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## LGB EMPLOYMENT AND CIVIL RIGHTS PROTECTIONS: EMPHASIZING EXISTING AND POTENTIAL POLICY FOR IMPROVING THE LGB HIRING

Alexa Nicole Massiquet

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LGB EMPLOYMENT AND CIVIL RIGHTS PROTECTIONS: EMPHASIZING  
EXISTING AND POTENTIAL POLICY FOR IMPROVING THE LGB HIRING  
PROCESS

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A Thesis  
Presented to the  
Faculty of  
California State University,  
San Bernardino

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Science  
in  
Industrial Organizational Psychology

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by  
Alexa Massiquet  
December 2021

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Alexa Massiquet  
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Approved by:

Dr. Ismael Diaz, Committee Chair, Psychology

Dr. Mark Agars, Committee Member

Dr. Janelle Gilbert, Committee Member

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## ABSTRACT

Much of the LGB employment research addressing discrimination suggests culture and policy changes for attracting more and retaining their current LGB employees. Some research suggests a cyclical nature between the acceptance of progressive policy and inclusive culture. While many researchers discuss the need for policies protecting LGB employees, little has been written about exactly how to do that. One method is to emphasize LGB non-discrimination policy and already existing gender non-discrimination policy during the hiring process. I built upon the work of other researchers, who emphasized LGB nondiscrimination during the hiring process by additionally emphasizing protections for employees based on gender, an already existing federal law in America. In this study, I conducted an experiment where I primed participants with different anti-discrimination policy text and asked them to rate LGB and non-LGB resumes on their likelihood to be hired. Overall, LGB resumes received lower scores than non-LGB resumes. However, no relationship was found between the policy presented to participants and their scoring of LGB resumes. This may be due to a real lack of relationship between policy and short-term behavior, although it may be due to the strength of the stimuli presented in the study. LGB resume scores were negatively correlated to gay and lesbian homophobia but not to social conservatism. LGB resume scores were also negatively correlated to the participant's power in their employment role and power in their organization.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Introduction

The last few decades have made great strides in advancing the experiences of the lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) community in the workplace. But many LGB employees still face more discrimination and harassment in the workplace than their non-LGB coworkers (Cech & Rothwell, 2020; Gedro, 2009; Herek, 2009; Hollis & McCalla, 2013; Kirby, 2006; Moradi, 2009; Priola, Lasio, De Simone, & Serri, 2014; Sabharwal, Levine, D'Agostino, & Nguyen, 2019; Tilcsik, 2011; Trau, 2016; Velez & Moradi, 2012). A great deal of organizational research discusses the experiences of LGB members at work and the consequences of their poor treatment on the individual and the organization (Gedro, 2009; Hollis & McCalla, 2013; Moradi, 2009; Pizer, Sears, Mallory, & Hunter, 2012). Some LGB employment research has begun to address the need to change policy (Cook & Glass, 2016; Lloren & Parini, 2016; Pizer, Sears, Mallory, & Hunter, 2012) and culture (Croghan, Moone, & Olson, 2015; Riley, 2008; Snell, 2015; Trau, 2016) to be more inclusive of current and future LGB employees. However, few of these studies address specific solutions to these challenges. Cook and Glass (2016) present the idea that by putting LGB allies – specifically women – in leadership positions, organizations will be more likely to have LGB inclusive policy. This is a classic narrative, that organization should seek to change culture and allow that new culture to create inclusive policy. However, some researchers argue that

policy change is an essential first step in changing the discrimination practice of the organization (Barron, 2011; Barron & Hebl, 2013).

In this literature review, I explore the idea that policy change is sufficient to change attitudes toward LGB applicants in the hiring process. I first review the literature on the importance of LGB diversity. I then discuss organizational culture and policy as it relates to LGB employees and the cyclical nature of the two (Bass & Avolio, 1993). As part of this review, I describe what constitutes an LGB inclusive culture and suggest policies which support LGB employees. Lastly, I discuss how this relates to hiring practices in organizations. Specifically, I present a framework for understanding how a change to hiring instructions could benefit LGB employees and affect organizational culture in the long term.

### Scope

The scope of this paper is limited to the LGB community. I acknowledge that the community also involves those who are transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, asexual, pansexual, and many more identifications. In many ways it is not one community, but rather a group of communities which share the experience of discrimination based on their gender and sexual expression. However, non-LBG sexual and gender minorities will not be explicitly discussed in this paper. This is not a dismissal of their existence, but rather an acknowledgement of limited research on these specific groups, in an already limited field of research. Additionally, it should be stated that research about the LGB community may not always be closely related to research about the

transgender community. LGB refers to an individual's sexuality, whereas transgender refers to those who identify as a gender which does not correspond to their assigned sex. Much of the LGB literature does not make this distinction between research studying exclusively the LGB community and research also involving transgender communities. Similarly, research on a single sub-group is not always applicable to other sub-groups, like research on lesbian women may not always be applicable to bisexual women or gay men. This is not to say that a study focusing on LGB individuals will not apply to the rest of the community, but it is not the explicit intention of this paper to do so. When available, I will make the necessary distinction and specify the communities involved.

### Organizational Diversity

Diversity is a buzz word for the modern era. Schools, workplaces, and other organizations across the America make resolutions and public statements to increase their diversity. This broadly refers to expanding their populations to include groups of people who identify outside of white, heterosexual, able bodied, American males. Diversity action plans frequently take the form of gender and racial outreach programs. Humans have a tendency to group up with individuals who look and act like them (Johnson & Fredrickson, 2005), but research finds that diversifying one's in-group increase tolerance for and reduces stigmatization of outgroup members (Rapp & Freitag, 2015). This becomes very important in the workplace for a multitude of reasons – namely two. First, the American population is diverse, and many would argue that organizations should represent

those they serve. Second diversity breeds innovation by introducing new perspectives (Meyer, 2013; Cunningham, 2011).

Individual differences among employees have been regularly shown to positively impact organizational performance. Performance is thought to increase based on the varied experiences and perspectives of group members (Meyer, 2013). Workplace diversity literature has expanded this to include LGB diversity, based on the unique experiences of the LGB community from their non-LGB peers (Fullerton, 2013; Cech & Rothwell, 2020; Cunningham, 2011; Sabharwal, Levine, D'Agostino, & Nguyen, 2019). Cunningham (2010) found that high sexual orientation diversity and performance were positively correlated when the organization also has a high general diversity management strategy. When organizations had low diversity management strategies, there was no difference in performance between high and low sexual diversity organizations. The former supports the promotion of diversity in the workplace. The latter lends support to the idea that hiring LGB employees will not lead to a deficit in performance. Cunningham also makes the argument that organizations with a high general diversity strategy, but low sexual orientation diversity are low performers because of the incongruence between their perception of inclusivity and lack of true diversity. This is consistent with literature on cultural diversity (Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999), such that organization should “practice what they preach” so to speak. For example, organizations can include action plans directly related to their hiring practices in order to increase their true diversity. Organizations can

foster diversity and inclusion during the application process by giving raters and interviewers bias training and clear directions for how to select applicants in an objective way. The organization's diversity action plan and their actual diversity representation both contribute to organizational culture. Diversity action plans show that the organization values its diverse employees. The follow through of the plan indicates just how valued diversity is to the organization.

### Organizational Culture

To put it simply, the culture of an organization is a message to the employees about how to act, what is allowed, and what is valued. It comes from all facets of the organization. Largely it is established by organizational leaders who have the authority to command change or not. Organizational goals also contribute to culture, in that they help determine what is valued. Additionally, culture can be defined by employee interaction, such that great and poor communication will indicate to employees what type of behavior is expected of them. Identifying company culture allows applicants to decide if they want to apply there, and it allows incumbents to decide if they want to remain there.

One element of culture relevant to LGB applicants and employees is inclusivity. Inclusive workplaces are supported by a foundation of corporate social responsibility, a safe work environment, work-life balance, a culture of respect and fairness, employee involvement and development, and an ability to form interpersonal relationships (Day & Randell, 2014). Research finds that workplaces like this facilitate outcomes like an increase in positive affect, a

reduction of turnover intentions, and healthier communities (Nielsen, 2014).

Inclusive workplaces are certainly beneficial for LGB employees, but moreover they benefit all employees.

For LGB employees, organizational culture, can communicate if the employee should be open about their sexual orientation, if they will be supported in the case of bullying, and if they would even be hired in the first place.

Research shows that LGB applicants identify LGB inclusive cues to determine cultural inclusivity (Croghan, Moone, & Olson, 2015). Of these cues, some of the most salient are displays of LGB friendly signage, the use of LGB inclusive language, and out LGB workers. In organizations which are perceived to have inclusive LGB policy and culture, the organizational identification of lesbian and gay employees increased, and their intent for turnover and organizational cynicism decreased (Snell, 2015). Lesbian and gay employees were found to have higher job satisfaction when organizational culture was accepting of their LGB status compared to when the organization only had LGB inclusive policy. When explicitly asked if policy or climate was more important, 83% of lesbian and gay employees chose climate; this relationship was not moderated by the employees' outness. Outness was related positively to job satisfaction and organizational identification, and it was negatively related to turnover intent and organizational cynicism. Additionally, research has found that organizations with LGB inclusive culture had higher productivity by all employees (Cech & Rothwell,



2020; Jensen, Patel, & Messersmith, 2013; Moradi, 2009; Sabharwal, Levine, D'Agostino, & Nguyen, 2019).

