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The Mixed Motives of Identity Disclosure: Concealable Identity Disclosure in the Workplace

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THE MIXED MOTIVES OF IDENTITY DISCLOSURE:
CONCEALABLE IDENTITY DISCLOSURE IN THE WORKPLACE

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate School of
Clemson University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science
Applied Psychology

by
Brandon McIntyre
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Accepted by:
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ABSTRACT

With the current research, I further clarify the factors that influence concealable identity disclosure in the workplace. The predictive nature of variables relating to an individual's concealable identity as well as the variables relating to the individual's general disposition were tested using an online sample of MTurk workers. Participants (N = 371) were given a definition of what a concealable identity is and then were asked to self-identify if they had a concealable identity. Those who indicated that they had a concealable identity (n = 150) completed an additional portion of the survey that assessed: their disclosure level at work, General Tendency for Self-Disclosure, Workplace Social Courage, Perceived Risk of Disclosure, Identity Centrality, Authenticity and their Identity Perceptions. It was determined that General Tendency for Self-Disclosure was a significant covariate for disclosure. It was also found that Identity Perceptions are not unidimensional – an individual's overall perception of their identity is not simply a sum of their positive and negative perceptions. Positive and Negative Identity Perceptions were found to be two separate factors that relate to Openness to Identity-Disclosure, with Positive Identity perceptions more predictive of Openness to Identity-Disclosure than Negative Identity Perceptions. There were also significant findings regarding the Life and Job Satisfaction of individuals with a concealable identity. It was concluded that while having a concealable identity is not directly related to reported levels of Job Satisfaction, individuals who disclose their identity at work did have higher levels of Life and Job Satisfaction. It was also concluded that knowing other co-workers with the same or similar concealable identity was more positively correlated with Life and Job Satisfaction than just knowing

anyone with the same or similar identity. Along with this, knowing others at work with the same or similar identity was the single largest correlated of Openness to Identity-Disclosure and Explicit Identity-Disclosure.

DEDICATION

I would like to start out by thanking my partner Cody Norris for joining me in my graduate school journey and for supporting me in all of my professional and personal endeavors. I would also like to thank my family: Mark McIntyre, Renee McIntyre and Sammy McIntyre for their unwavering love and support – I would not have had the opportunities to advance to where I am today without their words of encouragement and wisdom over the years. Lastly, I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Cindy Pury, for guiding me through this process and for helping me develop my skills as a graduate student, researcher and psychologist.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
TITLE PAGE.....	i
ABSTRACT.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
CHAPTER	
I. CONCEALABLE IDENTITY DISCLOSURE IN THE WORKPLACE.....	1
Concealable Stigmatized Identities.....	2
Self-Disclosure.....	3
Courage.....	5
Perceived Risk of Disclosure Due to Stigma.....	8
Identity Centrality.....	9
Perception of Identity.....	9
Life and Job Satisfaction.....	12
II. HYPOTHESES.....	14
Predictors of Identity Disclosure.....	14
Moderator Effects of Workplace Social Courage and Authenticity.....	15
Predictors of Life and Job Satisfaction.....	17
III. METHODS.....	19
Participants.....	19
Procedures.....	20
Measures.....	24
Exploratory Measures.....	30
IV. RESULTS.....	31

Sample Descriptives.....	31
Concealable Identities	33
Scale Measure Validation.....	38
Predictors of Identity-Disclosure and Openness to Identity-Disclosure	39
Predictors of Life Satisfaction	43
Predictors of Job Satisfaction	45
V. DISCUSSION.....	47
Explicit Identity Disclosure Versus Openness to Identity Disclosure ...	47
Predictors of Openness to Identity Disclosure.....	48
Predictors of Life and Job Satisfaction	54
Summary of Significant Findings	56
Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research	57
Conclusion	61
APPENDICES	58
A: Part One of Survey Scales.....	77
B: Part Two of Survey Scales	79
C: Exploratory Questions.....	87
REFERENCES	89

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.1	Concealable Identities by Type and Number of Participants	63
2.1	Condensed Concealable Identities by Type and Number of Participants	64
3.1	CFA Results Summary for Scale Measures	65
4.1	Bivariate Correlations and Descriptive Statistics	66
5.1	Main Effects Model: Predictors of Openness to Identity-Disclosure at Work.....	67
6.1	Interaction Model: Workplace Social Courage by Perceived Risk	67
7.1	Interaction Model: Identity Centrality by Authenticity	68
8.1	Linear Regression Predicting Life Satisfaction	68
9.1	Linear Regression Predicting Job Satisfaction	69

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.1	Predicted Moderator Effects of Workplace Social Courage	70
2.1	Predicted Moderator Effect of Authenticity	71
3.1	Histogram of Openness to Identity-Disclosure at Work.....	72
4.1	The Predicted Probabilities of Openness to Identity-Disclosure for General Tendency of Self-Disclosure	73
5.1	The Predicted Probabilities of Openness to Identity-Disclosure for Positive Perceptions of Identity	74
6.1	Interaction Effect of Workplace Social Courage and Perceived Risk	75

CHAPTER ONE

CONCEALABLE IDENTITY DISCLOSURE IN THE WORKPLACE

Deciding to share a concealable identity within society generally comes with many risks and benefits. Disclosing a concealable identity within the workplace could potentially have impacts, not only to the individual disclosing their identity, but also to the other people within their organization. Understanding the dynamic relationships between individual differences and organizational climate that influence an individual's decision to disclose could be an integral component in designing organizational interventions and training procedures for diverse workgroups. Also, a better understanding of how having concealable identities relate to life and job satisfaction could contribute to the importance of this line of research as well as emphasize which specific situations could benefit to most from organizational interventions for workers with concealable identities.

Previous workplace self-disclosure and identity management research has largely used organizational climate and specific situational factors as the basis for self-disclosure behaviors (Day & Schoenrade, 1997; Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Munir, Leka, & Griffiths, 2005). The purpose of this study is to shift the research to focus on the individual differences that moderate disclosure outcomes. Specifically, it further explains the variance in concealable identity disclosure with regards to individual differences and an individual's perceptions of their concealable identity. Along with this, I propose that factors such as general workplace social courage, and the individual's predisposition to be authentic will predict an individual's decision to disclose their concealable identity.

Similarly, I predict that authenticity and workplace social courage will moderate the effect of a variety of individual differences - an individual's generalized predisposition to disclose information, identity centrality, identity salience, perception of identity, and perceived stigma - on disclosure behaviors of concealable identities.

Concealable Stigmatized Identities

A concealable stigmatized identity is any identity that can be hidden from others and is socially devalued (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998). Goffman (2009) termed individuals with these less overt stigmatized identities as “discreditable” which includes people with mental disorders, addictions, criminal records, and minority sexual identities. This list is not exhaustive and it is important to note that each identity has varied levels of social stigmatization which are dependent on the current cultural and societal climate. This influences the amount of cultural stigma associated with an identity at any given time.

Associative vs. personal stigma. Another distinct form of concealable stigmatized identity, which further broadens the scope of individuals who possess a stigmatized identity, is an associative stigmatized identity. Associative stigmatized identities may impact individuals who are closely affiliated with an individual who has any form of stigmatized identity that might or might not be concealable. These associative stigmas or “courtesy” stigmas, may cause an individual who is closely related to another stigmatized individual to suffer similar devaluations as their associated group (Goffman, 2009). The nature of an associative stigma creates a concealable identity for an individual who otherwise may not have any personal stigmas themselves. For example, family members of an individual with a mental illness can experience marked stigma and emotional distress

from this association (Corrigan & Miller, 2004). These family members have the associative stigmatized identity of being related to a person with a mental illness where they then choose to conceal or disclose this identity. Including individuals with associative stigmatized identities allows for a fuller and more inclusive sample to further understand identity disclosure of multiple levels and types of stigmatization.

Self-Disclosure

While self-disclosure of specific information such as psychological distress (e.g., Kahn & Hessling, 2001) and specific social identities such as sexual orientation (e.g., Day & Schoenrade, 1997; Durso & Meyer, 2013; Wells & Kline, 1987) has regularly been studied in the past, little research has focused on the factors that influence self-disclosure of general concealable identities. Self-disclosure has been defined as the communication of any information about one's self to another individual (Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010; Cozby, 1973). Through social exchange theory it is broadly accepted that any form of disclosure comes with some amount of risk (Omarzu, 2000), and there is a greater risk of rejection and discrimination when disclosing information about one's stigmatized identities (Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010).

Self-disclosure in the workplace. Self-disclosure within a social collective such as an organization or workplace becomes more complex due to an increased risk of potential negative outcomes generated by the unique dynamic between coworkers, subordinates, and supervisors. For example, Levine and Leonard (1984) found that 60% of lesbian women feared discrimination if their employer knew about their sexuality. Similarly, risk of self-disclosure is not only acknowledged by the disclosing individuals

but also by their potential employers; a more recent study found that approximately 95% HR professionals recommended that an individual should not disclose a disability in a cover letter for a prospective employer (Bishop, Stenhoff, Bradley, & Allen, 2007).

Conversely, self-disclosing at work could have positive implications for a concealing individual as well as for their employer. Disclosing sexual identities, for instance, has been found to positively correlate with worker satisfaction, productivity and loyalty (Powers, 1996; Powers & Ellis, 1995). Furthermore, Friskopp and Silverstein (1995) found that individuals who were open about their sexuality experienced less discrimination than individuals who had not disclosed their identity in a sample of over 100 gay and lesbian Harvard Business school alumni. Similarly, perceived organizational supportiveness has been previously shown to significantly predict disclosure of these types of identities at work (Griffith & Hebl, 2002). Fundamental organizational theories of employment engagement and job satisfaction can be used to support the idea that workers who self-disclose stigmatized identities at work, due to perceived organizational support, tend to be happier and perform better. Studies and meta-analyses have routinely shown that workers are more inclined to do well when they are more satisfied and happy with their current job (e.g., Cropanzano & Wright, 2001; Judge, Thoresen, Bono, & Patton, 2001).

Predisposition of self-disclosure. Much of the previous research on disclosure behaviors has been based on situational factors such as organizational climate, cultural climate, and specific differences among varied identities and stigma. One major factor that I intend to highlight in this study is an individual's predisposition to self-disclose information based on levels of disclosure in other, non-identity related domains. Omarzu

(2000) proposes that individual differences will influence disclosure behaviors at many points of the disclosure decision process, such as: to whom an individual chooses to disclose, and how they evaluate subjective utility and risk. A similar approach that has previously been used determined that LGB individuals who were predisposed to high risk taking were more likely to disclose their identity than those who tended to avoid risk (Clair, Beatty, & MacLean, 2005).

Courage

To my knowledge, courage has never been studied as a potential predictor or moderator of disclosure in previous studies. While courage has multiple definitions, there are two proposed ways to study courageous actions: accolade courage and courage as a process. Accolade courage is the process of socially deeming an action lofty and worthy enough to be considered courageous (Pury & Starkey, 2010). Conversely, courage as a process refers to taking a worthwhile risk where an individual makes a purposeful courageous action despite a personal risk (Pury & Saylor, 2017). For the purpose of this study, I will adopt the latter form of courage due to its focus on an individual's decision process of assessing risks and outcomes while also removing the variance of social perception that comes with accolade courage. Disclosing a social identity is more fitting for courage as a process because disclosure may not be seen as an action that merits social praise by the individual that that a person is disclosing to but it certainly contains worthwhile risk for the actor. Specifically, disclosing a concealable identity in spite of that individuals perceived risk for the purpose of a worthwhile goal is considered courageous under this definition.

The motive of authenticity and the courage to be authentic. This unique view of disclosure as a form of courage proposes an interesting question. What is the worthwhile component or motive for taking the risk to disclose? Some of the current established research on specific individual motives for taking the risk to disclose their identity at work focuses on the needs of the individual, such as: nondiscriminatory benefits like health insurance for a nontraditional partner or coverage of a specific concealable condition (Rostosky & Riggle, 2002), other practical accommodations, and social support (Munir et al., 2005). Similarly, Clair et al. (2005) proposed three additional motives for disclosing marginalized identities at work: maintaining self-esteem and coping, building or preserving relationships, and creating social change. In this present study, I am proposing an additional motive for identity disclosure: authenticity. This motive for undergoing the risk of identity disclosure builds the idea of having courage to be authentic.

In order to fully understand the courage to be authentic, an overview of existential psychology should first be considered. Existential psychology is the study of psychological processes and behaviors that involve humans' awareness of their own existence which relates to topics such as death, freedom, meaningfulness and isolation (Yalom, 1980). Isolation is a key component in the construct of existential courage. Larsen and Giles (1976) defined existential courage as "the learned capacity to make self-defined appropriate choices, to express self-defined appropriate emotions independent of, despite, or in opposition to survival or social cost motivation" (p. 299). This proposes problems for some aspects of existential psychology in that it involves the idea that individuals have

the innate need to have connections with other people and to define meaning to themselves through these connections (Castano, Yzerbyt, & Paladino, 2004).

In one sense, identifying one's self as having a specific marginalized identity creates these abstract connections with others who also share that specific identity. However, this process also puts their other, arguably more pervasive, social connections at risk. For example, if an individual openly identifies as gay in their workplace, they are automatically creating meaningful connections through their identity with others in their identity community. This could be beneficial for them if there are other individuals who share this identity in their work environment. However, openly identifying themselves as being gay also simultaneously puts their other social connections with the majority, such as their general professional and social ties with their non-gay co-workers, at risk. Case and Williams (2004) argue that ostracism as a form of social punishment has a particularly powerful threat to an individual's need for belonging when compared to physical or verbal aggression due to this severing of social contact and loss of social attachment. This threat of social ostracism, or exclusion of an individual or group from others by means of reducing or eliminating contact (Williams & Sommer, 1997), could be strong enough to prevent the individual from disclosing their hidden identity. This can be seen as one living with a sense of "they-ness", where "they" is the social collective, rather than living as their true self (Woodard, 2010). The courage to be authentic requires the individual to embrace the risk of ostracism that is accompanied by disclosing their true identity for the purpose of being authentic.

Social courage in the workplace. An individual's predisposition to courageous actions could have significant effects on identity disclosing behaviors, whether the individual's motive is to be authentic or to achieve some other worthwhile goal. Social courage is the action of taking a moral stand for specific others despite social pressure or risk (Pury & Woodard, 2009). Two major distinctions in the type of social risk can be drawn from the literature on social courage: those that damage the actor's relationships and those that damage the actors social image (Howard, Farr, Grandey, & Gutworth, 2016). Hannah, Avolio, and Walumbwa (2011) found that moral courage was a significant link between authentic leadership and follower pro-social and ethical behaviors. Courage has also been found to relate to many organizational constructs such as, ethical decision making for business school graduates (Ayling, 2006), and nurse performance (Lindh, Barbosa da Silva, Berg, & Severinsson, 2010).

