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A LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF THE IDENTITY MANAGEMENT
EXPERIENCES OF BISEXUAL EMPLOYEES

By

David Frank Arena Jr.

A Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Major: Business Administration with a Concentration in Management

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the members of my family; Lori, David, and Alec Arena.
Your support, love, and faith in me is invaluable and humbling. Thank you.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my incredible family who have provided me with overwhelming support, encouragement, and love throughout my time as a graduate student and beyond. Most so to my parents for their tenacity and their ability to give me the perspective I need. Also, to my brother Alec, who offered words of encouragement that were both unprompted, and tremendously wise. Together with my grandparents, and extended family, I am truly loved. I would also like to acknowledge my friends – Nisha and Andy – for their boundless support, love, and for keeping my feet on the ground.

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Abstract

Despite research focused on sexual orientation in the workplace is on a rapid incline, many workplace experiences unique to subpopulations within the nested LGB+ community remain poorly understood. One critical, yet understudied, area of examination is the intersection of sexual orientation and gender as it pertains to bisexuality at work. Extant research suggests that bisexual individuals are harshly stereotyped, and may experience work in a way that is distinct from those who identify as gay or lesbian. Given that sexual orientation is a concealable dimension of one's identity, employees must navigate decisions regarding how, when, and to whom they disclose this piece of their identity at work through different identity management (IDM) strategies. The broad purpose of this work is to better understand both the similarities and differences in workplace experiences between gay men, lesbian women, bisexual men, and bisexual women. 417 LGB employees were recruited as part of a time-lagged data collection effort to better understand how mistreatment at work may be related to work outcomes through concealing as a mediating mechanism, and how the relationship between mistreatment and concealing may be moderated by employee gender or sexual orientation. Considering both primary and supplementary analyses, results indicated support for the hypothesized mediation model, but little evidence of the hypothesized moderation. This dissertation is meant to be one of the first manuscripts to speak to the similarities and differences between those who identify as bisexual and those who identify as gay or lesbian and to advance a dialogue regarding the unique experiences of these populations.

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List of Abbreviations

Identity Management	IDM
Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual	LGB

Introduction

Sexual orientation is likely the most well-known stigmatized identity characteristic with no federal protection against employment discrimination in the United States. While recent court hearings (such as *Bostock v. Clayton County, 2019*, wherein a gay man was terminated by Clayton County due to his sexual orientation) have the potential to shape whether employers can terminate employees based on sexual orientation, the standing of lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) employees in the American workforce is ambiguous and vulnerable. Without adequate legal protection, members of the LGB community continue to receive scrutiny from others based on their sexual orientation (e.g., Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Zurbrügg & Miner, 2016). Indeed, a recent report by researchers at the Williams Institute reveals that stigma against those who identify as non-heterosexual is very much alive (Mallory, Brown, Walch, & Sears, 2017). Encouraging then, is the amount of research blossoming around reducing the marginalization of those in the LGB community both in broader (Gedro, 2010) and organizationally-relevant (Brooks & Edwards, 2009) contexts. This work is critical in both increasing visibility of the stigmatization of LGB employees, and better understanding ally strategies to stigmatized populations.

While the uptick in LGB research is promising, there are still substantial gaps in our understanding of how gay, lesbian, and bisexual employees experience work. For example, while research on the experiences of lesbian and gay individuals has flourished in the past several years (Chonody, Woodford, Brennan & Newman, 2014; Fasoli, Maass, Paladino, & Sulpizio, 2017; Logan et al., 2017), scholarship has historically ignored research focusing on the experiences of bisexual individuals. In a report to the Bisexual Resource Center (BRC), a prominent support center for individuals who identify as bisexual, Robyn Ochs defines bisexuality in the following

way; “I call myself bisexual because I acknowledge in myself the potential to be attracted romantically and/or sexually, to people of more than one sex, not necessarily at the same time, not necessarily in the same way, and not necessarily to the same degree.” (Ochs, BRC). Bisexual individuals are distinguished from those who identify as gay, lesbian, or heterosexual in that individuals who identify with one of these three groups likely acknowledge being sexually or romantically attracted to people of only one sex. It is important to recognize the differences among different subgroups nested within a larger group – in this case, the larger LGB community – as these differences likely shape the experiences of individuals across multiple situational contexts (including the workplace). This logic is paralleled in the work of Meredith Worthen (2013), in an essay arguing for the separate analysis of attitudes toward lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals. In this work, Dr. Worthen argues that efforts to combat prejudices are most likely successful if they are based on research that explores both the similar and different attitudes and experiences of these subpopulations. In line with these arguments, the focal purpose of this dissertation is to explore how bisexual men and women may experience work in a way that is similar or different from that of lesbian women and gay men.

This work yields three important contributions. First, it advances a starkly miniscule body of work focused directly on the experiences of bisexual employees. While bisexual individuals represent the largest portion of the LGB population (Pew Research Center, 2013), there is still much we do not know about the experiences of those who identify as bisexual. Additionally, scholarship has largely ignored the experiences of bisexual individuals in the context of work. This presents an issue for organizations, as there is a chance that policy or diversity initiatives are being enacted without regard for the unique experiences of bisexual employees. To date, there are two other published works on this topic in the management discipline (Arena Jr. &

Jones, 2017; Corrington, Nittrouer, Trump-Steele, & Hebl, 2018). This is concerning from purely a representation standpoint, as the largest population of the LGB community is not receiving the scholarly attention it verily deserves.

Relatedly, this work promotes a narrative of examining bisexual employees as a unique and distinct population from gay or lesbian employees. While research on sexual orientation is on the rise (Mohr et al., 2019; Webster, Adams, Maranto, Sawyer, & Thoroughgood, 2018), much of this work takes a more general perspective by clumping together the experiences of gay, lesbian, and bisexual employees. While this work is foundational in providing a broad perspective on the experiences of sexual orientation minority employees, it does little to explain how each population specifically navigates their time at work. A more pressing problem presents itself when we consider how the results of some studies claiming to represent the “LGB community” may not be generalizable to bisexual employees based on the sample collected. For example, Lloren and Parini’s (2017) work, which focused on supportive workplace policies, collected data from 1065 participants among whom only 98 participants (9% of the sample) identified as bisexual (men and women combined). While included in the analyses, these findings speak far more strongly to the experiences of gay men and lesbian women as compared to bisexual men and women. Thus, in an effort to advance the literature on LGB workers’ experiences, the current work considers how the identity management experiences of bisexual men and women may differ from (or may be similar to) those of gay men and lesbian women. Moreover, the primary contribution of this work is to provide a platform for the workplace experiences of bisexual men and women – not only to advance understanding and improve representation, but also to distinguish their experiences from that of gay men and lesbian women.

Second, in response to recent calls to approach diversity-related phenomenon in a manner that is intersectional – or understanding identity as multifaceted instead of based on a single identity (Crenshaw, 1989) – I consider how both sexual orientation and gender identity shape workplace experiences. Integrating tenets of stigma theory (Goffman, 1963) and ideas related to monosexism (i.e., Diamond, 2008), I first differentiate the workplace experiences of bisexual employees as they compare to gay and lesbian employees. These arguments are complimented by social categorization theory (Tajfel, 1981) – which is integrated into this work to differentiate the experiences of sexual orientation minority men (i.e., gay and bisexual men) from sexual orientation minority women (i.e., lesbian and bisexual women). In bridging these theoretical works, I argue that one of the most prominent identity-focused theories in the management discipline, minority stress theory (Meyer, 1995) may be extended to explain the workplace experiences of intersectionally stigmatized employees. In a broad sense, the arguments of this work highlight that when utilizing minority stress theory (Meyer, 1995) it important to move beyond only considering one identity, and are meant to encourage researchers to consider identity research in a manner that is intersectional (or in a manner that considers multiple identities collectively; Crenshaw, 1989) to provide a more accurate and generalizable representation of the experiences of stigmatized employees.

Third and finally, this work directly responds to past work calling for longitudinal research on instances of mistreatment at work (Jones, Arena, Nittrouer, Alonso & Lindsey, 2017). Indeed, I expand on past research that has measured perceived mistreatment at work in a manner that is cross-sectional (e.g., Miner & Cortina, 2016) to better showcase the downstream impact of perceiving mistreatment at work as a sexual orientation minority employee. My study design is structured to understand the more nuanced and cumulative impact of mistreatment

given the increasing importance of recognizing the critical role of time in the workplace mistreatment literature (Cole, Shipp, & Taylor, 2016). Taken together, my study design affords a more dynamic assessment into how perceived mistreatment at work may influence the identity management experiences of bisexual men, bisexual women, gay men, and lesbian women and how these identity management decisions may erode psychological health factors over the course of two consecutive work weeks (see Figure 1 for hypothesized model).

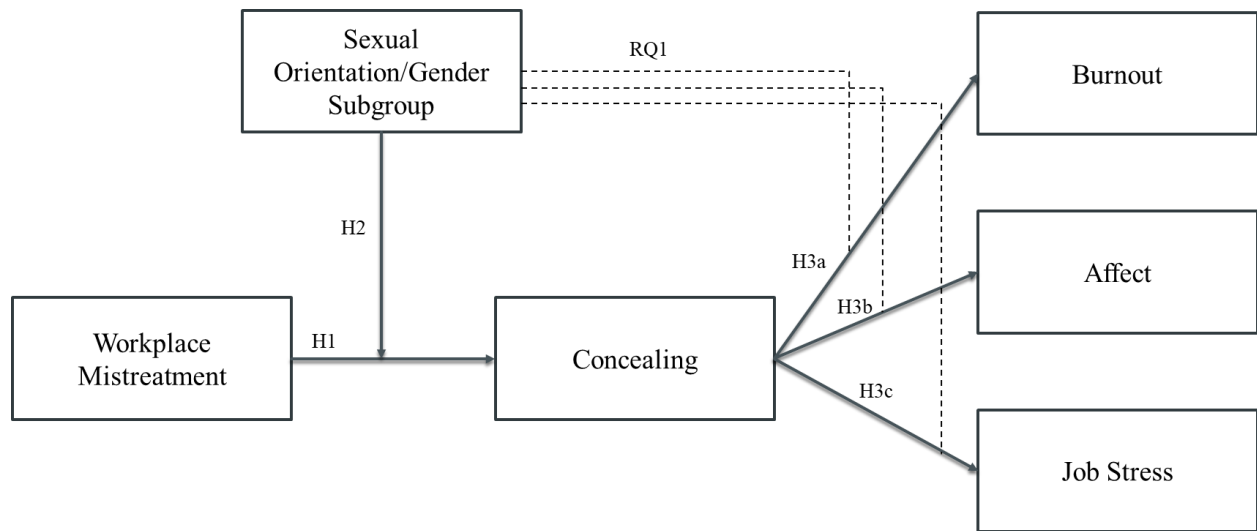


Figure 1.

Graphical Representation of Hypotheses and Research Questions

I begin with a brief overview of past research focused on bisexuality at work and identity management decisions in the workplace. Following this, each pathway within my hypothesized model will be discussed in sequence, first detailing why perceived mistreatment may motivate sexual orientation minority employees to engage in one identity management strategy over another and then explaining why the effect of perceived mistreatment on identity management behaviors may differ for bisexual men, bisexual women, gay men, and lesbian women. I conclude with arguments related to why specific identity management strategies may erode employee mental health related outcomes such as job stress and affect.

Bisexuality in the Workplace

While research on bisexuality is substantially overshadowed by scholarship on those who identify as gay or lesbian, bisexuality is not an entirely novel research topic. As an example, the *Journal of Bisexuality* publishes academic articles and essays focused exclusively on bisexuality and has done so since the inception of the journal in 2000. Popularly cited articles published in this outlet center on attitudes toward bisexuality (Israel & Mohr, 2004), monosexism (Roberts, Horne, & Hoyt, 2015), identity development (Galupo, Davis, Gryniewicz, & Mitchell, 2014), and how bisexuality is situated in reference to the gay and lesbian community (McLean, 2008). While this journal has done well to put research focused on bisexuality on the map, this body of work is still largely underdeveloped and there is a lot we do not know about bisexual individuals. Apart from articles similar to those mentioned above, work on bisexuality has also suffered from overgeneralization; authors generalizing the experiences of gay men, lesbian women, bisexual men, and bisexual women into one larger LGB population. While prominent scholars have studied LGB families (Sawyer, Thoroughgood, & Ladge, 2017), methods of support for LGBT employees (Webster, Adams, Maranto, Sawyer, & Thoroughgood, 2018), and mental health

disparities and outness (Riggle, Rostosky, Black, & Rosenkrantz, 2017), the likely nuance between each subgroup may be suppressed. While it is important to study the similarities between subgroups nested within the LGB acronym, some have argued – and I agree – that the differences may be just as, if not more, important. Indeed, Worthen (2013) argued that “[Analyzing groups separately] is especially important because efforts to combat prejudices are likely to be most successful if they are based in research that explores how attitudes are both similar and different across specified targets of prejudice” (p. 703). In light of this, I argue it is imperative to study the differences and the similarities in experiences for each of these nested subgroups to provide a more comprehensive understanding of how bisexual individuals may experience common phenomenon in a way that is similar to and unique from gay or lesbian individuals.

In addition to a larger dearth of research on bisexual individuals, there is also a lack of context-specific research on this population. Context in this case implies “situational or environmental stimuli that impinge upon focal actors and are often located at a different level of analysis from those actors.” (Johns, 2018; p. 22). The workplace represents a situational context wherein research on bisexuality has been relatively nonexistent. To date, there have been two articles, both published in the *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, that have intentionally focused on how bisexual employees as a unique population experience work. First, Arena Jr. and Jones (2017) found that bisexual employees were less likely to be open about their sexual orientation at work and at home than gay or lesbian employees. Additionally, their work suggested that heterosexual, gay, and lesbian individuals alike endorsed common negative stereotypes of bisexuality (i.e., intolerance and instability), whereas bisexual individuals did not report such beliefs. Gender differences were also apparent such that bisexual men tended to disclose their

sexual orientation at a lower rate than bisexual women. Second, Corrington et al. (2018) build off this study to assess the workplace experiences of bisexual men. Indeed, these authors revealed that bisexual men may endure harsher judgement than bisexual women – which may deter them from disclosing their sexual orientation at work and may lead to higher distress and substance abuse in this population. They argued that men who deviate from heterosexuality may be scrutinized in a way that is distinct from women who may receive muted pushback, maybe because of the oversexualization of women who deviate.

The above studies provide two pieces of vital information necessary to understanding the workplace experiences of bisexual employees. First, both studies exemplify that the experiences of bisexual employees may be different than those who identify as gay or lesbian. Indeed, there is evidence that there are stereotypes associated with bisexuality (i.e., sexual promiscuity, preferences for non-monogamy, and increased confusion about one's identity; Israel & Mohr, 2004) that may not be as strongly associated with gay or lesbian employees. Indeed, Burke and LaFrance (2016) reinforced this line of thinking as heterosexual, gay, and lesbian individuals in their study rated bisexual targets as having a less stable identity than other groups. In light of this, I expect that the differing stereotypes associated with bisexuality will play a role in how bisexual employees make decisions about managing their identity at work and may shape their workplace experiences in a way that is unique from other groups.

