of (1 = Extremely important, 2 = Very important, 3 = Somewhat important, 4 = Not too important, 5 = Not at all important).

Objective Workplace Support. Objective workplace support was determined by examining the existence of LGBT anti-discrimination legislation across regions. Participants indicated their zip code, city, and state of residence, and this information was used to assess whether or not the region provided some form of LGB workplace protection during the year 2013. Using data obtained from the 2013 HRC SEI, zip codes were coded in terms of their LGB-related legislative differences. These regions will be distinguished based on whether they provided any amount of workplace protection (coded as 1) or no amount of workplace protection (coded as 0).¹

Objective Nonworkplace Support. Objective nonworkplace support was assessed by examining the presence or absence of LGB-inclusive marriage laws across regions. Zip codes, cities, and states of residence were used to distinguish whether the participants lived in a regions that did or did not provide some form of equal legal access to marriage during the year 2013. Utilizing data from the 2013 HRC SEI, zip codes were coded based

¹ Given that there are 42,523 zip codes, nesting is unlikely to be a concern given the relatively small number of participants ($N = 1,154$) in this study.

on their legislative support for same-sex marriage (where 1 = regions issue marriage licenses or equivalent state-level spousal rights to same sex couples, 0 = regions do not provide any formal recognition of same sex couples).¹

Subjective Support. Subjective support was based on regional differences in attitudes towards LGB people. This was determined by examining data from the CCES study, which assessed a nationally representative sample of 53,000 individuals living within the United States in 2012. These individuals responded to a question asking, “Do you favor or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?” with either “Favor” (coded as 1) or “Oppose (coded as 2). Survey responses from the same zip code areas were averaged to create a regional acceptance score for each zip code that had data. These regional acceptance scores were then merged with the zip codes of the participants from the Pew Research Center dataset in order to determine the regional attitudes for each participant in the Pew Research survey.¹

Workplace Prejudice. To measure workplace prejudice, I assessed responses to the statement, “Please indicate whether or not you have been treated unfairly by an employer in hiring, pay, or promotion because you were perceived to be LGB.” with the response options (1 = Yes, or 2 = No).

Nonworkplace Disclosure. To measure nonworkplace outcomes, I assessed responses to a five item measure, in which respondents rated their answers to the following questions, “Please indicate whether or not you have been, 1) threatened or physically attacked, 2) subject to slurs or jokes, 3) received poor service in restaurants, hotels, or other places of business, 4) rejected by a friend or family member, because you

were perceived to be (insert identity).” For each of these questions, respondents chose from the response options (1 = Yes or 2 = No) ($\alpha = .70$).

STUDY 1 - RESULTS

Correlations among variables of interest are located in Table 1. To test my hypotheses, I conducted moderation analyses using Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro in SPSS 21. Interestingly, stigma identity centrality did not moderate the relationship between workplace disclosure and workplace interpersonal outcomes ($\Delta R^2 < .01$, $F(1,746) = .57$, $p = .45$) nor did it moderate the relationship between nonworkplace disclosure and nonworkplace interpersonal outcomes ($\Delta R^2 < .01$, $F(1,1177) = .67$, $p = .41$). These results suggest that disclosing within or outside of the workplace was related to reduced perceptions of work and life prejudice regardless of one's level of identity centrality. Therefore, Hypotheses 1a and 1b were not supported.

Similarly, extent of workplace disclosure did not moderate the relationship between nonworkplace disclosure and interpersonal nonworkplace outcomes ($\Delta R^2 < .01$, $F(1,756) = .04$, $p = .83$) nor did the extent of nonworkplace disclosure moderate the relationship between workplace disclosure and interpersonal workplace outcomes ($\Delta R^2 < .01$, $F(1,750) = 1.40$, $p = .24$). These results demonstrate that disclosing at work is associated with reduced perceptions of workplace prejudice regardless of one's level of nonworkplace disclosure, and that disclosing outside of work is associated with reduced perceptions of life prejudice regardless of one's level of workplace disclosure. Thus,

Hypotheses 2a and 2b were not supported, in opposition to the model of disclosure disconnects.

The relationship between workplace disclosure and workplace interpersonal outcomes was moderated by objective workplace support ($\Delta R^2 = .01$, $F(1,750) = 7.06$, $p < .01$), such that the relationship was positive when there were supportive policies and negative when there were unsupportive policies (see Figure 6). The relationship between nonworkplace disclosure and interpersonal nonworkplace outcomes was not moderated by objective nonworkplace support, ($\Delta R^2 < .01$, $F(1,1181) = .04$, $p = .84$). These results suggest that disclosing at work is related to reduced perceptions of prejudice when individuals perceive high levels of objective support or relates to increased perceptions of prejudice when individuals perceive low levels of objective support. Disclosing outside of work consistently relates to reduced perceptions of prejudice, regardless of the level of objective support. Thus, Hypothesis 3 was supported but Hypothesis 4 was not supported.

Lastly, subjective support did not moderate the relationships between workplace disclosure and workplace interpersonal outcomes ($\Delta R^2 < .01$, $F(1,750) = .38$, $p = .54$) nor did it moderate the relationship between nonworkplace disclosure and nonworkplace interpersonal outcomes ($\Delta R^2 < .01$, $F(1,1181) = .12$, $p = .73$). This suggests that disclosing at work is associated with reduced perceptions of prejudice regardless of subjective regional support and that disclosing outside of work is associated with reduced perceptions of prejudice regardless of subjective regional support. Thus, Hypotheses 5a

and 5b were not supported. In sum, none of the factors moderated the relationships between disclosure and interpersonal outcomes except for objective workplace support.²

² These analyses were also conducted in SEM, resulting in similar findings (see Figure 4).

STUDY 2

This archival study was a useful first step in testing the major tenets of my “disclosure dissonance” model. However, this first study was limited in several ways. First, it did not directly measure the mediating mechanism of experienced psychological dissonance. Thus, this mechanism could only be assumed without direct measurement of this process. This is problematic given that the strength of the current model is its application of cognitive dissonance theory to the identity management framework. Second, this dataset was missing intrapersonal outcomes relating to stress and workplace satisfaction. These outcomes are two that are commonly tested and supported within the emotional labor literature, and thus, it is important that we assess the full range of dissonance-related outcomes. Third, this dataset could not capture the causal ordering of these relationships, given that each of the variables were assessing constructs at the same time. Fourth, it did not assess the constructs of interest using reliable measures. Many of the variables were captured using single-item measures, which may explain the lack of significant findings. Fifth, this study was able to capture actual objective and subjective regional differences, but was not able to capture individual’s perceptions of those differences, which are more likely to directly influence experiences of psychological dissonance. The second study addressed each of these limitations by incorporating

longitudinal data of all variables of interest using reliable and appropriate measures over three points in time.

STUDY 2 - METHOD

A final sample of 305 LGB participants fully completed this survey study. This sample size was deemed sufficient for testing the hypothesized relationships within the current model based on a power analysis assuming small effect sizes (0.10; Cohen, 1969) and a power level of 95% (alpha level .05) (Buchner, Erdfelder, & Faul, 1997).

Participants were recruited via MTurk and compensated \$3.00 per completed set of surveys. They were 18 years or older and working at least 30-hours per week.

Participants who indicated that they were heterosexual, who indicated working less than 30 hours a week, or who completed less than 80% of any one of the three surveys were excluded from the analyses. The final sample of participants were diverse in terms of age ($M = 31.30$, $SD = 8.96$), gender (57% female or $N = 184$), and ethnicity, with 77.1% = White, 7.5% = Black, 5.5% Asian, 5.2% = Hispanic, 4.7% = mixed or other). Lastly, participants were regionally dispersed throughout the United States, and 79.9% lived in regions that had laws supporting either marriage and/or workplace sexual orientation equality.

At time 1, participants answered questions regarding their prior levels of disclosure within their workplace and nonworkplace domains, their level of LGB centrality, as well as several demographic measures including their location, gender, race, and age. At time 2, two weeks following this initial data collection, participants rated

their perceived disclosure-related psychological dissonance experienced over the past two weeks. At time 3, four weeks following initial data collection, participants rated their perceived workplace, nonworkplace, intrapersonal, and interpersonal outcomes experienced over the past two weeks.

Measures

Workplace and Nonworkplace Disclosure. Participants indicated their level of workplace and nonworkplace disclosure at Time 1 using an adapted integrating subscale of the identity management strategies measure (Button, 1996; 2001). Participants responded to ten disclosure items regarding their workplace behaviors and then responded to ten similar disclosure items regarding their nonworkplace behaviors over the past two weeks. Participants rated their agreement to items such as “Whenever I’m asked about being non-heterosexual, I always answer in an honest and matter-of-fact way” and “I look for opportunities to tell my (co-workers/people I interact with outside of work) that I am non-heterosexual.” Both the workplace disclosure items ($\alpha = .91$) as well as the nonworkplace disclosure items ($\alpha = .93$) exhibited acceptable reliabilities.