Perceived Risk of Disclosure Due to Stigma

There must be a perceived risk associated with the disclosure in order for a disclosure behavior to meet the criteria for my definition of courage as a process. Disclosure decision models have also largely focused on balancing the perceived risks with the perceived benefits of disclosure as a main factor affecting disclosure behaviors (e.g., Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010; Omarzu, 2000). The concept of perceived risk is similar to the term anticipated stigma in that anticipated stigma has direct effects on how an individual assess the risk of disclosing an identity. Anticipated stigma is the degree in which an individual expects that they will be devalued or stigmatized by others if they reveal their identity (Quinn & Chaudoir, 2009, pp. 636). By the nature of anticipated stigma, the risk

assessment will be unique to each type of concealable stigmatized identity and to the individual making the assessment. These differences arise from the varied level of actual cultural stigma which is different for every identity, and an individual's perceptions which are caused by past experiences regarding the identity. These experiences that shape the risk assessment process have been represented in feedback loops in disclosure models (e.g., Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010; Clair et al., 2005). Perceived risk of disclosure encompasses a broader spectrum of behaviors that include fear of stigmatization but also behaviors that emanates from stigmatization such as social ostracism, unfair treatment and even physical or verbal harassment.

Identity Centrality

Identity centrality is an additional factor that affect an individual's decision to disclose their identity. Centrality are similar by nature but are fundamentally different. *Identity centrality* is the extent to which an individual defines themselves in terms of their identity. Similar to perceived risk, the levels of identity centrality are specific for each individual and is influenced by the specific identity that an individual possesses. While past studies have failed to find direct relations between identity centrality and identity disclosure (e.g., Griffith & Hebl, 2002), higher levels of both identity centrality and identity salience were found to be significant predictors of higher levels of distress by individuals with concealable stigmatized identities (Quinn & Chaudoir, 2009). The current study aims to refine previous measurements of identity centrality in order to further investigate a potential relationship between this construct and disclosure behaviors.

Perception of Identity

Another potentially influential variable in identity disclosure is the individual's perception of their concealable identity. To my knowledge, this specific construct has not been studied in relation to identity disclosure behaviors. However, self-acceptance, which is a similar concept, has been shown to positively predict gay and lesbian identity disclosure (Griffith & Hebl, 2002). Self-acceptance conveys a very passive form of identity perception on the affectively positive end of the spectrum rather than actually embracing and finding value in an identity. For example, consider two individuals who have a more overt identity such as being deaf. The first person has fully accepted their deaf identity and has developed good coping techniques to manage their disability. However, this individual also recognizes the many limitations that this identity imparts on their daily functioning and finds most aspects of being deaf negatively. Conversely, the second person has also accepted their deaf identity and recognizes the same limitations and negative aspects of being deaf as the first person. This second individual however, has developed many additional positive associations with their identity – this person not only has a high level of acceptance of their identity but embraces and appreciates the identity. These two individuals may both indicate a similar level of self-acceptance with regards to their deaf identity even though their overall perceptions of their identity is significantly different. Using this limited range of identity perception could miss valuable information for the purpose of creating a fuller picture of identity management.

In opposition to self-acceptance, many measures do encompass a larger spectrum of identity perception that do not only include this passive form of acceptance. For example, many measures of homosexual attitudes (Nungesser, 1983; Shidlo, 1994),

homonegativity (Mohr & Fassinger, 2000), internalized homonegativity (Mayfield, 2001), internalized homophobia (Ross & Rosser, 1996; Smolenski, Diamond, Ross, & Rosser, 2010) and internalized heterosexism (Szymanski, Kashubeck-West, & Meyer, 2008) have been developed to assess the varied levels of identity perception across individuals in the LGB population. While all of these terms fundamentally tap into the same construct of how an individual feels about their LGB identity, it is clear from the names of the measures and from assessing the items of each scale that there is a large emphasis on the negative components of having a minority sexual orientation. While many of these measures only include items that assess the negative perceptions of being homosexual, others assume that the positive and negative perceptions are on two polar ends of the same construct. Similarly, no model for identity disclosure has ever assessed an individual's positive and negative perceptions of their identity individually. While there is no specific evidence that this construct is not unidimensional in its relationship to identity disclosure it is an important factor that should be considered.

Positive perceptions has only recently been a main focus in identity management literature. In opposition to these negative focused measures of homonegativity, measures of pride have also been used to assess an individual's stage of identity development (Brady & Busse, 1994). Similarly, Dunn and Burcaw (2013) found six key themes of disability identity that should be considered when researching these populations: communal attachment, affirmation of disability, self-worth, pride, discrimination, and personal meaning. Five of these six key themes are intuitively more positively framed components of having a disability. For example, the communal attachment and affirmation of disability

themes demonstrate that people with disabilities develop their identity through a connection to their disability culture and others who are disabled. Often times these more positive perspectives can get lost in the identity management literature because many aspects of minority identities are frequently considered devalued qualities.

Identity perception in this study is different than the previously mentioned measures of internalized homonegativity or pride in that it measures the positive and negative perceptions an individual has with regard to any concealable identity rather than the specific identity of homosexuality or disability identity. Furthermore, this study also aims to put equal emphasis on the positive and negative perceptions, being cognizant that these two constructs may not be unidimensional. The previous models that have been used to understand identity disclosure have mainly focused on the negative perceptions or have assumed unemotionality within this construct.

Life and Job Satisfaction

The last variables that I will be exploring in this study is the life and job satisfaction of individuals who have a concealable identity. Specifically, I hope to better understand how an individual's life satisfaction and job satisfaction relate to their perception of their concealable identity and their perceived risk of disclosing their identity. I hope to build upon this previous literature to confirm that life and work characteristics do not influence life and job satisfaction independently (Ernst Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). In other words, characteristics of an individual's personal life influences job satisfaction along with overall life satisfaction. Correspondingly, individual's work-life dynamic influences overall life satisfaction and not just job satisfaction. Similar to the research on the previously

mentioned variables in this study there is little past research specifically on satisfaction with regards to how it relates to identity disclosure or concealable identities in general. Most of this previous literature has focused on specific social identities – many of which are not concealable such as race (e.g., Bartel, 1981; Broman, 1997; Moch, 1980). One study found that women and members of racial and ethnic minority groups at work are more likely to feel excluded, and that this exclusion is linked to job dissatisfaction and lower sense of well-being (Barak & Levin, 2002). Similar effects have been concluded for individuals with cancelable identities as well. Markowitz (1998) found a negative relationship between perceived risk of stigmatization and life satisfaction amongst individuals with mental illness.

However, the relationship between having a concealable identity and satisfaction is not unidimensional given that not all concealable identities are negatively related to satisfaction. Lim and Putnam (2010) found that individuals who had the concealable identity of being religious had an increase in life satisfaction and it was determined that this was due to the social connections that attending religious services brings. This is demonstrating that the mere presence of a concealable identity does not necessarily directly relate to dissatisfaction but rather it is dependent on multiple variables such as the social connections that come from sharing this identity with others who also have a particular identity and the perceived risk of stigmatization.

CHAPTER TWO

HYPOTHESES

In this study, I tested previously established trends in identity disclosure while also exploring additional predictors by evaluating the overall effect of the previously proposed variables on identity disclosure along with my newly proposed variables: authenticity, workplace social courage, general propensity for disclosure, and identity perception. I also tested for moderator effects of authenticity and workplace social courage on the relationship between disclosure behaviors and specific predictor variables. Finally, I assessed the predictive nature of individuals perceived risk of disclosure, the number of people that the individuals know in and out of work as well as the individual's perceptions of their concealable identity of their job and life satisfaction.

Predictors of Identity Disclosure

Hypothesis one demonstrates the predictive properties of each individual predictor variable within an overall multiple linear regression model of identity disclosure at work.

Hypothesis 1a: Individuals who have a higher propensity for general self-disclosure will disclose their concealable identity more often than individuals who have a lower predisposition to self-discovery.

Hypothesis 1b: Individuals with a more positive perception of their concealable identity will disclose their identity more than individuals with a more negative perception of their concealable identity.

Hypothesis 1c: Individuals who score higher in workplace social courage will disclose their concealable identity more often than individuals who score lower on workplace social courage.

Hypothesis 1d: Individuals who have higher perceived risk of identity disclosure will disclose their cancelable identity less than individuals who have lower perceived risk of identity disclosure.

Hypothesis 1e: Individuals who concealable identity is more central to their self-concept will disclose their concealable identity more than individuals who identity is less central to their self-concept.

Hypothesis 1f: Individuals who score higher in authenticity will disclose their concealable identity more often than individuals who score lower on authenticity.

Moderator Effects of Workplace Social Courage and Authenticity

Hypothesis two tests for moderator effects of workplace social courage and authenticity on specific dispositional variables and identity self-disclosure in the workplace.

Moderating Effects of Workplace Social Courage.

Hypothesis 2a: Workplace social courage will moderate the effect of perceived risk, on identity disclosure behaviors in the workplace such that individuals who are high in workplace social courage and high in perceived risk of disclosure will disclose their concealable identity more than individuals who have the same high perception of risk for disclosure but lower workplace social courage.

The proposed moderating effects of workplace social courage on the relationship between perceived risk and disclosure is based on the acting in spite of a perceived risk

portion of the definition of a courageous act. An individual who is high in workplace social courage and high perceived risk should be more likely to disclose their concealable identity than an individual who perceives this same amount of risk but has lower workplace social courage. Similar to the moderating effects proposed for authenticity, I do not expect to find large differences in identity disclosure behaviors at lower levels of perceived risk because we would expect to high levels of self-disclosure with lower perceived risk independent of workplace social courage. In this circumstance, the individual would be disclosing their identity at lower levels of perceived risk which does not engage the risk component of courage as much as the individual who had a high perception of disclosure risk. This predicted interaction between courage and perceived risk can be seen in Figure 1.

Moderating Effects of Authenticity.

Hypothesis 2b: Authenticity will moderate the effect of identity centrality on identity disclosure behaviors in the workplace such that individuals who are high in authenticity and identity centrality will disclose more than individuals who also have high levels of identity centrality but low levels of authenticity.

The proposed moderating effects of an individual's authenticity on the relationship between identity centrality and self-disclosure originated with the definition of authenticity being rooted in the idea of one's true self. An individual who has a concealable identity and who is also high in authenticity would not necessarily disclose their identity. For example, a person who has a concealable chronic disorder that does not have a large influence on their lives or they do not think about it often, would not be inauthentic by not

disclosing this identity because it is not a large aspect of their true self. However, if they are greatly impacted by this chronic illness and they think about it often, disclosing this identity is sharing a larger/important aspect of the individual's self. This is where the moderating effect of authenticity can most clearly be seen. For the individual whose identity is very central to their self-concept, if they are highly authentic we would expect them to be more open about their concealable identity than if that same individual scored lower in authenticity. I predict that the moderating effects of authenticity will be less apparent with individuals who have a less central identity because authenticity should not influence disclosure of identities unless the individual perceives the identity as being a significant portion of their lives or being (i.e. high identity centrality). These predicted interactions between authenticity and identity centrality can be seen in Figure 2.

Predictors of Life and Job Satisfaction

Hypotheses three and four demonstrate the predictive properties of individual predictor variables within two multiple linear regression models: one that predict (3) life satisfaction, and one that predicts (4) job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 3a: Individuals with a lower perceived risk of disclosure will have higher life satisfaction than individuals with higher perceived risk.

Hypothesis 3b: Individuals who know more people that have their concealable identity will have higher life satisfaction than individuals who know less people that have their concealable identity.

Hypothesis 3c: Similarly, individuals whose workgroups consist of a larger proportion of people that have their concealable identity will have higher life

satisfaction than individuals whose workgroup consists has a lower proportion of other individuals that have their concealable identity.

Hypothesis 3d: Individuals with a more positive perception of their concealable identity will have higher life satisfaction than individuals with a more negative perception of their concealable identity.

Hypotheses 4a - 4d parallel hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 4a: Individuals with a lower perceived risk of disclosure will have higher job satisfaction than individuals with higher perceived risk.

Hypothesis 4b: Individuals who know more people that have their concealable identity will have higher job satisfaction than individuals who know less people that have their concealable identity.

Hypothesis 4c: Similarly, individuals whose workgroups consist of a larger proportion of people that have their concealable identity will have higher job satisfaction than individuals whose workgroup consists has a lower proportion of other individuals that have their concealable identity.

Hypothesis 4d: Individuals with a more positive perception of their concealable identity will have higher job satisfaction than individuals with a more negative perception of their concealable identity.

While there is no known literature on how an individual's perception of their identity influences satisfaction, it is postulated that – similar to its previously proposed relationship with self-disclosure of concealable identities – it may influence an individual's level of satisfaction in and out of the workplace.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

Participants

Through an online survey on Amazon Mechanical Turk, I began participant selection by setting the requirement for participation to individuals who work in the United States and have at least part time employment status working a minimum of 20 hours per week and who have worked in their company for at least three months. At the end of the first survey, I prompted the participants with this study's definition of a concealable identity. I then asked them if they believe that they have a concealable identity.

The preliminary sample consisted of 371 individuals with 154 (41.50%) identifying as having a concealable identity. Of the original 371 participants, two were removed from the study because they indicated that they were thinking of multiple concealable identities when answering the survey, and six others were removed due to missing data. These six individuals did not answer large portions of the survey. There were eight other sporadic incidences of single item missing data points which were most likely caused by inattention – these data points were imputed using the mean of the other items from the specific scale. This procedure produced a final sample size of 363 total participants with 150 of them qualifying for the entire study by indicating that they had a concealable identity.

This sample of 150 participants exceeds the 144 participants that I estimated I would need through power analysis. I obtained this estimate using an alpha level of .05 with a power level of .90 for my multiple regression models with seven potential predictors and two interactions of self-disclosure and my two multiple regression models with four

predictors of life and job satisfaction. Due to the wide range and limited availability of data regarding effect sizes for my specific proposed variables, I used a conservative estimation of effect size for both self-disclosure ($R^2 = .15$) and satisfaction ($R^2 = .10$) for this calculation when compared to previous studies. One study on the predictability of self-disclosure of chronic illness in the workplace was able to account for 73% of the variance through linear regression when considering three similar variables (Munir et al., 2005). Furthermore, in a study assessing six independent predictors of self-disclosure of homosexuality in the workplace which included identity centrality and identity salience were able to explain 54% of the variance in self-disclosure (Griffith & Hebl, 2002). This same study was also able to explain 27% of gay and lesbian job satisfaction when studying the independent predictors of non-discriminatory organizational policies and perceived gay supportiveness (Griffith & Hebl, 2002).

Procedures

This study consisted of two main parts with the second part occurring immediately after the first. The first survey began with a measure of general demographics (such as gender, race, ethnicity, age, employment status and occupation), a measure of life satisfaction, and job satisfaction. These two measures were administered as part of the first survey before the participants were asked if they have a concealable identity where it served by means of concealing the study's method of selecting participants for participating in the second part of the survey. The measures of satisfaction also produced data for the exploratory portion of this study where the relationship between the presence of a concealable identity, identity disclosure behaviors and job satisfaction are assessed. I

concluded study one with the following neutral definition of a concealable identity as taken from Quinn and Chaudoir (2009):

Almost all people have parts of their history or personal identity that they regularly keep concealed from other people. In the questions that follow, we are interested in learning more about the experience of both concealing and revealing ‘hidden’ experiences or identities, this will then be followed by examples of positive, negative, and neutral identities. (p. 639)

In order to maintain the integrity of the methodology from the original study, I contacted the authors for the specific wording and examples used in the original Quinn and Chaudoir (2009) study.