Second, the above work makes salient that studying sexual orientation in isolation of gender may not be sufficient to understand how these employees experience work. Indeed, both Arena and Jones (2017) and Corrington et al., (2018) showcased that bisexual men and women experience work differently – arguing that gender is playing a role in identity management and stereotype salience. Theoretical arguments related to intersectionality (Crenshaw, 2017) – or

understanding identity as a multi-layer phenomenon compared to unidimensional – supports this line of logic such that sexual orientation and gender may be intertwined in shaping workplace experiences. Indeed, the past decade has revealed a push for more diversity scholars to assess stigma in an intersectional manner; considering how identities intertwine to shape the experience of employees (who are likely to identify with more than one stigmatized identity). There is both theoretical and empirical evidence which casts doubt on the extent to which bisexual men and bisexual women undergo similar identity management processes. For example, Israel and Mohr (2004) found that bisexual men were rated as less acceptable than bisexual women by heterosexual participants, while participants rated bisexual men and women both as less favorable than a variety of other groups. There is also a growing body of evidence highlighting that heterosexual men tend to rate bisexual men as the least favorable compared to bisexual women, gay men, and lesbian women (Herek, 2002; Pirlott & Neubergg, 2014; Steffens & Wagner, 2004) along with new evidence of bisexual men’s own awareness of other’s distaste of their sexual preference unlike bisexual women (Schrimshaw, Downing Jr., & Cohn, 2018). Based on the this body of work, there is evidence that gender and sexual orientation may interact to shape workplace experiences – reinforcing my reasoning for studying bisexual men, bisexual women, gay men, and lesbian women as distinct populations.

The above work makes apparent the stigmatization and devaluation of those who identify as bisexual. In light of this stigmatization, bisexual individuals may feel the need to make decisions about when, where, how, and to whom they discuss their sexual orientation with to curb potential victimization, ostracism, or skepticism. To explore this, I consider the workplace as a context for managing bisexual identities as one’s social standing at work may be tied to resources, pay, promotion, and job security. In the following section, I provide a brief overview

of the identity management literature as it pertains to the workplace to explain why bisexual individuals may feel the need to conceal their sexual orientation to coworkers, supervisors, and other members of their organization.

Theoretical Overview of Identity Management at Work

Considerable research has provided a foundation for how stigmatized individuals manage their identity at work. Clair et al. (2005) identified three broad categories of IDM; 1) **revealing** or intentionally disclosing, 2) **concealing** or passing as a member of the majority group, and 3) **signaling** or providing subtle cues to “*test the waters*” to gauge the risks associated with disclosure at work prior to actually disclosing. Because the workplace is a specific context wherein employees are likely to engage in additional efforts to manage their professional image (Roberts, 2005), individual strategies for managing one’s concealable stigmas at work has become a topic of increasing interest in management literature.

For example, Jones and King (2014) generated a multilevel model delineating several factors that lead to and result from IDM strategies to bring clarity to this area. Lynch and Rodell (2018) built on this work, proposing four IDM strategies for managing one’s stigmatized identity at work – assimilating, decategorizing, integrating, and confirming – to provide a more contemporary model of IDM. While decategorizing and assimilating are more closely related to actively concealing a stigmatized identity, integrating and confirming are more similar to actively revealing a stigmatized identity (signaling one’s identity is not explicitly related to any of the four categories). While these models provide a foundation for scholars to understand the IDM process broadly, the unique IDM experience of bisexual employees remains poorly understood. Indeed, while scholars have generated theory around the IDM behaviors of LGB individuals broadly (Chung, Chang, & Rose, 2015), research has yet to explore differences in

IDM experiences between sexual orientation by gender subgroups – arguably further contributing to the overall invisibility of bisexuality in the literature. Additionally, a recent review focused on the disclosure of stigmatized identities recognized that the majority of research focused on IDM centered on sexual orientation minority employees and contended that scholarship needs to move in a direction that is more intersectional (Follmer, Sabat, & Siuta, 2019).

While the above evidence provides a foundation for the importance of assessing (and better understanding) identity management strategies enacted by various group, it does not entirely explain *why* bisexual employees may have differing experiences as compared to gay and lesbian employees. Horizontal hostility theory (White & Langer, 1999) provides clarity in this area based on how bisexual employees are situated on the perceived heterosexual to homosexual continuum. This theory implies that minority status group members show *horizontal* hostility towards group that are perceived to be similar and in close proximity to their own stigmatized group, but closer to the societal norm. This hostility involved members of a minority group expressing unfavorable attitudes toward similarly marginalized groups that are perceived to be more similar to what could be classified as the majority in terms of power and status. In White and Langer's (1999) seminal work, they claimed that "lesbians and gay men are more similar to bisexuals than they are to heterosexuals and, at the same time, lesbians and gay men are relatively [further from the heterosexual norm] than bisexuals" (p. 540). In other words, the perception that bisexuality may be more akin to heterosexuality than homosexuality may be the reason that gay and lesbian individuals enact hostility toward bisexual individuals. Bisexuality is perceived to be adjacent (horizontal) to homosexuality, but the power/status associated with a seemingly heterosexual relationship that bisexual individuals may have evokes that they are

closer to heterosexuality than homosexual individuals who do not have this option. This falls in line with common misconceptions that bisexual employees can both benefit from the inclusion of the LGB community but also from straight ‘privilege’ – or the implicit power and status attributed to those who identify with societal majority statuses - by leveraging their identity status. This line of thinking may explain why gay men and lesbian women have been found to endorse bisexuality-related stereotypes in previous studies (i.e., Arena Jr. & Jones, 2017). Indeed, bisexual individuals may be perceived to be closer to the normative heterosexual group by those who identify as homosexual – garnering distaste from homosexual individuals for their *perceived* ability to be able to play both sides of the continuum.

Together, the above sections first situate the status of research centered on bisexuality at work, and then discuss how past work on identity management may be integrated to better understand the workplace experiences of bisexual employees. In light of the above discussion, I will next present and justify the hypothesized linkages in my theoretical model. I first explain how individuals may react with specific identity management behaviors after being targeted with events of mistreatment at work. I then argue why the relationship between experiences of mistreatment and identity management behaviors may be different for gay men, bisexual men, lesbian women, and bisexual women. Following this, I provide insight into why concealing as an identity management strategy may be related to lower employee psychological health before arguing an overall mediation model in which mistreatment indirectly influences psychological health through concealing as a mediator. In studying these relationships, I contribute to the workplace diversity literature a narrative that considers each subpopulation as a distinct entity, and explore where the similarities and differences in experiences lie between groups.

Rationale for Hypotheses

Perceptions of Mistreatment and Identity Management

Past work has detailed that workplace mistreatment is complex, multifaceted, and presents itself in a different way in modern organizational environments. Jones, Arena, Nittrouer, Alonso, and Lindsey's (2017) work characterizes workplace discrimination along three different continua to explain this complexity. While these authors address discrimination, a form of workplace mistreatment, the arguments can be applied to the broader umbrella term of mistreatment as well. By mistreatment I mean ... The first continuum on which mistreatment varies, *subtlety*, considers how obvious it is that mistreatment has occurred, with overt forms being blatant and apparent and subtle forms being nuanced, ambiguous, and difficult to detect. While overt mistreatment may involve clearly exercising unfair treatment (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011), subtle mistreatment can involve more insidious behaviors such as a lack of eye contact, negative body posture, slights, or rudeness. The second continuum, *formality*, characterizes mistreatment by the degree to which it results in job-related consequences. *Formal* mistreatment, at one end of the spectrum, is mistreatment that leads to job-related consequences such as demotion or termination. At the other end of the spectrum, *interpersonal* mistreatment occurs within social relationships, and can involve disrespect, incivility, or ostracizing others. Finally, the third continuum considers *intentionality*, or the extent to which mistreatment was intended. Often thought to be correlated with the subtlety of mistreatment – subtle forms of mistreatment are considered to be more ambiguous and therefore might be more likely to be enacted unintentionally – this may not always be the case. Indeed, Jones et al. argue that “discrimination might be obvious (overt) but unintentional, as is often the case in situations when someone “puts their foot in their mouth,” or says something offensive without thinking but clearly did not intend

or plan to harm the target” (2017, p. 8-9). Taken together, this work highlights that mistreatment can be perpetrated in a variety of different ways, and we have departed from solely having to worry about traditional forms of mistreatment that are overt, intentional, and formal. What is apparent from this work is that the *impact* of events of workplace mistreatment may outweigh the *intent* behind a comment or slight, and that all forms of mistreatment may not be internalized in the same way.

While the above work implies that mistreatment can manifest in a variety of ways, a substantial body of work considers the impact of mistreatment (as compared to the intent or what it looks like). Indeed, the experience of perceiving mistreatment from the perspective of a target (or bystander) has received a good bit of attention in management scholarship. Indeed, perceived mistreatment has been linked to a number of organizationally-relevant outcomes such as greater psychological or work withdrawal (Boswell & Olson-Buchanan, 2004; Volpone & Avery, 2013); reduced target health (Falkner et al., 1999; Pavalko, Mossakowski, & Hamilton, 2003); lower commitment, job satisfaction, organizational citizenship behaviors; and greater counterproductive work behaviors (Ensher, Grant-Vallone, & Donaldson, 2001; Penney & Spector, 2005). Additionally, Ragins and Cornwell (2001) found that perceived mistreatment is impactful for gay and lesbian employees such that those who perceived mistreatment were less likely to disclose their sexual orientation at work, reported greater turnover intentions, lower commitment, lower self-esteem, less job satisfaction, and perceived less opportunities for promotion,.

While the above work highlights how perceptions of mistreatment can lead to work-related consequences, I focus on how perceptions of mistreatment can relate to identity management strategies; particularly concealing. The relationship between expecting

mistreatment at work and hesitation surrounding disclosure has been previously theorized (i.e., Clair et al., 2005; Ragins, 2008) and has been supported in past empirical work (i.e., Abbott & Mollen, 2018; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). Tenets of stigma theory (Goffman, 1963) help to explain how different groups of marginalized employees may make decisions about their identity after experiencing mistreatment. Goffman explains that these experiences depend on how readily identity characteristics can be concealed, or suppressed from the naked eye, with some characteristics termed discredited, and others discreditable. Discredited identities are more easily discernable and identifiable (such as race or physical disability), while discreditable identities are more easily concealed (such as HIV infection or sexual orientation; Chaudoir, Earnshaw, & Anel, 2013). While both discredited and discreditable individual experience similar consequences when experiencing mistreatment, discreditable individuals are more likely to take active steps to conceal or avoid disclosing their stigmatized identity in future interactions (primarily because they have more of a feasible option to do so). Consider the following example: while at the water cooler at work, Mark (a heterosexual man) mentions to Steve (a bisexual man who has not disclosed his sexual orientation at work yet) that he believes that men who sleep with men are immoral. Steve internalizes this comment, and decides to avoid disclosing to Mark that he is bisexual and is currently in a same-sex relationship. Later that evening, while Mark feels comfortable bringing his girlfriend to a company happy hour, Steve does not bring his boyfriend out of fear of being targeted with more mistreatment. This scenario exemplifies how a sexual orientation minority employee may take steps to first avoid disclosing their sexual orientation after experiencing mistreatment or anticipating stigma from others. The target in this scenario then also conceals their sexual orientation by avoiding bringing his partner to happy hour.

The relationship between mistreatment and concealing one's sexual orientation has been well founded in the work of Belle Ragins, such that when LGB employees perceive mistreatment at work, they are more likely to fear disclosing, and to disclose to a lesser degree compared to when less mistreatment is perceived (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001; Ragins, Singh & Cornwell, 2007). Indeed, gay and lesbian employees were found to be more likely to conceal their sexual orientation at work when they reported more instances of discrimination (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). To build on this foundational work, I expect that when LGB employees perceive mistreatment at work, they will be less likely to disclose their sexual orientation to others (i.e., more likely to conceal). Formally:

Hypothesis 1: Higher perceived mistreatment will be significantly and positively related to concealing sexual orientation identity.

Subgroup Differences in the Relationship Between Mistreatment and Identity Management

While the relationship between perceived workplace mistreatment and identity management strategies has been established, few scholars have considered how this process might be different for employees with intersectionally stigmatized identities. To advance past findings, I argue in the following sections that the degree of effect of perceived mistreatment on concealing as an identity management strategy may be different for each of the subpopulations of interest for this study (i.e., bisexual men, bisexual women, gay men, and lesbian women). To be clear, I do not mean to argue that perceptions of mistreatment will not lead to concealing for any of the four populations; I argue that perceived mistreatment will indeed predict concealing for all four groups but that the magnitude of this significant relationship will vary in strength across groups. Specifically, I expect that the slope of the positive relationship between perceived mistreatment and concealing will be strongest and most positive for bisexual men, followed by

bisexual women, then gay men, and finally, it will be weakest – albeit still significant – for lesbian women.

Based on tenets of intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 2017), I postulate that to understand fully how bisexual, gay, and lesbian employees react to perceiving mistreatment, both sexual orientation and gender must be considered. As such, three separate but related arguments must be articulated. First, I must differentiate the experiences of bisexual employees from that of gay and lesbian employees. Second, the gender of employees must be discussed to explain how a male or female presenting identity might shape this relationship. Finally, I will discuss gender and sexual orientation in conjunction to explain why bisexual men may react strongest to perceptions of mistreatment at work. Taken together, the following sections are meant to explain how gender and sexual orientation might interact to shape the relationship between perceived mistreatment and identity management behaviors

Bisexual Employee Experiences vs. Gay/Lesbian Employee Experiences

While past work has recognized that when faced with mistreatment at work, sexual orientation minorities may be more likely to conceal their true identity at work (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001; Ragins et al., 2007), this work has largely failed to describe how this process may be different for bisexual employees as compared to gay and lesbian employees. In this section, I provide both theoretical and empirical evidence as to why the relationship between perceived mistreatment and concealing as an identity management strategy may be stronger for bisexual employees as compared to homosexual counterparts.

One of the tenets of stigma theory (Goffman, 1963) may begin to explain why perceived mistreatment may have a stronger impact on identity management for bisexual employees.

Original work on stigma theory was meant to understand “how ... the stigmatized person respond[s] to his [or her] situation” (Goffman, 1963; 9). A point of discussion in this work considers the controllability of stigma, or the degree to which stigmatized individuals are, or are perceived to be, in control of the presentation of their stigma or in control of removing the stigma entirely (Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014). Perceptions of whether a stigmatized identity can be controlled is an important determinant of who will be mistreated at work, and why perpetrators choose to mistreat (Crocker, Major & Steele, 1998). Perpetrators may reason that targets can actively take steps to move themselves away from the minority and toward the majority, and as such, may feel less dissonance when mistreating others because of these biases. Some of the largest bodies of work in which controllability is a predominant force in justifying discriminatory behavior are in weight stigma (Blaine & Williams, 2004; Puhl & Brownell, 2003), sexually transmitted illness (particularly AIDS-related stigma; Borchert & Rickabaugh, 1995), and substance abuse (Kelly & Westerhoff, 2009). Endorsing that a stigmatized identity is controllable promotes a climate wherein marginalization is the fault of the target, not the fault of the perpetrator (i.e., ‘it’s their own fault’ vs. ‘they cannot help it’). Considering weight stigma, it has been argued that the perceived controllability of weight gain correlates strongly, and in some cases justifies, the expression of prejudices against heavier individuals (i.e., Blaine & Williams, 2004; Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; Hegarty & Golden, 2008).