However, organizations may have a culture which is incongruent with their stated values of inclusivity. For example, Priola, Lasio, Simone, and Serri (2014) found that when interviewing members of such organizations, LGB employees described feeling as though they were betrayed and now had to fabricate a work identity. Furthermore, managing both a work and true identity is distracting to their daily work (Clair, Beatty, & Maclean, 2005; Priola et. al., 2014; Ragins, Singh, & Cornwell, 2007). Despite being out, many felt that they could not openly discuss the aspects of their LGB identity, like partners and spouses. Similarly, those in positions of power felt that by disclosing their LGB status, they would be viewed as less authoritative. Priola et al. (2014) found that even in organizations which self-identified as highly inclusive, LGB employees regularly perceived heterosexist behaviors, like silencing, gossip, and derogatory comments.

Many LGB employees experience discrimination at work regardless of their outness (Gedro, 2009), but there is some evidence to suggest that closeted employees receive more sexual orientation-based harassment (Moradi, 2009). Workplace discrimination of LGB employees and harassment devaluing the LGB community largely go unreported (Hollis & McCalla, 2013). Lloren and Parini (2016) classified LGB discrimination as stereotyping, gender discrimination, or sexual harassment. They found that lesbian employees were more likely than gay employees to experience discrimination, likely because of the compounding

effect of sexual and gender identity. Moradi (2009) found that when controlling for job satisfaction, sexual orientation-based harassment was negatively related to both social and task cohesion. Researchers recommend mainstreaming LGB inclusivity rather than an isolationist approach to addressing LGTB culture (Hollis & McCalla, 2013; Priola et. al., 2014). This is to say that LGB employees should be comfortable to freely discuss their lives as non-LGB employees would, and the best way to make organizations comfortable with LGB culture is to normalize it.

#### Cyclicalty of Culture and Policy

As culture changes, policy changes often follow (Bass & Avolio, 1993). Using the civil rights movement as an example, white Americans began to hold less prejudice of Black Americans over time and this eventually led to federal policy change recognizing racial equivalence in the eyes of the law. While this is certainly an overly simplistic explanation, the idea here is that a cultural shift allowed people in power to feel comfortable enough to change policy. However, this works both ways. While many white Americans did not and do not support the Civil Rights Act (1964), their behavior still changed; to comply with new laws, it legally had to. Overtime, it became culturally inappropriate – at least in public – to support the discrimination of people of color. This phenomenon will be discussed further as I discuss policy.

## Policy

Workplace policy is created by the leaders of the organization. Some may allow their employees to give their input, but ultimately the highest levels of organizational power in combination with legal teams and human resource teams are responsible for creating and maintaining workplace policy.

Policy determines how people view the organization and how employees and applicants are formally treated. Although cultural elements of the organization are more important for LGB employees' job attitudes (Snell, 2015), many LGB employees and researchers still feel that policy and legislation is a salient feature in the organization for securing LGB rights at work (Hollis, McCalla, 2013; Riley, 2008; Snell, 2015). Research supports this to be true; policy protecting LGB employees does change the way people behave during hiring (Barron, 2011; Barron & Hebl, 2013)

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act (1964) protects against discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. As of the 2020, the Civil Rights Act has not been amended to protect against discrimination based on sexual orientation. This is a frustration for many LGB employees (Pink-Harper & Davis, 2016; Ng, Schweitzer, & Lyons, 2012). It is important to note that this thesis was being written during the ruling of *Bostock v. Clayton County, Georgia* (2019), where the Supreme Court ruled that federal law protects LGB workers. While this is a historic case and bodes well for LGB employees, it is important to remember that a legal precedent is not the same as a civil rights amendment.

The court ruled that a person's gender expression is protected under Title VII. However, as the court changes, so could this decision. Lower courts are by no means obligated to interpret the law in the same manner. Additionally, litigation is expensive, which will affect the ability of LGB persons to take critical action in the case that they are discriminated against. Lastly, a legal precedent does not force companies to change their hiring policy in any way. Although some research speculates that the attention drawn to LGB protections by this lawsuit will make employers more aware of their responsibility to LGB professionals (Barron, 2011; Barron & Hebl, 2013). Policy awareness is something that I seek to define as important for reducing bias in the hiring process.

Two important inspirations for this study were the articles by Barron (2011) and Barron and Hebl (2013). In these articles researchers, took practical steps to improve the hiring process for LBG applicants based on policy awareness. This is important because so much of LGB employment research tells us a lot about theory, which is a very important part of research. However, it does not do much for making the experience of LGB applicants better. Barron (2011) presents evidence that randomly informing hiring managers about LGB antidiscrimination legislation causes a decrease in discrimination. Barron and Hebl (2013) expanded upon this study and found three-fold. There is more of an awareness of local sexual discrimination laws in cities which had workplace protections for LBG persons; LGB applicants experienced less discrimination in cities with these

laws; and LGB applicants still experience less discrimination when awareness is randomly assigned.

Researchers posit that outward compliance from enforcing LGB affirming policy will encourage the inward acceptance of the ideals overtime (Lloen & Parini, 2016; Madera, King, & Hebl, 2013). This is similar to the development of women and people of color entering the work force; a combination of policy change and a mainstreaming approach to LGB perspectives can help progress organizational inclusivity (Hollis & McCalla, 2013; Priola et. al., 2014). Brooks and Edwards (2009) suggest that human resource development professionals can be pioneers in leading the next Title VII amendment by being allies to LGB employees, educating the organization, advocating for LGB workers, supporting inclusive policy, and continuing to participate in research. Brooks and Edwards make noteworthy accounts of small steps toward inclusive organizational policy for LGB individuals, which are as follows: a written nondiscrimination article regarding sexual orientation and gender identity in the organizations contract; health insurance coverage for employees' same-sex domestic partners; a warning system and disciplinary measures to prevent heterosexism; mentoring and training programs on LGB equality and inclusion; recognition of and support for an LGB network or an LGB contact person within the company. Some US states have taken on the responsibility of creating laws explicitly prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, although many do not have any protections for this community (Williams Institute, 2019).

## Research Questions and Hypotheses

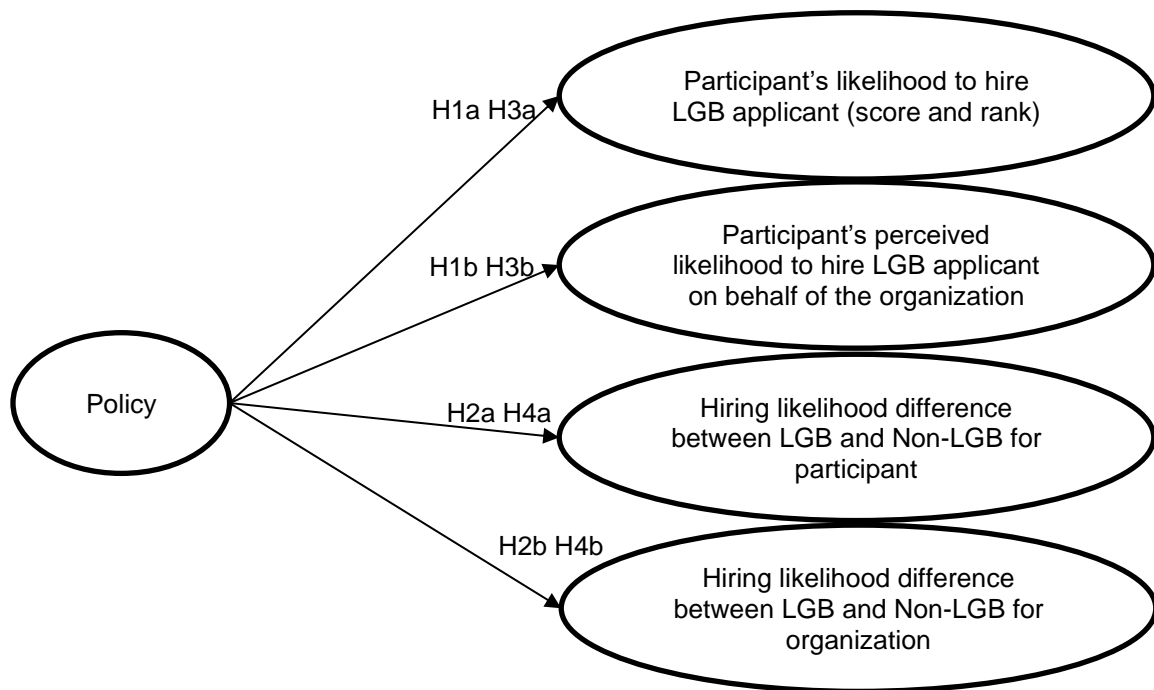
I sought to answer the question “Can emphasizing a particular policy change the belief about likelihood of hiring an LGB applicant?” Likelihood of hiring was based on two facets, each with two options. Participants both rated the applicants individually out of 100 and by rank ordering them as a group. They did this twice, once using their own opinions and again imagining they were making the decision on behalf of the organization. This study included both a gender and LGB identity component. In group A, participants compared resumes with traditionally female and gender-neutral names where half had an LGB identifier and half did not. In group B, participants compared resumes with traditionally male and gender-neutral names where half had an LGB identifier and half did not. Before being presented the resumes, participants were randomly assigned to read one of four hiring policy statements; from least protective to most protective of LGB employees, those policies were no statement, general labor rights, protections for sex and gender expression, and protections for LGB employees.