For example, many people at some time in their lives have been treated for a mental illness. Although this is part of their identity, it is not something that is easily known to strangers. People can decide when and to whom they will reveal their past. There are many possible aspects of ourselves that we may generally choose to keep concealed. Other examples of concealed identities are a past history with drug use; a traumatic experience such as rape or assault; or more positive or neutral experiences such as being adopted or winning a prestigious award. People may also keep concealed information about their family or background (e.g. a family member in prison; or a very famous relative) or a current or past illness (e.g. cancer). In short, there are many different types of concealed identities (D. M. Quinn, personal communication, March 5, 2018).

After exposing the participants to this description of a concealable identity, I then asked them if they believe that they have a concealable identity. If they answered “no”, their portion of the survey was concluded and they were compensated for participating in the study. If they answered “yes”, they were invited to participate in a second survey with a larger compensation where they completed the second and more time demanding portion of the study. I chose to use Quinn and Chaudoir’s (2009) neutral definition of concealable identity due to the sensitive nature of this research topic. The positive, negative, and neutral examples were given so that the participants would not feel “marked” by identifying that they have a concealable stigmatized identity and to give the participants the option to select a less negative concealable identity if they prefer. All of the full scales used in part on of the study can be found in Appendix A.

The second part of the survey began with a reiteration of the previous definition and examples of a concealable identity and they will be reminded that they answered “yes” to they believe they have a concealable identity in the first survey. The participants were told that if they feel that they misanswered this question in the first survey or if they feel uncomfortable answering questions about their experiences, that they may stop participation then or at any other time during the survey. They were also reminded that all of their response would be kept confidential and that we would remove identifiable information (e.g. IP addresses) before analyzing or storing the data.

In accordance to the procedure outlines in Quinn and Chaudoir’s (2009) study, the participants were then asked to bring to mind the part of themselves or their history that they have the ability to keep concealed. They were then told that throughout the rest of the

survey, that this identity will be referred to as their “concealed identity”. The participants were asked that if they have more than one concealable identity, that they only refer to their most important one to report on for the remainder of the survey. At this point, I administered the study measures in the following order: the general measure of self-disclosure, the measure of self-disclosure of their concealable identity at work, the Workplace Social Courage Scale, the measure of Perceived Risk of Disclosure, the measure for authenticity, and the measure for identity centrality. This concluded the Likert type questions for this study. All of the full Likert scale measures that contain multiple items can be found in Appendix B with each subsection containing each individual scale.

Comprehension and Attention Check Item. Due to the length and higher potential for guessing on the Likert scale measures of this study, at this point, I used an attention check item. To ensure that the participants were mindfully answering and fully understand the type of questions that were being asked in the Likert portion of the second survey, there was a simple one item measure of comprehension and attention. This item directly followed all of the Likert scale section of the longer survey and it asked the participants to briefly describe what they have been answering questions about. This section was intentionally placed before the open ended exploratory measures because it gives a more accurate measure of the participants’ comprehension and the accuracy of their responses for the section of the study that is most susceptible to guessing. At this point, the participants were not allowed to go back to review their previous prompts or answers. The sole purpose of this item was to better understand the data and to control for responses that may be false, inaccurate or misunderstood. In accordance to Brawley and Pury’s

(2016) findings on the MTurk worker experience, the participants' response to this attention check item had no effect on their compensation for participating in the study.

The participants were then taken to the final portion of this part of the survey where they were asked a series of demographic questions and exploratory items with regards to their specific concealable identity. All of these items can be found in Appendix C. At the end of this portion of the survey, they had completed the entire study and were compensated.

Measures

Satisfaction with life. The Satisfaction with Life Scale was used to measure general life satisfaction of our participants (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). This is a five item, 7-point Likert measure with responses ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree to a series of statements such as “In most ways my life is close to my ideal”. This scale has decent internal constancy ($\alpha = 0.87$) and test-re-test reliability. In a more recent study, this measure has been further validated with its convergent validity with well-being measurements and found to be good for a broad range of applications and measuring a wide range of age groups (Pavot, Diener, Colvin, & Sandvik, 1991). The full scale can be found in Appendix A-1.

Job satisfaction. The Generic Job Satisfaction scale was used to assess the general job satisfaction of the participants in the first part of the study (Macdonald & MacIntyre, 1997). This is a 10 item, 5-point Likert scale with responses ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree to a series of statements regarding their satisfaction with work. Some sample items include “I receive recognition for a job well done” and “I feel

good about working at this company”. This scale as has adequate internal consistency ($\alpha = .77$) and consistent across age groups between 20 and 60. The full scale can be found in Appendix A-2.

Self-disclosure of concealable identity at work. To measure the amount that an individual self-discloses within their workplace, I asked each participant if they have disclosed their concealable identity to anyone at work where they can respond with a “yes” or “no”. Along with this binary measure, I also adapted the “Explicitly Out” portion of the Workplace Social Identity Management Measure (WSIMM) from Anderson, Croteau, Chung, and DiStefano (2001). The “Explicitly Out” portion of the WSIMM has high internal consistency ($\alpha = .91$) and high test-retest reliability ($r=.87$) (Anderson et al., 2001). This adaptation uses five of the eight items of the “Explicitly Out” subscale of the WSIMM, and the adaption makes the items more generalizable to all concealable identities rather than only sexual identities. Three items were removed from the original scale due to the high level of specificity towards sexual minorities. These items will be rated on a four item scale from never/seldom (1) to almost always/always (5) – an additional point was added in this adaptation to give the participants a more neutral option (half of the time). Some example items include: “I tell most or all of my coworkers what my concealable identity is” and “I tell coworkers when I’m going to location or event that is specific to my concealable identity because I am open about my concealable identity”. The full adaption of this scale can be found in Appendix B-1.

General tendency for self-disclosure. To measure an individual’s tendency to disclose information to their coworkers, I adapted the Emotional Self-Disclosure Scale

(Snell, Miller, & Belk, 1988). My adaptation measures the willingness of a person to discuss emotions with a coworker rather than with a: male friend, female friend, or spouse/lover. I also used the first of the five items from each of the eight emotion subscales which were the most direct assessment of each emotion category. For example, to assess a participant's willingness to discuss feeling depressed they will be asked how willing they would be to talk about a time when they "... felt depressed". This produced a shorter and more direct scale to measure a person's general tendency to share emotions with coworkers on a day to day basis. This measure has a 5-point response scale with the following anchors: 1 = not at all willing to discuss this topic and 5 = totally willing to discuss this topic. The original scale had good internal consistency ranging from $\alpha = .83$ to $.95$ (Snell et al., 1988). The full adaptation of these subscales can be found in Appendix B-2.

Workplace social courage scale. The workplace social courage scale was used to assess social courage in the context of work (Howard et al., 2016). This is a short 11 item, 7-point Likert Scale measure that has good internal consistency and has been validated. They are rated on a scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7). The Workplace social courage scale has good internal consistencies ranging from $.78$ to $.85$ (Howard et al., 2016). See Appendix B-3 for the full scale.

Perceived risk of disclosing at work. To assess perceived risk of disclosing an identity at work, I used the same 9 items that Quinn and Chaudoir (2009) used for their anticipated stigma measure, originally obtained from the Day-to-day Perceived Discrimination Scale (Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999). I adapted this measure by removing one item due to its irrelevance to the workplace and I reworded the statements to

reflect a potential threat. Similar to the methodology of Quinn and Chaudoir (2009), I added five additional items that I believed would be relevant threats to workplace identity disclosure for a total of 14 items. Quinn and Chaudoir (2009) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .95 for their adapted version of this measure. Participants will be asked to rate each item on a 7 point Likert scale, ranging from extremely unlikely (1) to extremely likely (7), given the following statement: "If others knew your concealed identity, how likely do you think the following would be to occur?". Some sample items include "People will act as if you are inferior" and "Coworkers will avoid working with me". The full adapted scale can be found in Appendix B-4.

Authenticity. The authenticity scale that was developed by Wood, Linley, Maltby, Baliousis, and Joseph (2008) was used to gauge an individual's disposition towards authenticity. This is a short 12 item scale that has good internal reliability. These are rated on a Likert Scale from "This does not describe me at all" (1) to "This describes me very well" (7). This measure of authenticity has good test-retest reliability ranging from $r=.78$ to $.91$. This scale consists of three sub-scales of authenticity: self-alienation, accepting external influence, and authentic living. They reported good internal consistency for all of the sub-scales: authentic living, self-alienation, and accepting external influence with $\alpha = .82, .82,$ and $.84$ respectively. See Appendix B-5 for full scale.

Centrality. To measure identity centrality, I adapted the Centrality Subscale of the Revised Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity ($\alpha= .77$) (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997) which has been shown to have success when adapted for other identities (e.g., Settles, 2004). This scale was adapted for the purpose of making the scale

more applicable for concealable identities rather than for the specific identity and frequently non-concealable identity of being Black. Furthermore, all of the reverse score worded items have been reworded for consistency among items and to remove any attention check items from the scale. Participants will respond on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7) on items such as “In general, having this concealable identity is an important part of my self-image” and “I have a strong sense of belonging to other people with my concealable identity”. The full scale can be found in Appendix B-6.

Perception of Concealable Identity. To measure an individual’s valence of their concealable identity, I adapted the Internalized Homo-negativity subscale of the Lesbian and Gay Identity Scale ($\alpha = .79$) (Mohr & Fassinger, 2000). The original measure evaluates the internalized identity perceptions of lesbian and gay individuals. All eight items of this scale were adapted so that it could generalize to any concealable identity group. I also added three additional reverse score items so that there would be an equal number of items assessing the positive and negative perception of the participants’ concealable identity. The response scale for these items ranged from disagree strongly (1) to agree strongly (7) on items such as “I would rather not have this concealable identity if I could” and “I am glad that I have this concealable identity”. The full scale can be found in Appendix B-7.

I chose this measure over self-acceptance because self-acceptance conveys a potential cap on the range of positive affect that an individual can have towards their identity. For example, someone who has embraced their concealable identity to the point that that identity brings them joy, they would have a very high positive valence towards

their identity. However, their score on a self-acceptance scale would only reflect that they have high-self acceptance; which conveys that they have fully accepted or come to terms with their identity. While the differences between these constructs may seem insignificant, I believe that measuring the negative perceptions along with the positive perceptions of an individual's concealable identity will give us a more complete understanding of how perceptions affect disclosure behaviors.

Concealable identity demographics. For demographic purposes, at the end of the longer second survey I also asked participants to select which form of concealable identity they referred to for the duration of the survey. They were given the same 17 categories outlined by Quinn and Chaudoir (2009) to choose from with an addition of veteran status. Many previous studies have looked at veteran status as a concealable identity that can be concealed (Metraux, Stino, & Culhane, 2014) and that can also influence perceptions about that individual such as hiring decisions (Stone & Stone, 2015) and wage gaps amongst the veteran population (Bryant, Samaranayake, & Wilhite, 1993). With the inclusion of veterans status, all 18 categories that the participants could have chosen from can be found in Appendix C.

For the purposes of obtaining a better understanding of the demographics and to confirm the previous self-categorization of the participants, I also measured qualitatively the nature of the participant's concealable identity by adapting the method outlined by Quinn and Chaudoir (2009). At the end of the second survey, participants were prompted to describe their concealable identity in an open ended manner. This allowed the

participants to share as much or as little as possible about the details of their concealable identity. All demographic questions and exploratory items can be found in Appendix C.

Exploratory Measures

For the purpose of better understanding the complex interactions that influence an individual's decision to disclose their identity at work, the survey concluded with a battery of open ended questions. This allowed the participants to share as much or as little as they feel comfortable. The open ended questions concerning the individual's specific concealable identity was purposefully placed at the end of the survey to prevent participants from deciding not to participate in the study because they did not feel comfortable with disclosing their specific identity. These individuals could be an important part of the sample to better understand the barriers of disclosing concealable identities.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

Sample Descriptives

Of the 363 participants who completed part one of the study, 140 were female (38.60%), 222 were male (61.2%) and 1 individual identified as non-gender conforming (0.30%). Of the 150 participants who identified as having a concealable identity and completed part two of the study, 62 were female (41.30%), 87 were males (58.00%) and the same individual as before who identified as non-gender conforming (0.70%). Out of these 150 participants, 119 (79.3%) identified as ‘white’, 15 (10%) as ‘Asian’, 11 (7.3%) as ‘black or African American’, and 5 (3.4%) identified as being ‘other’. The majority (77.3%) of the 150 person sample indicated that they had some level of post-secondary education (e.g. some college credit, trade/technical/vocational training, or bachelor’s degree), with 15.3% indicating some level of graduate level education (e.g. master’s degree, professional degree, or doctorate degree), and 7.3% indicating that they only had a high school diploma. When asked about their job title, the majority (53.3%) held entry level positions, 40.7% were midlevel managers, and 6% indicating that they were directors/presidents/owners.

Concealable Identities

While there was the possibility that an individual could have described an identity that was not stigmatized, all of the participants indicated an identity that had the potential for being stigmatized or socially devalued which is consistent with the findings of Quinn and Chaudoir’s (2009). Out of all 150 participants who completed part two of the study,

the largest identity group was 'Mental Illness' with 44 people, followed by 'Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity' with 16 people, then 'Sexually Related Activities', and 'Drug Use', each having 15 participants. Many of the individuals in the 'Mental Illness' category described anxiety or depression-related disorders (e.g. "I became severely depressed a few years ago and had to go to a psychiatric hospital; I tried to commit suicide" and "[I have] crippling social anxiety that affects my relationship with people"). Some examples of individuals' responses in the 'sexually related activities' category were: "I had an affair with another man while I was married", "I have seen a few escorts for sex in the past", and "I have quite often viewed images and videos on the internet that would seem inappropriate in most of the jobs I have had". The next two largest categories were 'Weight/Appearance Issues' and 'Medical Condition', with each group having seven participants. An example of a participant's detailed description of their identity from the 'Weight/Appearance Issues' category was "I have a slight obsession with my general and physical appearance". Some examples from the "Medical Condition" category were: "I have Ehlers-Danlos Syndrome and autonomic dysfunction. My joints dislocate on a daily basis which affects my mobility" and "...having multiple miscarriages, dealing with infertility and also going through IVF".

There were 10 participants who selected 'other' as the category that best describes their identity. From their written descriptions of their identity, this category contained identities such as religion, alcoholism, political view, gambling habits, financial trouble, and other very specific identities. For example, one participant wrote that they frequently hide the fact that they "have been bumming off of others for years to save money" and two

others identified as “Gamers”. One of the gamers explained that they keep this identity hidden because this identity “can be associated with being lazy/slacking”.