In addition to the aforementioned groups, perceptions of controllability have been used to explain some of the experiences of sexual orientation minority individuals (King, 2001). Indeed, past work has found that heterosexual individual’s attitudes toward homosexuality was more negative when this characteristic was classified as controllable as compared to uncontrollable (Whitley, 1990). To contribute to this body of work, I argue that tenets of controllability may

explain evidence that both heterosexual and homosexual populations hold stereotypes of bisexual individuals aligning with monosexism (Diamond, 2008). Monosexism is the belief that people can only truly be either straight or gay, and has been found to be endorsed by both heterosexual (i.e., Israel & Mohr, 2004) and gay/lesbian (Bostwick & Hequembourg, 2013) communities. The crux of why bisexual employees may be vulnerable to monosexism is that they are perceived to have more control over their sexual orientation than others. Indeed, one study found that bisexual individuals were perceived to want to leave their same-sex partner for the social benefits, and implied power and status, of a heterosexual relationship (Israel & Mohr, 2004). This perception of the ability to actively control how much privilege one is ascribed is likely to weigh on bisexual employees, and is likely to serve as justification for straight, gay, and lesbian individuals to endorse bisexuality stereotypes (such as sexual promiscuity or identity confusion). While this leniency in sexual orientation is ascribed to bisexual individuals, this is not a perception of gay or lesbian individuals such that these groups are not perceived to be in control of their sexual orientation to the same degree as bisexual individuals are. Indeed, past work on popular beliefs regarding bisexuality supports that bisexual individuals can be perceived as transitory – bisexual individuals will return to heterosexuality – or transitional – bisexual individuals will eventually transition to homosexuality (MacDonald, 1981).

I argue that the knowledge of stereotypes related to controllability (of which bisexual individuals have been found to be aware, but not endorse; Burke & LaFrance, 2016), and societal attitudes related to monosexism may play a role in how bisexual individuals manage their identity in a way that is distinct from gay or lesbian individuals. Indeed, while the above arguments are more so related to why bisexual individuals may have a different experience than gay or lesbian employees, the arguments can be applied to explain why subgroup (bisexual vs.

gay/lesbian) may interact with perceived mistreatment to predict identity management behaviors. Bisexual employees are likely aware that their sexual orientation is viewed as controllable in a way that is far more salient (and vicious) than gay and lesbian employees. This is an avenue of explanation as to why perceived mistreatment may be more predictive of concealing for bisexual individuals. Stigma salience (Pachankis, 2007) refers to the relative accessibility of stigma-related thoughts, and the salience of one's concealable stigma in a particular situation determines how individuals may manage their identity. Because disclosing bisexuality after perceiving mistreatment at work runs a greater risk of being met with confusion, de-authenticating language, and skepticism, I argue that the mistreatment that bisexual employees perceive may be more salient and more intense than that perceived by gay/lesbian employees. Coupled with the fact that bisexual employees are stigmatized by both heterosexual and gay/lesbian individuals, I expect that bisexual employees will react to perceptions of mistreatment in a way that is commensurate with the salience of the ramification associated with identifying as bisexual. Based on this reasoning, I contend that an increase in perceived mistreatment will lead to greater concealing in bisexual employees as compared to gay or lesbian employees.

Differences in Experiences for Sexual Orientation Minority Men and Women

While tenets of controllability explain why bisexual employees may react to perceptions of mistreatment in a way that is commensurate with the salience of bisexuality stereotypes, it does not explain how the gender of the employee adds a layer of complexity to this process. Indeed, to best understand the relationship between perceptions of mistreatment and identity management strategies, both sexual orientation and gender must be considered. Indeed, there is evidence in management literature considering how the experience of sexual orientation minority men may be distinct from sexual orientation minority women. Integrating tenets of social

categorization (Tajfel, 1981) and perspectives from intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989), this section is meant to both identify how minority stress theory (Meyer, 1995) can be applied to this intersectional identity and to explain how gender may play a role in the relationship between perceived mistreatment and identity management strategies for sexual orientation minority employees (employees who do not identify as straight).

In line with arguments proposed by Corrington et al. (2018), I first draw on social categorization theory (Tajfel, 1981) to describe why the experiences of sexual orientation minority men may be different than that of sexual orientation minority women. Social categorization theory posits that humans are more likely to categorize other individuals into social categories that are familiar to them, and when they are unable to categorize someone easily, this may cause confusion and discomfort (Corrington et al., 2018). Contributing to past work that has applied this theory to sexual orientation, I argue that men deviating from heterosexuality will be perceived as more difficult to categorize than women who deviate from heterosexuality. Indeed, societally ascribed power is more congruent with a male identity than traditional female gender stereotypes (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010). When men deviate from heterosexuality, they may be perceived to be ‘giving up’ some of the power and status associated with their male gender identity, leading to difficulties in categorization. This is confusing, as it may be more intuitive that individuals would want to increase their power/status instead of giving it up.

To better understand the implications of the confusion individuals may have in categorizing sexual orientation minority men, I draw from assumptions of minority stress theory (Meyer, 1995). Minority stress theory “posits that disproportionate stress related to stigmatized status is linked to psychological distress” (Velez, Moradi, & Brewster, 2013, p. 1). Meyer (2003) proposed that the stigmatization of sexual orientation minority individuals falls into four areas;

heterosexist discrimination, expectations of stigma, internalized heterosexism, and the need for perpetual identity management. Each of these four dimensions of stigmatization contribute to the overall ‘minority stress’ that sexual orientation minority employees feel and experience.

Traditional applications of this theory imply that when considering any given identity characteristic, there is a societal majority and a societal minority – with the minority status as the one who is more likely to experience minority stress. This minority stress is associated with the stress one feels knowing that their identity is not in the majority. For example, considering gender at work, one could expect women to be the social minority and men to be the social majority based on past findings related to gender inequality (Bobbitt-Zeher, 2011). Others studying minority stress have advanced this work by considering how individuals with multiple minority status identities may experience minority stress. For example, one study found that among ethnic minority participants, identifying as non-heterosexual was related to increased distress (Hayes, Chun-Kennedy, Edens, & Locke, 2011). In concordance with this, I aim to explore how workplace experiences may be different for employees when considering both their gender and their sexual orientation (as compared to one or the other).

Considering the gender of sexual orientation minority employees, a number of studies have found that sexual orientation minority men (as compared to sexual orientation minority women) conceal their sexual orientation to a greater degree, and are more vulnerable to mistreatment (Arena & Jones, 2017; Burke & LaFrance, 2016, Corrington et al., 2018; Costa, Pereira, & Leal, 2013). This is interesting, given that while women may be perceived to be the societal minority when only gender is considered, men may be the lower power/status group when gender and sexual orientation are considered together. This calls into question the application of minority stress theory when multiple identity characteristics are considered.

Indeed, an identity being the minority when considered alone, but the majority when considered with other identity characteristics provides an interesting avenue of extension for minority stress theory. This is not to mean that minority stress theory is obsolete by any means, but does call into question how identities combine together to shape how any given employees is evaluated as being part of the majority or minority.

Differences in Experiences Based on both Sexual Orientation and Gender Together

Taking both of the above sections into consideration begs the question, how do sexual orientation and gender identity together shape experiences? First, I provided information as to how bisexual employees may differ in their experiences from gay or lesbian employees. For example, Arena Jr. and Jones (2017) and Corrington et al. (2018) both found that bisexual individuals may incur a penalty that is not incurred by gay or lesbian employees due to non-bisexual individual's inability to categorize bisexual individuals are part of the sexual orientation dichotomy. Further, Corrington and colleagues (2018) argue that bisexual men may be faced with even harsher penalties when disclosing than do bisexual women. This is corroborated by evidence that bisexual men report more workplace mistreatment than bisexual women (Corrington et al., 2018; Tweedy & Yescavage, 2015), and evidence that bisexual men but not bisexual women are perceived to be closeted homosexuals (Alarie & Gaudet, 2013) and are less likely to disclose their true orientation (Arena Jr. & Jones, 2017). I coupled this with information related to why the experiences of sexual orientation minority men may be different than that of sexual orientation minority women. Integrating social categorization theory (Tajfel, 1981), I argued that outsiders may have more trouble easily categorizing men who deviate from heterosexuality which may lead to discomfort and confusion regarding giving up perceived power and status that may not generalize to when women deviate from heterosexuality. Indeed,

fluidity in sexual orientation is more societally acceptable in women as compared to men (Diamond, 2008). Additionally, because bisexual men occupy both a societal majority identity status (their male identity) and a societal minority identity status (their bisexuality), there may be increased dissonance evoked through the inability to easily categorize these individuals as compared to bisexual women (whose female and bisexual identity may both be perceived as minority identity statuses). Considering these arguments, I postulate that both sexual orientation and gender together may shape the workplace experiences of gay men, lesbian women, bisexual men, and bisexual women.

Because of the pervasive prejudice and discounting associated with bisexuality in men, I predict that the relationship between perceptions of mistreatment and concealing will be moderated by gender/sexual orientation subgroups. To explain the nature of this moderation, I expect that the relationship between mistreatment and concealing will be strongest and most positive for bisexual men, followed by bisexual women, gay men, and finally lesbian women. This does not mean to imply that perceived mistreatment will not be positively related to concealing groups other than bisexual men, but is meant instead to argue that the relationship will be strongest and most positive for bisexual men, and positive (but weaker) for each of the other groups in sequence. In a similar vein considering gender and sexual orientation, there is evidence of the differences between the workplace experiences of gay men and lesbian women; and the potential benefits that lesbian women may have at work over their male counterparts. Indeed, a study by Liberman and colleagues (2015) found that the stereotypes of lesbian female managers were more congruent with prototypes for a successful manager. Indeed, while lesbian women were more so ascribed to traits such as ‘competent’ and ‘rational’, gay men were rated dissimilarly to a successful leader (similar to ratings of a heterosexual woman). Taking this into

account, gay men (and bisexual men) may incur penalties when disclosing that lesbian women (and bisexual women) may not. This logic is corroborated in a book by Pamela Brand (2008), in which she discusses the advantages that lesbian women have at work compared to other groups. Indeed, she details that lesbian women are more likely to “fit in” in male dominated workplaces as compared to heterosexual women. This narrative explains that when lesbian women perceive mistreatment at work, the salience of stigma may be attenuated because of the benefits associated with some of the stereotypes of lesbian women.

Considering all of the above evidence, I argue that the relationship between perceived mistreatment and identity management will be moderated by sexual orientation and gender (subgroups). Indeed, I expect that the relationship will be strongest for bisexual men, then bisexual women, gay men, and finally, lesbian women. While gender effects are discussed, I expect that the salience of stigma regarding bisexuality will influence bisexual women to react more strongly to perceptions of mistreatment at work as compared to gay men – who are more likely to fit into more widely accepted categories of sexual orientation. Formally:

Hypothesis 2: The slope of the positive relationship between perceived mistreatment and concealing as an identity management strategy will be strongest and most positive for bisexual men, followed by bisexual women, gay men, and finally lesbian women.

Identity Management and Implications for Mental Health

The consequences of concealing as a method of identity management have been well discussed in the past literature. In a broad sense, employee mental health is expected to suffer when stigmatized employees conceal their stigmatized identities. Pachankis (2007) provided a model of the psychological implications of concealing a stigma. This elucidates that there can be

both cognitive and affective consequences to concealing such as anxiety, depression, guilt, and shame. Pachankis' process model presents a theory-driven argument using tenets of stigma theory (Goffman, 1963) and strategic perception management theory (Olney & Brockelman, 2003) to showcase the intrapersonal consequences that may result from concealing a stigmatized identity. Other research in this area substantiates that concealing a stigmatized identity relates to mental health detriments. Concealing a non-heterosexual identity was related to greater reports of depression and lower overall psychological well-being (Beals, 2004; Ullrich, Lutgendorf, & Stapleton, 2003). Additionally, individuals who concealed stigmas reported higher anxiety and depression as well as lower confidence and self-esteem (Frable et al., 1998). Madera (2010) expanded on this to argue that there are cognitive ramifications related to being fearful of disclosing (or actively concealing) one's sexual orientation at work. Indeed, Madera used a self-regulation lens to argue that the cognitive resources being depleted by concealing one's sexual orientation are the same resources necessary for executive functioning and task completion. King and Cortina (2010) argued that the degree to which LGB individuals fear disclosing their identity is related to negative consequences including lower work-related attitudes and worsened mental and physical health. Finally, one study found a positive relationship between the desire to conceal and consequences for mental health in a sample of bisexual men (Schrimshaw, Siegel, Downing, & Parsons, 2013).

In light of this expected depletion as a result of concealing, I selected three primary correlates of overall employee mental health – burnout, mood, and job stress – that are likely to be negatively impacted after concealing a stigmatized identity. I selected cognitive burnout as an outcome that is more directly related to cognition, whereas affect and guilt were selected as more psychological consequences of concealing a stigmatized identity. Finally, job stress, was selected

to examine whether the minority stress that sexual orientation minority employees feel as a result of perceived mistreatment or concealing – or both in sequence – may spill over to produce stress experienced in relation to work. Together, these three outcomes represent a gamut of psychological health detriments that may result from concealing one’s sexual orientation, and represent outcomes with collective support across previous findings in their relationship with concealing. While the aforementioned studies support the relationship between concealing and psychological health, studying these specific outcome variables will both contribute to past work in similar veins, and provide insight into how these relationships may be similar or different across the populations of interest. Additionally, assessing all of these outcome variables will allow me to evaluate which has the strongest or weakest relationship with concealing across groups.

Hypothesis 3: Higher use of concealing as an identity management strategy will be related to (a) greater cognitive burnout, (b) lower positive affect, greater negative affect, and greater guilt, and (c) greater job stress as compared to lower use of concealing.

In light of the above, I expect that perceptions of mistreatment will lead to detriments in employee mental health through concealing behaviors as a mediator. Past work has theorized the indirect influence of different forms of workplace mistreatment on work outcomes such as turnover intentions, target physical health (Lim, Cortina, & Magley, 2008), or poor marital behavior (Lim, Ilies, Koopman, Christoforou, & Arvey, 2018). For example, Lim, Cortina, and Magley (2008) found that incivility indirectly predicted decreased mental health and turnover intention through decreased supervisor/work satisfaction. To contribute to this foundational work, I hope to assess how being targeted by mistreatment at work may indirectly influence well studied psychological health correlates through certain identity management strategies employed

by LGB employees. I advance past work by assessing how these processes may be different or similar for bisexual men, bisexual women, gay men, and lesbian women. This model presents a narrative such that LGB employees who are targeted with mistreatment at work will report consequences to their mental health as a result of taking steps to conceal their less visible sexual orientation identity. Formally:

Hypothesis 4: The relationship between mistreatment at work and (a) cognitive burnout, (b) affect, (c) and job stress will be mediated by concealing as an identity management strategy.

While I have reason to argue that the predictiveness of perceived mistreatment on concealing will be different for each subgroup based on stigma theory (Goffman, 1963) and social categorization (Tajfel, 1981), I do not have strong theoretical reasoning as to whether subgroup membership will moderate the relationship between identity management strategies and outcome variables. One could argue that the relationship will unfold in the same way as the hypothesized moderator (i.e., concealing will be most predictive of psychological health outcomes for bisexual men) based on research related to cognitive depletion. While there is evidence that sexual minority men report lower mental health than heterosexual men, and bisexual men specifically report lower mental health as compared to other groups (Corrington et al., 2018), there is not enough evidence to posit formal hypotheses. Therefore, the moderating role of subgroup on the relationship between concealing and psychological health outcomes is framed as a research question.

Research Question 1: How does subgroup membership influence the relationship between concealing one's sexual orientation and (a) cognitive burnout, (b) affect, and (c) job stress?