LGB Identity Centrality. At Time 1, participants indicated their level of LGB identity centrality using the identity centrality subscale adapted from the collective self-esteem scale (Luthanen & Crocker, 1992). This scale includes four items such as, “being an LGB person is important reflection of who I am” and “in general, being LGB is an important part of my self-image”. Participants indicated their agreement with these items using a 7-point response scale (from 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree) ($\alpha = .87$).

Objective Workplace Support. At Time 1, participants indicated the level of objective workplace support within their communities by responding to a single item. Specifically, participants indicated whether or not it was legal for companies to discriminate against LGB employees within their city of residence at the time in which they started working at their current job, with the responses options of 1 = “Yes” or 2 = “No”.

Objective Nonworkplace Support. Participants indicated the level of objective nonworkplace support within their communities in a similar manner at Time 1. They indicated whether or not it was legal for same-sex couples to legally marry within their city of residence at the time in which they first realized that they were non-heterosexual, with the response options of 1 = “Yes” or 2 = “No”.

Subjective Support. At Time 1, participants indicated their perceived levels of subjective regional support using a scale developed for this study. Participants rated their agreement on a 7-point Likert scale to three items including “People in your community were accepting of your sexual orientation” and “Your community was tolerant of sexual orientation diversity” at the time they first realized they were non-heterosexual. This scale achieved an acceptable level of reliability ($\alpha = .94$)

Psychological Dissonance. At Time 2, participants indicated their perceived levels of identity management related dissonance at work and at home using a previously developed 3-item scale (Elliot & Devine, 1994). Specifically, participants responded to the questions, “over the past two weeks, please indicate the extent to which you felt “uncomfortable”/“uneasy”/“bothered” regarding your decisions to disclose or conceal

your LGB identity while at work/at home” on a 5-point Likert scale (from 1 = very slightly to 5 = quite a bit). High levels of reliability were obtained for both workplace dissonance ($a = .94$) as well as nonworkplace dissonance ($a = .94$) measures.

Workplace Satisfaction. At Time 3, participants indicated their level of job satisfaction over the past two weeks through the short-form 3-item measure of job satisfaction (Cammann, Fichman, Jenkins, & Klesh, 1983). These items include, “all in all, I am satisfied with my job,” “in general, I don’t like my job,” and “in general, I like working here.” Participants indicated their agreement with these items using a 7-point Likert scale (where 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree) ($a = .90$).

Life Satisfaction. At Time 3, participants indicated their levels of life satisfaction over the past two weeks with a five item measure of life satisfaction (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffen, 1985), which included items such as, “in most ways, my life is close to my ideal” and “I am satisfied with my life.” Participants indicated their agreement with these items on a 7-point Likert scale (where 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree) ($a = .94$).

Job Stress. At Time 3, participants indicated the extent to which they experienced stress at work over the past two weeks using the shortened, 4-item measure of Job Stress (Motowidlo, Packard, & Manning, 1986). These items include “I feel a great deal of stress because of my job” and “my job is extremely stressful”. Respondents rated their agreement with each of these four items on a 5-point Likert scale (where 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree) ($a = .79$).

Life Stress. At Time 3, participants reported their experiences of stress outside of work over the past two weeks using a 4-item measure of life stress adapted from the job stress measure by Motowidlo and colleagues (1986). This measure included items such as “I feel a great deal of stress because of my life” and “my life is extremely stressful”. Respondents once again rated each item using the same 5-point Likert scale (where 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree) ($a = .82$).

Perceived Job Discrimination. At Time 3, participants indicated the extent to which they perceive discrimination within their organizations using the everyday discrimination scale (Williams et al., 1997; 1999). Participants indicated the frequency with which they have experienced eight different forms of unfair treatment over the past two weeks as a result of their LGB identity within the workplace using a 4-point scale (from 1 = “Often” through 4 = “Never”), including items such as “being treated with less courtesy than others”, and “people acting as if they are better than you” ($a = .93$).

Perceived Life Discrimination. At Time 3, participants also indicated the extent to which they had perceived discrimination within their lives using the everyday discrimination scale (Williams et al., 1997; 1999). Participants rated the frequency with which they had experienced different forms of unfair treatment over the past two weeks as a result of their LGB identity outside of work on a 4-point scale (from 1 = “Often” to 4 = “Never”). This scale included eight instances of unfair treatment such as “being treated with less courtesy than others” and “people acting as if they are better than you” ($a = .93$).

STUDY 2 - RESULTS

Correlations among variables of interest are located in Table 2. To test individual study hypotheses, I utilized Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro in SPSS 21. For moderation analyses, this macro calculates relationships at high and low levels of a moderator, and then provides a bootstrapped standard error as well as a bootstrapped confidence interval demonstrating whether a moderator is significant. For moderated mediation analyses, this macro calculates the magnitude of change in a bootstrapped indirect effect at high and low levels of a moderator. It then calculates the bootstrapped standard error and confidence interval for these moderated mediation effects. Stigma identity centrality moderated the relationship between workplace disclosure and psychological dissonance ($\Delta R^2 = .01$, $F(1, 336) = 4.35$, $p = .04$) such that this relationship was more negative for more central identities (See Figure 7). However, identity centrality did not moderate the relationship between nonworkplace disclosure and psychological dissonance ($\Delta R^2 < .01$, $F(1, 335) = 2.52$, $p = .11$). These results suggest that disclosing at work is related to reductions in psychological dissonance, but only when individuals have high levels of identity centrality. Disclosing outside of the workplace is related to reduced dissonance regardless of an individual's identity centrality. Thus, Hypothesis 1a was supported but Hypothesis 1b was not supported.

The extent of workplace disclosure did not moderate the relationship between nonworkplace disclosure and psychological dissonance ($\Delta R^2 < .01$, $F(1, 335) = 3.04$, $p = .08$). However, nonworkplace disclosure did moderate the relationship between workplace disclosure and psychological dissonance ($\Delta R^2 = .02$, $F(1, 335) = 5.59$, $p = .02$) such that the relationship was only negative for high levels of nonworkplace disclosure (see Figure 8). Thus, nonworkplace disclosures were related to reduced dissonance regardless of an individual's level of workplace disclosure, yet workplace disclosures only related to reduced dissonance when individuals disclosed outside of work at high levels. Therefore, Hypothesis 2a was not supported but Hypothesis 2b was supported.

The relationship between workplace disclosure and psychological dissonance was moderated by objective workplace support ($\Delta R^2 = .01$, $F(1, 336) = 5.31$, $p = .02$) such that the relationship was positive when there were supportive policies and negative when there were unsupportive policies (see Figure 9). The relationship between nonworkplace disclosure and psychological dissonance was not moderated by objective nonworkplace support ($\Delta R^2 < .01$, $F(1, 336) = .29$, $p = .59$). These findings suggest that workplace disclosures were associated with reduced dissonance in the presence of high levels of objective workplace support and increased dissonance in the presence of low levels of objective workplace support. Nonworkplace disclosures were associated with reduced dissonance regardless of the existence or absence of objective nonworkplace support. Thus, Hypothesis 3 was supported but Hypothesis 4 was not supported.

Interestingly, subjective regional support moderated both the relationships between workplace disclosure and psychological dissonance ($\Delta R^2 = .02$, $F(1, 336) =$

9.21, $p < .01$) as well as the between nonworkplace disclosure and psychological dissonance ($\Delta R^2 = .02$, $F(1, 335) = 5.50$, $p = .02$). In both cases, concealment was related to increased psychological dissonance in areas that were low in subjective support (see Figures 10 and 11). Thus, the interactions predicted by Hypotheses 5a and 5b were supported, but not in the expected direction.

Thus, with regards to the moderation hypotheses, the relationship between workplace disclosure and psychological dissonance was moderated by identity centrality, level of nonworkplace disclosure, objective workplace support, and subjective workplace support. Alternatively, the relationship between nonworkplace disclosure and psychological dissonance was only moderated by subjective workplace support. Identity centrality, workplace disclosure, and objective nonworkplace support did not have an impact on the nature of this relationship. Subjective nonworkplace support did significantly moderate the relationships between workplace disclosure and dissonance as well as between nonworkplace disclosure and dissonance, but the direction of this moderation was in the unexpected direction. Detailed results from these moderation analyses are presented in Table 3. These findings are explained in more detail in the discussion.

With regards to the hypothesized conditional indirect effects, workplace disclosure was associated with positive intrapersonal workplace outcomes through reduced psychological dissonance when individuals had high levels of stigma identity centrality or lived in areas that had low levels of subjective support. These indirect effects were not moderated by nonworkplace disclosure or workplace objective support. Thus,

Hypothesis 6 was partially supported. Similar conditional indirect effects were found for workplace disclosure to workplace interpersonal outcomes, thus partially supporting Hypothesis 7.

Nonworkplace disclosure was related to positive intrapersonal workplace outcomes through reduced psychological dissonance when individuals lived in areas that had low of subjective support. These indirect effects were not moderated by workplace disclosure, identity centrality, or nonworkplace objective support. Thus, Hypothesis 8 was not supported. Similar conditional indirect effects were found for nonworkplace disclosure to nonworkplace interpersonal outcomes, suggesting a lack of support for Hypothesis 9.