Any identity group that had less than seven participants were combined into other similar groups. Individuals who indicated that they had an associative familial stigmatized identity such as having a family member with a medical or psychological condition, or a drug problem were placed into a category called ‘Family Related Issues’. Participants who indicated abortion, adoption, abusive family, or having a death in the family as their most important identity was also placed into this category of family related problems. Drug use and criminal actions were combined into one category. Participants who indicated a ‘History of Rape’, ‘Lies about Background’, or ‘Veteran Status’ were combined into the ‘Other’ category. The original and consolidated identity groups and the number of participants in each category can be found in Table 1 and 2.

Scale Measure Validation

Satisfaction with Life and Job Satisfaction Scales. While neither of these scales were adapted for this study, confirmatory factor analysis and internal reliabilities were used to confirm the validities within this sample. All of the CFA results and Cronbach’s alphas are shown in Table 3. Diener et al.’s (1985) original Satisfaction with Life Scale’s internal constancy was confirmed for this study with high Cronbach’s alpha ($\alpha = 0.93$) and good fit indices from a CFA with all items loading on one factor, $\chi^2(5) = 37.72$, $p < .0001$; CFI = .980; RMSEA = .134; and SRMR = .020. Similarly, Macdonald and MacIntyre’s (1997) measure of General Job Satisfaction yielded internal consistencies consistent with the original scale development with high Cronbach’s alpha ($\alpha = 0.91$). It is interesting to note

that in this study, the CFA for this scale did not have a good fit for a one-factor model which was indicated by its poor fit indices, $\chi^2(27) = 426.99$, $p < .0001$; CFI = .76; RMSEA = .201; SRMR = .105. Weston and Gore (2006) suggest using the following fit indices for SEM models with a sample size less than $n = 500$: CFI $\geq .90$, RMSEA $\leq .10$, and SRMR $\leq .10$. These will be the indices used to evaluate the fit of all of the CFA models for scale analysis in this study. Through EFA it was determined that a one factor model was still the best fitting option. This scale was not adapted in any way for this study so the initial scale development validity was retained.

Measures of identity-disclosure at work. The adaption of Anderson et al.'s (2001) "Explicitly Out" portion of the Workplace Social Identity Management Measure (WSIMM) gave interesting results. The distribution of the composite scores were significantly skewed with almost half of the participants (48%) indicating that they had the lowest level of identity self-disclosure possible with the other portion of participants indicating some level above the minimum scale value. This adaption displayed similar internal consistency with Cronbach's alpha being .89. The CFA for this adaptation exhibited good fit indices for a one factor model, $\chi^2(5) = 13.53$, $p < .05$; CFI = .98; RMSEA = .107; SRMR = .035.

Openness to Identity-Disclosure versus explicit identity-disclosure behaviors. Given the bivariate distribution of this measure of self-disclosure and that it was the main dependent variable for the proposed self-disclosure models it was coded into a binary outcome of "Disclosure" or "No Disclosure", where "Disclosure" was coded as anyone who indicated any level above the minimum value for disclosure on this scale and "No

Disclosure” was coded as anyone who indicated the lowest possible level of identity-disclosure on this scale. The histogram of the original scale measurement of Openness to Identity-Disclosure can be found in Figure 3. Self-disclosure of the participants concealable identity at work was also measured at the end of the survey by asking the participant “Have you disclosed your concealable identity at work?” where they could answer “Yes” or “No”.

Upon further review of the participants’ responses to these two binary measurements, which were originally assumed to measure the same construct, they were not highly correlated, $r = .24, p < .01$. All of the bivariate correlations between the variables in this study can be found in Table 4. When using the original coded measure of self-disclosure, 52% of the participants were coded into the “Disclosure” category. However, when looking at the results of the “Yes” or “No” question about self-disclosure behaviors at work, only 28% of the participants indicated that they had disclosed their concealable identity at work.

After reviewing the items of the scale measurement of self-disclosure, it was apparent that it was not measuring explicit identity disclosure like the “Yes” and “No” question but rather the participants openness to identity disclosure which is fundamentally different than explicit identity-disclosure. Instead of coding the participants into “Disclosure” and “No Disclosure” groups, they were labeled “Open to Identity Disclosure” and “Not Open to Identity Disclosure”. Independent logistic regressions were then conducted using both of these binary variables (Explicit Identity Disclosure and Openness to Disclosure) to test H1a-f regarding predictors of identity-disclosure.

To further delineate these two terms, it makes more sense to look at specific cases from the data set. There were 48 individuals who were coded as “Open to Identity Disclosure” but who also indicated that they had not disclosed their identity at work. Almost half (49%, $n = 17$) of the individuals who responded to the open ended portion of this study who also were part of these 48 individuals indicated that they had not disclosed their identity at work because it was “not important”, “not a workplace topic”, or that they were “a private person”. It could be interpreted that these people would not necessarily try to hide their identity at work but rather they had not explicitly disclosed their identity yet at this time because there hasn’t been an appropriate opportunity, or it has not come up as a topic at work. This could be very feasible if the individual’s identity was not salient while at work or impactful on their job performance.

Conversely, there were also 12 other individuals who indicated that they had disclosed at work but were coded as being “Not Open to Identity Disclosure”. All 12 of the individuals in this category indicated that they had only disclosed to their employer, or under specific situations where they were either asked directly about their identity or talking to a close work friend. This is an example of where the individual’s Explicit Identity-Disclosure was less voluntary and thus not directly related to their Openness to Self-Disclose. For instance, one of these 12 individuals explained that he had to disclose his criminal history as part of his job application so he assumed that someone at his work knows but he is not generally open about disclosing his criminal history.

General tendency for self-disclosure. The adaption of the Emotional Self-Disclosure Scale (Snell et al., 1988) had a Cronbach’s alpha in the range of the original

scale ($\alpha = .86$). The CFA for this measure had poor fit indices when testing for one factor, $\chi^2(20) = 134.82$, $p < .0001$; CFI = .78; RMSEA = .196; SRMR = .107. Through principal components analysis, it was determined that a two factor model may explain the factor structure better. Through exploratory factor analysis, items 2 and 6 did not load well on a one factor model. However, the loadings for items 2 and 6 on the initial one factor model were .43 and .42 respectively which are broadly acceptable loading values (e.g. Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Similarly, current best practices in exploratory factor analysis urge researchers to refrain from having factors with fewer than three items if there is no theoretical basis in a separate loading because these small factors are commonly weak and unstable (Osborne, Costello, & Kellow, 2008). With this in mind and after reviewing these two items, the one factor model was retained and all of the adapted items were used in the calculation of a participant's composite score for general tendency for self-disclosure.

Perceived risk of disclosing at work. The adaption measure of perceived risk of disclosure at work exhibited similar internal consistencies of the original study conducted by Quinn and Chaudoir (2009) with a Cronbach's alpha of .94. The CFA for this measure had poor fit indices when testing for one factor, $\chi^2(77) = 453.97$, $p < .0001$; CFI = .76; RMSEA = .181; SRMR = .082. Given that this model had such a poor fit, follow up EFAs were conducted. The EFA did show that items 11 through 14 loaded onto a second factor and item 9 was cross loaded on both factors. This was not too concerning since these items were the added items to make the perceived risk more applicable to the workplace. While a two factor model was still more accurate in describing the global fit of the model, when looking at the loading values for the initial one factor model, there were no loadings that

dropped below .60 and the one factor model was retained with all items being used to calculate a composite perceived risk of disclosure score.

Authenticity. Consistent with the finding in the development of Wood et al.'s (2008) authenticity scale, it exhibited good internal consistency for each of the sub-scales: authentic living, self-alienation, and accepting external influence with $\alpha = .89, .91,$ and $.89$ respectively. As reported in the original study, a one factor model was not a good fit for this scale, $\chi^2(54) = 652.98, p < .0001;$ CFI = .56; RMSEA = .272; SRMR = .141 and was significantly improved when testing for the three proposed sub-scale factors, $\chi^2(51) = 171.48, p < .0001;$ CFI = .91; RMSEA = .125; SRMR = .058, with the BIC decreasing from 6016.29 in the one-factor model to 5625.77 in the three factor model. Given that the items on the authentic living was most relevant to actual behavioral differences that would relate to identity disclosure, only this subscale of authenticity was used in all of the predictive models of self-disclosure and in the zero order correlations.

Centrality. The adapted measure of centrality from Sellers et al. (1997) displayed improved internal consistency in this study with Cronbach's alpha = .91. The CFA results testing for one factor had a very poor fit, $\chi^2(20) = 279.28, p < .0001;$ CFI = .72; RMSEA = .294; SRMR = .118. Follow-up EFAs were conducted to further assess the item level loadings and it was determined that a two factor model would best account for the most variance with items 1, 2, 4, 7 and 8 loading on the first factor; items 5 and 6 loaded on the second factor; and item three was cross-loaded on the two. However, when tested on one factor the lowest loading value was .70. Given these high loading values for all of the items on a one factor model and the previously mentioned unreliability of factors with

fewer than three items, all items were retained for the calculation of the individual's composite score for authenticity.

Perception of Concealable Identity. The adapted the Internalized Homonegativity subscale of the Lesbian and Gay Identity Scale (Mohr & Fassinger, 2000) had higher internal consistency in this study than the original scale development with Cronbach's alpha = .94. Due to the proposed problems with the unidimensionality of this construct, it was interesting that the CFA results for this measure did not fit well on a one factor model, $\chi^2(35) = 303.56$, $p < .0001$; CFI = .816; RMSEA = .226; SRMR = .089. When all of the items that were assessing positive identity perceptions were put on one factor and the items assessing negative identity perceptions were placed on a second factor the model fit significantly improved, $\chi^2(34) = 144.22$, $p < .0001$; CFI = .93; RMSEA = .147; SRMR = .051, with the BIC decreasing from 5160.78 in the one factor model to 4939.99 in the two factor model. For this reason, the scale was split into two different scales: positive perceptions of concealable identity ($\alpha = .87$) and negative perceptions of concealable identity ($\alpha = .95$). These two scales were used to create two composite scores of identity perceptions (positive and negative) and they were considered separately for all of the following analysis in predicting identity-disclosure and in calculating the zero-order correlations.

Predictors of Identity-Disclosure and Openness to Identity-Disclosure

Main Effects of General Tendency of Self-Disclosure and Identity Perceptions.

To begin testing H1, a direct logistic regression was conducted on Openness to Identity-Disclosure at Work as an outcome and three predictors: General Tendency for Self-

Disclosure, Positive Identity Perceptions, and Negative Identity Perceptions. A test of the full model with all three predictors against a constant-only model was statistically significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 150) = 26.71, p < .001$, indicating that the predictors, as a set, reliably distinguished between workers who were open to sharing their identity and those who were not open about sharing their identity. The deviance in identity openness accounted for by these three predictors was small with $R^2 = .129$. To test the significance of each predictor, each variable was removed from the model and the change in χ^2 was examined to determine if removal of a variable led to a worsening of the model fit (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). Independent removal of two variables out of three significantly harmed the model fit, including General Tendency for Self-Disclosure ($\Delta\chi^2 = 9.08, p < .05$), and Positive Perceptions of Identity ($\Delta\chi^2 = 6.96, p < .05$) which give support for H1a and partial support for H1b respectively. Negative Perceptions of Identity was not a significant predictor of Openness to Identity Disclosure ($\Delta\chi^2 = 0.003, p > .05$) which lends to inconclusive results for H1b with regards to the effect that an individual's negative perceptions of their identity has on identity openness. The full test of these main effects can be found in Table 5. Since General Tendency for Self-Disclosure and Positive Perceptions of Identity were significant predictors, they are maintained in all of the following logistic regressions as covariates. It should be noted that both Positive Perceptions of Identity and Negativity Perceptions of Identity had significant correlations with Openness to Identity Disclosure where individuals who had higher positive perceptions of their identity were more likely to be open to sharing their identity and individuals who had higher negative perceptions of their identity were less likely to be open

to sharing their identity. Positive Identity Perceptions and Negative Identity Perceptions were highly negatively correlated ($r = -.73$) – this collinearity is likely why Negative Perceptions of Identity was not a significant predictor.

To interpret the significant main effect for General Tendency for Self-Disclosure, I focused on the change in probabilities as General Tendency for Self-Disclosure increased using three representative General Tendency for Self-Disclosure scores, 16.56 (-1 SD), 22.87 (mean) and 29.18 (+1 SD). The change in probability of being open about sharing their identity when a participant's score increases from 16.56 to 22.87 on General Tendency for Self-Disclosure was 11.6% and when a participant's score increases from 22.87 to 29.18 on General Tendency for Self-Disclosure was 12.6%. The predicted probabilities for General Tendency of Self-Disclosure are plotted in Figure 4. To interpret the main effect of Positive Perceptions of Identity on Openness to Identity Disclosure, I focus on the change in probabilities as Positive Perceptions of Identity increases using three representative scores, 3.81, 12.45, and 21.09. While holding the other variables constant at the mean, when a participant's Positive Perceptions of their Identity increases from 3.81 to 12.45 the probability of being open to disclose their identity increased by 13.0%. When a participant's Positive Perceptions of their Identity increases from 12.45 to 21.09, Openness to Identity Disclosure increased by an additional 17.5%. The predicted probabilities for Positive Perceptions of Identity are plotted in Figure 5.

While not a specifically hypothesized relationship, there was a strong correlation between knowing someone with the same or similar concealable identity at work with Openness to Identity-Disclosure ($r = .42$) and Explicit Identity-Disclosure ($r = .51$). While

slightly weaker, there was also significant positive correlations between knowing anyone (not just at work) with the same or similar concealable identity with Openness to Identity-Disclosure ($r = .37$) and Explicit Identity-Disclosure ($r = .22$).

Workplace Social Courage and Perceived Risk. When adding in Workplace Social Courage and Perceived Risk of Disclosure into the model, there were no new significant main effects for predicting openness to identity self-disclosure which lends inconclusive evidence for H1c and H1d. There was a significant interaction between Perceived Risk of Disclosure and Workplace Social Courage ($\Delta\chi^2 = 7.39, p < .05$), however, the interaction was in the opposite direction as the proposed hypothesis which opposes H2a. The specific logistic regression coefficients and their significance level from this model can be found in Table 6. To understand the form of the interaction, simple slopes were calculated from the regression coefficients at the mean of Workplace Social Courage and one standard deviation above and below the mean of Workplace Social Courage (Cohen et al., 2003). In this study, individuals who scored high on Workplace Social Courage had a positive relationship between Openness to Identity-Disclosure and Perceived Risk of Disclosure. In other words, for the high Workplace Social Courage group, individuals who perceived lower risk of identity-disclosure were more open to identity-disclosure and individuals who perceived higher risk were less likely to be open to identity-disclosure. There was an opposite relationship for the low Workplace Social Courage group. The individuals who scored low on Workplace Social Courage were more likely to be open to identity-disclosure under higher risk and less likely to be open to identity disclosure under low risk. There was no differences in levels of openness to

identity disclosure across levels of perceived risk for the individuals who scored around the mean of Workplace Social Courage. This interaction effect was in the opposite direction of the hypothesized effect in H2a. Figure 6 illustrates the form of this interaction.