Resume studies have been used for decades to study hiring discrimination. Names which stereotypically sound Black or feminine are used to study at racial and gender discrimination (Carlsson & Eriksson, 2017; Chen, Ma, Hannak, & Wilson, 2018; Darolia et al., 2014; Oreopoulos, 2009). This makes between-subject studies simple, because all they have to do is change the name on the resume. In LGB studies, changing the name is not a salient indicator, so

the distinction between LGB and non-LGB resumes is achieved by assigning LGB stimuli to have LGB leadership experience or employment experience with a company who has some kind of LGB identifier in the name (Bailey, Wallace, & Wright, 2013; Cabacugan, Lee, Chaney, & Averett, 2019; Horvath & Ryan, 2003; Mishel, 2016; Tilcsik, 2011; Weichselbaumer, 2000). Similar to traditionally Black and feminine names, seeing an LGB indicator on a resume does not automatically identify that person as LGB. Supporting the LGB community through leadership and being a part of the LGB community are often assumed to be synonymous. While they are not, research has established that resumes which use Black names, feminine names, and LGB experience are useful indicators for finding discrimination in both laboratory environments and in real hiring scenarios.

The literature suggests that LGB applicants should have an improved chance of being hired after being exposed to anti-discrimination policy (Barron, 2011; Barron & Hebl, 2013). This study sought to replicate the findings of Barron and Hebl, who claim that anti-discrimination policy can directly influence behavior separate from cultural influence. It also expands on their work by including two types of anti-discrimination policies that aim to protect the LGB community, those being LBG and gender anti-discrimination policies. Additionally, this study was expanded to include two types of controls to better understand if any type of attention toward worker rights, like employee labor rights, is different than giving no attention to policy at all. The manipulations in the study were an attempt to

level the playing field between LGB and non-LGB applicants. Barron and Hebl (2013) suggest that this phenomenon is due to the symbolic nature of policy. Policy is a formal way of communicating what behaviors are acceptable. Therefore, even in circumstances where there is no or little penalty for acting in an unacceptable manner, knowing that a policy exists may encourage people to act in accordance with that policy. The following were the testable hypothesis for this study. The conceptual model can be found in Figure 1.



**Figure 1. Conceptual Model**

Note: The policies presented will be none, general labor rights, gender non-discrimination, and LGB non-discrimination. The resumes presented to participants will be identifiable as LGB or non-LGB.



### Likelihood of Hiring Scored out of 100

To test if the policy emphasized to a participant affected the participants likelihood of hiring an LGB applicants I developed four testable hypotheses based on scores out of 100. I first tested if the policy manipulation affected LGB applicant scores and then compared the scores to non-LGB applicants. Scoring resumes out of 100 was done individually, such that one resume was rated at a time.

Hypothesis 1a: Policy emphasis will predict individual scores of LGB applicants, such that the LGB protection policy group will rate LGB applicants higher than respondents in the other conditions.

Hypothesis 1b: Policy emphasis will predict organizational scores of LGB applicants, such that the LGB protection policy group will rate LGB applicants higher than respondents in the other conditions.

Hypothesis 2a: Policy emphasis will relate to differences in individual scores between LGB and Non-LGB applicants. Differences in hiring scores for LGB and Non-LGB applicants will be lowest in the LGB protections groups. The difference will be higher in the other conditions.

Hypothesis 2b: Policy emphasis will relate to differences in organizational scores between LGB and Non-LGB applicants. Differences in hiring scores for LGB and Non-LGB applicants will be lowest in the LGB protections groups. The difference will be higher in the other conditions.

The symbolism of a policy may be sufficient for a reduction in LGB discrimination at work. Regardless of consequences tied to compliance, Barron and Hebl (2013) suggest that being informed of a policy can change behavior, because the policy communicates a set of values.

#### Likelihood of Hiring Scored by Rank Order

To test if the policy emphasized to a participant affected the participants likelihood of hiring an LGB applicant I developed four testable hypotheses based on rank order. I first tested if the policy manipulation affected LGB applicant rank order then the average difference between rank.

Hypothesis 3a: Policy emphasis will predict individual's rank of LGB applicants, such that the LGB protection policy group will rank LGB applicants higher than respondents in the other conditions.

Hypothesis 3b: Policy emphasis will predict organization's rank of LGB applicants, such that the LGB protection policy group will rank LGB applicants higher than respondents in the other conditions.

Hypothesis 4a: There will be a difference in individual's rank average between LGB and Non-LGB applicants. Rank will be higher in the LGB protection condition than in all other conditions.

Hypothesis 4b: There will be a difference in organizational rank average between LGB and Non-LGB applicants. Rank will be higher in the LGB protection condition than in all other conditions.

### Gender X LGB Status X Policy

Barron and Hebl (2013), did account for gender in their study, but little was said about the results. Considering the different experiences between men and women in the LGB community, it is important to account for differences in results. Furthermore, this study included a gender ambiguous measure to reflect the experiences on non-binary individuals and those identifying in other ways outside of the gender binary. These results may become more important in future studies, when the identity of the organization is also considered.

Proposition 1a: There is a statistically significant difference in individual hiring score based on the policy emphasized, gender, and LGB status.

Proposition 1b: There is a statistically significant difference in organizational hiring score based on the policy emphasized, gender, and LGB status.

Proposition 2a: There is a statistically significant difference in individual hiring rank distribution based on the policy emphasized, gender, and LGB status.

Proposition 2b: There is a statistically significant difference in organizational hiring rank based on the policy emphasized, gender, and LGB status.

### Supplementary Analysis

To address potential confounds, I included measures which have been found to predict hiring behaviors toward LGB applicants. I planned to control for levels of heterosexism and cultural conservatism. Particularly in the case of hiring

on behalf of the organization, I additionally planned to control for the participants decision power in both the organization and their job role.

Proposition 3a: Policy emphasis will relate to differences in individual scores between LGB and Non-LGB applicants when controlling for heterosexism and cultural conservatism. Differences in hiring scores for LGB and Non-LGB applicants will be lowest in the LGB protections groups. The difference will be higher in the other conditions.

Proposition 3b: Policy emphasis will relate to differences in organizational scores between LGB and Non-LGB applicants when controlling for heterosexism, cultural conservatism, organizational decision power, and role decision power. Differences in hiring scores for LGB and Non-LGB applicants will be lowest in the LGB protections groups. The difference will be higher in the other conditions.

Proposition 4a: There will be a difference in individual's rank distribution between LGB and Non-LGB applicants when controlling for heterosexism and cultural conservatism. Rank will be randomly distributed in the LGB protection condition and rank will be systematically distributed in all other conditions.

Proposition 4b: There will be a difference in organizational rank distribution between LGB and Non-LGB applicants when controlling for heterosexism, cultural conservatism, organizational decision power, and role decision power. Rank will be randomly distributed in the LGB protection condition and rank will be systematically distributed in all other conditions.

## CHAPTER TWO

### METHODS

To explore the likelihood of hiring LGB applicants I conducted a 4x2x3 factorial mix-methods experiment. The first factor was the policy emphasis manipulation, where the conditions were no policy, general employee labor rights, gender non-discrimination policy, and LGB non-discrimination policy. The second factor was the assumed sexuality of the applicant manipulation, where the conditions were LGB and non-LGB. The third factor was the gender of the applicant, where the conditions were female, male, and ambiguous. Group A contained female (4 resumes) and neutral names (4 resumes), while group B contained male (4 resumes) and the same neutral names (4 resumes). A breakdown of this can be found in Table 2. I used within group methods to compare LGB applicants to non-LGB applicants, such that each group contained half LGB and half non-LGB applicants. Participants were randomly assigned to Group A or B. The policy presented to the participants was randomly assigned. I asked participants to score fake job applicants out of 100 and rank them by their likelihood to hire as an office manager at a family medical practice. Surveys were distributed online by Cloud Research using Qualtrics. Cloud Research is a participant-sourcing platform that uses mechanical Turk (M-Turk). Using a power analysis with an expected small effect, 300 participants were targeted for the study using a survey response platform. Following the experiment, participants

were asked to take a series of surveys measuring their heterosexism, social conservatism, job decision power, and organizational decision power. The study was estimated to take about 30 minutes. At the end, participants were notified of the deception and given material to find accurate information about their state laws regarding LGB employment policy.