In sum, workplace disclosure was associated with more positive intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes (e.g., increased job satisfaction, decreased job stress, decreased perceptions of workplace discrimination) through reduced experiences of psychological dissonance when individuals had high levels of stigma identity centrality and when they lived in areas that had low levels of subjective regional support. Nonworkplace disclosure and objective workplace support did not impact these indirect effects. Nonworkplace disclosure consistently related to more positive intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes (e.g., increased life satisfaction, decreased life stress, decreased perceptions of nonworkplace discrimination). The only moderator of these indirect effects was subjective regional support such that these positive disclosure outcomes were exacerbated in the presence of low levels of subjective support. Identity centrality, level of workplace disclosure, and objective nonworkplace support had no bearing on these indirect positive

relationships between nonworkplace disclosure and nonworkplace outcomes. Results from all moderated mediation hypotheses are presented in Table 4. Table 5 provides further detail of all significant moderated mediations. I consider the theoretical and practical implications of these findings from both studies below.³

³ These analyses were also conducted in SEM, yet they did not converge given the large number of hypothesized conditional indirect effects.

DISCUSSION

As a whole, the results of these two studies demonstrate partial support for the negative influence of disclosure inconsistencies on intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes through psychological dissonance. Specifically, negative outcomes can arise when disclosure patterns within a specific context differ from the objective environmental cues provided by that domain and the extent to which that identity is central to one's self-concept. These studies did not demonstrate support for the notion that disclosure disconnects cause experiences of psychological dissonance and subsequent negative outcomes. Also of note, these studies found that subjective regional support did not impact the disclosure-outcome relationships in the direction expected by psychological dissonance theory.

In study 1, objective workplace support moderated the relationship between workplace disclosure and perceived experiences of workplace prejudice such that this relationship was positive when objective workplace support did not exist and was negative when this support did exist. Similarly, study 2 found that disclosure was related to reduced feelings of dissonance, but only when individuals lived in areas that had high levels of objective workplace support. These findings are in alignment with theories of psychological dissonance that suggest that behaving in ways that conflict with the

objective cues provided by one's environment will cause one to become hypervigilant and perceive increased interpersonal discrimination from others (Kaiser et al., 2006).

Study 2 also found that high levels of identity centrality exacerbated the indirect relationships between workplace disclosure and increased job satisfaction, decreased job stress, and decreased perceptions of workplace discrimination through psychological dissonance. This is also in alignment with the theory of psychological dissonance, which emphasizes the negative outcomes associated with disagreements between one's behavior and one's attitudes (Harmon-Jones & Harmon-Jones, 2007). In this study, individuals who had high levels of stigma identity centrality but who chose to conceal their identities within the workplace experienced various negative intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes within this domain.

Both studies found that disclosure-outcome relationships in one domain were unaffected by disclosure patterns in another life domain. Level of workplace disclosures did not moderate the impact of nonworkplace disclosure on interpersonal outcomes in study 1, nor did it moderate the impact of nonworkplace disclosure on psychological dissonance followed by intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes in study 2. Similarly, nonworkplace disclosure decisions did not impact relationships between workplace disclosure and workplace outcomes in either study. These findings demonstrate a lack of support for the model of disclosure disconnects (Ragins, 2008) and contradict tenets of psychological dissonance theory (Elliot & Devine, 1994) that suggest that engaging in a set of inconsistent behaviors leads to experiences of psychological dissonance.

Lastly, both studies found that subjective support did not impact these disclosure-outcome relationships in the direction expected by psychological dissonance theory. Study 1 found that subjective support had no impact on the relationships between workplace disclosure and workplace outcomes as well as the relationships between nonworkplace disclosure and nonworkplace outcomes. Study 2 found that subjective support moderated the indirect relationships between workplace disclosure on workplace outcomes through psychological dissonance as well as between nonworkplace disclosure on nonworkplace outcomes through psychological dissonance, but in an unexpected direction. Specifically, concealing in either workplace or nonworkplace settings was related to more negative outcomes, but only when in the presence of low levels of subjective support. Psychological dissonance theory would have predicted that disclosing in these circumstances would lead to the most negative outcomes, given the inconsistency between disclosure behaviors and disclosure-related environmental norms (Festinger, 1962). Below, I provide possible explanations and theoretical implications of each of the findings.

Theoretical Implications.

The results obtained from these two studies contribute to existing theory in three unique ways. First, these two studies found that inconsistencies among disclosure behaviors across domains did not result in psychological dissonance or any negative intrapersonal or interpersonal outcomes. This is a novel contribution given that this is the first empirical test of the disclosure disconnects model (Ragins, 2008) and it shows a lack of support for these theoretical assertions. According to the disclosure disconnects model,

individuals had to disclose at high levels in both workplace and nonworkplace domains before they could experience positive work related outcomes. The current study shows that this is not the case, and that individuals can experience positive outcomes by disclosing in a singular life domain, even if they are unable to disclose within other domains. This also suggests that certain forms of cognitive inconsistencies (specifically, inconsistencies among behaviors across domains) are less likely to produce the psychological dissonance that leads to these negative intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes. Dissonance was only observed for inconsistencies among disclosure behaviors and attitudes or disclosure behaviors and objective environmental cues. Thus, although psychological dissonance theories are often supported in explaining the situations that lead to positive or negative disclosure outcomes, they are not supported in explaining outcomes associated with inconsistencies among disclosure behaviors. Possibly, individuals engaging in different disclosure behaviors across domains internally justify these inconsistencies by focusing on the differences across these life domains that lead to these differential disclosure patterns (e.g., differences in anticipated acceptance, situational strength, or disclosure norms). Clearly, more research is needed to explain the reasons why cognitive inconsistencies among behaviors do not reliably elicit dissonance.

Second, inconsistencies between disclosure behaviors and subjective environmental cues did not elicit psychological dissonance in the expected pattern. In the first study, the regional differences in subjective attitudes had no impact on the relationship between disclosure and perceived discrimination in both workplace and nonworkplace contexts. In the second study, concealing was related to increased

psychological dissonance and subsequent negative intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes, but only when subjective support was low. This suggests that subjective support functions differently than objective support in impacting disclosure outcomes. The data suggest that subjective support may act as a buffer for the negative intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes of concealment. Indeed, research has long demonstrated how perceived social support can buffer the negative impact of various life stressors (Cohen & McKay, 1984; Cohen & Wills, 1985). Concealing has been shown to lead to psychological stress (Meyer, 2003) and studies have suggested that the presence of supportive ally coworkers can combat the stressors associated with concealing a stigmatized identity at work (Griffith & Hebl, 2002). Thus, these observed effects are not entirely surprising. More research is needed to disentangle the types of cognitive inconsistencies that lead to either increased or decreased psychological dissonance.

Third and lastly, it was interesting to note that the indirect relationships between workplace disclosure and workplace outcomes were more strongly influenced by these attitudinal and environmental inconsistencies compared to the indirect relationships between nonworkplace disclosure and nonworkplace outcomes. Thus, disclosing outside of work more consistently relates to beneficial intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes. This finding demonstrates that specific domains may be more or less susceptible to psychological dissonance as a result of these cognitive inconsistencies. Future work should examine the underlying reasons why these different domains produce different disclosure outcomes.

Practical Implications.

This study has the potential to inform individuals about the situations in which disclosing in and out of the workplace is likely to lead to optimal overall outcomes. Specifically, this study shows that disclosing at work is related to positive intrapersonal and interpersonal workplace outcomes when individuals have high levels of identity centrality or when they disclose in areas that are high in objective workplace support. It also finds that concealing at work is associated with more negative workplace outcomes in areas that are low in subjective support. Disclosing in nonworkplace domains is related to positive intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes in most situations. However, living in areas that are low in subjective support can exacerbate the negative effects of concealing.

These findings suggest that workplaces should care about these potential cognitive inconsistencies that may lead to negative intrapersonal and interpersonal workplace outcomes. Specifically, companies should be concerned if employees are secretive about their identities, especially if their identities are a central part of their overall self-concept. Sexual orientation identity centrality varies a great deal from person to person (Shelton & Sellers, 2000; Settles, 2004). Thus, large companies that have low levels of disclosure across all employees are likely to have certain employees that feel dissonance regarding their disclosure related behaviors. These feelings can ultimately lead to increased job stress (Gross, 1998), decreased job satisfaction (Abraham, 1998; Bono & Vey, 2005), and increased perceptions of job related discrimination (Kaiser et al., 2006). These behaviors are likely to elicit increased withdrawal behaviors such as absenteeism and turnover (Abraham, 1998; Weiss, 2003), which can have severely

negative financial outcomes for these businesses (Herring, 2009; Sanchez & Brock, 1996). According to the present study, these negative outcomes are likely to be exacerbated if the organization exists within a region that has high levels of objective support and if the individual perceives low levels of subjective support.