Identity Centrality and Authenticity. When adding in identity centrality and authenticity into the model, there were no new significant main effects for predicting openness to identity self-disclosure which lends inconclusive evidence for H1e and H1f. Similarly, there was no significant interaction between centrality and authenticity which makes H2b inconclusive. See Table 7 for the logistic regression coefficients and their significance levels for this model.

Predictors of Life Satisfaction

For H3 and H4, I conducted two multiple regression analyses. First, I regressed Life Satisfaction scores on (a) Perceived Risk, (b) whether or not the individual knew other people with their same or similar identity, (c) whether or not the individual knew others in their work group with their same or similar identity, and (d) Positive and Negative Identity Perception scores. Overall, the model was statistically significant, $F(5, 144) = 4.54$ ($p = .001$), with 13.60% of the variance explained by the model. Out of all of the proposed predictors, only whether or not an individual knew a co-worker with their same identity was significant, which supports H3c. Based on this model, for individuals who identified as knowing someone in their workgroup with their same or similar identity, Life Satisfaction is expected to increase by 4.53 units ($B = 4.53$, $p = .007$) when controlling for the other variables. The inherent collinearity between internalized identity perceptions and knowing others with their identity, in combination with them being less related to Life

Satisfaction, likely caused the non-significant findings of these predictors in the regression model. See Table 8 for all of the standardized and unstandardized regression slopes with their significance levels. Note that there were significant positive correlations between Life Satisfaction and Positive Identity Perceptions, whether or not an individual knew others in their work group with their same or similar identity, and whether or not an individual knew anyone with their same or similar identity in general. There was also a significant negative correlation between Life Satisfaction and Negative Identity Perceptions. This gives partial supporting evidence to H3b-d. Perceived risk of identity disclosure was the only proposed predictor of life satisfaction that did not significantly correlate with Life Satisfaction – making findings for H3a inconclusive.

It is interesting to note that the average life satisfaction for individuals who indicated that they had a concealable identity ($M = 20.34$, $SD = 8.72$) was less than that of the individuals who did not have a concealable identity ($M = 23.79$, $SD = 7.15$) and this difference was statistically significant, $t(308.79) = -4.09$, $p < .001$. Additionally, the life satisfaction for individuals who indicated that they had explicitly disclosed their concealable identity at work ($M = 22.98$, $SD = 9.01$) was higher than that of the individuals who did not explicitly disclose their concealable identity at work ($M = 19.03$, $SD = .82$) and this difference was also statistically significant, $t(148) = 2.50$, $p < .05$. However, while the average life satisfaction for the individuals who indicated that they were more open to disclose their concealable identity at work ($M = 21.36$, $SD = 8.91$) was higher than that of the individuals who were not open to disclose their concealable identity at work ($M = 18.81$, $SD = 8.60$), this difference was not statistically significant, $t(148) = 1.78$, $p = .08$.

Predictors of Job Satisfaction

To test H4, I then regressed Job Satisfaction scores on (a) Perceived Risk, (b) whether or not the individual knew other people with their same or similar identity, (c) whether or not the individual knew others in their work group with their same or similar identity, and (d) Positive and Negative Identity Perception scores. Overall, the model was statistically significant, $F(5, 144) = 2.48$ ($p = .034$), with 7.94% of the variance explained by the model. However, no individual predictors were found to be significant in this model which lends inconclusive evidence for H4. See Table 9 for all of the standardized and unstandardized regression slopes with their significance levels for this model. Note however, that there were significant positive correlations between Job Satisfaction and whether or not an individual knew others in their work group with their same or similar identity, and whether or not an individual just knew someone with their same or similar identity which H4b and H4c. Perceived Risk, Positive Identity Perceptions, Negative Identity Perceptions did not significantly correlated with job satisfaction. Given all of these findings, no conclusions could be made regarding H4a or H4d.

It is interesting to note that the average Job Satisfaction for individuals who indicated that they had a concealable identity ($M = 35.46$, $SD = 9.16$) was less than that of the individuals who did not have a concealable identity ($M = 36.68$, $SD = 7.15$) but this difference was not statistically significant, $t(310.13) = -1.35$, $p = .17$. Among those with a concealable identity, the Job Satisfaction for individuals who indicated that they had disclosed their concealable identity at work ($M = 39.40$, $SD = 8.26$) was higher than that of the individuals who did not disclose their concealable identity at work ($M = 33.71$, $SD =$

9.23) and this difference was statistically significant, $t(148) = 3.49, p = .001$. Similar to the effect on life satisfaction, while the average Job Satisfaction for the individuals who indicated that they were more open to disclose their concealable identity at work ($M = 35.73, SD = 9.53$) was higher than that of the individuals who were not open to disclose their concealable identity at work ($M = 34.85, SD = 9.09$), this difference was not statistically significant, $t(148) = .58, p = .56$.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

Explicit Identity Disclosure Versus Openness to Identity Disclosure

In this study, it was found that Openness to Identity-Disclosure is fundamentally different than Explicit Identity Disclosure which was the proposed dependent variable for Hypotheses 1a-f. There are a few different ways in which Openness to Identity-Disclosure could be distinct from Explicit Disclosure. For one, in this study, Explicit Disclosure was measured using a “Yes” or “No” response to “Have you disclosed your identity at work?”. This question could have been interpreted as “Have you actually had a conversation with someone at work where you explicitly revealed your identity?”. This interpretation of this question is a very active form of true explicit identity-disclosure. Alternatively, there are more passive forms of identity-disclosure which would be more related to “Openness to Identity-Disclosure”.

Openness to Identity-Disclosure encompasses most of the cases of Explicit Identity Disclosure but also includes other more implicit incidences of disclosure. Given this, there are many situations that are better explained by “Openness to Identity Disclosure”. For example, someone may keep identity revealing pictures in their office or wear/display symbols that identify them as a member of their respective identity group but they may never actually have an explicit conversation with a coworker or employer about their identity. This person would likely indicate that they are open about their concealable identity and that people at their work know about their concealable identity. However this same person may also indicate that they have not disclosed their identity at work because

there was never a specific incident of explicit identity-disclosure. Similarly, an individual whose concealable identity is not salient to them while at work or their identity is not central to their self-concept so they may not ever implicitly or explicitly reveal their identity. However, this same person may not try to hide this identity or fear it coming out so they would likely indicate that they are open to disclosing their identity even though they have not formally disclosed. This individual would likely only disclose their identity under a very specific set of circumstances where the identity was made salient to the individual.

Conversely, an individual may not be open to identity-disclosure but may also indicate that they have disclosed their identity at work. For example, an individual may be forced to disclose their concealable identity of having a criminal record to their employer as part of an application process but otherwise would be very opposed to sharing this information. This form of explicit identity disclosure is likely less important to understand due to its involuntary nature. In this situation it would be more useful to understand why the individual is not open to identity disclosure rather than this explicit disclosure where they were forced to identify. So while Explicit Identity-Disclosure is a clearer measure of true disclosure behaviors, Openness to Identity-Disclosure is potentially more relevant to understanding to decision making research given its more volitional nature.

Predictors of Openness to Identity Disclosure

General Tendency for Self-Disclosure. For Hypothesis 1a, the study concluded that an individual's General Tendency for Self-Disclosure significantly predicts Openness to Identity-Disclosure but not Explicit Identity Disclosure. This study was one of the first

to look at individual differences that relate to identity disclosure. It was interesting to find that this measure of General Tendency for Self-Disclosure was negatively related to an individual's Perceived Risk of Identity Disclosure. This creates an interesting question of does an individual's General Tendency for Self-Disclosure cause a difference in the level of Perceived Risk of Disclosure for their specific concealable identity.

This contrasts with much of the previous literature which has focused on the current degree of social stigma as a main factor influencing Perceived Risk. General Tendency for Self-Disclosure offers an alternative explanation. It could be that individuals who are less open about sharing information (i.e. they are low on General Tendency for Self-Disclosure) could also be more likely to perceive sharing their identity as risky especially when considering that Perceived Risk of Identity-Disclosure was not significantly related to Explicit Identity-Disclosure or Openness to Identity-Disclosure.

Distinction between Positive and Negative Identity Perceptions. In the process of testing Hypothesis 1b, this study also demonstrates that there is a distinction between an individual's positive and negative perceptions of their identity and that they should not be considered unidimensional. This was initially shown via the CFA that determined the items assessing positive and negative perceptions of an individual's identity loaded on two separate factors and had a significantly better fit than a one-factor model. Similarly, there was only a moderately high correlation between these two constructs ($r = -.73$) which indicates that they could explain more variance if considered separately.

For example, consider the two deaf individuals that were previously mentioned. The individual who has not developed many positive associations with their deaf identity

would likely hold many negative perceptions and fewer positive perceptions about their identity which fits well with a one factor model of identity perception (i.e. positive and negative perceptions are highly correlated). However, the individual who recognizes many positive experiences about their deaf identity such as strong social connections with others in the deaf community and improved alternative sensory processing has come to value their disability. So while both of these individuals would report similar levels of identity negativity, the second person would likely have much higher levels of positive perceptions of their identity. There is likely a complex mixture of positive and negative situational and individual difference that go into an individual's overall perception of their identity, and looking at an individual's overall composite perception could potentially be missing these finer nuances.

Even more significantly, it was also shown that while both are significantly related to Openness to Identity-Disclosure, Positive Identity Perceptions predicted Openness to Identity-Disclosure better than Negative Identity Perceptions which gives direct support for Hypothesis 1b. This could have significant implications for future research in that it emphasizes the importance of studying positive psychological components of identity management rather than focusing on the negative components which has previously been exemplified by Dunn and Burcaw (2013) with their specific research on disability identity. Taken together, these two individual constructs could help better explain identity-disclosure decisions, but other outcomes related to minority identity management in the workplace.

Workplace Social Courage and Perceived Risk of Disclosure. For Hypothesis 1c and 1d, while neither Workplace Social Courage or Perceived Risk of Disclosure were found to significantly predict identity-disclosure or openness to identity-disclosure there were some important findings regarding the measurement of Perceived Risk of Disclosure. Given that the items regarding perceived risk that were written in the context of work loaded better on a separate factor, future research may consider two distinct forms of perceived risk of disclosure: general perceived risk of disclosure and context specific perceived risk of disclosure. Future research should look at how situational factors interact with an individual's general level of perceived risk especially in the specific context of work. For instance, if an individual's perceived risk of disclosure is significantly greater at work when compared to their general perceived risk of disclosure, it may indicate that there are organizational problems that need to be addressed.

The non-significant main effect of Workplace Social Courage on Openness to Identity-Disclosure could indicate that motives for identity disclosure of any concealable identity are too broad to predict with Workplace Social Courage. For example, an individual who is forced to disclose their criminal background as part of a job application would not be predicted by Courage as it is not optional. Similarly, if someone is disclosing their concealable identity of being lesbian or gay for the purpose of receiving spousal benefits would be more fitting of general courage rather than social courage because they would be disclosing for the purpose of receiving this personal worthwhile benefit rather than for the principle or making a moral social stand. Had there been a large enough sample of individuals who indicated that they disclosed their identity for the purpose of social

justice or to advance the social standing of their minority group, this theory could have more adequately been assessed.

Conversely, additional noise could have been introduced with the idea that some individuals who chose not to disclose their concealable identity could have been doing so for a worthwhile or courageous purpose. For example, the individuals who indicated that discussing their identity at work was counterproductive or not beneficial to the overall work environment could be seen as a courageous action since the individual would be choosing to take the risk of reaping the benefits of identity-disclosure for the greater good of the social collective in the work environment. Similar conclusions can be drawn from the significant interaction between Workplace Social Courage and Perceived Risk when predicting Openness to Identity-Disclosure being opposite of the hypothesized direction. The variety of motives behind the individual's in this sample could have been too broad and varied to use Workplace Social Courage and Perceived Risk to predict Identity-Disclosure. It is most likely the case that there is a complex relationship between the situations that an individual is placed in and how they perceive their disclosure decision. Furthermore, it should not be assumed that being courageous is congruent with disclosure (rather than concealment) since there are clear instances where an individual's decision to conceal their identity is also courageous.

Identity Centrality and Authenticity. The inconclusive results for Hypothesis 1e and 1f on the effects of Identity Centrality and an individual's Authenticity on identity disclosure are also likely products of the complexity that is imposed when studying multiple identity groups at one time along with the broad array of disclosure decision

motivations. The non-significant relationship between identity-disclosure and Centrality in this study contrasts previous findings of Griffith and Hebl (2002) who looked at lesbian and gay identities specifically, which further signifies that Centrality may not be generalizable to multiple identities when predicting identity disclosure despite its previously established relationship with psychological distress for multiple concealable identities (Quinn & Chaudoir, 2009). The results found in this study also concur with previous research that demonstrated that when looking at 5 concealable stigmatized identity groups, Centrality was not significantly related to the level of reported disclosure or 'Outness' (Quinn et al., 2014).

It is also interesting to note the positive correlations between both Life Satisfaction and Job Satisfaction with Authenticity. This indicates that there may be some sort of underlying factor that cause more authentic individuals to be more satisfied with their life and job. There are several other zero-order correlations between Authenticity and Centrality that have interesting implications. Individuals who held more positive perceptions of their identity considered their concealable identity more central part of who they are than those with more negative perceptions towards their concealable identity. This coincides with previous research on identity management and coping strategies where detachment or distancing are tools frequently used to mitigate negative associations and experiences relating to an individual's identity (e.g., Marshburn & Knowles, 2018; Szymanski & Lewis, 2016). Previous research has also proposed identity centrality as a means of reducing anticipated and enacted stigma amongst individuals with HIV (Earnshaw, Lang, Lippitt, Jin, & Chaudoir, 2015), which offers an explanation to why there

was a slight positive relationship between Identity Centrality and Perceived Risk of Disclosure. Similar to the previous findings in the current study, Positive Perceptions of an individual's identity was more strongly related to Identity Centrality than the Negative Identity Perceptions which further emphasizes the need to shift the identity research to look at the positive components of identity management.

There was also a strong correlation between Authenticity and Workplace Social Courage which could lend support for the proposed construct of the Courage to be Authentic. While Authenticity's and Workplace Social Courage's effect on self-disclosure may be too complex to thoroughly analyze with simple regression, a better understanding of the motivation or courage to be authentic could be crucial in the overall understanding of disclosure decision making. An intriguing finding in this study was that Authenticity and Perceived Risk of Disclosure was negatively correlated. While there is no evidence in the present study that explains this negative relationship, further understanding of how individuals who score higher on Authenticity perceive lower risk associated with identity disclosure - this could be a key area to research for potentially being able to reduce the Perceived Risk of Identity Disclosure.