Method

Participants

Participants included 417 individuals recruited through online snowball sampling methods. Of these 417, 132 participants were gay men, 115 were lesbian women, 79 were bisexual men, and 91 were bisexual women. Of this larger sample, 393 completed more than just the eligibility survey. Indeed, 87% of these participants ($n = 343$) completed all six surveys throughout the primary data collection, with roughly 8% only missing one survey (5 surveys total, $n = 31$). Further, 1% of the sample only completed four surveys ($n = 5$), 1% completed three surveys ($n = 4$), 2% completed two surveys ($n = 7$) and less than 1% completed only one survey ($n = 3$). An assessment of the gender breakdown of my sample revealed a roughly even split (50.4% identified as male). The sexual orientation breakdown unfolded as follows; 31.5% of the sample identified as gay, 27.4% identifying as lesbian, and 40.8% identifying as bisexual (with a roughly even split of this identifying as male and female). The sample was predominantly White (71.9%), with other groups such as African American/Black (8.6%), Latina/Latino/Latinx/Hispanic (7.9%), multiracial (2.4%), Asian American/Pacific Islander (2.4%), and Native American/American Indian (1.4%) comprising smaller percentages. Most of the sample identified as single (82.6%) and had obtained a bachelor's degree (36.8%) or reported some college or technical training (26.7%). The mean age of the sample was 26.82, employees worked an average of 40.49 hours per week, and had an average tenure of 7.56 months. Finally, our sample identified with several religious affiliations including Christian (44.9%), Atheist (24.1%), Agnostic (15.8%), Jewish (8.1%), unspecified (4.1%), Muslim (.7%), Hindu (.7%), and Buddhist (.7%). Two individuals (not included in the 417 above) were identified as careless respondents and were removed from the dataset (based on time spent taking the survey and

inconsistent responding to survey items). Five additional individuals reached out to participate in the study after data collection had ended, and thus were not included. Finally, throughout data collection several individuals reached out to the study email address but were found to not be eligible to participate. To protect the confidentiality and privacy of these individuals, their eligibility survey responses were deleted.

To recruit participants, the primary investigator reached out to university LGBT centers, clubs, and alumni groups in an effort to disseminate a flyer with information about participating in this study. Eligibility requirements for participants (all self-identifying gay men, lesbian women, bisexual men, or bisexual women) included being at least 18 years of age, employed full time (at least 35 hours per week in a job wherein participants interacted with others face-to-face), residing in the United States, and beginning their current job within the past calendar year. Participants were required to have been employed in their current organizations for less than twelve months with the idea being that IDM decisions would be more salient and pervasive when participants were getting to know new coworkers and supervisor(s) as compared to those who were more tenured. While identity management is likely an iterative decision-making process, I contend that employees may engage in more active identity management when getting to know new coworkers, supervisors, or customers.

Procedure

After reaching out to show interest in participating in this study, potential subjects were required to complete an eligibility survey assessing the inclusion criteria and collecting baseline attitudinal and work-related measures. Participants who did not fit any one of my inclusion criteria were directed to the end of the survey, their data was deleted, and they were informed that they were ineligible for this study. Eligible participants were informed of their eligibility via

email and were sent information regarding the primary data collection procedures. The primary data collection consisted of six surveys over the course of two work weeks on Monday, Thursday, and Friday. Monday and Friday surveys were identical such that they included items related to perceived mistreatment and mental health outcome variables. Surveys sent out on Thursdays were identical to the Monday and Friday surveys, but they also included the measure of IDM. Participants were compensated at three time points throughout the data collection period. They were first compensated after the successful completion of the eligibility survey in the amount of \$2.00. Then, participants were compensated after each week of surveys if they completed all three surveys for any given week (Monday, Thursday, and Friday). Participants were compensated in the amount of \$5.00 for completing the first weeks' worth of surveys, and \$8.00 for the completion of the second week of surveys, for a total amount per participant of \$15.00. Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in this study, and consent information was included at the beginning of every survey. Participants were sent reminder emails before their start date for the primary data collection and at the beginning of their second week of participation to encourage participation and reduce concerns related to retention.

Measures

Primary Independent Variable

Perceived Workplace Mistreatment. Workplace mistreatment was measured in two ways to encapsulate both subtle and overt presentations. First I employed the Workplace Incivility Scale (Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001), which has been utilized by recent scholars in gauging experiences of subtle mistreatment at work and has displayed adequate psychometric properties (Hershcovis, Ogunfowora, Reich, & Christie, 2017; Lim, Ilies,

Koopman, Christoforou, & Arvey, 2018). During the four weekly surveys in which these items were asked, participants were asked to consider if, since completing their last survey, they had been targeted with incivility from others at work. Examples items from this scale included “Put you down or was condescending to you”, and “Ignored or excluded you from professional camaraderie”. Participants responded to this measure on each of the six primary surveys. Participants responded to these items on a 1 to 5 scale (1 = never, 2 = rarely, 3 = occasionally, 4 = often, 5 = a great deal). At Time 1, Cronbach’s alpha was .93. This, and all Cronbach’s alpha values were calculated at the between-person level. Principal axis factoring with promax rotation revealed one overall factor (eigenvalue = 4.94) accounting for 70.60% of the variance between items. Factor loadings for all items were greater than .74. For each measure, exploratory factor analysis was conducted in this manner.

Second, an adapted version the seven item General and Racial/Ethnic Bullying scale (Fox & Stallworth, 2005) was used to assess more overt forms of mistreatment. This scale was selected to encapsulate more overt and recognizable mistreatment behaviors that are not captured in the above incivility scale. The only adaptation to this scale was changing the referent identity characteristic from race to sexual orientation. For example, the item “Told jokes about your race” was changed to read “Told jokes about your sexual orientation. These measures, and all others, are located in the Appendix. Cronbach’s alpha at Time 1 was .95. Factor analyses revealed one primary factor (eigenvalue = 5.40) accounting for 77.15% of the variance among items with all factor loadings being greater than .77.

Primary Mediator Variable

Identity Management. Participants were asked to consider how they were managing their sexual orientation identity at work at two time points over the course of data collection

(Thursdays). To assess this, I utilized the Identity Management Strategy scale developed by King et al. (2017). This scale was developed to reflect the three primary identity management strategies detailed by Clair et al. (2005): revealing, concealing, and signaling. Participants responded to items on a 1 to 5 scale similar to that of the previous scale. King et al. (2017) describe that their identity management scale should be broken down into a nine-item measure for revealing-concealing (items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 12; which I focus on in this study) and a two item measure for signaling (items 9 and 10). To assess the factor structure of these data, I first conducted a simple reliability analysis on the revealing-concealing items from the eligibility survey, which produced an alpha value of .64. Results indicated that removing item 2 would significantly improve the reliability of the measure. After removing this item, the alpha value was .78, and results indicating that removing any of the other items would not increase the reliability substantially. Considering the concealing items, principal axis factor analysis with promax rotation produced two significant factors (a factor for items more valanced toward concealing with an eigenvalue of 3.224 encompassing items 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6, and another factor for items valanced toward revealing with an eigenvalue of 1.990 encompassing items 7, 8, and 12). All items loaded onto their respective factors with a loading greater than .57. Based on this information, all other identity management scales were created in this fashion.

Primary Dependent Variables

Burnout. To assess perceptions of employee burnout, I utilized the Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach & Jackson, 1981). This inventory consists of three subscales reflecting dimensions of employee burnout: emotional exhaustion, personal accomplishment, and depersonalization. The emotional exhaustion subscale (e.g., “I feel used up at the end of the workday”) and the personal accomplishment subscale (e.g., “I have accomplished many

worthwhile things in this job”) both contained eight items, whereas the depersonalization subscale (e.g., “I worry that this job is hardening me emotionally”) contained six items. Participants responded to each item on a 1 to 6 scale (1 = strongly disagree, 6 = strongly agree) at all six primary survey timepoints. Cronbach’s alpha for emotional exhaustion, personal accomplishment, and depersonalization were .90, .73, and .87 at Time 3, and were .88, .74, and .83 at Time 6. At Time 1, exploratory factor analysis for emotional exhaustion revealed one factor (eigenvalue = 4.35) accounting for 54.36% of the variance among items with all items presenting a factor loading of .55 or greater. Interestingly, exploratory factor analysis for personal accomplishment yielded two factors; one with an eigenvalue of 3.14 accounting for 39.21% of the variance, and another with an eigenvalue of 1.07 accounting for 13.31% of the variance. This is counter to my expectations, and coupled with the lower Cronbach’s alpha values, evokes caution in the interpretation of findings related to personal accomplishment. Factor analysis for depersonalization at Time 1 revealed only one factor with an eigenvalue greater than 1 (eigenvalue = 3.17) accounting for 63.30% of the variance among items with factor loadings for all items being .59 or greater. The three factor structure of this burnout inventory has been supported in previous work (Boles, Dean, Ricks, Short, & Wang, 2000).

Job Stress. Four items were used to assess job stress using a scale developed by Motowidlo, Packard, and Manning (1986). Participants responded to each prompt (1 = strongly disagree, 6 = strongly agree) asking the extent to which they felt stressed at work since their last survey. Example items included “I have often felt stressed at work” and “My job has been extremely stressful”. Participants reported their level of job stress at all six primary survey timepoints. Cronbach’s alpha at Time 3 was .89, and was .87 at Time 6. Exploratory factor

analysis of these items at Time 1 revealed one factor (eigenvalue = 2.84) accounting for 70.98% of the variance among items with all factor loadings being .62 or greater.

Affect. At each of the six timepoints, 12 items were utilized to assess participant affect throughout the data collection effort using the SPANE Scale (Diener et al., 2010). Participants responded to each prompt (1 = not at all, 5 = a great deal) asking the extent to which they felt each affective state since the previous survey. Example items included “Positive”, “Pleasant”, “Sad”, and “Angry”. Composite measures for these two scales, based on recommendations from the authors (Diener et al., 2010), included the computation of two summated measures which represented positive and negative affect respectively. For positive affect, the values for each participant responses for the six positive items were added together for an overall sum for positive affect (ranging from 6 to 30). The negative affect composite was computed in the exact same manner using the six negative items. This resulted in two composite measures, one for positive affect and one for negative affect. Cronbach’s alpha for the positive affect items was .88 both at Time 3 and Time 6. For the negative affect items, Cronbach’s alpha was .90 at Time 3 and .91 at Time 6. Exploratory factor analysis of the items for positive affect revealed one factor (eigenvalue = 3.40) accounting for 56.63% of the variance among items with all items loading on the factor at a value of .44 or greater. For negative affect, exploratory factor analysis revealed one factor (eigenvalue = 3.78) accounting for 63.05% of the variance among items with all factor loadings being .71 or greater.

Guilt. Finally, a single item measure of guilt was added. This item asked participants the extent to which they felt guilty since the previous survey (1 = not at all, 5 = a great deal). This item was included with the items from the SPANE scale (Diener et al., 2010).

Results

Analytic Strategy

As the data was structured in a manner that was multilevel (surveys nested within people), I utilized multilevel between-person path analysis in Mplus to test Hypotheses 1, 3 and 4 (Muthén & Muthén, 2012). First, because of the time-lagged nature of my data, I was able to model my simple mediation models in two ways, encapsulating a week's worth of data and two weeks' worth respectively. In the first models, mistreatment was measured at Time 1, concealing at Time 2, and outcomes at Time 3. In the second models, mistreatment was measured at Time 1, concealing at Time 5, and outcomes at Time 6. To address Hypothesis 2, I ran several simple moderation analyses between mistreatment and concealing at different time points in SPSS using PROCESS model 1 (Hayes, 2017). Table 1 provides a list of all models that were run and reported in my results section for reference while Table 2 provides the means, standard deviations, and correlation values for all primary study variables. All results reported are standardized when available.¹

¹ Results were unchanged in their significance whether unstandardized or standardized results were assessed.

Table 1

List of Models Conducted in Primary and Supplementary Analyses

Model Section	Model Title	Results Page Number
Primary Analysis		
1	Indirect Effect of Time 1 Incivility on Time 3 Outcomes through Time 2 Concealing	42
2	Indirect Effect of Time 1 Incivility on Time 6 Outcomes through Time 5 Concealing	44
3	Indirect Effect of Time 1 Bullying on Time 3 Outcomes through Time 2 Concealing	46
4	Indirect Effect of Time 1 Bullying on Time 6 Outcomes through Time 5 Concealing	48
5	Moderation Analysis Considering How Subgroup Membership Moderates the Relationship between Mistreatment and Identity Management	50
Supplemental Analysis		
1	Moderation Analyses related to Hypothesized Research Question: How do Gender, Sexual Orientation, and Concealing Interact to Predict Outcome Variables?	62
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Table 2

Descriptive Statistics, Reliability Estimates, and Zero-Order Correlations Among Primary Study Variables

Variables	M	SD	α	Gen	SO	Inciv T1	Bully T1	Con T2	Con T5
Gender	1.50	.50	-	-					
SO	1.41	.49	-	.07	-				
Inciv T1	2.09	.95	.93	.03	-.26**	-			
Bully T1	1.93	1.07	.95	.01	-.31**	.85**	-		
Con T2	2.92	.65	.68	-.17**	-.02	.11*	.02	-	
Con T5	2.94	.68	.73	-.17**	-.11*	.15**	.04	.77**	-
EE T3	3.20	.99	.90	.02	-.31**	.68**	.63**	.16**	.18**
EE T6	3.26	.95	.88	.06	-.31**	.64**	.60**	.09	.17**
PA T3	4.34	.60	.73	.06	.27**	-.38**	-.37**	-.12*	-.13*
PA T6	4.28	.65	.74	.04	.18**	-.30**	-.29**	-.08	-.13*
DP T3	2.81	1.06	.87	-.04	-.35**	.73**	.77**	.21**	.28**
DP T6	2.93	1.00	.83	-.06	-.37**	.67**	.71**	.19**	.26**
STS T3	3.47	1.07	.89	.04	-.14**	.52**	.44**	.15**	.15**
STS T6	3.51	1.06	.87	.11*	-.17**	.46**	.39**	.10	.07
PAF T3	19.66	4.95	.88	.07	.25**	.01	-.03	-.10	-.17**
PAF T6	19.00	4.76	.88	.05	-.21**	.18**	.14**	-.08	-.18**
NAF T3	13.73	5.50	.90	.10	-.20**	.01	.79**	-.02	.01
NAF T6	14.09	5.64	.91	.10	-.19**	.83**	.76**	-.10	-.01
GU T3	2.23	1.24	-	.04	.16**	.68**	.71**	.02	.05
GU T6	2.21	1.21	-	.06	-.19**	.67**	.72**	-.02	.04

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Gender (Gen) coded where 1 = male, 2 = female. Sexual orientation (SO) coded where 0 = gay/lesbian, 1 = bisexual. T1 = Time 1, T2 = Time 2, T3 = Time 3, T4 = Time 4, T5 = Time 5, and T6 = Time 6. Inciv = Incivility. Bully = Bullying. Con = Concealing. EE = Emotional Exhaustion. PA = Personal Accomplishment. DP = Depersonalization. STS = Job Stress. PAF = Positive Affect. NAF = Negative Affect. GU = Guilt.