This study also finds that workplace objective support has a strong and consistent impact on the relationship between workplace disclosure and workplace outcomes. Specifically, disclosure leads to positive interpersonal outcomes when individuals live in regions protected by objective workplace legislation that affirms their identity. This finding suggests that federal legislation protecting LGBT individuals against workplace discrimination may positively impact disclosure outcomes for individuals currently living in regions without this form of objective support. This corroborates previous findings demonstrating the positive impact that LGB anti-discrimination legislation can have on workplace disclosure outcomes (Baron & Hebl, 2010).

Limitations.

These studies should be considered in light of several limitations. The archival study was problematic in that it did not actually measure the mediating mechanisms and it was measured at a single time point. It also measured interpersonal but not intrapersonal outcomes. Thus, it was not possible to examine the full model on this sample of participants. This study was useful, however, in that it contained a large, nationally representative sample of lesbian, gay, and bisexual participants. However, given these limitations, it was necessary to conduct a second, longitudinal study containing all variables within the specified model.

The second study was able to assess each of the predictors, mediators, and outcome variables across three different points in time. This study, however, was conducted on a smaller sample of participants recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Although this subject pool has been used with success by researchers studying diverse populations (see Smith, Martinez, & Sabat, 2015 for a review), there are still various issues with this methodology (Fort, Adda, & Cohen, 2011). Indeed, these participants are not nationally representative, and do not contain the same demographic makeup as the country as a whole (Paolacci & Chandler, 2014). However, care was taken to ensure that participants in this study lived in regions that exhibited variability in workplace and nonworkplace objective and subjective support. Second, each of the surveys were separated by only two weeks. Thus, it was difficult to assess changes over time using a cross-lagged model as a result of this design. Additionally, this design could not rule out reverse-causality. An ideal design would have involved multiple waves of data separated over several months to capture these dynamic effects, although this was not possible for the current study.

Third and finally, both studies assumed that individuals lived and worked within the same region/zip-code. It is possible, however, that some individuals lived and worked in different areas that exhibited differential levels of objective and subjective support. Future studies should be mindful of these possibilities. Despite the individual limitations from both studies, the consistent pattern of results across these two methodologies allows for greater confidence in the conclusions.

Future Directions.

More work is needed to examine the full set of mediating mechanisms that explain the relationships between disclosure and outcomes. Although this study demonstrates support for the notion that disclosure decisions that are inconsistent with one's attitudes or one's objective environmental cues can relate to negative intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes through psychological dissonance, other mediators are also likely to contribute to these effects. For instance, disclosing in areas that are made up of unsupportive policies and unsupportive people may lead to more negative interpersonal outcomes through feelings of rejection and isolation. Future studies could measure these and other potential mediators to ensure that psychological dissonance is the most important driver of these effects.

Relatedly, the individual and contextual moderating factors measured in this study are likely to be incomplete. There may be several other factors that moderate the relationship between disclosure and psychological dissonance. Future studies could examine a more complete set of possible moderators, including the impact of organizational policies, metaperceptions of sexuality, as well as the socio-economic status, political preference, and religious denominations of the constituents across different regions.

This model also does not examine the various predictors of disclosure within and outside of the workplace. This study intended to focus solely on the outcome of disclosure, but future work could examine both the antecedents and outcomes of disclosure simultaneously. Indeed, studies have found that several factors may influence one's decisions to disclose or conceal one's stigma, including propensity for risk taking,

self-monitoring, developmental stage, motivations (Clair et al., 2005), stigma characteristics, self-verification processes, anticipated consequences of disclosure, supportive relationships, and the presence of similar others (Ragins, 2008). These studies have also theorized that identity centrality, objective support, and subjective support predict decisions to disclose. Thus, within the current study, the moderating factors are also likely to have a direct influence on these initial disclosure decisions. Indeed, these disclosure processes are dynamic and complex, and future studies should account for these bi-directional relationships.

There is also the possibility that the psychological dissonance that is experienced by individuals as a result of these cognitive inconsistencies differs depending on the direction of the discrepancy. For instance, disclosing in areas that are unsupportive may lead to different subjective feelings of dissonance compared to the dissonance that is caused by concealing in areas that are supportive. This theory would be supported by similar research on emotional regulation, which suggests that different cognitive functions operate when up-regulating vs. down-regulating one's emotional state (Bledow, Schmitt, Frese, & Kuhnel, 2011; Oschner et al., 2004). Thus, more research is needed to examine whether psychological dissonance that may be caused by these two different situations is experienced in the same way.

CONCLUSION

Researchers and practitioners interested in improving workplace outcomes for sexual orientation minorities should take great care to ensure that their disclosure behaviors are matching internal attitudes as well as objective environmental cues. According to the current study, individuals who have high levels of identity centrality and who live in regions that have legislation protecting them against workplace discrimination are likely to experience reduced psychological dissonance leading to more beneficial workplace outcomes such as increased workplace satisfaction and reduced workplace stress and perceived discrimination. These positive disclosure outcomes at work will manifest regardless of individuals' disclosure behaviors outside of work. This study provides useful information regarding which specific factors impact these workplace and nonworkplace outcomes. However, more research is needed that fully examines the various potential individual, organizational, and contextual moderators of these important disclosure outcomes. This program of research could facilitate better understanding the dynamic disclosure processes and outcomes for sexual orientation minorities and all other concealably stigmatized individuals.

APPENDIX

Table 1:

Correlations among variables of interest for Study #1

Measure/Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Workplace Disclosure	2.45	1.23	-							
2. Nonworkplace Disclosure	1.36	0.35	-.03	-						
3. Identity Centrality	2.98	1.21	.03	.32**	-					
4. Objective Workplace Support	0.56	0.50	-.02	-.02	.00	-				
5. Objective Nonworkplace Support	0.49	0.50	.02	-.02	-.06	.22**	-			
6. Subjective Support	3.93	2.26	.07	.05	.07*	-.03	-.15**	-		
7. Workplace Prejudice	2.74	0.52	.00	.13**	.17**	.04	.07*	.00	-	
8. Life Prejudice	1.60	0.34	.02	.35**	.36**	.03	.00	.04	.47**	-
9. Gender	0.54	0.50	-.01	-.08**	.06*	.06*	-.06*	.08**	.02	.10**

*Note: *p < .05, **p < .01.*

Table 2:

Correlations among variables of interest for Study #2

Measure/Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Workplace Disclosure	3.83	1.49	-						
2. Nonworkplace Disclosure	4.34	1.60	.71**	-					
3. Identity Centrality	4.13	1.47	.27**	.32**	-				
4. Objective Workplace Support	0.78	0.42	-.16**	0.17**	.04	-			
5. Objective Nonworkplace Support	0.93	0.25	.06	.08	.06	.05	-		
6. Subjective Support	3.81	1.71	.19**	.02	-.03	.17**	-.12*	-	
7. Workplace Dissonance	1.75	1.05	-.27**	-.23**	-.01	-.08	-.16**	-.17**	-
8. Nonworkplace Dissonance	1.64	0.94	-.17**	-.25**	-.01	.01	-.17**	-.08	.67**
9. Job Satisfaction	4.88	1.76	.22**	.13	.05	.12*	.04	.19**	-.38**
10. Job Stress	3.02	1.18	-.09	-.07	.05	-.16**	.07	-.25**	.28**
11. Perceived Workplace Discrimination	1.35	0.59	.00	-.07	.08	.03	-.23**	.12*	.44**
12. Life Satisfaction	4.49	1.71	.26**	.27*	.04	.06	.04	.27**	-.31**
13. Life Stress	2.81	1.13	-.19**	-.18**	.01	-.13*	-.06	-.26**	.31**
14. Perceived Life Discrimination	1.35	0.56	-.06	-.18**	.11	-.04	-.23**	.10	.48**
15. Gender	0.57	0.50	.00	.07	-.01	.06	.08	.03	-.11*
16. Age	31.27	8.86	.13*	.06	-.08	-.08	.09	-.08	-.11
17. Job Tenure	4.53	4.41	.05	-.05	-.04	-.18**	-.06	.06	-.01

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 2 (Continued)

Measure/Variable	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
8. Nonworkplace Dissonance	-								
9. Job Satisfaction	-.26**	-							
10. Job Stress	.24**	-.51**	-						
11. Perceived Workplace Discrimination	.39**	-.29**	.11	-					
12. Life Satisfaction	-.23**	.42**	-.33**	.12*	-				
13. Life Stress	.27**	.41**	.57**	.11	-.56**	-			
14. Perceived Life Discrimination	.43**	-.30**	.17**	.75**	-.18**	.23**	-		
15. Gender	-.11*	.04	-.02	-.12*	.08	.03	-.12*	-	
16. Age	-.15**	.10	.01	-.21**	.05	-.06	-.21**	-.01	-
17. Job Tenure	.00	.04	-.05	.07	.01	-.07	.06	-.10	.27**

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 3:

Results of all moderation hypotheses for Study #2

Hypothesis	Predictor	Moderator	Outcome	Int	R	F	df1	df2	p
Hypothesis 1a	Workplace Disclosure	Identity Centrality	Psychological Dissonance	-0.05	0.01	4.35	1	336	0.04
Hypothesis 1b	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Identity Centrality	Psychological Dissonance	-0.03	0.01	2.52	1	335	0.11
Hypothesis 2a	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Workplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	-0.04	0.01	3.04	1	335	0.08
Hypothesis 2b	Workplace Disclosure	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	-0.05	0.02	5.59	1	336	0.02
Hypothesis 3	Workplace Disclosure	Workplace Objective Support	Psychological Dissonance	0.21	0.01	5.31	1	336	0.02
Hypothesis 4	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Nonworkplace Objective Support	Psychological Dissonance	-0.07	0.00	0.29	1	335	0.59
Hypothesis 5a	Workplace Disclosure	Subjective Support	Psychological Dissonance	0.06	0.02	9.21	1	336	0.00
Hypothesis 5b	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Subjective Support	Psychological Dissonance	0.04	0.02	5.50	1	335	0.02

Table 4:

Results of all moderated mediation hypotheses for Study #2

Hypothesis	Predictor	Mediator	Moderator	Outcome	Effect	SE	LLCI	ULCI	Supported
Hypothesis 6	Workplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Identity Centrality	Workplace Satisfaction	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.06	Yes
Hypothesis 6	Workplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Identity Centrality	Workplace Stress	-0.02	0.01	-0.03	-0.00	Yes
Hypothesis 6	Workplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Workplace Satisfaction	0.03	0.02	-0.00	0.06	No
Hypothesis 6	Workplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Workplace Stress	-0.01	0.01	-0.03	0.00	No
Hypothesis 6	Workplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Workplace Objective Support	Workplace Satisfaction	-0.08	0.05	-0.21	0.02	No
Hypothesis 6	Workplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Workplace Objective Support	Workplace Stress	0.04	0.03	-0.01	0.11	No
Hypothesis 6	Workplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Subjective Support	Workplace Satisfaction	-0.04	0.01	-0.07	-0.02	Yes
Hypothesis 6	Workplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Subjective Support	Workplace Stress	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.04	Yes
Hypothesis 7	Workplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Identity Centrality	Workplace Discrimination	-0.01	0.01	-0.03	-0.00	Yes
Hypothesis 7	Workplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Workplace Discrimination	-0.01	0.01	-0.03	0.00	No
Hypothesis 7	Workplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Workplace Objective Support	Workplace Discrimination	0.03	0.03	-0.01	0.10	No
Hypothesis 7	Workplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Subjective Support	Workplace Discrimination	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.03	Yes

Hypothesis 8	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Identity Centrality	Life Satisfaction	0.01	0.01	-0.00	0.03	No
Hypothesis 8	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Identity Centrality	Life Stress	-0.09	0.01	-0.02	0.00	No
Hypothesis 8	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Workplace Disclosure	Life Satisfaction	0.01	0.01	-0.00	0.03	No
Hypothesis 8	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Workplace Disclosure	Life Stress	-0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.00	No
Hypothesis 8	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Nonworkplace Objective Support	Life Satisfaction	0.03	0.07	-0.06	0.23	No
Hypothesis 8	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Nonworkplace Objective Support	Life Stress	-0.03	0.06	-0.19	0.05	No
Hypothesis 8	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Subjective Support	Life Satisfaction	-0.01	0.01	-0.03	-0.00	Yes
Hypothesis 8	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Subjective Support	Life Stress	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.03	Yes
Hypothesis 9	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Identity Centrality	Nonworkplace Discrimination	-0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.00	No
Hypothesis 9	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Workplace Disclosure	Nonworkplace Discrimination	-0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.00	No
Hypothesis 9	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Nonworkplace Objective Support	Nonworkplace Discrimination	-0.02	0.05	-0.14	0.04	No
Hypothesis 9	Nonworkplace Disclosure	Psychological Dissonance	Subjective Support	Nonworkplace Discrimination	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02	Yes

Table 5:

Expanded results for significant moderated mediations in Study #2

Hypothesis	Predictor	Mediator	Moderator	Outcome	Moderator		Effect	SE	CI	
					Level	Value			Lower	Upper
Hypothesis 6	Workplace	Psychological	Identity	Workplace	Low	2.65	0.06	0.03	0.01	0.13
	Disclosure	Dissonance	Centrality	Satisfaction	High	5.63	0.16	0.04	0.09	0.24
Hypothesis 6	Workplace	Psychological	Identity	Workplace	Low	2.65	-0.03	0.02	-0.07	0.00
	Disclosure	Dissonance	Centrality	Stress	High	5.63	-0.08	0.02	-0.14	-0.04
Hypothesis 6	Workplace	Psychological	Subjective	Workplace	High	2.04	0.16	0.04	0.10	0.24
	Disclosure	Dissonance	Support	Satisfaction	Low	5.40	0.01	0.03	-0.05	0.08
Hypothesis 6	Workplace	Psychological	Subjective	Workplace	High	2.04	-0.08	0.02	-0.13	-0.04
	Disclosure	Dissonance	Support	Stress	Low	5.40	-0.01	0.02	-0.04	0.02
Hypothesis 7	Workplace	Psychological	Identity	Workplace	Low	2.65	-0.03	0.01	-0.06	0.00
	Disclosure	Dissonance	Centrality	Discrimination	High	5.63	-0.07	0.02	-0.11	-0.05
Hypothesis 7	Workplace	Psychological	Subjective	Workplace	High	2.04	-0.07	0.01	-0.10	-0.05
	Disclosure	Dissonance	Support	Discrimination	Low	5.40	-0.01	0.01	-0.03	0.02
Hypothesis 8	Nonworkplace	Psychological	Subjective	Life	High	2.04	0.07	0.03	0.02	0.14
	Disclosure	Dissonance	Support	Satisfaction	Low	5.40	0.03	0.02	-0.00	0.07
Hypothesis 8	Nonworkplace	Psychological	Subjective	Life	High	2.04	-0.06	0.02	-0.11	-0.03
	Disclosure	Dissonance	Support	Stress	Low	5.40	-0.03	0.01	-0.06	0.00
Hypothesis 9	Nonworkplace	Psychological	Subjective	Life	High	2.04	-0.05	0.01	-0.08	-0.03
	Nonworkplace	Dissonance	Support	Discrimination	Low	5.40	-0.02	0.00	-0.05	0.00

Table 6:

SEM fit statistics for all measurement and path models

Model	Model Description	χ^2	df	$\Delta\chi^2$	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR
Measurement Model #1	Hypothesized measurement model	216.721	61		.95	.91	.05	.03
Measurement Model #2.1	Hypothesized measurement model	5110.547	1990		.84	.83	.07	.07
Measurement Model #2.2	Collapsing across all workplace outcomes and collapsing all nonworkplace outcomes	9334.53	2036	4223.98*	.63	.61	.10	.16
Measurement Model #2.3	Collapsing across all workplace mediators and collapsing all nonworkplace mediators and outcomes	11121.67	2053	6011.13*	.54	.52	.11	.14
Path Model #2	Hypothesized path model	718.4	209		.62	.42	.09	.10
Lagged Path Model #2	Cross-lagged path model	540.391	151	178.01*	.47	.28	.12	.08

Figure 1.

Overall model of disclosure dissonance

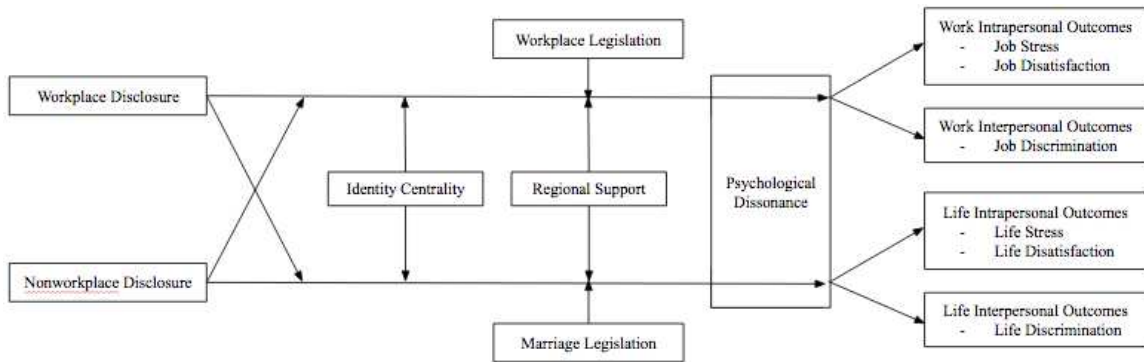


Figure 2.