Predictors of Life and Job Satisfaction

Knowing Others In-General and At Work. Knowing a coworker with the same or similar identity was the only significant proposed predictor of Life Satisfaction for Hypotheses 3a - 3d and there were no significant proposed predictors of Job Satisfaction regarding Hypotheses 4a - 4d. However, there were many significant correlations regarding Life and Job Satisfaction that could have significant implications for future

research and practice. Correlation analysis indicated that knowing at least one co-worker that had the same or similar identity was more positively related to Life Satisfaction and Job Satisfaction than just knowing anyone with their same or similar identity. Similarly, knowing at least one co-worker who shared their same or similar identity was also slightly more related to rates of Explicit Identity Disclosure and Openness to Identity-Disclosure at work than just knowing anyone with the same or similar identity. This lends to the idea that knowing others in an individual's workgroup that shares the same or similar identity could be more impactful on those individuals' lives with regards to satisfaction, self-disclosure and potentially other related constructs. Note that there was only a moderate ($r = .31$) correlation between knowing someone with the same or similar concealable identity and knowing a coworker with the same or similar concealable identity. While the magnitude of the relationship was slightly lower for knowing anyone with the same or similar identity, both of these constructs had the highest correlation with Explicit Identity Disclosure and Openness to Identity-Disclosure than any other variable in this study.

It is also interesting to note that knowing at least one co-worker with the same or similar identity was significantly positively related to Positive Identity Perceptions and negatively related to Negative Identity Perceptions. Whether these correlations are caused by these social work connections or just a product of the frequency of the specific identity (i.e. identities that are more prevalent in work groups may be more likely to be seen as more positive and less negative than more rare identities) is a question for future research. It should be noted that only Positive Identity Perceptions was positively significantly

related to knowing anyone which reinforces the importance of these more positive aspects of concealable identities in research and practice.

Concealable Identity Status, Self-Disclosure and Satisfaction. While there were no proposed relationships made with regards to how these variables relate to each other, there were some useful findings upon analysis. It was concluded that there was no significant difference in reported levels of Job Satisfaction between those who had a concealable identity and those who did not. However, participants who had a concealable identity did report a significantly lower level of Life Satisfaction. So having a concealable identity is not strictly related with lower Job Satisfaction but it is related to lower Life Satisfaction. Additionally there were no significant differences in Life and Job Satisfaction scores for individuals who indicated that they were open to identity disclosure when compared to individuals who indicated that they were not open to identity disclosure. However, Explicit Identity Disclosure was found to relate to significantly higher levels of Job and Life Satisfaction. So while Openness to Identity-Disclosure was better predicted by the proposed variables, only Explicit Identity-Disclosure was found to relate to Job and Life Satisfaction. This draws another distinction between Openness to Identity-Disclosure and Explicit Identity-Disclosure.

Summary of Significant Findings

Predictors of Openness to Identity-Disclosure. Hypothesis 1a was supported in that individual's General Tendency for Self-Disclosure significantly predicted Openness to Identity-Disclosure. Hypothesis 1b was also supported by Positive and Negative Perceptions both being significantly related to Openness to Identity-Disclosure. However,

Negative Identity Perceptions was not a significant predictor in the main effects model. Correlational analysis showed that Identity Centrality was slightly positively related to Openness to Identity-Disclosure which gives partial support to Hypothesis 1e even though it was not a significant predictor in the main effects model.

Predictors of Life and Job Satisfaction. Only Hypothesis 3c was supported by linear regression with knowing a co-worker with the same or similar identity significantly predicting Life Satisfaction. None of the proposed predictors were significant in predicting Job Satisfaction. However, correlational analysis did allow for partial support to be given to some of these hypotheses. For example, Positive Identity Perceptions was significantly positively correlated with Life Satisfaction and Negative Identity Perceptions was significantly negatively correlated with Life Satisfaction giving partial support for Hypothesis 3d. Also, knowing anyone with the same or similar identity was positively correlated with Life and Job satisfaction giving partial support for Hypothesis 3b and 4b. Knowing a co-worker with the same or similar identity also significantly correlated with Job Satisfaction which gives partial support for Hypothesis 4c.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Future research should focus on further delineating an individual's Openness to Identity-Disclosure and Explicit Identity-Disclosure. The use of both of these measures could be beneficial for future exploratory studies on identity-disclosure decision making and identity management. While these two constructs were positively correlated, this study demonstrated that explicit identity disclosure was positively related to job and life satisfaction whereas Openness to Identity-Disclosure was not. Given this, and that General

Tendency to Self-Disclosure and Positive Perceptions of Identity were predictive of Openness to Self-Disclosure but not Explicit Identity-Disclosure could have interesting implications for future research and in practice. For instance, this information could suggest that Explicit Identity-Disclosure at Work could be more impactful on workplace outcomes such as job satisfaction, turnover, and productivity, while factors influencing Openness to Identity-Disclosure could be useful when developing diversity and inclusion policies or interventions.

Additionally, a limitation of this research was that a measure of emotional self-disclosure was used to assess an individual's General Tendency for Self-Disclosure – more research should be conducted to see if there is some other specific or more broad measure of self-disclosure that better predicts Explicit Identity-Disclosure and Openness to Identity-Disclosure. Along with this, the significant negative relationship between General Tendency for Self-Disclosure and Perceived Risk of Identity-Disclosure should be assessed. Specifically, research should focus on answering the questions of causality in this relationship.

Future research should look at the specific situational and individual differences that shape an individual's perception of their disclosure decision, especially the situations that elicit courageous identity concealment and courageous self-disclosure. It was initially predicted that identity disclosure was the courageous action that would be predicted by Workplace Social Courage; however, the results of this research indicate that the varied motives behind identity disclosure and concealment seem to be more complex than initially assumed. The limited number of individuals in this study prevented robust between group

differences with regards to identity group and motives behind disclosure decisions. More thorough research should be conducted to determine what factors influence how an individual will assess their decision of identity-concealment or disclosure (ie. will they see it as more courageous to conceal or disclose their identity). Additional studies could determine if there are specific identity groups that perceive identity disclosure or concealment more courageously than others. It would also be interesting to see how individuals perceive their identity-disclosure or concealment decision. This perception would be critical in the accurate categorization of whether or not their decision to disclose or conceal was courageous. Along with this, there is also an opportunity for more complex modeling of disclosure decisions with regards to how it relates to courage and perceived risk that controls for the varied motives of identity-disclosure and concealment. It may also be wise to not only model identity-disclosure but also perceptions of their decision. The results of this sort of framing effect on their disclosure decision could be key in the development of identity-management strategies and organizational policy development.

Another limitation of this study was the methodology of how participants self-indicated whether or not they had a concealable identity after reading the definition of a concealable identity. It should be noted that with this study's methodology of gathering a sample of individuals who have a concealable identity, there was a potential of a participant to select an identity that is not stigmatized. Similar to the findings in Quinn and Chaudoir (2009) who used this methodology, all of the participants indicated that they had an identity that had the potential for being socially devalued. The actual level of stigma associated with each identity varies depending on the specific context (e.g. cultural, geographical, and

temporal) and even more so when an individual's perceived stigma is taken into consideration, which is what makes this research on identity-disclosure fundamentally different from previous studies that have focused on one specific identity groups individually.

Along with this, while the definition of a concealable identity was clear, future researchers may want to focus on individuals who identify as not having a concealable identity using this methodology to verify that they truly do not have a concealable identity. The definition of a concealable identity in this study was very broad and it was expected that most individuals in the sample would indicate having some sort of concealable identity. Better understanding how people come to this decision of what constitutes a concealable identity would clarify future research on concealable identities. Specifically, there may be certain identities that are more likely to be perceived as being a concealable identity than others, and this self-selection may influence findings.

Finally, given the large social implications shown by the relationship between knowing others and specifically co-workers with the same or similar identity and measures of self-disclosure and identity perceptions, this should be a key area for future investigation. Specifically, research should focus on the nuances between the level of social connections (e.g. strangers, coworkers, family members, close friends, etc.) that an individual has with others in their same or similar identity group. For instance, does just knowing that there is another co-worker at work that shares an identity similar to their own encourage identity-disclosure or is there a crucial aspect of social support that is needed to elicit these incidences of disclosure which is moderated by level of association. Along

with this, a causal relationship should be tested with regards to the positive relationship between knowing others that share with the same or similar concealable identity and the individuals' perceptions of their concealable identity. Does one cause the other or is there some other underlying mediator that explains this relationship?

Conclusion

With this study, previously proposed predictors along with new potential factors influencing an individual's decision to disclose their concealable identity were tested. It was determined that propensity for general self-disclosure was a significant covariate for disclosure research which could clarify results of previous studies. It was also found that Identity Perceptions are not unidimensional – an individual's overall perception of their identity is not simply a sum of their positive and negative perceptions. Along with this, Positive Identity Perceptions were more predictive of Openness to Identity-Disclosure than Negative Identity Perceptions. There were also significant contributions with regard to understanding Life and Job Satisfaction of individuals with a concealable identity. It was concluded that while having a concealable identity is not directly related to reported levels of Job Satisfaction, individuals who disclose their identity at work did have higher levels of Life and Job Satisfaction. It was also concluded that knowing other co-workers was more positively correlated with Life and Job Satisfaction than just knowing anyone with the same or similar identity. Similarly, knowing others at work was the single largest correlate of Openness to Identity-Disclosure and Explicit Identity-Disclosure.

Further understanding of the predictors and moderators of identity disclosure behaviors could lead to improved onboarding procedures, valuable changes in

organizational policies, and even aid selection. I hope that my findings will aid in the creation of more inclusive working environments and improved organizational climate. Improving the understanding of how individuals disclose and share components of themselves could potentially play a pivotal role in improving job satisfaction, team cohesion, and other positive workplace outcomes. There are also occupational health benefits of understanding identity disclosure behaviors and potential antecedents for self-disclosure as shown in previous studies that confirm the negative distress that accompanies concealing stigmatized identities (e.g. Driscoll, Kelley, & Fassinger, 1996; Quinn et al., 2014). With so many workers having concealable identities, better understanding the factors that influence their decision to disclose or conceal their identities in the workplace could allow for the development of more effective and supportive diversity and inclusion policies which would benefit the workers and ultimately the organization.

Table 1. Concealable Identities by Type and Number of Participants

Identity Type	n	%
Mental Illness	44	29.30
Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity	16	10.70
Drug Use	15	10.00
Sexually Related Activities	15	10.00
Weight/Appearance Issues	7	4.70
Medical Condition	7	4.70
Criminal Action	6	4.00
Death of Family	6	4.00
Abusive Family	5	3.30
History of Rape	5	3.30
Family Member with Psychological or Medical Issue	4	2.70
Lies about Background	3	2.00
Family Member with Drug Problem	2	1.30
Abortion	2	1.30
Adoption	2	1.30
Veteran Status	1	0.70
Other	10	6.70
Total	150	100.00

Table 2. Condensed Concealable Identities by Type and Number of Participants

<u>Identity Type</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Mental Illness	44	29.30
Family Related Problems	21	14.00
Illegal Activities	21	14.00
Sexual Orientation and Gender ID	16	10.70
Sexually Related Activities	15	10.00
Weight/Appearance Issues	7	4.70
Medical Condition	7	4.70
Other	19	12.70
Total	150	100.00

Table 3. CFA Results Summary for Scale Measures

Scale	Cronbach's α	χ^2	df	CFI	RMSEA	RMSEA Cr ⁹⁰	SRMR	BIC
Satisfaction with Life	0.934	37.723***	5	0.980	0.134	0.096 - 0.175	0.020	-
Job Satisfaction	0.911	426.99***	27	0.758	0.201	0.185 - 0.219	0.105	-
Self-Disclosure of Concealable Identity	0.893	13.528*	5	0.981	0.107	0.040 - 0.177	0.035	-
General Tendency for Self-Disclosure	0.857	134.821***	20	0.779	0.196	0.165 - 0.228	0.107	-
Workplace Social Courage	0.911	116.115***	44	0.919	0.105	0.082 - 0.128	0.062	-
Perceived Risk of Disclosure at Work	0.936	453.971***	77	0.755	0.181	0.165 - 0.197	0.082	-
Authenticity (One Factor Model)	0.909	652.979***	54	0.557	0.272	0.253 - 0.291	0.141	6016.288
Authenticity (Three Factor Model)	-	171.477***	51	0.911	0.125	0.105 - 0.146	0.058	5625.773
Authentic Living (Items 1, 8, 9, 10)	0.885	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Self-Alienation (Items 2, 7, 10, 12)	0.911	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Accepting External Influence (Items 3, 4, 5, 6)	0.894	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Centrality	0.911	279.279***	20	0.727	0.294	0.264 - 0.325	0.118	-
Perception of Concealable Identity (One Factor Model)	0.938	303.561***	35	0.816	0.226	0.203 - 0.250	0.089	5160.775
Perception of Concealable Identity (Two Factor Model)	-	144.224***	34	0.925	0.147	0.123 - 0.172	0.051	4939.987
Positive Perception of Concealable Identity (Items 2, 4, 8, 9, 10)	0.870	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Negative Perception of Concealable Identity (Items 1, 3, 5, 6, 7)	0.951	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social Support	0.925	83.361***	2	0.851	0.521	0.429 - 0.619	0.066	-

* p < .05, ** p < .001, *** p < .0001

Note. CFI = comparative fit index, RMSEA = root mean-square error of approximation, SRMR = standardized root mean square, BIC = Bayesian information criterion.

Table 4. Bivariate Correlations and Descriptive Statistics

Measure	M	SD	Correlations																					
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17					
1. Openness to Identity Disclosure (N = 150)	--	--	--																					
2. Self-Disclosure of Identity at Work (N = 150)	--	--	.24**	--																				
3. General Tendency for Self-disclosure (N = 150)	22.87	6.31	.28**	0.14	--																			
4. Positive Perceptions of Identity (N = 150)	12.45	8.64	.33**	.20*	0.16	--																		
5. Negative Perceptions of Identity (N = 150)	23.47	8.28	-.25**	-.23**	-0.13	-.73**	--																	
6. Perceived Risk of Disclosure (N = 150)	46.53	19.61	-0.05	-0.12	-.24**	0.09	0.14	--																
7. Workplace Social Courage (N = 150)	53.45	12.9	0.05	0.11	.31**	-0.06	-0.08	-0.11	--															
8. Authenticity (N = 150)	21.88	4.73	0.08	0.13	0.15	0.01	-0.15	-.25**	.56**	--														
9. Identity Centrality (N = 150)	29.77	11.71	.18*	0.10	0.06	.49**	-.17*	.180*	-0.12	-0.14	--													
10. Social Support (N = 150)	15.04	6.58	0.04	-0.01	0.07	0.01	0.02	0.16	0.08	0.12	-0.04	--												
11. Job Satisfaction Total (N = 363)	36.11	8.29	0.05	.28**	.35**	0.10	-0.07	-0.12	0.37**	.24**	-0.10	0.04	--											
12. Life Satisfaction Total (N = 363)	22.21	8.04	0.15	.20*	0.30**	0.25**	-0.21*	-0.07	0.26**	.22**	-0.04	0.04	0.60**	--										
13. Age (N = 363)	36.72	9.95	-0.10	-.18*	-0.02	-0.15	0.04	-0.07	0.11	0.11	-0.02	-0.07	0.02	-0.18**	--									
14. Gender (N = 362)	--	--	0.02	0.05	0.00	0.23**	-0.22**	0.16	0.05	-0.01	0.00	0.07	0.02	-0.03	-0.19**	--								
15. Tenure (N = 363)	--	--	0.10	0.10	0.15	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.14	0.15	-0.04	-0.02	0.12*	0.07	0.37**	-0.11*	--							
16. Level of Education (N = 363)	--	--	0.17*	0.01	0.15	0.12	-0.06	0.08	0.00	-0.11	0.02	0.11	0.11*	0.08	-0.05	0.02	-0.04	--						
17. Knows a Co-Worker with Identity (N = 150)	--	--	0.42**	.51**	0.20*	0.45**	-0.29**	0.03	0.02	0.04	0.10	0.10	0.21**	0.33**	-0.30**	0.13	-0.04	-0.01	--					
18. Knows Someone with Identity (N = 150)	--	--	0.37**	.22**	0.17*	0.20*	-0.15	0.14	0.01	-0.02	0.09	0.05	0.18*	0.18*	-0.13	-0.01	0.06	0.08	0.31**	--				

Notes: The Point-Biserial Correlation Coefficient for gender was calculated with one participant, who did not specify male or female, removed. Females being 0 and males being 1.