### Participants

Three hundred twenty-one participants were sampled from Cloud Research, the M-Turk sourcing tool. Participants were removed from the data pool if they scored a 2 out of 5 or lower on the attention check questions or if they responded “I disagree” to the informed consent questions. After data cleaning, 243 participants remained. About 63.8% of participants identified as female, and 35% identified as male. Three participants (1.2%) identified as non-binary. Eighty-six percent of participants identified as straight or heterosexual. About 10.8% identified as some form of LGB, 3.3% identified another way. When asked how familiar they were with their local government’s employment policy as it relates to LGB employees, 26.7% responded that they were very familiar. About 42.8% identified somewhat familiar, and 30.5% identified as unfamiliar. Whites were the largest racial group represented at 71.38%, followed by those identifying as Black or African American (17.11%); 5.26% identified as Asian; 2.30% identified as American Indian or Alaska Native; 0.33% identified as Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander; and 3.62% of participants identified another way. Participants were randomly assigned to a policy condition and to see either

male/neutral or female/neutral resumes. After data cleaning, I confirmed that participants were still distributed by policy and gender at an approximately even rate across all conditions. Table 1 shows the job industry distribution of the participants. Note that only 2.1% of participants identified as Administrative Services and Support Services, which is the typically the industry related to hiring professionals. Hiring professionals can exist in any industry, but the exact position in the participant's organization was not requested.

Table 1. Industry Frequency Among Participants

Industry	Frequency	Percent
Accommodation and Food Services	5	2.1%
Administrative and Support Services	5	2.1%
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing, and Hunting	1	0.4%
Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation	4	1.6%
Construction	9	3.7%
Educational Services	12	4.9%
Finance and Insurance	12	4.9%
Government	4	1.6%
Health Care and Social Assistance	19	7.8%
Information	9	3.7%
Manufacturing	5	2.1%
Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services	2	0.8%
Real Estate and Rental & Leasing	1	0.4%
Retail Trade	9	3.7%
Transportation and Warehousing	2	0.8%
Utilities	1	0.4%
Wholesale Trade	1	0.4%
Other	43	17.7%
Student	17	7.0%
Unemployed	74	30.5%
Missing	8	3.3%

## Procedure

Participants were told they are participating in a study to evaluate the quality of resumes for an Office Manager position. All participants were given directions detailing the four ways in which they will rate applicants, as seen in the directions detailed below. This method uses a combination of methods from previous resume studies to capture the multiple ways employers may numerically evaluate a resume (Bailey, Wallace, & Wright, 2013; Cabacugan, Lee, Chaney, & Averett, 2019; Horvath & Ryan, 2003; Mishel, 2016; Tilcsik, 2011; Weichselbaumer, 2000).

In this study you will be asked to rate applicant resumes for the position of Office Manager at Charles Family Medical Practice. This position requires applicants have experience managing a large office, some experience in the medical field, a four-year relevant degree, and skills which will aid them in running a medical office. This study will take place in three major parts.

In the first part you will rate eight resumes individually out of 100, where 1 is a bad job fit (i.e., you are unlikely to hire this person) and 100 is a perfect job fit (i.e. you are very likely to hiring this person). You will be asked to complete these ratings twice. Once for your interpretation of the resume and once for how you feel your organization will perceive this resume.



In the second part you will rank order the same eight resumes as a group, where 8 is the best resume and 1 is the worst resume of the bunch. You will again, be asked to complete this rating twice. Once for your interpretation and once for how you feel your organization will perceive this resume.

In the third part you will complete a series of surveys which will help the researchers understand your decision making.

As part of these direction, participants were randomly assigned to be shown one of four protective policy emphasis conditions and led to believe that this is a policy in their location. This started with a video detailing the instruction and for participants to act as if they were a hiring manager. Video instructions were used as a COVID-19 precaution to avoid in person contact during this study. The addition of video instructions was chosen to approximate the effect of face-to-face interaction and direction delivery. This is the first instance where the policy manipulation was emphasized. A full transcript of this videos can be found in Appendix C. Following the video, participants also read the policies emphasized during the video as reinforcement. These prompts emphasized protections for LGB status (base and prompts 3), gender (base and prompts 2), general labor rights (base and prompt 1), or no prompt at all. They were presented in the following manner. Following the resume rating portion of the study, participants were asked to recall what policy was presented to them.

(Base) Because this activity asks you to make decisions about the likelihood of hiring various applicants, we want you to be able to make an informed decision based on local laws.

(1) The Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) is a law that governs standards for minimum wage, overtime pay, recordkeeping and child labor. The law applies to many full-time and part-time employees in the private sector and those who work for federal, state and local governments. It also applies to most businesses, since the basic requirements include employers who earn \$500,000 in annual sales or are engaged in interstate commerce, including sending mail to other businesses across state lines or using telephones and the internet for business purposes.

(2) Title VII prohibits an employer from treating you differently, or less favorably, because of your sex. Title VII also prohibits employment decisions based on stereotypes about the abilities and traits of a particular gender. EEOC interprets and enforces Title VII's prohibition of sex discrimination as forbidding any employment discrimination based on gender identity. Both men and women are protected from discrimination on the basis of sex under Title VII.

(3) The Fair Employment for All Act (FEAA) states that employers are prohibited from discriminating not only on the basis of an individual's actual sexual orientation but also what the employer perceives their sexual

orientation is. Sexual orientation may mean, but is not limited to, bisexuality, homosexuality, and heterosexuality. It also includes the perception that an individual has certain characteristics or if a person actually has the characteristics of a type of sexual orientation. Any adverse decision that an employer makes on the basis of a perceived sexual orientation or actual sexual orientation is considered to be illegal.

While a handful of studies have manipulated policy, their specific manipulations were not quoted in their publications (Barron, 2011; Barron & Hebl, 2013) leading me to develop those used in this study. All policy prompt in this study were developed based on existing US policy and with appropriate legal jargon in mind. Both general labor rights and no prompt at all were designed as controls. The latter was designed to capture the response of those who have not been prompted with any policy at all, while the former was designed to capture the responses of those who may be susceptible to any form of general equality principles. The policy used to prompt general labor rights is the Fair Labor Standards Act (1938). The policy used to prompt gender non-discrimination is Title VII of the Civil Rights Act (1964). The policy used to prompt LGB non-discrimination is modeled after the California Fair Employment and Housing Act (1959), with the specific wording being slightly altered to appear as if it more directly refers to LGB non-discrimination; for the purpose of this study, it was named the Fair Employment for All Act.

At the end of the study, participants were told that prompt 3 was a manipulation and may not be protected by their local or state government. They were given resources to be able to determine if their state does indeed protect LGB workers or not.

After seeing these prompts, the participants were randomly assigned to group A or group B. The gender and sexuality assigned to each resume can be found in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Resumes in Each Group and Their Assumed Gender and Sexuality

Group (between group)	Resume Number (within group)	Resume Name (F/M/N) (mixed model)	Sexuality (within group)
A (Female and Neutral Presenting Names)	1	Hannah Macdonald (F)	LGB
	2	Sadie Seymour (F)	Non-LGB
	3	Macy Rutledge (F)	LGB
	4	Ellen Wilks (F)	Non-LGB
	5	Sam Hill (N)	LGB
	6	Lee Holder (N)	Non-LGB
	7	Lane Madison (N)	LGB
	8	Sage Boyer (N)	Non-LGB
B (Male and Neutral Presenting Names)	1	Zachary Macdonald (M)	LGB
	2	Maxwell Seymour (M)	Non-LGB
	3	Emilio Rutledge (M)	LGB
	4	Nathanael Wilks (M)	Non-LGB
	5	Sam Hill (N)	LGB
	6	Lee Holder (N)	Non-LGB
	7	Lane Madison (N)	LGB
	8	Sage Boyer (N)	Non-LGB

Each gender category (female, male, and neutral) was represented four times. Names were chosen by the researcher and generated using a random name generator with a gender toggle. This generator used common US names. This method was used to avoid any personal bias of the researcher in determining names that are exclusively male, exclusively female, and gender ambiguous names. A generated name was regenerated if there was any subjective concern on the behalf of the researchers that the name did not distinctly fit into only one gender group. LGB status was represented eight times. And each resume was represented once per group. For example, the resume titled Hannah Macdonald and the resume titled Zachary Macdonald is the same LGB resume, but with the name changed. Resume stimuli can be found in Appendix A.

### Resume Development

Resumes were created by the researcher for the purpose of this study, because I could not find any publicly posted resumes models which addressed discrimination based on sexuality. Additionally, little information was found regarding the design process of complete resumes in the literature. While much of the research details the specific manipulation, no studies were found which explained how researchers designed the entire resume to look believable (formatting choices, relevant job experience, etc.). Gender discrimination studies typically are designed by only changing the name of the resume (Carlsson & Eriksson, 2017; Chen, Ma, Hannak, & Wilson, 2018; Darolia et al., 2014;

Oreopoulos, 2009), and LGB discrimination studies typically change only the organization name or description (Bailey, Wallace, & Wright, 2013; Cabacugan, Lee, Chaney, & Averett, 2019; Horvath & Ryan, 2003; Mishel, 2016; Tilcsik, 2011; Weichselbaumer, 2000). Both were design choices implemented into these resumes. All other design choices were made with the intent of neutrality and equality across stimuli. In order to make the resumes seem complete, every resume included a name, contact information, four to six years of medical office familiarity with relevant experience listed, two years of non-medical office manager familiarity with relevant experience, four years of college education, and two examples of leadership experiences. All resumes follow the same general formatting with slight changes. For example, resumes vary by left, right, or center alignment of the name and contact information and by headings as bold or italicized. Formatting changes were deemed useful after a trial run of reading the resumes subjectively felt boring and repetitive. After slightly changing the formatting, each resume felt more realistically unique without having to change the content of the resume.