Table 2 (Continued)

Descriptive Statistics, Reliability Estimates, and Zero-Order Correlations Among Primary Study Variables

Variables	EE T3	EE T6	PA T3	PA T6	DP T3	DP T6	STS T3	STS T6	PAF T3
Gender									
SO									
Inciv T1									
Bully T1									
Con T2									
Con T5									
EE T3	-								
EE T6	.79**	-							
PA T3	-.53**	-.41**	-						
PA T6	-.37**	-.39**	.57**	-					
DP T3	.71**	.58**	-.40**	-.32**	-				
DP T6	.58**	.63**	-.34**	-.29**	.78**	-			
STS T3	.75**	.63**	-.38**	-.30**	.55**	.40**	-		
STS T6	.67**	.76**	-.31**	-.32**	.41**	.39**	.73**	-	
PAF T3	-.33**	-.24**	.45**	.30**	-.18**	-.15**	-.27**	-.13**	-
PAF T6	-.15**	-.21**	.26**	.30**	-.32**	-.29**	-.19**	-.17**	.75**
NAF T3	.68**	.63**	-.44**	-.34**	.66**	.54**	.58**	.53**	.04
NAF T6	.30**	.65**	-.35**	-.35**	.61**	.54**	.51**	.55**	.05
GU T3	.53**	.49**	-.29**	-.22**	.59**	.51**	.48**	.37**	.12*
GU T6	.47**	.49**	-.24**	-.27**	.59**	.54**	.38**	.34**	.09

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Gender (Gen) coded where 1 = male, 2 = female. Sexual orientation (SO) coded where 0 = gay/lesbian, 1 = bisexual. T1 = Time 1, T2 = Time 2, T3 = Time 3, T4 = Time 4, T5 = Time 5, and T6 = Time 6. Inciv = Incivility. Bully = Bullying. Con = Concealing. EE = Emotional Exhaustion. PA = Personal Accomplishment. DP = Depersonalization. STS = Job Stress. PAF = Positive Affect. NAF = Negative Affect. GU = Guilt.

Table 2 (Continued)

Descriptive Statistics, Reliability Estimates, and Zero-Order Correlations Among Primary Study Variables

Variables	PAF T6	NAF T3	NAF T6	GU T3
Gender				
SO				
Inciv T1				
Bully T1				
Con T2				
Con T5				
EE T3				
EE T6				
PA T3				
PA T6				
DP T3				
DP T6				
STS T3				
STS T6				
PAF T3				
PAF T6	-			
NAF T3	.24**	-		
NAF T6	.22**	.88**	-	
GU T3	.18**	.75**	.69**	-
GU T6	.14**	.70**	.73**	.71**

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Gender (Gen) coded where 1 = male, 2 = female. Sexual orientation (SO) coded where 0 = gay/lesbian, 1 = bisexual. T1 = Time 1, T2 = Time 2, T3 = Time 3, T4 = Time 4, T5 = Time 5, and T6 = Time 6. Inciv = Incivility. Bully = Bullying. Con = Concealing. EE = Emotional Exhaustion. PA = Personal Accomplishment. DP = Depersonalization. STS = Job Stress. PAF = Positive Affect. NAF = Negative Affect. GU = Guilt.

Primary Results

One-Week Indirect Effect of Incivility on Outcomes Through Concealing

First, a simple mediation model was constructed to assess how perceptions of incivility at Time 1 indirectly influenced outcome variables at Time 3 through concealing at Time 2 (Mediation Model 1). Incivility at Time 1 was found to significantly and positively predict concealing at Time 2 ($\gamma = .10, p = .046$). This implies that as employees perceived more incivility at work, they were more likely to conceal their sexual orientation, providing initial support for Hypothesis 1. Furthermore, concealing at Time 2 was significantly and positively related to emotional exhaustion ($\gamma = .16, p = .002$), depersonalization ($\gamma = .20, p < .001$), and job stress ($\gamma = .152, p = .003$) while being significantly and negatively related to personal accomplishment ($\gamma = -.12, p = .000$) at Time 3, indicating that concealing led employees to report greater burnout across all three subscales, and greater job stress. Concealing at Time 2 was unrelated to positive affect ($\gamma = -.08, p = .115$), negative affect ($\gamma = -.02, p = .685$), and guilt ($\gamma = .02, p = .701$). Collectively, these results provide partial support for Hypothesis 3, such that concealing at Time 2 was related to several of the outcome variables at Time 3, but unrelated to others. This model failed to support Hypothesis 4, as none of the indirect effects of incivility at Time 1 on outcomes at Time 3 through concealing at Time 2 were found to be significant. All of the estimates for this model are represented in Table 3.

Table 3

Results for One-Week Indirect Effect of Incivility on Outcomes through Concealing

Predictor	Variable	Direct Effect		Indirect Effect	
		<i>B</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>p</i>
Incivility	Concealing	.10	.046*		
	Emotional Exhaustion			.02	.097
	Personal Accomplishment			-.01	.136
	Depersonalization			.02	.077
	Job Stress			.02	.100
	Positive Affect			-.01	.216
	Negative Affect			.02	.097
	Guilt			.00	.070
Concealing	Emotional Exhaustion	.16	.002**		
	Personal Accomplishment	-.12	.021*		
	Depersonalization	.20	.000**		
	Job Stress	.15	.003**		
	Positive Affect	-.08	.115		
	Negative Affect	-.02	.685		
	Guilt	.02	.701		

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

Two-Week Indirect Effect of Incivility on Outcomes Through Concealing

The second model – Mediation Model 2 – utilized incivility at Time 1, concealing at Time 5, and outcome variables at Time 6. In support of Hypothesis 1, incivility was again significantly and positively related to concealing ($\gamma = .15, p = .004$), suggesting that perceptions of incivility related to increased concealing of one's sexual orientation a week and a half later. Concealing at Time 5 was significantly and positively related to emotional exhaustion ($\gamma = .165, p = .001$), and depersonalization ($\gamma = .26, p = .000$), while being significantly and negatively related to personal accomplishment ($\gamma = -.13, p = .010$) and positive affect ($\gamma = -.16, p = .002$). Concealing at Time 5 was unrelated to job stress ($\gamma = .07, p = .175$), negative affect ($\gamma = -.01, p = .786$), or guilt ($\gamma = .04, p = .410$). This, again, provided partial support for Hypothesis 3 as concealing was related to increased burnout, and lower positive affect, but unrelated to other outcomes. Unlike Mediation Model 1, this model produced several significant indirect effects. First, the indirect effect of incivility at Time 1 on emotional exhaustion at Time 6 was significant and positive (estimate = .024, $p = .032$), suggesting that perceptions of incivility increased emotional exhaustion through increased concealing as an identity management strategy. Next, the indirect effect of incivility at Time 1 on depersonalization at Time 6 was significant and positive (estimate = .038, $p = .012$) suggesting that incivility influenced increased depersonalization through increased concealing at Time 5. Finally, the indirect effect of incivility at Time 1 on positive affect at Time 6 was significant and negative (estimate = -.024, $p = .033$). This suggests that increased incivility at Time 1 predicted lower positive affect at Time 6 through increased concealing at Time 5. Together, these results provide partial support for Hypothesis 4. A full report of all path coefficients for this model is located in Table 4.

Table 4

Results for Two-Week Indirect Effect of Incivility on Outcomes through Concealing

Predictor	Variable	Direct Effect		Indirect Effect	
		<i>B</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>p</i>
Incivility	Concealing	.10	.046*		
	Emotional Exhaustion			.02	.032*
	Personal Accomplishment			-.02	.056
	Depersonalization			.04	.012*
	Job Stress			.01	.221
	Positive Affect			-.02	.033*
	Negative Affect			-.00	.787
	Guilt			.01	.429
Concealing	Emotional Exhaustion	.17	.004**		
	Personal Accomplishment	-.13	.010**		
	Depersonalization	.26	.000**		
	Job Stress	.07	.175		
	Positive Affect	-.16	.002**		
	Negative Affect	-.01	.786		
	Guilt	.04	.410		

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

One-Week Indirect Effect of Bullying on Outcomes Through Concealing

The third model (Mediation Model 3) assessed how perceptions of bullying at Time 1 indirectly influenced outcomes at Time 3 through concealing at Time 2. Counter to expectations, bullying at Time 1 was not significantly related to concealing at Time 2 ($\gamma = .02, p = .704$) failing to support Hypothesis 1. As with previous models, concealing at Time 2 was significantly and positively related to emotional exhaustion ($\gamma = .16, p = .001$), depersonalization ($\gamma = .20, p < .001$), and job stress ($\gamma = .16, p = .046$) while being significantly and negatively related to personal accomplishment ($\gamma = -.13, p = .012$) and positive affect ($\gamma = -.11, p = .039$). This implies that concealing at Time 2 was related to greater burnout, greater job stress, and lower positive affect at Time 3. Concealing at Time 2 was not related to negative affect ($\gamma = -.01, p = .817$) or guilt ($\gamma = .02, p = .744$) at Time 3. These results partially supported Hypothesis 3. Failing to support Hypothesis 4, none of the indirect effects for this model were found to be significant – likely due to the non-significant relationship between bullying at Time 1 and concealing at Time 2. A full report of the path estimates for this model is available in Table 5.

Table 5

Results for One-Week Indirect Effect of Bullying on Outcomes through Concealing

Predictor	Variable	Direct Effect		Indirect Effect	
		<i>B</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>p</i>
Bullying	Concealing	.02	.700		
	Emotional Exhaustion			.00	.706
	Personal Accomplishment			-.00	.707
	Depersonalization			.00	.706
	Job Stress			.00	.706
	Positive Affect			-.00	.709
	Negative Affect			.00	.843
	Guilt			.00	.804
Concealing	Emotional Exhaustion	.16	.001**		
	Personal Accomplishment	-.13	.012*		
	Depersonalization	.20	.000**		
	Job Stress	.16	.002**		
	Positive Affect	-.11	.039*		
	Negative Affect	-.01	.817		
	Guilt	.02	.744		

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

Two-Week Indirect Effect of Bullying on Outcomes Through Concealing

Finally, the fourth model (Mediation Model 4) assessed how perceptions of bullying at Time 1 indirectly influenced outcomes at Time 6 through concealing at Time 5. Again, bullying at Time 1 was unrelated to concealing at Time 5 ($\gamma = .05, p = .372$) revealing that perceiving bullying at work did not influence concealing one's sexual orientation (failing to support Hypothesis 1). Concealing at Time 5 was again significantly and positively related to emotional exhaustion ($\gamma = .18, p < .001$) and depersonalization ($\gamma = .25, p < .001$) and significantly and negatively related to personal accomplishment ($\gamma = -.16, p = .002$) and positive affect ($\gamma = -.02, p = .002$). These results provide partial support for Hypothesis 3. Like Mediation Model 3, none of the indirect effects yielded significant path estimates which failed to support Hypothesis 4. A full report of the path estimates is located in Table 6.

Table 5

Results for Two-Week Indirect Effect of Bullying on Outcomes through Concealing

Predictor	Variable	Direct Effect		Indirect Effect	
		<i>B</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>p</i>
Bullying	Concealing	.05	.372		
	Emotional Exhaustion			.01	.388
	Personal Accomplishment			-.01	.394
	Depersonalization			.01	.382
	Job Stress			.00	.427
	Positive Affect			-.01	.391
	Negative Affect			.00	.974
	Guilt			.00	.546
Concealing	Emotional Exhaustion	.18	.000**		
	Personal Accomplishment	-.16	.002**		
	Depersonalization	.25	.000**		
	Job Stress	.09	.080		
	Positive Affect	-.16	.002**		
	Negative Affect	-.00	.974		
	Guilt	.04	.408		

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

Taken together, the four mediation models reported above provide mixed support for Hypotheses 1, 3, and 4. Hypothesis 1 – which predicted that perceived mistreatment was related to increased identity management behaviors related to concealing - is supported when considering that perceptions of incivility at Time 1 (but not perceptions of bullying at Time 1) predicted increased concealing as an identity management strategy both at Time 2 and Time 5. Results are more consistent across models regarding Hypothesis 3 such that concealing is related to all three dimensions of burnout (increased emotional exhaustion, increased depersonalization, and decreased personal accomplishment). Concealing also predicted job stress and positive affect (albeit more sporadically) across models. Concealing did not predict feelings of negative affect or guilt. Finally, results provided scarce support for Hypothesis 4 – which predicted that perceived mistreatment indirectly influenced workplace outcomes through increased concealing behaviors - such that only four of a possible twenty-eight indirect effects across models were significant. Moving beyond these analyses, the next section of my primary results is related to Hypothesis 2; which assesses the moderating role of subgroup membership on the relationship between mistreatment and concealing.

Analyses Related to Hypothesis 2

To analyze Hypothesis 2, I conducted several analyses in SPSS. First, to assess differences across groups, I split my data file to assess the coefficients for the relationship between mistreatment (both incivility and bullying at Time 1) and concealing (both at Time 2 and Time 5) for each categorical group. First, when exclusively looking at gay men ($n = 115$), results indicated that incivility at Time 1 was not related to concealing at Time 2 ($B = .08, p = .373$) or at Time 5 ($B = -.01, p = .906$). Further, for gay men, bullying at Time 1 was not related to concealing at Time 2 ($B = -.03, p = .763$) or at Time 5 ($B = -.12, p = .205$). Similarly, results for

lesbian women ($n = 103$) indicated that incivility at Time 1 was unrelated to concealing at Time 2 ($B = .02, p = .868$) or at Time 5 ($B = .04, p = .659$). Bullying at Time 1 was also unrelated to concealing both at Time 2 ($B = .01, p = .886$) and at Time 5 ($B = .04, p = .683$) for lesbian women. Interestingly, while incivility at Time 1 was unrelated to concealing at Time 2 ($B = .12, p = .310$) for bisexual men ($n = 73$), incivility at Time 1 was significantly and positively related to concealing at Time 5 ($B = .25, p = .035$). This implies that when bisexual men reported incivility at Time 1, they reported increased concealing behaviors the following week. Further, in the sample of bisexual men, bullying at Time 1 was not related to either concealing at Time 2 ($B = -.12, p = .319$) or concealing at Time 5 ($B = -.06, p = .606$). Finally, for bisexual women ($n = 78$), incivility at Time 1 was significantly and positively related to concealing at Time 2 ($B = .28, p = .012$) and significantly and positively related to concealing at Time 5 ($B = .31, p = .007$). This implies that when bisexual women report being targeted with incivility, they also report increased concealing both the same week and the following week. Similar to previous models, bullying at Time 1 was not related to concealing at Time 2 ($B = .19, p = .097$) or at Time 5 ($B = .23, p = .051$) for bisexual women. Taken together, these results suggest that the relationship between incivility (but not bullying) and concealing unfolds in the hypothesized direction for bisexual women (for concealing at both time points analyzed) and bisexual men (just for concealing at Time 5) but not for gay men or lesbian women.

To further probe these findings, I ran four models using PROCESS model 1 in SPSS assessing how the relationship between mistreatment and concealing may be moderated by subgroup membership (a categorical variable wherein 1 = gay men, 2 = lesbian women, 3 = bisexual men, and 4 = bisexual women). In all models, dummy coding was used such that gay men were the un-coded referent group. Each model yielded four main effects on concealing –

one for incivility and three for each dummy coded variable – and three interaction terms for incivility crossed with each non-referent group. The full gamut of results are reported in Table 7, and this section is more focused on the significant findings.

Table 7

Results for PROCESS models related to Hypothesis 2

	Concealing Time 2			Concealing Time 5		
	coefficient	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	coefficient	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Constant	2.91	16.63	.000**	3.09	17.67	.000**
Incivility T1	.05	.66	.512	-.01	-.09	.931
LW	-.08	-.37	.711	-.22	-.95	.344
BM	-.15	-.57	.568	-.62	-2.35	.020*
BW	-.48	-2.00	.046*	-.89	-3.52	.001**
INT 1	-.04	-.41	.680	.03	.32	.747
INT 2	.11	.90	.371	.34	2.57	.011*
INT 3	.15	1.47	.142	.28	2.45	.015*
Constant	3.05	21.91	.000**	3.18	21.72	.000**
Bullying T1	-.01	-.22	.824	-.05	-.90	.368
LW	-.23	-1.18	.238	-.30	-1.42	.155
BM	.18	.83	.408	-.04	-.18	.859
BW	-.46	-2.33	.020*	-.78	-3.64	.000**
INT 4	.02	.24	.811	.07	.88	.380
INT 5	-.16	-1.23	.220	-.04	-.27	.784
INT 6	.13	1.50	.135	.22	2.31	.021*

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. LW = lesbian women. BM = bisexual men. BW = bisexual women. INT 1 = interaction between Incivility T1 and lesbian women. INT 2 = interaction between Incivility T1 and bisexual men. INT 3 = interaction between Incivility T1 and bisexual women. INT 4 = interaction between bullying T1 and lesbian women. INT 5 = interaction between bullying T1 and bisexual men. INT 6 = bullying T1 and bisexual women.