** p < .01

* p < .05

Table 5. Main Effects Model: Predictors of Openness to Identity-Disclosure at Work

Predictor	<i>B</i>	SE <i>B</i>	$\Delta\chi^2$	Odds Ratio	95% CI for Odds Ratio	
					Lower	Upper
Constant	0.128	0.181	--	--	--	--
General Tendency to Self-Disclose	0.088	0.031	9.08*	1.092	1.031	1.163
Positive Perceptions of Identity	0.084	0.034	6.955*	1.087	1.021	1.165
Negative Perceptions of Identity	0.002	0.033	0.003	1.002	0.940	1.069

Notes: * $p < .05$, Model $\chi^2 = 26.71$, $df = 3$, $n = 150$, $R^2_L = 0.129$. Initial (null) -2 Log Likelihood (-2LL) = 207.70, Model -2 LL with predictors = 180.99.

Table 6. Interaction Model: Workplace Social Courage by Perceived Risk

Predictor	<i>B</i>	SE <i>B</i>	$\Delta\chi^2$	Odds Ratio	95% CI for Odds Ratio	
					Lower	Upper
Constant	0.083	0.187	--	--	--	--
General Tendency to Self-Disclose	0.101	0.034	9.464*	1.107	1.037	1.187
Positive Perceptions of Identity	0.089	0.025	15.523*	1.094	1.044	1.151
Workplace Social Courage	0.003	0.016	0.045	1.003	0.973	1.035
Perceived Risk of Disclosure	0.003	0.010	0.120	1.003	0.984	1.024
Workplace Social Courage*Perceived Risk	-0.002	0.001	7.391*	0.998	0.996	0.999

Note. * $p < .05$, Step 2 model $\chi^2 = 34.17$, $df = 5$, $n = 150$, $R^2_L = 0.165$. Initial (null) -2 Log Likelihood (-2LL) = 207.70, Model -2 LL with predictors = 173.53.

Table 7. Interaction Model: Identity Centrality by Authenticity

Predictor	<i>B</i>	SE <i>B</i>	$\Delta\chi^2$	Odds Ratio	95% CI for Odds Ratio	
					Lower	Upper
Constant	0.132	0.183	--	--	--	--
General Tendency to Self-Disclose	0.086	0.031	8.362*	1.090	1.027	1.160
Positive Perceptions of Identity	0.079	0.026	10.222*	1.083	1.030	1.142
Authenticity	0.027	0.040	0.488	1.028	0.952	1.113
Identity Centrality	0.006	0.018	0.119	1.006	0.971	1.042
Authenticity*Identity Centrality	0.000	0.004	0.000	1.000	0.993	1.008

Note. * $p < .05$, Step 2 model $\chi^2 = 27.26$, $df = 5$, $n = 150$, $R^2_L = 0.131$. Initial (null) -2 Log Likelihood (-2LL) = 207.70, Model -2 LL with predictors = 180.45.

Table 8. Linear Regression Predicting Life Satisfaction

Predictors	<i>B</i>	95% CI for <i>B</i>		β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
		Lower	Upper			
(Intercept)	18.08	9.42	26.75	--	4.12	0.000
Perceived Risk of Disclosure	-0.04	-0.12	0.03	-0.10	-1.17	0.242
Positivity Perception of Identity	0.11	-0.15	0.36	0.11	0.84	0.404
Negative Perceptions of Identity	-0.03	-0.28	0.22	-0.03	-0.25	0.800
Knows a Co-Worker with Identity	4.53*	1.25	7.81	0.25*	2.73	0.007
Knows Someone with Identity	2.27	-1.72	6.25	0.09	1.12	0.263

Note. * $p < .05$, $F(5, 144) = 4.54$, $p = .001$; R-Square = .14. CI = confidence interval for *B*.

Table 9. Linear Regression Predicting Job Satisfaction

Predictors	B	95% CI for B		β	t	p
		Lower	Upper			
(Intercept)	32.69	23.26	42.12	--	4.12	0.000
Perceived Risk of Disclosure	-0.07	-0.15	0.01	-0.15	-1.17	0.072
Positivity Perception of Identity	0.04	-0.24	0.32	0.04	0.84	0.765
Negative Perceptions of Identity	0.05	-0.22	0.33	0.05	-0.25	0.708
Knows a Co-Worker with Identity	3.27	-0.30	6.84	0.17	2.73	0.072
Knows Someone with Identity	3.71	-0.63	8.04	0.14	1.12	0.093

Note. $F(5, 144) = 2.48$, $p = .034$; R-Square = .08. CI = confidence interval for B.

Figure 1. Predicted Moderator Effects of Workplace Social Courage

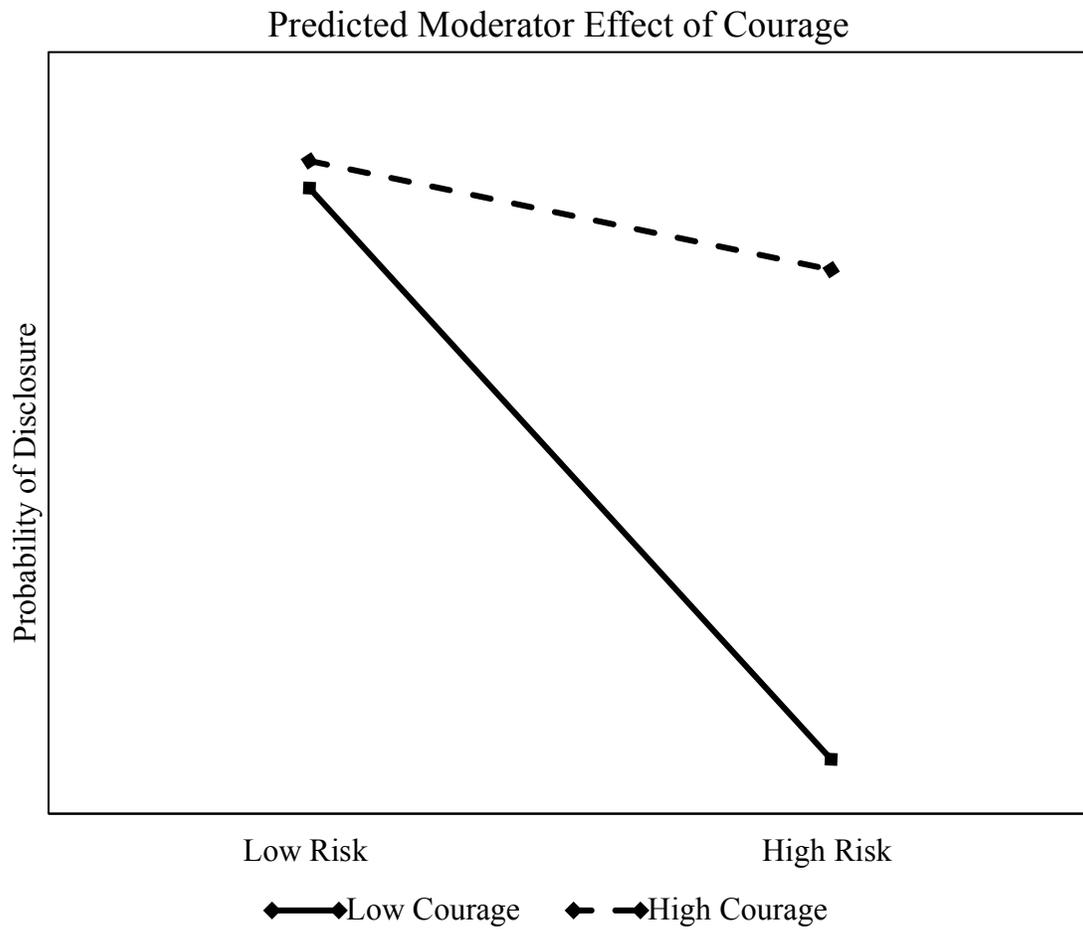


Figure 2. Predicted Moderator Effect of Authenticity

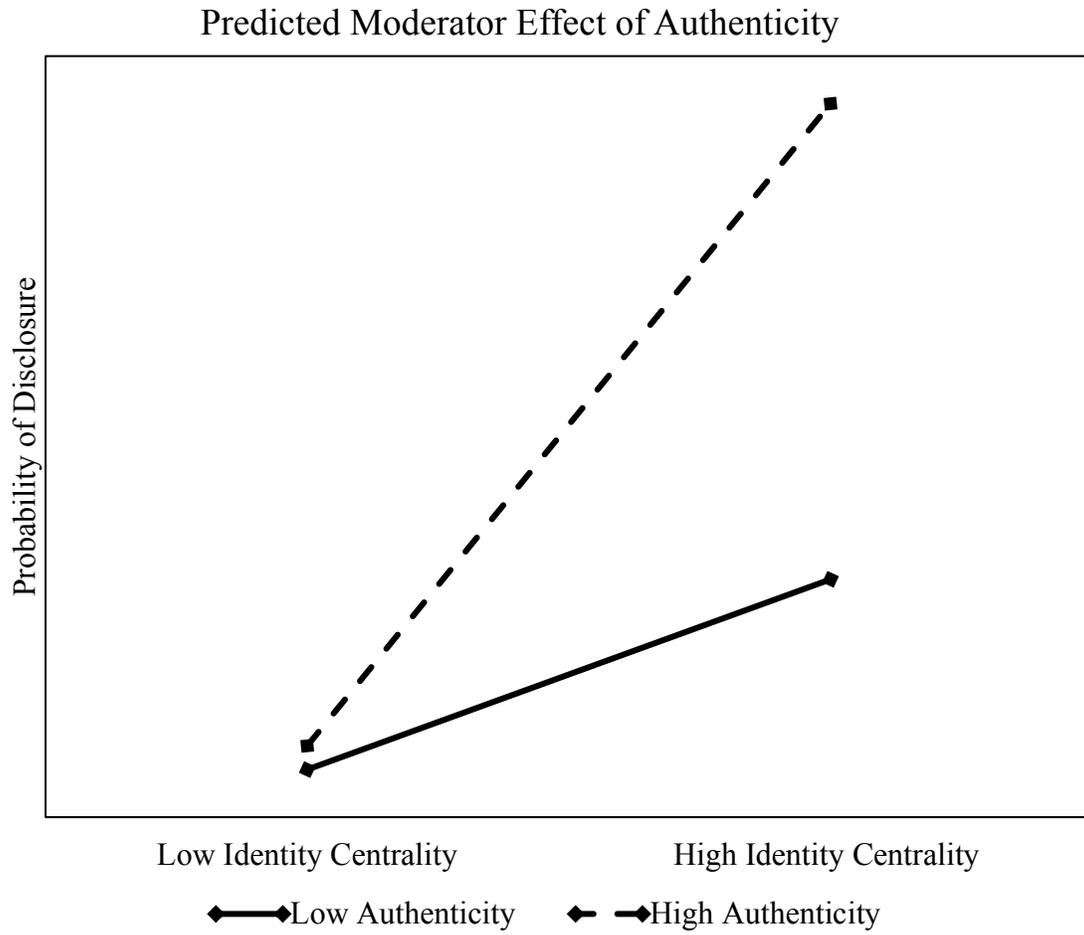


Figure 3. Histogram of Openness to Identity-Disclosure at Work

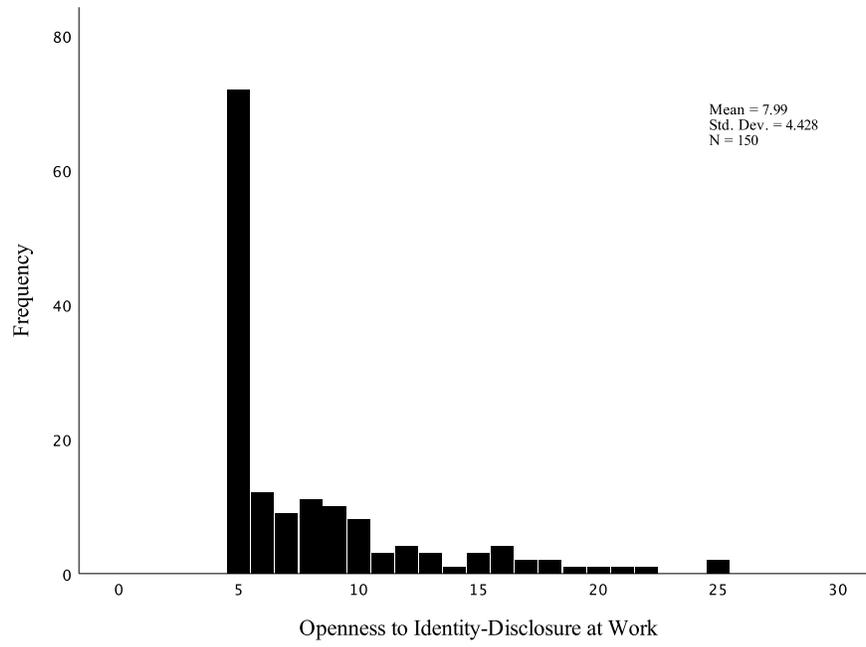


Figure 4. The Predicted Probabilities of Openness to Identity-Disclosure for General Tendency of Self-Disclosure