Four random female, male, and neutral names were generated for the top of each resume. All resumes were given four to six years of office manager experience in a related medical field (dentistry, dermatology, etc.). Tasks found on the O\*Net job description for “Medical and Health Services Managers” were randomized and listed to describe the four to six-year jobs. Two years of non-medical experience was used as the LGB manipulation, such that some resumes

use a name signifying that the organization serves an LGB population by using words like “Pride” and “LGBT.” Tasks found on the O\*Net job description for “Office Manager” went through the same randomization process and were listed to describe the two-year job. In all cases the two-year job started in the last semester of a four-year university degree. All schools listed are a “University of” school and all majors are related to office management. Resumes are formatted similarly to avoid the effect of formatting. The LGB manipulation was also emphasized using a Leadership section on the resumes. All resumes listed two forms of non-job-related leadership experiences. The LGB resumes listed LGB organizations here.

In part 1, the participant was asked to rate the applicants twice out of 100; once for the participant’s likelihood to hire the applicant and once for their perceptions of their organization’s likelihood of hiring the applicant. In part 2, they were asked to rank the applicants in their preferred hiring order twice, once for the participant’s preferred rank and once for their perceptions of their organization’s preferred rank. In part 3, the participants were asked to take various surveys regarding their heterosexism, cultural conservatism, decision power in their organization, and decision power in their roles.

### Outcome Variables

Likelihood to hire was assessed using four methods. (1) Participants scored each applicant between 1 and 100, where 100 means that this is the perfect candidate. They will do this as if they have ultimate hiring authority. (2)

Participants also scored each applicant between 1 and 100 on behalf of their organization. (3) Participants gave their preferred rank of the resumes from most likely to least likely to hire. (4) They also gave a rank order of their organization's hiring order. The individual versus organizational measure may represent a difference in confidence for LGB resumes as qualified. They individual may feel the applicant is qualified but not be comfortable recommending them to the organization. The score versus rank measure allowed for participants to communicate likelihood to hire by using two commonly used organizational hiring methods.

### Surveys

A full item description of each scale be found in Appendix B.

#### Heterosexism

Modern Lesbian Homophobia Scale. The modern lesbian homophobia scale reflects the participants degree of heterosexism and homophobia toward lesbian women. This scale uses 24 items and asks participants to rate their agreement with statements related to lesbian women. For example, a reverse coded item is "Movies that approve of female homosexuality bother me." Support is based on a 5-point Likert rating, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). A high score would indicate a weak tendency for homophobia towards lesbian women (Raja & Stokes, 1998).

Modern Gay Homophobia Scale. The modern gay homophobia scale reflects the participants degree of heterosexism and homophobia toward gay



men. This scale uses 22 items and asks participants to rate their agreement with statements related to gay men. For example, a reverse coded item is “Gay men could be heterosexual if they really wanted to be.” Support is based on a 5-point Likert rating, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). A high score would indicate a weak tendency for homophobia towards gay men (Raja & Stokes, 1998).

### Social and Economic Conservatism Scale (SECS)

SECS is a 12-item scale which reflects how conservative an individual may be. This scale asks participants to rate how positive or negative they view a word between 1 and 10, where 1 is very negative and 10 is very positive. For example, the participant will be presented with the word “Religion.” A high score of would indicate they feel positively toward religion, and this would suggest an affinity for conservatism (Everett, 2013).

### Decision Power in Job Role

To measure decision power in a job role, I adapted the Job Content Questionnaire – Decision Authority (Karasek, Brisson, Kawakami, Houtman, & Bongers, 1998) to specify the items as they relate to the individual’s role. These items are rated using a 5-point Likert scale, where 1 is strongly disagree and 5 is strongly agree. The adapted items read as follows:

My role allows me to make my own decisions.

I have a great deal of decision-making freedom as it relates to my own role.

My role allows me to have a lot of say in what I personally decide to do.

### Decision Power in Organization

To measure decision power in the organization, I adapted the Job Content Questionnaire – Decision Authority (Karasek, Brisson, Kawakami, Houtman, & Bongers, 1998). to specify the items as they relate to the individual's organizational power. These items are rated using a 5-point Likert scale, where 1 is strongly disagree and 5 is strongly agree. The adapted items read as follows:

I have the power to make organization wide decisions.

I have a great deal of decision-making freedom as it relates to the entire organization.

I have a lot of say in decision affecting the organization.

### Attention Check

Five attention questions were distributed through the study. The questions matched the format of the section. For example, in a question set asking the participant to select “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree,” the attention check would be “please select agree.” In a question set asking the participant to rate their response from 1 to 10, the attention check would be “please select 10.” The participant's data was not used in the analysis if they could not pass with a 3 or higher.

### Demographics

Demographics were collected at the end of the study, specifically gender, sexuality, race, age, and nondiscrimination policy familiarity. Excluding policy

familiarity, there are no specific hypotheses about these demographics, although they were included to examine the focal relationships with and without the demographics as controls.

### Analysis

ANCOVA was used to analyze hypotheses 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, 4a, and 4b. Hypotheses labeled as “a” concern scores related to individuals and those labeled as “b” concern scores related to the organization. In these analyses the independent variable was the policy manipulation, and the dependent variables were the scores of only LGB resumes (1a and 1b), the score difference between the LGB and non-LGB resumes (2a and 2b), and the rank difference between LGB and non-LGB resumes (4a and 4b). Chi Squared test of independence was used to test hypotheses 3a and 3b. In these Chi Squared tests I compare the average rank of LGB applicants as top half or bottom half to the policy presented to the participant. These analyses were conducted using SPSS, version 27. In all of these analyses I’ve controlled for the participant’s gender, sexuality, and policy awareness.

Propositions 1a, 1b, 2a, and 2b were analyzed using three-way factorial ANOVA, where policy, resume gender, and resume LGB status are used as independent variables. In P1a and P1b, resume score is the dependent variable. In P2a and P2b, resume rank is the dependent variable. Propositions 3a, 3b, 4a, and 4b were analyzed using linear regression, where the independent variable is policy (dummy coded against the no prompt group), and the

dependent variable is the difference score between LGB and non-LGB resumes (3a and 3b) and the difference rank between LGB and non-LGB resumes (4a and 4b). In Proposition 3a and 4a, heterosexism and conservatism are controls. In Propositions 3b and 4b, heterosexism, conservatism, role power, and organization power are controls.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESULTS

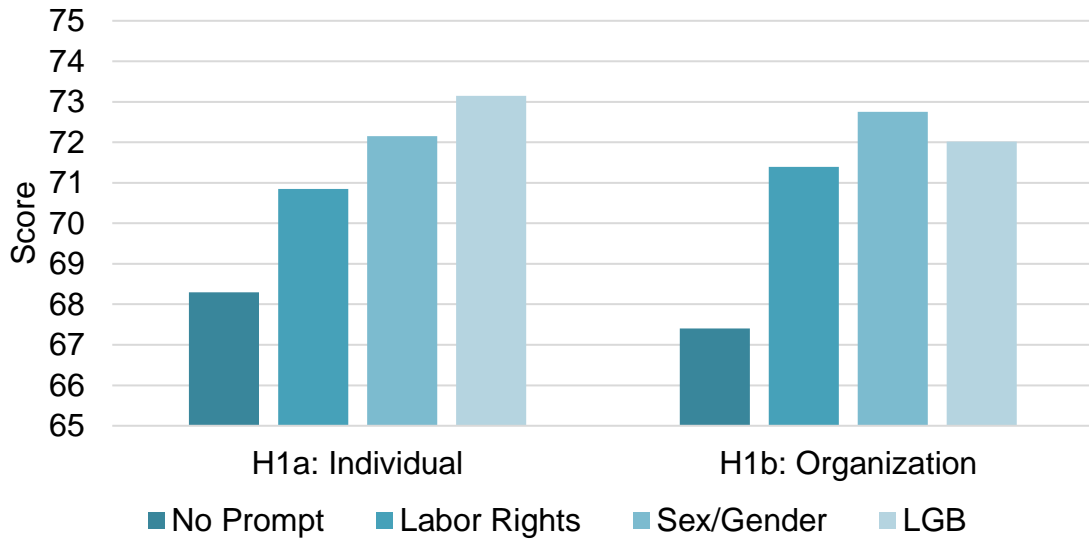
#### Scores of LGB Resumes and Difference Between LGB and Non-LGB

To test hypotheses 1a, 1b, 2a, and 2b, I conducted a one way within-subjects ANCOVA to determine if the policy presented before scoring affected resume scores (none, employee labor rights, gender non-discrimination, and LGB non-discrimination). In all cases, there were no statistically significant mean differences in resume scores as a result of policy when controlling for participant's gender, sexuality, and policy awareness. There were no statistically significant difference in how the individual personally scored LGB resumes based on the policy,  $F(3, 238) = 0.72, p > 0.05$  (H1a). There were no statistically significant difference in how the perceived organization scored LGB resumes based on the policy,  $F(3, 238) = 0.98, p > 0.05$  (H1b). While non-significant, in H1a and H1b, LGB scores trended higher for the sex/gender and LGB nondiscrimination policies than the two controls (as seen in the means found in Table A). There were no statistically significant difference in the differences between LGB and Non-LGB resume scores for individuals based on the policy,  $F(3, 238) = 1.40, p > 0.05$  (H2a). There were no statistically significant difference in the differences between LGB and Non-LGB resume scores for the perceived organization based on the policy,  $F(3, 238) = 0.17, p > 0.05$  (H2b). With regards to H2a and H2b, while still non-significant, the difference between LGB and non-LGB scores followed a different and unexpected trend. The greatest difference

between LGB and non-LGB scores was seen for those in the no prompt and Sex/Gender prompt groups, favoring non-LGB resumes. The most advantageous policy prompt for LGB resumes was the LGB non-discrimination policy, which was the only group where LGB resumes were favored. See Table 3 for means and standard deviations from each analysis discussed here. These results are graphically represented in Figures 2 and 3.