Model findings for Study #1

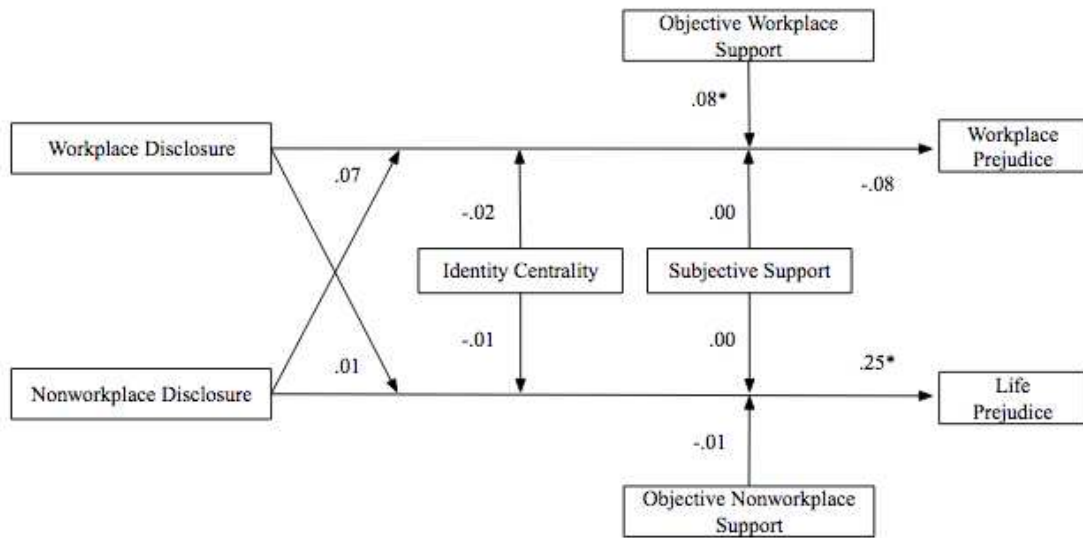


Figure 3.

Model findings for Study #2

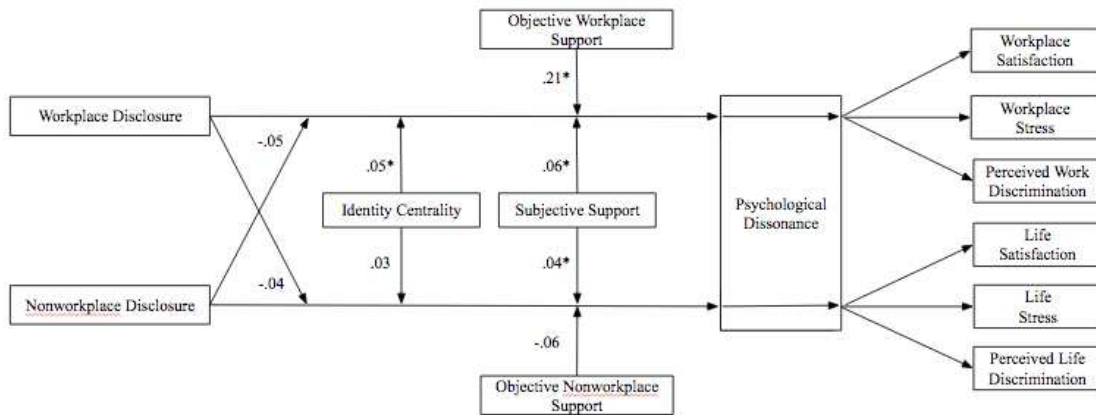


Figure 4.

Model findings for Study #1 in SEM

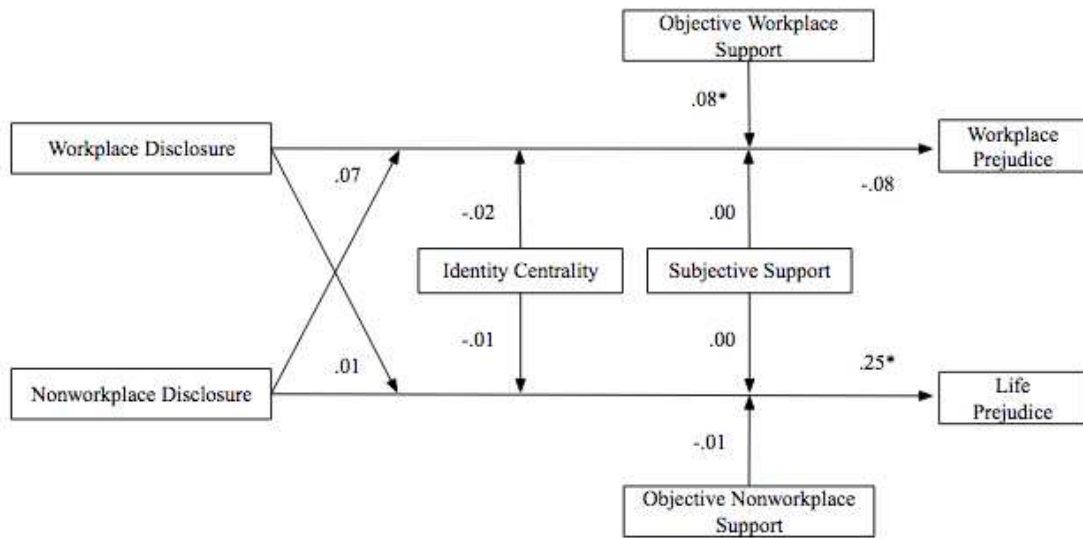


Figure 5.

Model findings for Study #2 in SEM

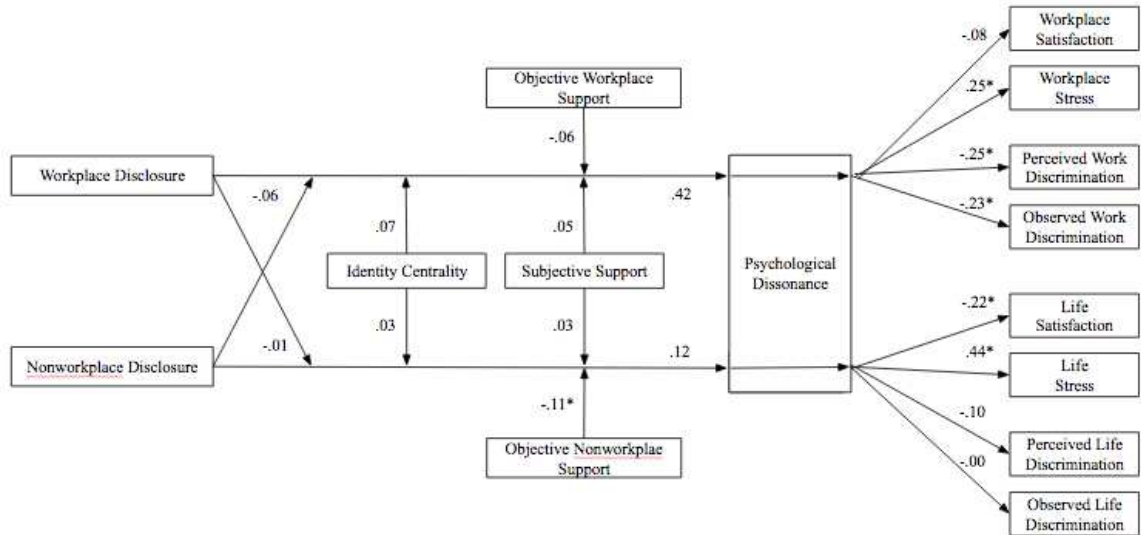


Figure 6.

Interaction between workplace disclosure and workplace objective support on experienced workplace discrimination.

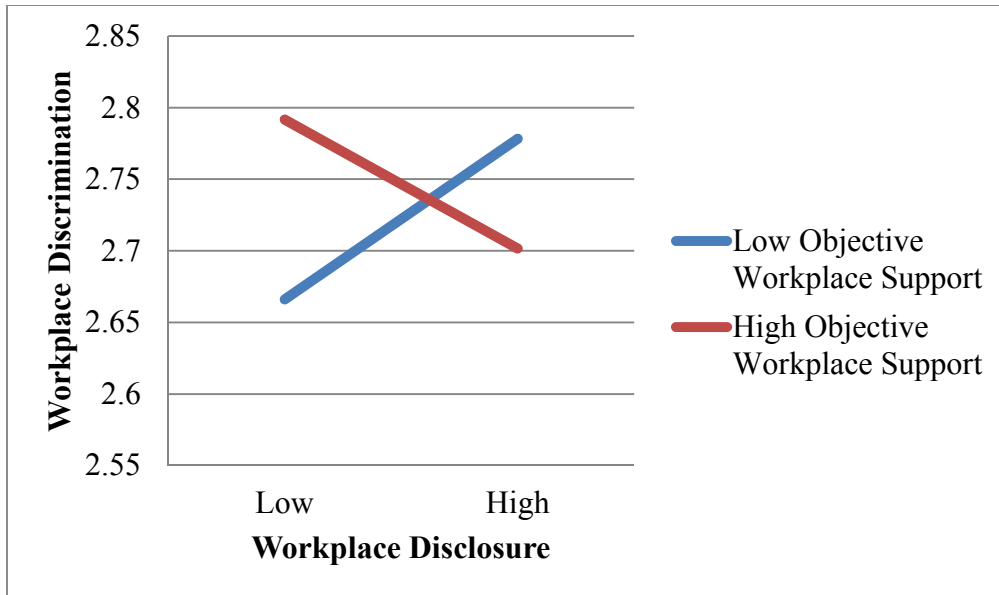


Figure 7.