The first two models were related to the relationship between incivility and concealing. The first model assessed how the relationship between incivility at Time 1 and concealing at Time 2 was moderated by subgroup. There was a positive and non-significant main effect of incivility ($b = .05, p = .512$), and while lesbian women ($b = -.08, p = .711$) and bisexual men ($b = .15, p = .568$) yielded non-significant results, bisexual women ($b = -.48, p = .046$) were found to conceal their sexual orientation to a lesser degree compared to gay men. None of the three interaction terms were found to be significant. The second model analyzed how the relationship between incivility at Time 1 and concealing at Time 5 were moderated by subgroup. While incivility ($b = -.01, p = .931$) and lesbian women ($b = -.01, p = .931$) yielded non-significant results, both bisexual men ($b = -.62, p = .020$) and bisexual women ($b = -.89, p = .001$) reported concealing their sexual orientation to a lesser degree than gay men. Interestingly, the interaction between bisexual men and incivility in predicting concealing at Time 5 was significant and positive ($b = .34, p = .011$). This implies that the slope of the negative relationship between incivility and concealing at Time 5 became more positive when participants identified as bisexual. A similar, although weaker, positive interaction term was found for bisexual women ($b = .28, p = .015$). This again suggests that the slope of the negative relationship between incivility at Time 1 and concealing at Time 5 became more positive when employees identified as bisexual, as compared to gay men. Probing these results a bit further, the test of highest order unconditional interaction was significant ($R^2\text{change} = .03, p = .008$). An assessment of the conditional effects of each focal predictor at each level of the categorical moderator revealed that bisexual men had the strongest and most positive coefficient [effect = $.33, p = .003, 95\% \text{ CI } (.11, .55)$] followed by bisexual women [effect = $.27, p = .002, 95\% \text{ CI } (.10, .44)$]. Lesbian women revealed a positive but non-significant conditional effect [effect = $.02, p = .696, 95\% \text{ CI } (-.10,$

.14)], while gay men presented with a negative and non-significant conditional effect [effect = -.01, $p = .932$, 95% CI (-.14, .13)]. Taking the results from this model together, it appears that while all other groups concealed their sexual orientation to a lesser degree than gay men, the relationship between incivility at Time 1 and concealing at Time 5 was actually most positive for bisexual men, followed by bisexual women, then lesbian women, and finally gay men. To assist with interpreting interactions, the PROCESS macro can generate code to assist with visualization. This option was selected for both of the above models, and was used to plot these interaction terms. These graphs are located below as Figure 2 (representing how subgroup membership moderates the relationship between incivility at Time 1 and concealing at Time 2) and Figure 3 (representing how subgroup membership moderates the relationship between incivility at Time 1 and concealing at Time 5).

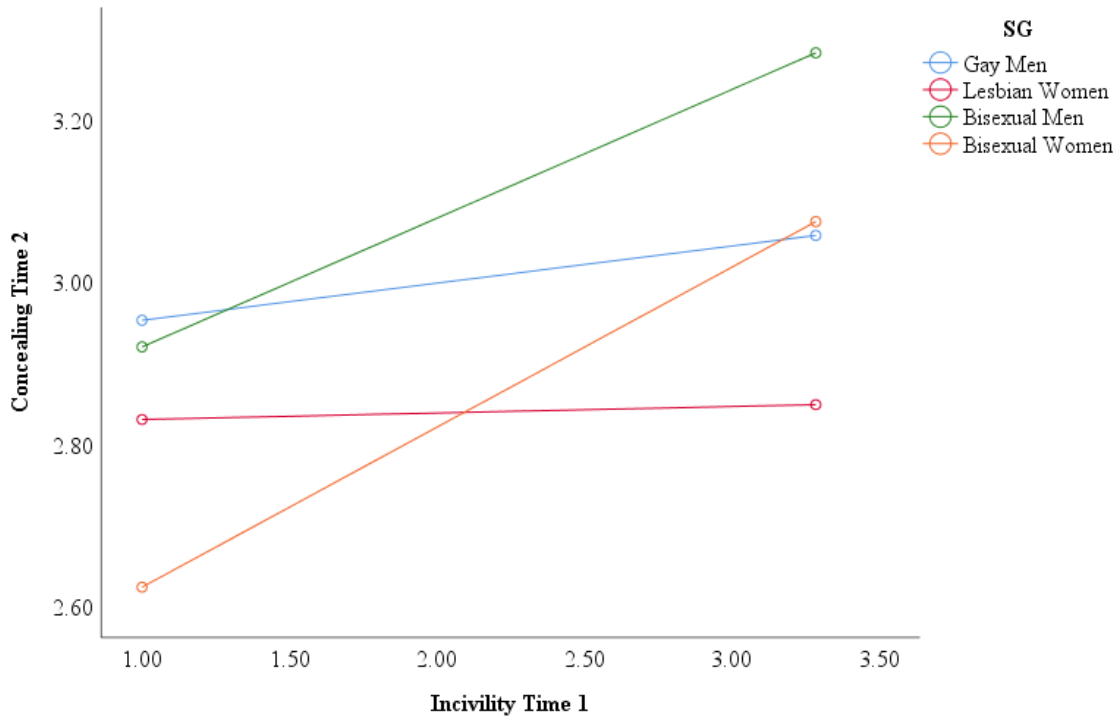


Figure 2.

Plot of Interaction between Incivility at Time 1 and Subgroup Membership in Predicting Concealing at Time 2.

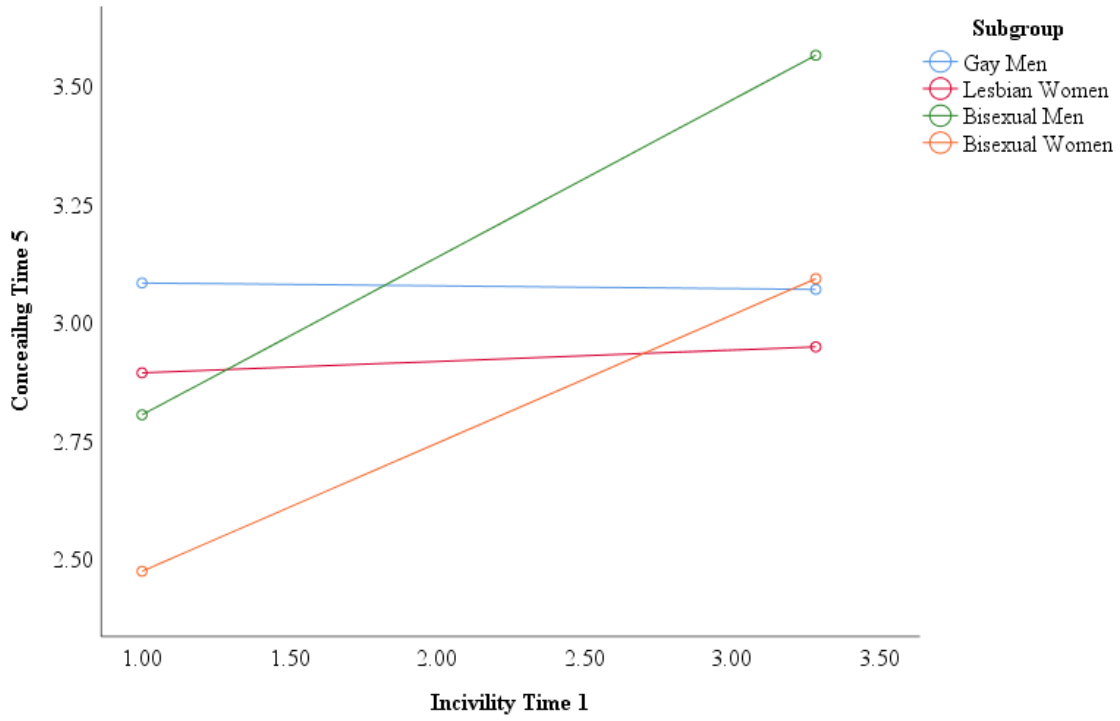


Figure 3.

Plot of Interaction between Incivility at Time 1 and Subgroup Membership in Predicting Concealing at Time 5.

The remaining two models considered how the relationship between bullying and concealing one's sexual orientation might be moderated by subgroup membership. The first model assessed how the relationship bullying at Time 1 and concealing at Time 2 was moderated by subgroup. The only significant relationship found in this model implied that bisexual women concealed their sexual orientation to a lesser degree than gay men ($b = -.46, p = .020$). No significant interaction terms were revealed. The last model assessed how subgroup membership may moderate the relationship between bullying at Time 1 and concealing at Time 5. Results again revealed solely a significant effect for bisexual women ($b = -.77, p = .003$) suggesting that bisexual women conceal their sexual orientation to a lesser extent than gay men. Bullying at Time 1 and bisexual women also produced a significant interaction term ($b = .22, p = .021$) suggesting that the slope of the negative relationship between bullying at Time 1 and concealing at Time 5 became more positive when employees identified as bisexual women. For this model, the test of highest order unconditional interactions was non-significant ($R^2\text{change} = .02, p = .107$). As with the models related to incivility, I also utilized the generated code from the PROCESS macro to plot these interactions. They are included below as Figure 4 (representing how subgroup membership moderates the relationship between bullying at Time 1 and concealing at Time 2) and Figure 5 (representing how subgroup membership moderates the relationship between bullying at Time 1 and concealing at Time 2).

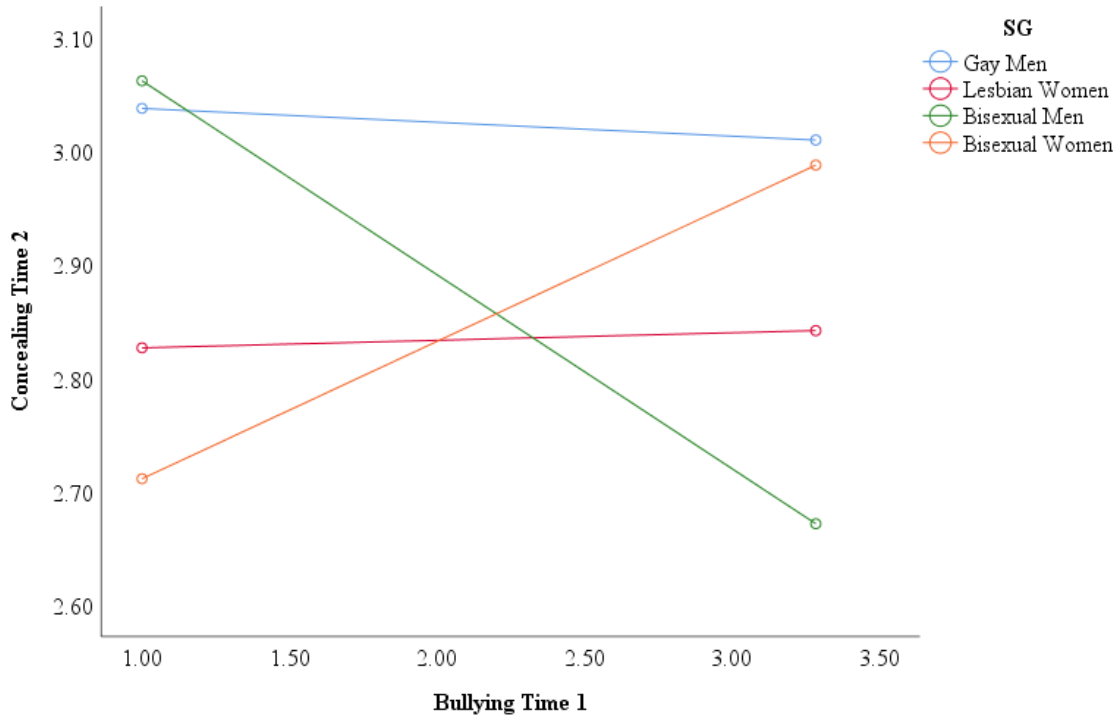


Figure 4.

Plot of Interaction between Bullying at Time 1 and Subgroup Membership in Predicting Concealing at Time 2.

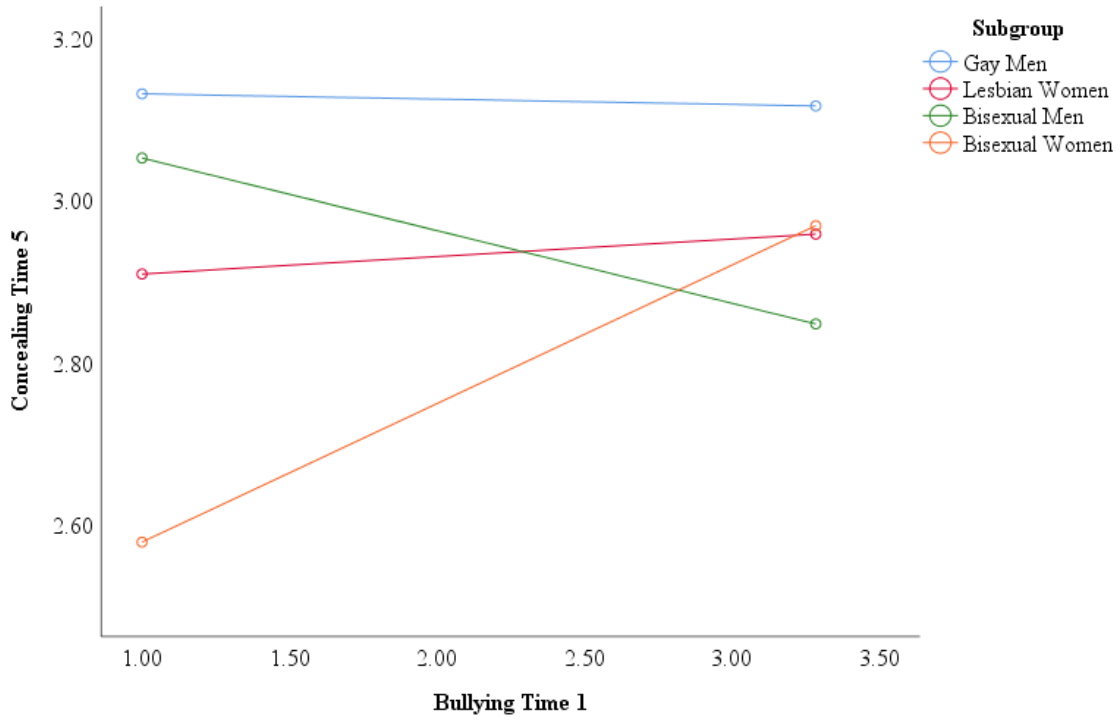


Figure 5.

Plot of Interaction between Bullying at Time 1 and Subgroup Membership in Predicting Concealing at Time 5.