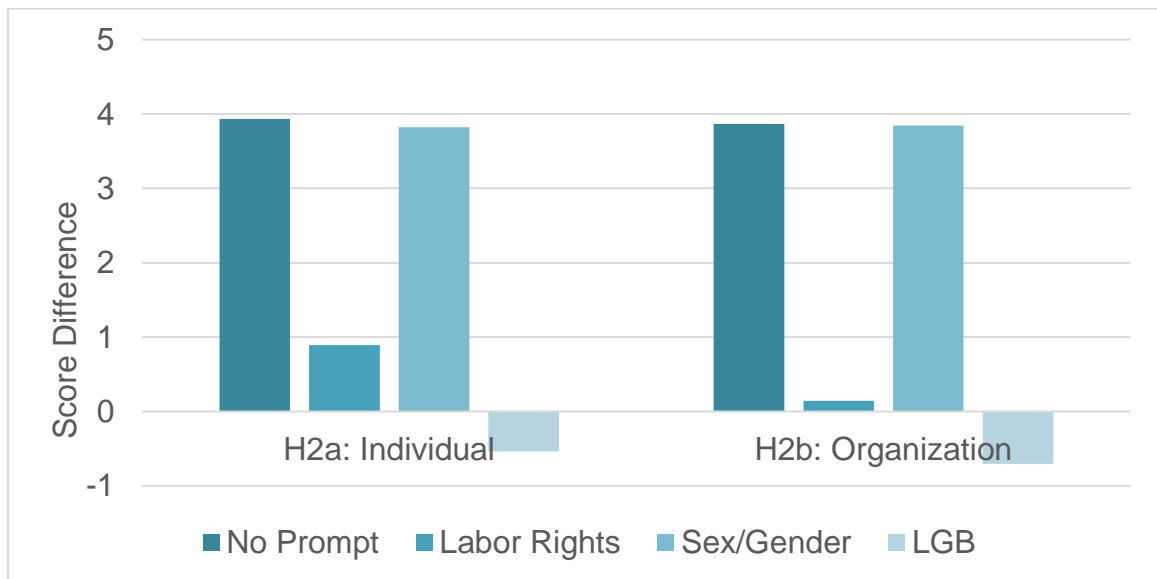
Table 3. Means, Standard Deviations, and Sample Size for Hypotheses 1a, 1b, 2a, and 2b

Policy Condition	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>
H1a: LGB Score – Individual			
No Prompt	68.30	20.87	64
Labor Right	70.85	18.24	57
Sex/Gender	72.40	19.86	58
LGB	73.15	20.93	63
Total	71.14	20.02	242
H1b: LGB Score - Organization			
No Prompt	67.40	19.57	64
Labor Right	71.39	16.62	57
Sex/Gender	72.75	19.44	58
LGB	72.02	20.52	63
Total	70.83	19.14	242
H2a: Difference Score - Individual			
No Prompt	3.93	16.88	64
Labor Right	0.89	10.88	57
Sex/Gender	3.82	18.61	58
LGB	-0.54	10.72	63
Total	2.03	14.74	242
H2b: Difference Score - Organization			
No Prompt	3.87	16.20	64
Labor Right	0.14	8.95	57
Sex/Gender	3.84	18.42	58
LGB	-0.71	12.39	63
Total	1.80	14.54	242



**Figure 2. LGB Resume Scores**

Note: There were no statistically significant difference in how the individual personally scored LGB resumes based on the policy,  $F(3, 238) = 0.72, p > 0.05$  (H1a). There was no statistically significant difference in how the perceived organization score.



**Figure 3. Score Difference Between LGB and Non-LGB Resume**

Note: There were no statistically significant difference in the differences between LGB and Non-LGB resume scores for individuals based on the policy,  $F(3, 238) = 1.40, p > 0.05$  (H2a). There were no statistically significant differences in the difference.

### Rank of LGB and Non-LGB Resumes

To test hypotheses 3a and 3b, I conducted a Chi Squared Test of Independence to determine if the policy presented affected the LGB rank for individuals (H3a) or the organization (H3b). In order to process this, I averaged the rank order of each resume in the LGB and the non-LGB category. For each participant and LGB category, this average was converted to a top half candidate or bottom half candidate identifier, such that all participants either rated the LGB resumes in the top half (scored as 1) or the bottom half (scored as 2) on average. There was no statistically significant relationship between the policy presented and the average placement of LGB and non-LGB resumes in the top or bottom half of candidates when controlling for the gender, sexuality, or policy awareness of the participant.

To test hypotheses 4a and 4b, I conducted a one way within-subjects ANCOVA to determine if the policy presented affected the difference in average rank between LGB and non-LGB resumes for the individual (H4a) and organization (H4b). For the individual, there was no statistically significant mean difference in the average difference in rank between LGB and non-LGB applicants based on the policy presented,  $F(3, 220) = 0.88, p > 0.05$ . However, the covariate of participant sexuality was significant in this case,  $F(1, 220) = 4.22, p < 0.05$ . Descriptive statistics for the analysis can be found in Table 4. This result may be due to the disproportionate amount of LGB to non-LGB



participants. While this power concern cannot be fully addressed within the already collected sample, a slightly improved perspective can be gained by combining the LGB groups and comparing their rank difference results to the straight/heterosexual group. “I want to identify another way” was not included in the follow up ANOVA. There was a statistically significant mean difference in average rank difference between LGB ( $M = 0.90$ ,  $SD = 1.72$ ) and non-LGB applicants ( $M = -0.26$ ,  $SD = 1.79$ ), where those identifying as non-LGB on average favored non-LGB applicants,  $F(1, 217) = 9.31$ ,  $p < 0.05$ . LGB individuals may be less likely to see LGB resume indicators as a deterrent for hiring. For the organization, there was no statistically significant mean difference between policy presented and the average difference in rank between LGB and non-LGB applicants,  $F(3, 217) = 0.70$ ,  $p > 0.05$ .

Table 4. Individual Rank Difference by Sexuality

Sexuality	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>
Lesbian	0.20	1.20	5
Gay	2.40	1.52	5
Bisexual	0.63	1.72	15
Straight or heterosexual	-0.26	1.79	194
I identify another way	0.06	1.88	8

Note: Positive means represent a favor for LGB resumes, while negative means represent a favor for non-LGB resumes.

## Propositions

To test propositions 1a and 1b, I conducted a three-way ANOVA to determine if policy, resume gender, and LGB status affect the individual (P1a) and organization (P1b) score. In a model that contains policy and resume gender which evaluated the individual's scoring, there was a statistically significant difference in resume scores based on LGB status  $F(1, 234) = 4.67, p < 0.05$ , which were LGB ( $M = 71.14, SD = 20.02$ ) and non-LGB ( $M = 73.17, SD = 17.60$ ). There were no other significant predictors or interactions in this model. In a model that contains policy and resume gender which evaluated organizational scoring, there was a statistically significant difference in resume scores based on LGB status  $F(1, 234) = 4.17, p < 0.05$ , where LGB resumes ( $M = 70.83, SD = 19.14$ ) were scored lower than non-LGB resumes ( $M = 72.62, SD = 17.69$ ). The interaction between policy and resume gender was also found to be a significant predictor in this model,  $F(3, 234) = 4.13, p < 0.01$ . Notably, resumes with male names received higher scores than those with female names when exposed to the sex and gender non-discrimination policy in all policy conditions except no policy, as seen in Figure 4.