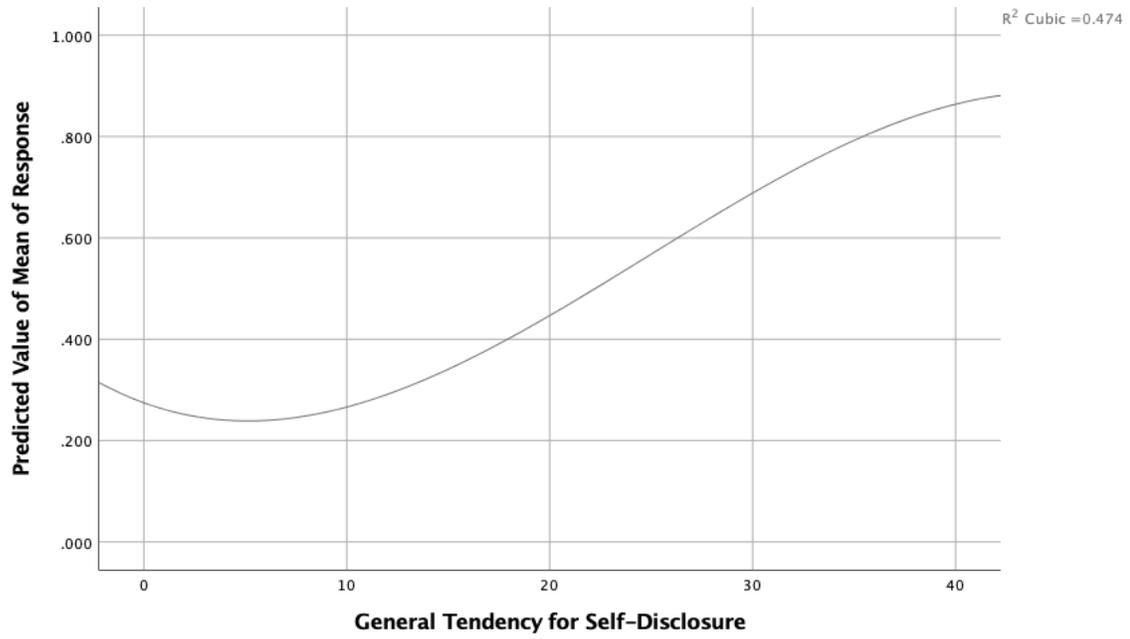


Figure 5. The Predicted Probabilities of Openness to Identity-Disclosure for Positive Perceptions of Identity

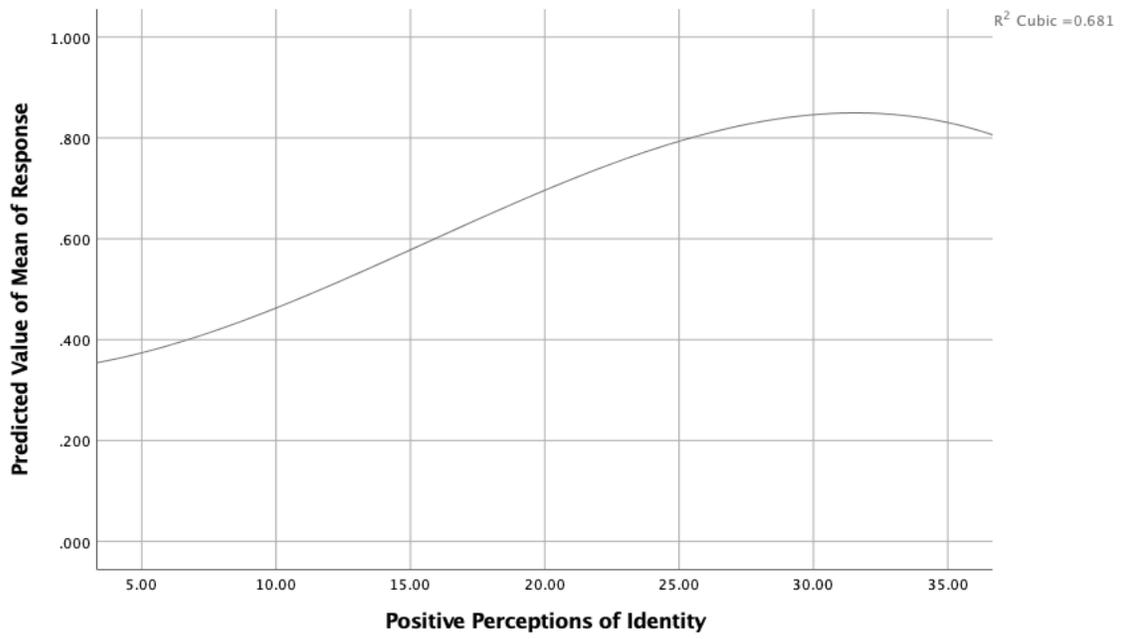
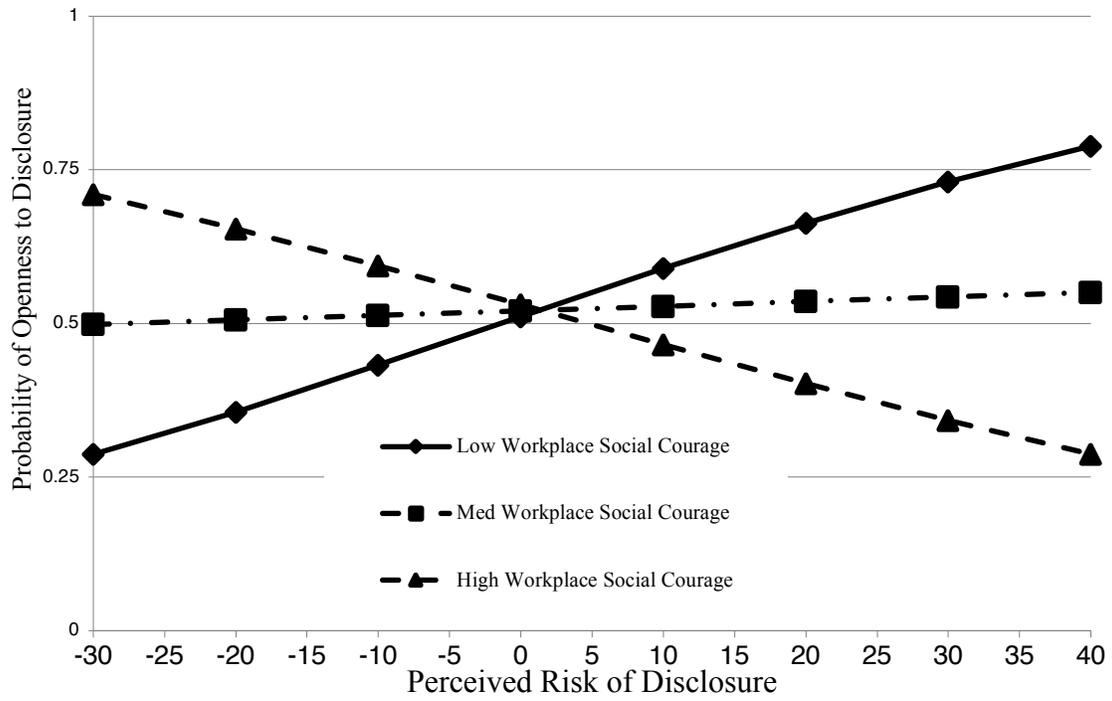


Figure 6. Interaction Effect of Workplace Social Courage and Perceived Risk



APPENDICES

Appendix A

Part One of Survey Scales

A-1: Satisfaction with Life Scale

Below are five statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the one to seven scale below, indicate your agreement with each item with one being strongly disagree and seven being strongly agree.

1= Strongly Disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Slightly Disagree

4 = Neither Agree nor Disagree

5 = Slightly Agree

6 = Agree

7 = Strongly Agree

1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.
2. The conditions of my life are excellent.
3. I am satisfied with my life.
4. So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.
5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

A-2: Generic Job Satisfaction Scale

Indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements on a scale from one to five with one being strongly disagree and five being strongly agree.

1 = Strongly Disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Don't Know

4 = Agree

5 = Strongly Agree

1. I receive recognition for a job well done
2. I feel close to the people at work
3. I feel good about working at this company
4. I feel secure about my job
5. I believe management is concerned about me
6. On the whole, I believe work is good for my physical health
7. My wages are good
8. All my talents and skills are used at work
9. I get along with my supervisors
10. I feel good about my job

Appendix B

Part Two of Survey Scales

B-1: Self-disclosure of Concealable Identities at Work Items

How often do you engage in each of the following behaviors?

Rate your response on a scale from (1) never/seldom to (5) almost always/always.

1 = Never/Seldom

2 = Sometimes

3 = Half the time

4 = Most of the time

5 = Almost always/Always

1. I tell coworkers when I'm going to a location or event that is specific to my concealable identity because I am open about my concealable identity.
2. I wear or display commonly known symbols (e.g. buttons, jewelry, T-shirts, bumper stickers) that reveal my concealable identity to coworkers.
3. I tell most or all of my coworkers what my concealable identity is.
4. I raise objections to jokes or slurs regarding my concealable identity by telling others that I belong to that group and find that offensive.

I am active in trying to obtain equal access and treatment for me at my workplace (e.g., trying to get an antidiscrimination statement that is inclusive to my identity group, etc.).

B-2: General Tendency to Self-Disclose Emotion

How willing would you be to discuss the following topics with a coworker?

Rate your response on a scale from one to five, with one (1) being not at all willing to discuss this topic and five (5) being totally willing to discuss this topic.

1 = No at all willing to discuss

2 = Slightly unwilling to discuss

3 = Neutral

4 = Slightly willing to discuss

5 = Totally willing to discuss

1. Times when you felt depressed.
2. Times when you felt happy.
3. Times when you felt jealous.
4. Times when you anxious.
5. Times when you felt angry.
6. Times when you felt calm.
7. Times when you felt apathetic or indifferent.
8. Times when you felt afraid.

B-3: Workplace Social Courage Items

There are many risks that could be involved in workplace interactions. These risks could range from minor to severe risks, depending on the behavior. For the following, please rate your agreement that you would perform the following behaviors despite the risks involved. Use the scale below:

1 = Strongly Disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Slightly Disagree

4 = Neutral

5 = Slightly Agree

6 = Agree

7 = Strongly Agree

You should **NOT** answer these questions with your current job or workgroup in mind. Instead, respond based on how you would act in a workplace after working there for five years.

1. Although it may damage our friendship, I would tell my superior when a coworker is doing something incorrectly.
2. Although my coworker may become offended, I would suggest to him/her better ways to do things.
3. If I thought a question was dumb, I would still ask it if I didn't understand something at work.
4. Even if my coworkers could think less of me, I'd lead a project with a chance of failure.
5. I would not tolerate when a coworker is rude to someone, even if I make him/her upset.
6. Despite my subordinate disliking me, I would tell him/her when they're doing something against company policy.
7. I would let my coworkers know when I am concerned about something, even if they'd think I am too negative.
8. Even if it may damage our relationship, I would confront a subordinate who had been disrupting their workgroup.

9. Although it makes me look incompetent, I would tell my coworkers when I've made a mistake.
10. Despite appearing dumb in front of an audience, I would volunteer to give a presentation at work.
11. Although it may completely ruin our friendship, I would give a coworker an honest performance appraisal.

B-4: Perceived Risk of Disclosure at Work Items

If others knew your concealed identity, how likely do you think the following would be to occur?

Rate your response on a scale from 1 (extremely unlikely) to 7 (extremely likely).

1. People will act as if you are inferior.
2. People will act as if you are not smart.
3. People will act as if they are afraid of you.
4. You will be treated with less courtesy than others.
5. You will be treated with less respect than others.
6. People will act as if you are dishonest.
7. People will call you names or insult you.
8. You will be threatened or harassed.
9. Coworkers will avoid working with me.
10. Coworkers will sabotage my work.
11. My job will be at greater risk than others.
12. I will not be considered equally for promotions or raises.
13. My supervisor will treat me unfairly.
14. My work will be less valued than other work done by my coworkers.

B-5: Authenticity

How well do the following statements describe you?

Rate your response on a scale from 1 (does not describe me at all) to 7 (describes me very well).

1. I think it is better to be yourself, than to be popular.
2. I don't know how I really feel inside.
3. I am strongly influenced by the opinions of others.
4. I usually do what other people tell me to do.
5. I always feel I need to do what others expect me to do.
6. Other people influence me greatly.
7. I feel as if I don't know myself very well.
8. I always stand by what I believe in.
9. I am true to myself in most situations.
10. I feel out of touch with the 'real me'.
11. I live in accordance with my values and beliefs.
12. I feel alienated from myself.

B-6: Centrality

Indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements on a scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree.

1. Overall, having this concealable identity has a lot to do with how I feel about myself.
2. In general, having this concealable identity is an important part of my self-image.
3. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other people with this concealable identity.
4. Having this concealable identity is important to my sense of what kind of person I am.
5. I have a strong sense of belonging to other people with my concealable identity.
6. I have a strong attachment to other people with my concealable identity.
7. Having this concealable identity is an important reflection of who I am.
8. Having this concealable identity is a major factor in my social relationships.

B-7: Perception of Concealable Identity

Indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements on a scale from (1) strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree.

1. I would rather not have this concealable identity if I could.
2. I am glad that I have this concealable identity. (reverse score)
3. The lifestyles of people in my specific concealable identity group are not as fulfilling as other lifestyles.
4. I'm proud to be a part of the community of my concealable identity. (reverse score)
5. I wish I could identify as not having my concealable identity.
6. Whenever I think a lot about having this concealable identity, I feel critical about myself.
7. Whenever I think a lot about having this concealable identity, I feel depressed.
8. If I had a choice, I would choose to have this concealable identity. (reverse score)
9. Whenever I think a lot about having this concealable identity, I feel good about myself. (reverse score)
10. Whenever I think a lot about having this concealable identity, I feel proud. (reverse score)

Appendix C

Exploratory Questions

How many people do you know with this identity?

How many of your coworkers do you know has your same or similar concealable identity?

What proportion of your coworkers has your same or similar concealable identity?

Does this identity require a workplace accommodation?

Would disclosing this identity to your employer improve your performance at work?

Would disclosing this identity to coworkers improve your performance at work?

Measure of Social Support (Griffith & Hebel, 2002)

1. The majority of my coworkers are committed to the fair treatment of individuals with my concealable identity. (Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree)
2. The majority of my coworkers would be supportive of me if they knew about my concealable identity? (Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree)
3. The majority of my friends and family are committed to the fair treatment of individuals with my concealable identity. (Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree)
4. The majority of my friends and family would be supportive of me if they knew about my concealable identity? (Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree)

How many identities did you keep in mind while answering the previous questions in this survey? (1-10)

Please indicate all of the categories that describes a concealable identity that you have.

(You may select more than one.)

Did you only keep one “most important” identity in mind while answering the previous questions in this study? (YES or NO)

Which of the following categories best describes your most important concealable identity to which you referred while answering the questions in this study?

- a) mental illness (e.g., depression, obsessive compulsive disorder)
- b) weight/appearance concerns (e.g., eating disorder)
- c) sexually related activity (e.g., fetishes, affairs)
- d) medical conditions (e.g., diabetes, epilepsy)
- e) history of rape
- f) history of childhood sexual abuse
- g) sexual orientation
- h) family member with medical or psychological issues (e.g., cancer, mental illness)
- i) family member with addiction (e.g., alcoholism, gambling)
- j) abusive family (e.g., domestic violence)
- k) drug use
- l) criminal actions (e.g., stealing)
- m) abortion
- n) lies about background or personal information
- o) death of a family member
- p) adoption
- q) veteran status
- r) other

In your own words, describe your concealable identity.

Have you disclosed this identity to anyone at work?

If yes, why did you disclose? If no, why haven't you disclosed?

What are the benefits of disclosing this identity at work?

What are the largest risks for you to disclose this identity at work?

Do you plan on disclosing this identity to your employers in the future?

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