Interaction between workplace disclosure and identity centrality on psychological dissonance.

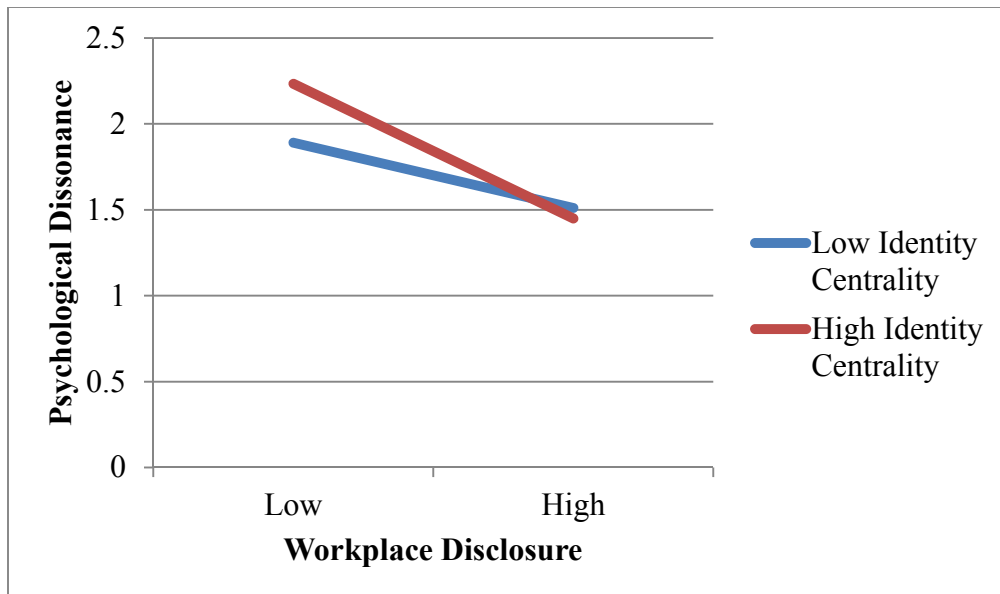


Figure 8.

Interaction between workplace disclosure and nonworkplace disclosure on psychological dissonance.

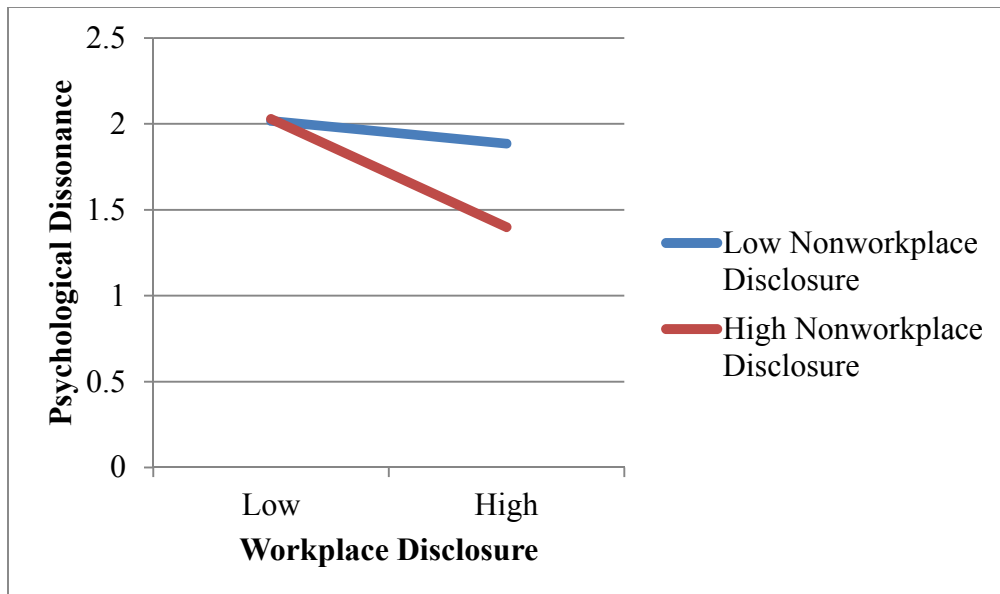


Figure 9.

Interaction between workplace disclosure and objective workplace support on psychological dissonance.

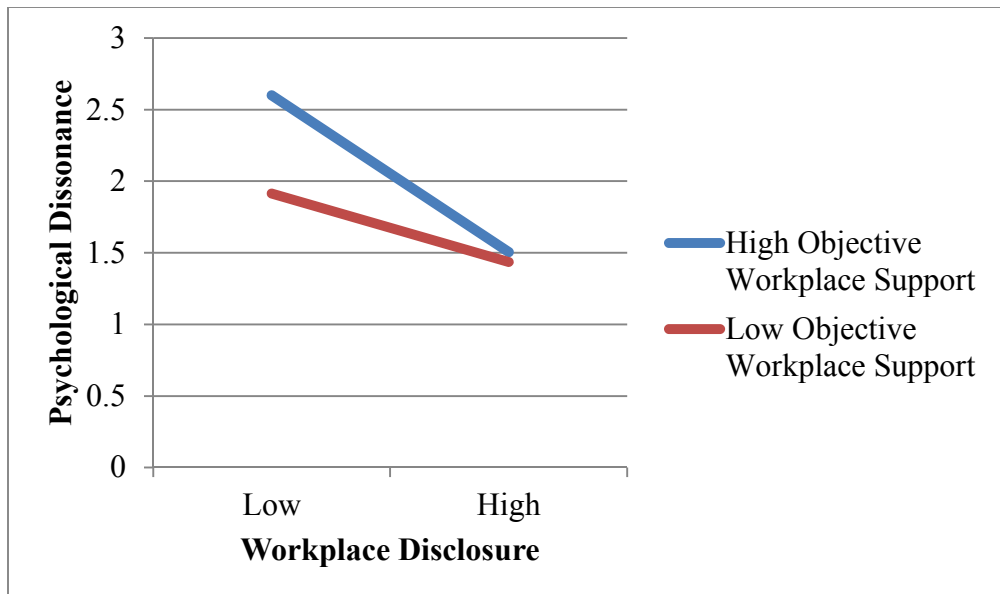


Figure 10.

Interaction between workplace disclosure and subjective support on psychological dissonance.

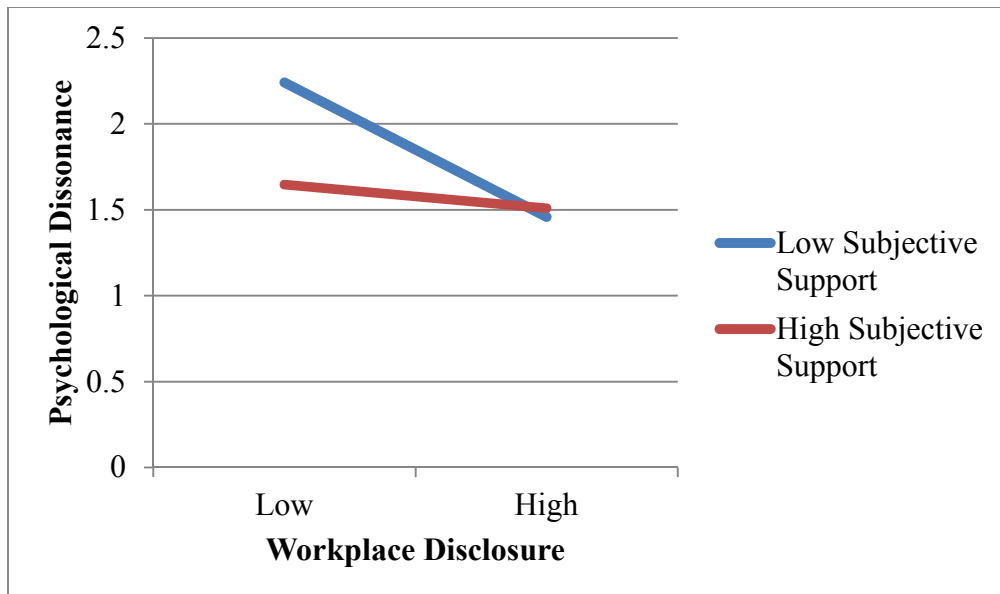
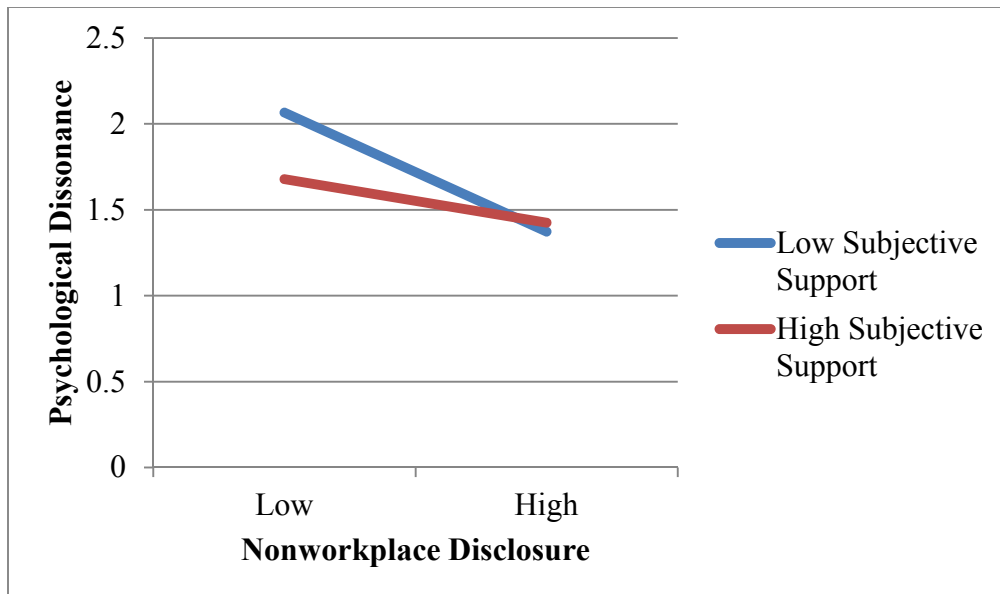


Figure 11.