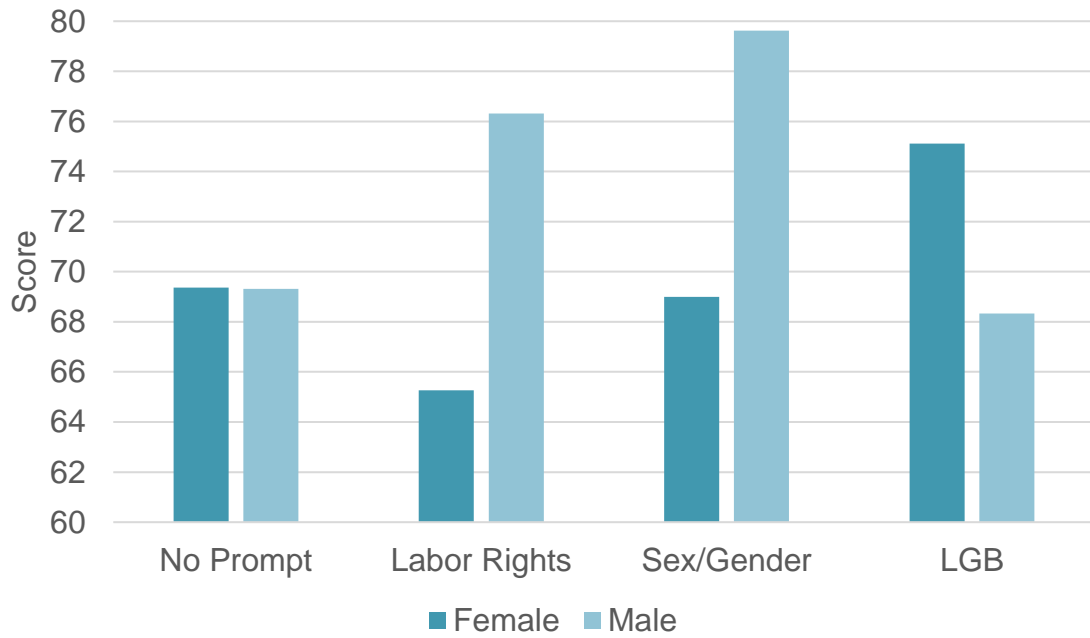


Figure 4. Average Individual Resume Score by Gender and Policy

To test proposition 2a and 2b, I conducted a three-way mixed design ANOVA to determine if policy, resume gender, and LGB status affected the average rank order of the resumes for individuals (P2a) and the organization (P2b). Policy and gender were between subject variables, while LGB status was analyzed within subjects. In both cases policy, resume gender, and LGB Status were not significant predictors of rank order, nor were there any interactions among the variables, as seen in Table 5. Descriptive statistics can be found in Table 6.

Table 5. Proposition 2a and 2b Source Table

Source	Individual		Organizational	
	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>
<b>Within-Subject Effects</b>				
LGB Status	1	4.67	1	4.17
LGB Status * Policy	3	1.45	3	1.81
LGB Status * Gender	1	0.99	1	3.07
LGB Status * Policy * Gender	3	1.20	3	1.53
Error	234		234	
<b>Between-Subject Effects</b>				
Policy	3	0.63	3	0.95
Gender	1	3.07	1	3.01
Policy * Gender	3	4.18	3	4.13
Error	234		234	

Note: \* $p < .05$

To test propositions 3a and 3b, I conducted mixed design ANOVA to determine if policy affected the difference in score between LGB and non-LGB resumes for individuals when controlling for heterosexism and social conservatism (P3a) and the organization when controlling for heterosexism, social conservatism, role power, and organization power (P3b). The between subject factor was the policy condition. In p3a the within subject factors were heterosexism and social conservatism, and in p4b the within subject factors were the aforementioned with the addition of role power and organization power. There was no statistically significant difference in the difference score between individual LGB and non-LGB resumes based on the policy presented when controlling for heterosexism or social conservatism,  $F(3, 235) = 1.45, p > 0.05$ .

Table 6. Means and Standard Deviations by Resume LGB Status, Policy, and Gender for Individual and Organization

	Policy	Gender	Individual			Organization		
			<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>
LGB Score	No Prompt	Female	67.70	22.71	36	67.33	20.88	36
		Male	69.07	18.64	28	67.50	18.12	28
		Total	68.30	20.87	64	67.40	19.57	64
	Labor Rights	Female	65.36	18.78	25	64.70	17.35	25
		Male	75.13	16.87	32	76.62	14.20	32
		Total	70.85	18.24	57	71.39	16.62	57
	Sex/Gender	Female	63.84	20.97	27	64.35	20.85	27
		Male	79.85	15.64	31	80.07	14.91	31
		Total	72.40	19.86	58	72.75	19.44	58
	LGB	Female	77.20	21.23	31	75.29	21.28	31
		Male	69.23	20.19	32	68.85	19.56	32
		Total	73.15	20.93	63	72.02	20.52	63
	Total	Female	68.81	21.52	119	68.18	20.52	119
		Male	73.41	18.25	123	73.39	17.41	123
		Total	71.14	20.02	242	70.83	19.14	242
Non- LGB Score	No Prompt	Female	72.53	17.94	36	71.39	17.51	36
		Male	71.85	14.49	28	71.12	15.97	28
		Total	72.23	16.39	64	71.27	16.73	64
	Labor Rights	Female	65.95	20.31	25	65.82	19.10	25
		Male	76.27	14.22	32	76.01	15.35	32
		Total	71.74	17.76	57	71.54	17.68	57
	Sex/Gender	Female	71.79	15.00	27	73.63	13.82	27
		Male	80.08	15.49	31	79.19	17.30	31
		Total	76.22	15.69	58	76.60	15.89	58
	LGB	Female	75.81	19.12	31	74.93	19.70	31
		Male	69.51	21.01	32	67.81	19.87	32
		Total	72.61	20.19	63	71.32	19.95	63
	Total	Male	71.83	18.26	119	71.65	17.80	119
		Female	74.47	16.91	123	73.56	17.60	123
		Total	73.17	17.60	242	72.62	17.69	242

Nor were there any statistically significant difference in the organizational difference score between LGB and non-LGB resumes based on the policy

presented when controlling for heterosexism or social conservatism,  $F(3, 159) = 1.73, p > 0.05$ . Table 7 shows the descriptive statistics for both individual and organizational difference scores.

Table 7. Descriptive Statistics for Differences Between LGB and Non-LGB Scores by Policy

Policy Condition	Individual			Organizational		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>
No Prompt	3.93	16.88	64	2.85	15.68	42
Labor Rights	0.89	10.88	57	0.34	9.69	43
Sex/Gender	3.82	18.61	58	6.27	20.88	37
LGB	-0.54	10.72	63	-1.18	9.46	46

To test proposition 4a and 4b, I conducted mixed design ANOVA to determine if policy affected the difference in average rank between LGB and non-LGB resumes for individuals when controlling for heterosexism and social conservatism (P4a) and the organization when controlling for heterosexism, social conservatism, role power, and organization power (P4b). The between subject factor was the policy condition. In p4a the within subject factors were heterosexism and social conservatism, and in p4b the within subject factors were the aforementioned with the addition of role power and organization power. There was no statistically significant difference in the difference in average rank between individual LGB and non-LGB resumes based on the policy presented

when controlling for heterosexism or social conservatism,  $F(3, 220) = 1.35, p > 0.05$ . Nor were there any statistically significant difference in the organizational difference in average rank between LGB and non-LGB resumes based on the policy presented when controlling for heterosexism or social conservatism,  $F(3, 217) = 0.67, p > 0.05$ . Table 8 shows the descriptive statistics for both individual and organizational rank differences.

Table 8. Descriptive Statistics for Average Differences Between LGB and Non-LGB Rank by Policy

Policy Condition	Individual			Organizational		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>
No Prompt	-0.43	1.79	60	-0.30	1.83	62
Labor Rights	0.11	1.77	54	-0.08	1.84	49
Sex/Gender	-0.27	1.78	55	-0.35	1.66	55
LGB	0.15	1.88	63	0.14	1.77	58

#### Follow Up and Exploratory Hypotheses

I followed up the planned analysis by conducting a two-way factorial ANCOVA, where the independent variables were resume LGB status and the policy condition. The dependent variable was individual resume score. In the first of two analyses I used all eight resumes and in the second of the analyses I only used the first four resumes. Resumes one through four were explicitly labeled as male or female names. Resumes five through eight were intended as gender

neutral names. In both the eight resume and four resume analyses, there were no significant differences in individual scores based on the policy presented, the LGB status of the resume, or the interaction. In the eight resume analysis, LGB status and the control of policy familiarity interacted to significantly affect resume scores,  $F(1, 235) = 4.24, p < 0.05$ . Marginal means indicate that those who are somewhat familiar with LGB employment policy rated LGB resumes as highest, as seen in Table 9.

Table 9. LGB and Non-LGB Resume Scores by Policy in Eight and Four Resume Analysis

	Policy	Eight Resumes			Four Resumes		
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>
LGB	No Prompt	68.30	20.87	64	66.20	22.61	64
	Labor Rights	70.85	18.24	57	70.42	19.05	57
	Sex/Gender	72.40	19.86	58	71.59	21.79	58
	LGB	73.15	20.93	63	72.52	22.08	63
Non-LGB	No Prompt	72.23	16.40	64	69.85	19.05	64
	Labor Rights	71.74	17.76	57	72.24	18.46	57
	Sex/Gender	76.22	15.70	58	73.70	18.23	58
	LGB	72.62	20.19	63	71.62	21.62	63

A Paired Samples T-Test confirmed there was a difference found between the LGB and Non-LGB resume scores for the individual personally scoring the resumes ( $t(241) = -2.14, p < 0.05$ ), but there was not a significant difference when rating based on the perceived organizational scores ( $t(241) = -1.92, p >$



0.05). This can be seen represented as a source table in Table 10. While these were not predicted hypothesis, they were an essential assumption going into this experiment.