Taken together, primary results provided weak support for the hypothesized model. While support was weak, my primary analyses produced several interesting trends. First, it appeared that while incivility was significantly related to increased concealing behaviors in my mediation models, bullying was not. This is interesting, such that a more subtle form of workplace mistreatment appeared to have a greater impact on concealing than a more overt and explicit form. Second, an assessment of the outcome variables revealed pathways of more consistent significance. Indeed, concealing predicted increased emotional exhaustion and depersonalization in all four mediation models. Further, in the model reflecting the two-week indirect effect of incivility onto outcomes through concealing, emotional exhaustion and depersonalization both produced significant indirect effects – such that incivility at time 1 indirectly led to increased emotional exhaustion and depersonalization at Time 6 through increased concealing behaviors at Time 5. This reveals that dimensions of burnout as a result of mistreatment and subsequent identity management behaviors may be an area deserving of more scholarly attention. Finally, patterns in non-significant results revealed that negative affect and guilt were unrelated to concealing across models. As this was counter to expectations, and previous research, these null findings call for more work to bring clarity to these inconsistent findings. Analyses related to Hypothesis 2 revealed some similarities. Indeed, the strongest model showcasing the moderating role of subgroup membership was for the relationship between incivility at Time 1 and concealing at Time 5. This model revealed that the slope of the relationship between incivility at Time 1 and concealing at Time 5 was strongest and most positive for bisexual men, followed by bisexual women, lesbian women, and finally gay men. This does not perfectly align with my hypothesizing, but does give notion that bisexual folks may internalize mistreatment at work in a way different than gay or lesbian individuals.

While primary analyses end here, the richness of my data allowed me to analyze additional models that aim to shed additional light on these data. In the next section – titled ‘Supplementary Analyses’ – I approach my data in two different ways. First, I provide results related to my research question pertaining to the moderating role of gender and sexual orientation on the relationship between concealing (at Time 2 and Time 5) and outcomes (at Time 3 and Time 6 respectively). Finally, I report analyses related to the endorsement of bisexuality stereotypes of each sexual orientation by gender group.

Supplemental Analyses

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, this supplemental analysis section will encompass two different subsections; first, the research question related to the moderating role of sexual orientation or gender on the relationship between concealing and outcomes and second, the endorsement of bisexuality stereotypes.

Analysis of Research Question

Research Question 1 asked how subgroup membership may moderate the relationship between concealing one’s sexual orientation and work outcomes (burnout, job stress, affect, and guilt). Similar to analyses for Hypothesis 2, I approached this by conducting several PROCESS models in SPSS modeling how concealing (either at Time 2 or Time 5) interacted with subgroup membership to predict each of the seven outcome variables (emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, personal accomplishment, job stress, positive affect, negative affect, and guilt) at Time 3 or Time 6. This resulted in 14 moderation models (7 of which analyzed the relationship between concealing at Time 2 and outcomes at Time 4, and 7 of which analyzed the relationship between concealing at Time 5 and outcomes at Time 6). Of these 14 models, 5

yielded significant interaction terms that I will discuss below. Because my research question is largely exploratory, I forego a discussion of the models that yielded non-significant results. In these models – 9 of the 14 analyzed – there were no significant interaction terms. As with the models analyzed for Hypothesis 2, gay men were the referent group for my categorical moderator. While significant results were gleaned in some models, future researchers should take more intentional steps in better understanding these relationships in samples of LGB employees.

The first model producing significant results was the model in which concealing at Time 2 interacted with subgroup membership to predict personal accomplishment at Time 3. Interestingly, both bisexual men ($b = 1.28, p = .002$) and bisexual women ($b = .89, p = .049$) were found to report higher levels of personal accomplishment compared to other groups while gay men and lesbian women yielded non-significant results. An assessment of the interaction terms revealed that the slope of the positive relationship between concealing at Time 2 and personal accomplishment at Time 3 became more negative when employees identified as bisexual men ($b = -.29, p = .032$). The interaction term for bisexual women was also negative, but was non-significant ($b = -.19, p = .211$). This model was the only one that yielded significant interaction terms using the time 2 measure of concealing and the Time 3 outcome variables.

The second model involved the moderating role of subgroup membership on the relationship between concealing at Time 5 and personal accomplishment at Time 6. Similar to the first model, both bisexual men ($b = 1.22, p = .010$) and bisexual women ($b = 1.07, p = .026$) were found to report higher feelings of personal accomplishment compared to other groups. Again, the interaction term for bisexual men was significant and negative ($b = -.31, p = .036$) which suggests that the slope of the relationship between concealing at Time 5 and personal accomplishment at Time 6 becomes more negative when employees identified as bisexual men.

The interaction term for bisexual women was non-significant ($b = -.28, p = .083$). An assessment of the conditional effects revealed that only bisexual men yielded a significant effect (effect = $-2.66, p = .008$), while all other groups were non-significant.

The third model involved subgroup membership moderating the relationship between concealing at Time 5 and job stress at Time 6. In this model, both bisexual men ($b = -1.89, p = .012$) and bisexual women ($b = -1.72, p = .026$) reported significantly less job stress than other groups. While the interaction term for bisexual men was found to be non-significant ($b = .44, p = .062$), the interaction term for bisexual women was significant and positive ($b = .56, p = .027$). This suggests that the slope of the negative relationship between concealing at Time 5 and job stress at Time 6 becomes more positive when employees identified as bisexual women. Interestingly, an assessment of the conditional effects revealed negative and non-significant effects for gay men (effect = $-.20, p = .324$) and lesbian women (effect = $.25, p = .296$), a positive effect for bisexual men that approached significance (effect = $.25, p = .055$), and a positive and significant effect for bisexual women (effect = $.37, p = .020$). This model showcases a clear distinction in the relationship between concealing at Time 5 and job stress at Time 6, with negative effects presenting for gay and lesbian folks, and positive effects presenting for bisexual folks.

The fourth model producing significant results was the model in which subgroup membership moderated the relationship between concealing at Time 5 and negative affect at Time 6. First, concealing at Time 5 was negatively related to negative affect at Time 6 for gay men ($b = -2.92, p = .007$), bisexual men ($b = -12.82, p = .002$) and bisexual women ($b = -15.95, p < .001$) suggesting that those who identified with each of these groups reported lower negative affect. The interaction terms for both bisexual men ($b = 3.11, p = .015$) and bisexual women ($b =$

5.11, $p < .001$). were positive and significant, which suggests that the slope of the relationship between concealing at Time 5 and negative affect at Time 6 became more positive for bisexual men and bisexual women. An assessment of the conditional effects revealed a significant and negative effect for gay men (effect = -2.92, $p = .007$) suggesting that the slope of the relationship between concealing at Time 5 and negative affect at Time 6 becomes more negative for gay men. Both lesbian women (effect = -1.48, $p = .110$) and bisexual men (effect = .19, $p = .778$) produced non-significant effects. Finally, the conditional effect for bisexual women was positive and significant (effect = 2.20, $p = .010$), suggesting that the slope of the relationship between concealing and negative affect became more positive when employees identified as bisexual women. This model again showcases a divide between gay and lesbian employees and those who identify as bisexual with gay and lesbian folks producing negative effects, while bisexual folks produced positive effects.

Finally, the model assessing how subgroup membership moderated the relationship between concealing at Time 5 and guilt at Time 6 produced significant estimates. First, the relationship between concealing and Time 5 and guilt at Time 6 was significant and negative for bisexual women ($b = -2.86$, $p = .002$). This suggests that bisexual women reported less guilt than other groups. However, the interaction between concealing at Time 5 and identifying as a bisexual woman was significant and positive ($b = .87$, $p = .004$). This implies that the slope of the relationship between concealing at Time 5 and guilt at Time 6 became more positive when employees identified as bisexual women. Bisexual women also produced the only significant conditional effect (effect = .48, $p = .010$). All other groups and interaction terms in this model were non-significant.

Taken together, these exploratory analyses produced interesting trends that merit future research. One of the most consistent trends across models was diverging conditional effect directions for gay and lesbian employees versus bisexual employees. Indeed, in three of the models reported above, gay men and lesbian women conditional effects were in one direction, while bisexual men and women conditional effects were in the opposite direction. Another interesting finding from these exploratory results is that there were more significant models for the Time 5 and Time 6 relationships than the Time 2 and Time 3 relationships. This is in line with some of my primary findings, which implies that mistreatment may take time to internalize before consequences fully emerge. Again, as these results are exploratory, I encourage future researchers to more intentionally analyze these relationships to get an even better sense of how they vary based on both employee sexual orientation and gender.

Bisexuality Stereotype Endorsement

The final section of the supplementary analyses considers several additional analyses related to the endorsement of several stereotypes related to bisexuality. In the eligibility survey, two measures were included to assess the stereotypes that participants held about bisexual individuals; Attitudes regarding Bisexuality Scale (Male form) and Attitudes Regarding Bisexuality Scale (Female form; both Mohr & Rochlen, 1999). Both scales included 10 items prompting participants to rate their endorsement of common stereotypes of bisexual employees. Both scales were identical, with the only difference being the referent individuals (bisexual men for the Male form, and bisexual women for the Female form). Example items included “Bisexuality in men is immoral”, and “Female bisexuals are afraid to commit to one lifestyle” (BIW $\alpha = .91$, BIM $\alpha = .92$). To assess the endorsement of these stereotypes across groups, I first created a categorical variable termed ‘subgroup’ in which 1 = gay men, 2 = lesbian women, 3 =

bisexual men, and 4 = bisexual women. This subgroup variable was utilized as the independent variable for two separate univariate analysis of variance models (the first predicting endorsement of female bisexuality stereotypes, and the second predicting endorsement of male bisexuality stereotypes). Both models are described in detail below.

The first model considered subgroup differences in the endorsement of female bisexuality stereotypes. Subgroup was found to be significantly related to female bisexuality stereotype endorsement [$F(3,417) = 20.55, p < .001$] indicating that there were significant between group differences endorsement of these stereotypes. Of the four groups, gay men reported the greatest endorsement of bisexuality stereotypes in women ($M = 2.91, SD = 1.06$), followed by lesbian women ($M = 2.61, SD = 1.14$), bisexual women ($M = 2.02, SD = 1.08$), and finally bisexual men ($M = 1.95, SD = .83$). A post hoc analysis utilizing Tukey's HSD revealed that gay men endorsed female bisexuality stereotypes to a greater degree than both bisexual men [mean difference = .96, $p < .001, 95\%CI (.58, 1.35)$] and bisexual women [mean difference = .89, $p < .001, 95\%CI (.53, 1.26)$], but gay men did not differ from lesbian women [mean difference = .30, $p = .105, 95\%CI (-.04, .65)$]. Similarly, lesbian women endorsed female bisexual stereotypes to a greater degree than both bisexual men [mean difference = .66, $p < .001, 95\%CI (.26, 1.05)$] and bisexual women [mean difference = .59, $p < .001, 95\%CI (.21, .97)$]. Finally, there was no significant difference on endorsement of female bisexual stereotypes when comparing bisexual men and bisexual women [mean difference = $-.07, p = .976, 95\%CI (-.48, .34)$]. This first model highlights that gay men and lesbian women were found to endorse female bisexuality stereotypes to a greater extent than bisexual men and women.

The second model considered subgroup differences in the endorsement of male bisexuality stereotypes. Similar to the first model, subgroup was found to be significantly related

to male bisexuality stereotype endorsement [$F(3,417) = 22.31, p < .001$]. Similar to the previous model, gay men reported the greatest endorsement of bisexuality stereotypes in men ($M = 2.99, SD = 1.08$), followed by lesbian women ($M = 2.61, SD = 1.18$). Interestingly, after rounding, bisexual women ($M = 2.00, SD = 1.09$) and bisexual men ($M = 2.00, SD = .82$) reported similar endorsements of bisexuality stereotypes in men – both values indicating lower endorsement than both gay men and lesbian women. A post hoc analysis utilizing Tukey’s HSD revealed significant differences among the four groups in a pattern largely similar to the first model. In this model, Gay men endorsed male bisexuality stereotypes to a greater degree than lesbian women [mean difference = .38, $p = .030$, 95% CI (.02, .73)], bisexual men [mean difference = 1.00, $p < .001$, 95% CI (.60, 1.39)] and bisexual women [mean difference = .99, $p < .001$, 95% CI (.62, 1.37)]. Similarly, lesbian women were found to endorse male bisexuality stereotypes to a greater degree than both bisexual men [mean difference = .62, $p = .001$, 95% CI (.22, 1.02)] and bisexual women [mean difference = .62, $p < .001$, 95% CI (.23, 1.02)]. Finally, there was no significant difference on the endorsement of male bisexual stereotypes between bisexual men and bisexual women [mean difference = -.002, $p = 1.00$, 95% CI (-.43, .42)]. This model suggests that gay men and lesbian women were more likely to endorse male bisexuality stereotypes than bisexual women and bisexual men themselves, with gay men reporting the greatest endorsement across all other groups.

Taken together, these models exemplify the stigmatization of bisexual individuals from those nested within the LGB community. Similar to past scholars (Arena Jr. & Jones, 2017; Corrington et al., 2018), I found evidence that gay men and lesbian women endorsed bisexuality stereotypes to a greater degree than bisexual individuals themselves. This provides further

support for the stigmatization that bisexual employees endure from within the LGB community and harkens to future research to decipher why this is and how it can be mitigated.

General Discussion

The present study was one of the first to take aim at better understanding the similarities and differences between the workplace experiences of bisexual employees to that of gay men and lesbian women. Building on past work (Arena Jr. & Jones, 2017; Corrington et al., 2018), my study sought to uncover how the identity management experiences of bisexual employees were similar to and distinct from those of gay or lesbian employees. Primary results suggest that there are areas where LGB employees react similarly and areas in which they diverge. For example mediation analyses aligned with past work (Beals, 2004; Schrimshaw, Siegel, Downing, & Parsons, 2013) showcasing the psychological health consequences of concealing an invisible stigma. Indeed, concealing was related to increased dimensions of burnout, increased job stress, and less positive affect across models and time points. This provides further evidence of the ramifications of concealing a stigmatized identity in concordance with theoretical work in this area (Pachankis, 2007).

While this represents an area of similarity across groups, primary analyses also revealed key differences. For example, preliminary analyses related to Hypothesis 2 revealed that the relationship between incivility and concealing was significant and in the hypothesized direction for bisexual men and women, but not gay men or lesbian women. This suggests that there may be differences in how bisexual employees internalize mistreatment and make decisions about their identity management compared to other groups, and aligns with past work focused on identity management and bisexuality (Arena Jr. & Jones, 2017; Corrington et al., 2018). I interpret this finding not to mean that gay or lesbian individuals do not conceal after

experiencing mistreatment, but that there is evidence in my analyses that this relationship may be more pronounced for bisexual employees. Overall, my study addressed arguments advanced by Worthen (2013), who postulated that the similarities in experiences for groups nested within the LGBT+ community are just as important as the differences for scholars to best represent and understand the experiences of these employees.

In addition to the primary analyses, supplementary analyses provided additional insight into the experiences of LGB employees. Analyses addressing my proposed research question revealed that some of the hypothesized relationships between concealing a stigmatized identity characteristic and dimensions of employee mental health may be stronger for bisexual individuals. For example, in both models related to the relationship between concealing an identity characteristic and reports of personal accomplishment, the slope of this relationship was the most negative for bisexual men – such that increased concealing behaviors was related to decreased feelings of personal accomplishment for this group more than others. While differences emerged, non-significance for outcome variables such as emotional exhaustion or positive affect yield important implications as well. For example, the relationship between concealing and emotional exhaustion may be similarly positive across all four populations which suggests that efforts put forth to preserve the cognitive resources of gay or lesbian employees may generalize to bisexual employees as well. Supplemental analyses also contribute to past findings related to the endorsement of bisexuality-focused stereotypes. Indeed, gay men and lesbian women were found to endorse stereotypes about both bisexual men and bisexual women to a greater degree than bisexual men and women themselves. This corroborates with previous findings (Burke & LaFrance, 2016) such that gay men and lesbian women were more likely to endorse these stereotypes. This also substantiates a narrative that regardless of our increasingly

egalitarianism focused society, bisexual individuals still experience horizontal hostility (White & Langer, 1999) from similarly stigmatized groups.