Interaction between nonworkplace disclosure and subjective support on psychological dissonance.



Study 1 Measures

Workplace disclosure.

“Thinking about the people you work with closely at your job, how many of these people are aware that you are (insert sexual orientation)”

(1 = All or most of them, 2 = Some of them, 3 = Only a few of them, 4 = None of them).

Nonworkplace disclosure.

“Did you ever tell your father about your LGB identity?”

(1 = Yes told my father, 2 = No I did not tell my father, 3 = Not applicable)

“Did you ever tell your mother about your LGB identity?”

(1 = Yes told my mother, 2 = No I did not tell my mother, 3 = Not applicable)

“Did you ever tell your brothers about your LGB identity?”

(1 = Yes told one or more brothers, 2 = No I did not tell any brothers, 3 = Not applicable)

“Did you ever tell your sisters about your LGB identity?”

(1 = Yes told one or more sisters, 2 = No I did not tell any sisters, 3 = Not applicable)

“Have you told any close friends about your LGB identity?”

(1 = Yes, told one or more close friends, 2 = No, did not)

Identity centrality.

“How important, if at all, is being LGB to your overall identity?”

(1 = Extremely important, 2 = Very important, 3 = Somewhat important, 4 = Not too important, 5 = Not at all important).

Life satisfaction.

“Generally, how would you say things are these days in your life? Would you say that you are...”

(1 = Very happy, 2 = Pretty happy, 3 = Not too happy).

Workplace prejudice.

“Please indicate whether or not you have been treated unfairly by an employer in hiring, pay, or promotion because you were perceived to be LGB”

(1 = Yes, 2 = No).

Nonworkplace prejudice.

“Please indicate whether or not you have ____ because you were perceived to be LGB.”

Been threatened or physically attacked

Received poor service in restaurants, hotels, or other places of business

Rejected by a friend or family member

(1 = Yes, 2 = No).

Study 2 Measures

Workplace disclosure.

Integrating Subscale Adapted from Button (1996; 2001)

“Please take a moment and consider how you have handled information related to your sexual orientation during your daily work-related activities over the past two weeks. Then read the following statements and indicate, using the 7-point scale below, how much you agree or disagree with each statement. Your answers should reflect how you conduct yourself, on average, across all of your workplace acquaintances (supervisors, co-workers, subordinates, customers, clients, and other business associates).”

In my daily activities, I am open about my non-heterosexuality whenever it comes up.

Most of the people I interact with at work know that I am non-heterosexual
Whenever I'm asked about being lesbian/gay/bisexual, I always answer in an honest and matter-of-fact way.

It's okay for my non-heterosexual friends to call me at work.

The people I interact with at work know of my interest in LGBT issues.

I look for opportunities to tell the people I interact with at work that I am non-heterosexual.

When a policy or law is discriminatory against LGBT individuals, I tell people what I think.

I let my workplace acquaintances know that I'm proud to be lesbian/gay/bisexual.

I openly confront others at work when I hear a homophobic remark or joke.

I display objects (e.g., photographs, magazines, symbols) at work, which suggest that I am non-heterosexual.

(1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree)

Nonworkplace disclosure.

Integrating Subscale Adapted from Button (1996; 2001)

“Please take a moment and consider how you have handled information related to your sexual orientation during your daily activities outside of work over the past two weeks.

Then read the following statements and indicate, using the 7-point scale below, how

much you agree or disagree with each statement. Your answers should reflect how you conduct yourself, on average, across all of your nonworkplace acquaintances (friends, family-members, neighbors, and community members).”

In my daily activities, I am open about my non-heterosexuality whenever it comes up.

Most of the people I interact with know that I am non-heterosexual

Whenever I’m asked about being lesbian/gay/bisexual, I always answer in an honest and matter-of-fact way.

It’s okay for my non-heterosexual friends to call me.

The people I interact with know of my interest in LGBT issues.

I look for opportunities to tell the people I interact with that I am non-heterosexual.

When a policy or law is discriminatory against LGBT individuals, I tell people what I think.

I let my nonworkplace acquaintances know that I’m proud to be lesbian/gay/bisexual.

I openly confront others when I hear a homophobic remark or joke.

I display objects (e.g., photographs, magazines, symbols), which suggest that I am non-heterosexual.

(1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree)

LGB identity centrality

“Please rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding your attitudes about your non-heterosexual identity.”

Overall, being LGB has very little to do with how I feel about myself.

Being an LGB person is important reflection of who I am.

Being an LGB person is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.

In general, being LGB is an important part of my self-image.

(1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree)

Workplace objective support

“Was it legal for companies to discriminate against LGB employees within your city of residence at the time in which you started working at your current job?”

(1 = Yes, 2 = No)

Nonworkplace objective support

“Was it legal for same-sex couples to legally marry within your city of residence when you first realized you were non-heterosexual?”

(1 = Yes, 2 = No)

Subjective regional support

“At the time you first realized you were non-heterosexual, please rate the extent to which you felt that...”

People in your community were accepting of your sexual orientation.

Your community was tolerant of sexual orientation diversity.

Your community was supportive of all sexual orientations.

(1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 – Strongly Agree)

Workplace psychological dissonance

“Over the past two weeks, please indicate the extent to which you felt ____ regarding your decisions to disclose or conceal your LGB identity while at work”

Uncomfortable

Uneasy

Bothered

(1 = Very Slightly, 5 = Quite a bit)

Nonworkplace psychological dissonance

“Over the past month, please indicate the extent to which you felt ____ regarding your decisions to disclose or conceal your LGB identity to your friends and family.”

Uncomfortable

Uneasy

Bothered

(1 = Very Slightly, 5 = Quite a bit)

Workplace satisfaction.

Over the past two weeks, I have

Been satisfied with my job.

Not liked my job.

Not liked working here.

(1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree).

Life satisfaction.

Over the past two weeks, I have...

Felt that my life is close to my ideal.

Felt that the conditions of my life are excellent.

Been satisfied with my life.

Felt that I have gotten the important things I wanted in life.

Felt that if I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

(1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree)

Job stress.

Over the past two weeks, I have...

Had a great deal of stress because of my job.

Felt that my job is extremely stressful.

Felt that very few stressful things happen to me at work.

Almost never felt stressed at work.

(1 = Strongly Disagree, 5 = Strongly Agree)

Life stress.

Over the past two weeks, I have...

Felt a great deal of stress because of my life.

Felt that my life is extremely stressful.

Felt that very few stressful things happen to me at home.

Almost never felt stressed at home.

(1 = Strongly Disagree, 5 = Strongly Agree)

Perceived job discrimination. (Williams et al., 1997; 1999)

Over the past two weeks, _____ because of my LGB identity while at work.

I have been treated with less courtesy than others

I have been treated with less respect than others

People have acted as if I am not smart

People have acted as if they were better than me

People have acted as if they were afraid of me

People have acted as if they thought I was dishonest

People have called me names or insulted me

I have been threatened or harassed.

(1 = Often, 4 = Never)

Perceived life discrimination (Williams et al., 1997; 1999)

Over the past two weeks, _____ because of my LGB identity while outside of work.

I have been treated with less courtesy than others

I have been treated with less respect than others

People have acted as if I am not smart

People have acted as if they were better than me

People have acted as if they were afraid of me

People have acted as if they thought I was dishonest

I have been called names or insulted

I have been threatened or harassed.

(1 = Often, 4 = Never)

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Isaac Sabat received his Bachelor of Arts from Rice University, Houston, Texas, in 2012. He received his Master of Arts in Industrial/Organizational Psychology from George Mason University in 2014. Throughout his time in graduate school, he has conducted research examining the impact of diversity and discrimination in the workplace, with special focus on invisibly stigmatized minorities. After graduation, he will be joining the industrial/organizational psychology program at Texas A&M University to continue this program of research.