Theoretical Implications

There are a number of theoretical implications apparent from the gleaned results. First and foremost, this study aimed to help disentangle the role of both gender and sexual orientation in shaping identity management processes and reactions to workplace mistreatment. While my results did not perfectly support my theorizing my results do have implications for the utilization of minority stress theory (Meyer, 1995). Indeed, analyses related to Hypothesis 2 revealed that while the relationship between incivility at Time 1 and concealing at Time 5 was significant and positive for bisexual men and bisexual women, results for gay men and lesbian women did not reach significance. This was corroborated by moderation analyses suggesting that the slope of the relationship between incivility and concealing becomes more positive when employees identified as bisexual, but is unchanged when employees identified as gay or lesbian. There are several reasons for why this may be. It is possible that gay men and lesbian women may have more obvious ways of grappling with mistreatment such as leaning on anti-discrimination policy that specifically mentions gay or lesbian identities as compared to bisexual individuals who may not be visibly represented in organizational policy. Thus, instead of concealing, gay or lesbian employees may feel more comfortable reporting the occurrence and more quickly moving on from the event of mistreatment than bisexual employees. Additionally, the perceived inauthenticity of bisexuality may motivate bisexual employees to conceal to a greater likelihood than gay or lesbian employees after experiencing mistreatment in an effort to curb future or further targeting in the future. Skepticism surrounding bisexuality as a true sexual orientation is not likely to be as salient for gay or lesbian individuals – which may still be met with

mistreatment, but may be less likely to be met with skepticism. The rates of concealing after mistreatment for bisexual individuals aligns with past findings (Arena Jr., & Jones, 2017; Corrington et al., 2018), and suggests that minority stress theory may be applied differently when considering more than one stigmatized identity characteristic.

Apart from the difference identified above, similarities across groups also yield theoretical importance. Consistent across models were the consequences to employee mental health that result from concealing a stigmatized identity. Particularly, concealing one's sexual orientation significantly impacted all three dimensions of employee cognitive burnout – emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and personal accomplishment. This aligns with past theoretical work on the cognitive and mental health-related consequences of concealing a stigmatized identity (King & Cortina, 2010; Pachankis, 2007). Implied in this is that, regardless of which subgroup employees identified with, concealing one's sexual orientation led to consequences for mental health. This may be a place where we may be able to more easily generalize the experiences of sexual orientation minority employees, such that actively taking steps to conceal this important dimension of their identity leads to consequences across groups. This line of thinking is substantiated when considering non-significant models in the analysis of my research question. Indeed, neither the models for the relationship between concealing and emotional exhaustion, or the models for the relationship between concealing and depersonalization yielded significant interaction terms. This suggests that subgroup membership does not play a role in the relationship between concealing and these two dimensions of burnout, lending credence to the idea that this may unfold similarly for each group.

Another similarity apparent from analyses was the clear contrast in significance when considering incivility vs. bullying. Throughout my results, it appeared that experiencing

incivility produced more significant indirect effects than experiencing bullying, and also yielded more significant findings throughout moderation analyses. Bullying produced zero significant indirect effects when concealing was the mediator across time points, and none of the moderation analyses yielded significant interaction terms. This is interesting, as intuitively one would expect greater concealing after experiencing a more overt and intentional form of mistreatment. It may be possible that the ambiguous nature of more subtle forms of mistreatment (Jones et al., 2017) makes identity management more complex. This difficulty may lead sexual orientation employees to conceal their identity until they can get more concrete signals as to how disclosure may be received by confidantes – as compared to apparent or overt mistreatment where identity management decisions may be reached more quickly. While other reasons for the pattern of non-significance for models utilizing the bullying measure are plausible, it is important to acknowledge that all forms of mistreatment cannot be treated equally. Future researchers should generate research questions to test how the different dimensions of mistreatment such as subtlety or intentionality play a role in identity management decisions for sexual orientation minority employees.

Finally, supplemental analyses corroborate past findings suggesting that gay men and lesbian women endorse bisexuality-related stereotypes to a greater degree than bisexual individuals themselves (Arena Jr., & Jones, 2017; Burke & LaFrance, 2016). This aligns with tenets of horizontal hostility (White & Langer, 1999) such that among two similarly stigmatized groups, the group perceived to be further from the societal norm may be more likely to exhibit hostility toward the group perceived to be closer to the norm. This key difference in stereotype endorsement provides even further evidence of why the experiences of bisexual employees should be studied in a way that is distinct from the broader population identifying as non-

heterosexual. While evidence of the differences in stereotype endorsement is provided, future researchers should take steps to understand the foundations behind this horizontal hostility.

Perhaps a mixed methods study including qualitative interviews could give researchers insight into why gay or lesbian employees exhibit hostility toward those who identify as bisexual.

Practical Implications

The results of this study also provide several implications that can be utilized by business professionals and practitioners. First, my mediation model findings suggest that there may be some overlap in the workplace experiences of LGB employees. Thus, organizations should be prudent when crafting policy or training programs meant to alleviate employee stress to be inclusive of bisexual employees. Indeed, Green et al. (2011) recommended after a survey of bisexual people at work that companies establish equal employment opportunity (EEO) policy with both sexual orientation and gender in mind. As experiences may be similar, representation of bisexuality in policy may do a world of good in respect to feelings of inclusion. Second, my analyses revealed that a predominant portion of employees reported concealing their true sexual orientation (at least to a small degree). In a recent review of sexual orientation discrimination at work, Ozeren (2014) describes disclosure as a complex and multifaceted process involving who, when, whether, where, and how the individual will come out (Gedro, 2007). Organizations may be able to alleviate the stressors involved in the disclosure process by providing information about the benefits of authenticity or resources meant to support stigmatized populations.

Finally, it is important to include bisexuality explicitly into diversity trainings to educate others on the true meaning of bisexuality and promote the authenticity of employees who identify as bisexual. Results related to the endorsement of bisexuality stereotypes reveal bias toward bisexuality from those within the LGB community. Considering this, it may not be

enough for organizations to provide target heterosexual employees for participation in diversity training programs. Trainings should be offered to all employees equally – without preconceived biases that LGB employees are already aware of LGB issues – to combat bisexuality stereotypes from all sides.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

As with all research, the current findings should be interpreted in light of several limitations. First, studies designed with repeated measures are susceptible to priming participants to answering questions in a way that is aligned with the way in which they anticipate researchers want them to answer or in ways differently than they might answer normally (Scollon, Kim-Prieto, & Diener, 2003). While priming may be a concern in this study, I postulate that there is unlikely a better way of asking individuals about their workplace experiences than asking directly – especially for items related to identity management. Moreover, the identity management items (which are likely the most susceptible for participants to answer how they think researchers want them to because they consider how authentic they are being at work) were asked less frequently (only in the eligibility, Time 2, and Time 5 surveys). Considering the identity management items, in this study, items were used to reflect concealing and revealing as identity management strategies. Recent work has identified several other methods of managing stigmatized characteristics such as signaling, assimilating, integrating, confirming, and decategorizing (Clair et al., 2005; Lynch & Rodell, 2018). Future research should take steps to integrate new measures of identity management to better understand if there are similarities or differences in strategy implementation across groups.

Second, while my study aimed to strategically recruit a more balanced sample amongst the four subgroups of interest, the sample was slightly lopsided. Indeed, gay men represented a

greater portion of the sample (roughly 32%) compared to bisexual men (roughly 19%).

Additionally, gay and lesbian employees outnumbered bisexual employees (247 gay and lesbian employees accounting for roughly 60% of the sample compared to 170 bisexual employees accounting for roughly 40% of the sample). A feasible concern involves the possibility that the results are being driven by the experiences of gay men (particularly in mediation models where all groups are considered together). Future research should also take even greater steps to balance the sample for each group. This can be accomplished through several strategies including greater communication with bisexuality focused organizations, widening the net of social media website utilized, or oversampling.

Furthermore, though my study took an intersectional approach to understanding these populations, there are other demographic differences that deserve the attention of future scholars. For example, there is evidence that ethnic and racial differences may play a role in the experiences of sexual orientation minority men and women (i.e., Allen, Myers, & Williams, 2014; Bostwick, Hughes, Steffen, Veldhuis, & Wilsnack, 2019; Friedman et al., 2019). Other demographic characteristics such as employee age, relationship status, or marital status could also feasibly shape the experiences of employees. Taking this information into account, it is important to continue to broaden our perspective by continuing to integrate different dimensions of employee identity to produce the most generalizable and comprehensive perspective into experiences possible and motivate research that is intersectional. Future research should take steps to consider how multiple facets of an employee's identity can shape their experiences at work to provide a more generalizable representation of the workplace experiences of marginalized employee groups. Employees who have combinations of both visible and invisible

stigmatized identities may manage their identities in drastically different ways, lending credence to the need for more intersectionally mindful research.

Finally, my study was designed to assess the experiences of employees who have recently begun working in light of recent research that argues most identity management decisions happen within the first year of employment (Mohr et al., 2019). Thus, my data cannot speak to the (likely larger) number of LGB employees who have been employed at the same organization for more than 12 months. Future research should, possibly from a multi-study approach, compare and contrast the experiences of recently hired employees to those with a longer job tenure to provide a clearer picture of the role of the length of one's employment. Additionally, the time interval of my study assessed key study variables over the course of two work weeks. This interval of time for the primary data collection effort was selected primarily due to the fluid nature of mistreatment and identity management at work. Employees likely internalize instances of mistreatment differently, and may possibly make decisions about their identity any number of times throughout the workday or week to any number of colleagues, supervisors, or customers. However, and as with all time-based research, future researchers should assess my hypothesized relationships over different increments of time to better understand the lasting impact of mistreatment at work for LGB employees. While I focus on work weeks, scholars could assess these relationships over consecutive days - similar to the method employed by Rosen, Koopman, Gabriel, and Johnson (2016) – to get an even better sense of how mistreatment or identity management influence employee mental health as each day progresses.

Conclusion

To conclude, I have provided unique empirical data examining antecedents and consequences of the identity management behaviors of gay, lesbian, and bisexual employees

over the course of two weeks. My dissertation is one of the first to treat each of these groups as a unique population as compared to overgeneralizing into an overall LGB demographic group, and aimed to explore how bisexual men and women experience work in ways similar to or different from gay men and lesbian women. What is clear, across primary and supplementary analyses, is that there are multiple avenues of future research directions to better understand how the experiences of bisexual employees. Primary analyses revealed similarities across groups including how sexual orientation minority employees may react to incivility by concealing their sexual orientation and the mental health consequences related to concealing. Key differences were identified in analyses related to Hypothesis 2, such that in some cases, the slope of the relationship between mistreatment and concealing was more positive for bisexual employees compared to gay and lesbian employees. Future researchers are encouraged to join the conversation surrounding the experiences of bisexual employees to better represent the precarious nature of navigating the first year of employment.

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Appendix

Workplace Incivility Scale

Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001

During the time since your last survey, have you been in a situation where any of your superiors or coworkers toward you: (1 – never, 2 – rarely, 3 – occasionally, 4 – often, 5 – a great deal).

1. Put you down or was condescending to you?
2. Paid little attention to your statement or showed little interest in your opinion?
3. Made demeaning or derogatory remarks about you?
4. Addressed you in unprofessional terms, either publicly or privately?
5. Ignored or excluded you from professional camaraderie?
6. Doubted your judgement on a matter over which you have responsibility?
7. Made unwanted attempts to draw you into a discussion of personal matters?

General and Racial/Ethnic Bullying Scale

Fox & Stallworth, 2005

During the time since your last survey, how often have you experienced someone behaving toward yourself as follows in your place(s) of work? (1 – never, 2 – rarely, 3 – occasionally, 4 – often, 5 – a great deal).

1. Made derogatory comments about your sexual orientation
2. Told jokes about your sexual orientation
3. Used sexual orientation slurs to describe you
4. Excluded you from social interactions during or after work because of your sexual orientation

5. Failed to give you information you needed to do your job because of your sexual orientation
6. Made discriminatory comments (for example, says people of your sexual orientation aren't very smart or can't do the job)
7. Made you feel as if you have to give up your sexual orientation identity to get along at work

Cognitive Burnout

Maslach & Jackson 1981

Please indicate the degree of your agreement or disagreement with each statement. (Scale 1 = strongly disagree; 6 = strongly agree).

Emotional Exhaustion

- 1) I feel emotionally drained from my work
- 2) I feel used up at the end of the workday
- 3) I feel fatigued when I get up in the morning and have to face another day on the job
- 4) Working with people all day is really a strain for me
- 5) I feel burned out from my work
- 6) I feel frustrated by my job
- 7) Working with people directly puts too much stress on me
- 8) I feel like I'm at the end of my rope

Personal Accomplishment

- 1) I can easily understand how others feel about things
- 2) I deal very effectively with the problems of others

- 3) I feel I'm positively influencing other people's lives through my work
- 4) I feel very energetic
- 5) I can easily create a relaxed atmosphere with others
- 6) I feel exhilarated after working closely with others
- 7) I have accomplished many worthwhile things in this job
- 8) In my work, I deal with emotional problems very calmly

Depersonalization

- 1) I feel I treat some others as if they were impersonal 'objects'
- 2) I've become more callous toward people since I took this job
- 3) I worry that this job is hardening me emotionally
- 4) I don't really care what happens to others
- 5) I feel others blame me for some of their problems

Job Stress

Motowildo, Packard, & Manning, 1986

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements (1 = strongly disagree, 6 = strongly agree).

1. I have felt a great deal of stress because of my job
2. I have often felt stressed at work
3. Several stressful things have happened to me at work
4. My job has been extremely stressful

Scale of Positive and Negative Experience (SPANE)

Diener, Wirtz, Tov, Kim-Prieto, Choi, Oishi, & Biswas-Hiener, 2009

Please think about what you have been doing and experiencing since your last survey. Then report how much you experienced each of the following feelings. (1 = not at all, 5 = a great deal).

1. Positive
2. Negative
3. Good
4. Bad
5. Pleasant
6. Unpleasant
7. Happy
8. Sad
9. Afraid
10. Joyful
11. Angry
12. Contented

Guilt

Please think about what you have been doing and experiencing since your last survey. Then report how much you have experienced each of the following feelings. (1 = not at all, 5 = a great deal).

1. Guilty

Identity Management Strategies

King, Mohr, Peddie, Jones, & Kendra, 2017

For the following items, reflect on your experiences at work since your last survey. Answer each of the prompts to the best of your abilities based on the following scale; 1 = never, 5 = a great deal.

1. I let somebody assume that I was heterosexual
2. I said something that indicated I was heterosexual
3. I tried to behave or dress in a way that would keep others from guessing my true sexual orientation
4. I avoided sharing information or opinions that might have led others to wonder if I was LGB
5. I communicated in a vague or incomplete manner to avoid revealing my orientation
6. I avoided a situation or discussion where issues related to sex, love, or relationships might arise
7. I explicitly referred to my orientation
8. I shared information or an opinion that might lead others to think I am LGB
9. I hinted at my orientation without directly saying I am LGB
10. I did something to try to see if the person(s) of focus might be accepting of LGB people
11. I behaved or dressed in a way that probably made my orientation easier to detect
12. I entered a situation or discussion where issues related to sex, love, or relationships might arise