Table 10. Paired Sample T-Test Comparing LGB and Non-LGB Scores for Individuals and the Organization

	M	SD	St. Error	Lower 95% CI	Upper 95% CI	t	df	Sig (2-tailed)
Individual	-2.03	14.74	0.95	-3.90	-0.16	-2.14	241	.03*
Organization	-1.80	12.54	0.94	-3.64	0.05	-1.92	241	.06

### Correlations

Correlations can be found in Table 11.1 and 11.2. LGB Resumes Scores were significantly and negatively related to both Lesbian (individual  $r = -0.31$ ,  $r^2 = 0.10$ ; organizational  $r = -0.22$ ,  $r^2 = 0.05$ ) and Gay (individual  $r = -0.26$ ,  $r^2 = 0.07$ ; organizational  $r = -0.16$ ,  $r^2 = 0.03$ ) heterosexism, such that as levels of each type of heterosexism increase, LGB Resumes Scores decrease. There was also a significant negative relationship between LGB Scores – Individual and Role Power, such that as an individual had more power in their job role, they also individually gave lower scores to LGB Resumes ( $r = -0.17$ ,  $r^2 = 0.03$ ). A similar negative relationship was found between LGB Scores – Organizational and both Role Power ( $r = -0.17$ ,  $r^2 = 0.03$ ) and Organizational Power ( $r = -0.19$ ,  $r^2 = 0.04$ ),

such that as Role and Organizational Power increase, LGB Resume Scores – Organizational decrease. The LGB Policy manipulation was generally unsuccessful, but there was one significant negative relationship found with the individual ranking. When comparing the LGB Policy group to the no policy group, those in the LGB policy group were more likely to rate the LGB individuals in the top half of applicants (scored as 1),  $r = -0.14$ ,  $r^2 = 0.02$ .

Table 11.1 Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Labor Rights v No Policy (Policy Dummy Code)	0.23	0.42							
2. Gender v No Policy (Policy Dummy Code)	0.24	0.43	-0.31**						
3. LGB v No Policy (Policy Dummy Code)	0.26	0.44	-0.33**	-.34**					
4. Resume Gender (1 Female/Neutral, 2 Male/Neutral)	1.51	0.50	0.06	0.03	0.01				
5. Lesbian Heterosexism	57.24	21.40	0.11	0.01	-0.14*	0.06			
6. Gay Heterosexism	49.19	22.99	0.13*	-0.02	-0.08	0.12	0.90**		
7. Social Conservatism	47.56	16.62	0.03	0.07	-0.07	0.08	0.38**	0.40**	
8. Power in Role	7.86	4.56	-0.11	0.03	0.02	-0.03	0.08	-0.02	-0.13
9. Power in Organization	11.54	5.91	-0.16*	0.02	0.03	-0.09	-0.21**	-0.3**	-0.10
10. LGB Score - Individual	71.14	20.02	-0.01	0.04	0.06	0.12	-0.31**	-0.26**	0.03
11. LGB Score - Organization	70.83	19.14	0.02	0.06	0.04	0.14*	-0.22**	-0.16*	0.10
12. LGB Rank - Individual (1 Top Half, 2 Bottom Half)	1.56	0.50	-0.05	0.06	-0.14*	0.08	0.10	0.09	0.12
13. LGB Rank - Organization (1 Top Half, 2 Bottom Half)	1.55	0.50	-0.02	0.01	-0.10	0.01	0.06	0.05	-0.02
14. Score Difference - Individual	2.03	14.74	-0.04	0.07	-0.10	-0.07	0.31**	0.30**	0.17**
15. Score Difference - Organization	1.80	14.54	-0.06	0.08	-0.10	-0.11	0.19**	0.17**	0.12
16. Rank Difference - Individual	-0.12	1.81	0.07	-0.05	0.09	-0.07	-0.13	-0.12	-0.12
17. Rank Difference - Organization	4.57	0.89	-0.02	0.06	-0.10	0.04	0.09	0.07	0.07

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 11.2 Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations

Variables	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Labor Rights v No Policy (Policy Dummy Code)									
2. Gender v No Policy (Policy Dummy Code)									
3. LGB v No Policy (Policy Dummy Code)									
4. Resume Gender (1 Female/Neutral, 2 Male/Neutral)									
5. Lesbian Heterosexism									
6. Gay Heterosexism									
7. Social Conservatism									
8. Power in Role									
9. Power in Organization	0.49**								
10. LGB Score - Individual	-0.17*	-							
11. LGB Score - Organization	-0.17*	0.14	0.91**						
12. LGB Rank - Individual (1 Top Half, 2 Bottom Half)	-0.02	0.16*	-0.06	-0.03					
13. LGB Rank - Organization (1 Top Half, 2 Bottom Half)	0.04	0.06	-0.08	-0.10	0.47**				
14. Score Difference - Individual	0.02	0.01	-0.52**	-0.41**	0.19**	0.14*			
15. Score Difference - Organization	0.04	0.04	-0.43**	-0.48**	0.13	0.16*	0.84**		
16. Rank Difference - Individual	0.01	-	0.07	0.04	-0.81**	-0.45**	-0.22**	-0.19**	
17. Rank Difference - Organization	0.00	0.11	-0.11	-0.09	0.42**	0.80**	0.27**	0.26**	-0.50**

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to determine if LGB applicants have an improved chance of being hired after participants were exposed to anti-discrimination policy. The implication being that if supported, non-discrimination policy would be sufficient in improving the likelihood of hiring LGB applicants regardless of the larger cultural context. Results indicates that the push for non-discrimination policy is more a legal formality than a helpful tactic in discrimination reduction. If the results found are a true indication that policy has no effect on changing how resumes are evaluated, then this is an important finding. LGB advocates have been fighting civil rights battles for decades, but discrimination is still ever present. This shows that advocates may have better luck by pushing for further culture change as opposed to continuing the fight for legal equality. Furthermore, those in the gender non-discrimination group, while not significant, did trend toward favoring non-LGB resumes. This could indicate that Title VII is not as effective at protecting the LGB community as it is made out to be. A formalized policy protecting LGB employees at work will allow for LGB employees to win discrimination cases, but it may do little in the way of deterring that long, expensive process from occurring in the first place. That said, it does indicate that LGB advocates might want to focus their full attention on a cultural shift and not waste resources on equality policy until it is more welcomed.

It should be noted that neither research inspirations for this study (Barron, 2011; Barron & Hebl, 2013) support these results at face value. This could be caused by changed methods or modifications due to COVID-19. Because of such changes, this study is not a true replication. For example, null results could be due to the lack of a face-to-face component, which is often present in real world hiring scenarios. In a real organization there would be various social dynamics at play that were not mimicked in this study. Furthermore, when policy is disseminated in a statement, like it was in this study, it might not have the same effect as when organizations use their actions to display policy or even when they make comparable changes to policy. The methods used here were designed to approximate a policy reminder, but there is little to no fidelity to the real world (like would happen in a face-to-face setting). Null results may indicate hypotheses are wrong, but this could also lend support to Barron and Hebl's tangential ideas on social dynamics and a need for face-to-face interaction in selection.

Policy was not found to affect rating. This suggests that instead of using policy to guide their decision, the participants were using their own heuristics to make decisions in a way that is resistant to outside direction. This supports the idea that culture may be more of a driving factor for behavior than policy. In real world hiring scenarios, resume screeners may not be supervised and therefore may not feel pressured to follow policy which may not agree with their personal beliefs. It could also be argued that the stakes were not high enough.

Understanding the stakes of a study has been shown to increase the external validity (Glasgow et al., 2006). While the directions told applicants to imagine they were making these decisions for the organization, the directions also emphasized that they should be honest. In an instance where the participant personally felt an LGB resume was inferior (despite there being not true quality differences) and there are no consequences for lower ratings, I suspect they rated based on their honest reaction to LGB resumes experience as opposed to their reaction to the non-discrimination policy. One study supports this by showing that those who are internally motivated to act without prejudice less likely to discriminate when presented the opportunity compared to those who are externally motivated (Plant & Devine, 1998). Furthermore, the US has begun to make great strides in LGB-nondiscrimination legislation, and yet there still exists a discrepancy in hiring. I point this out to highlight the fact that there may be a critical element missing from this study which could have led to behavior change – time. While some behavior changes can be quick and need minimal prompting, behaviors which are supported by a foundation build on discrimination are not so easy to change by asking briefly for respect (Bamberg & Verkuyten, 2021).

One of the few significant findings of this study was that individuals rated LGB resumes lower than non-LGB resumes. This suggest that to some degree people may be ignoring policy they do not support, in which case this study did accurately detect this phenomenon. However, it is still unclear how these results measure up to a real work environment. It may be that when presenting hiring

professionals with non-discrimination policy, they pay more attention or have a better understanding of what it means. Those who have a better understanding of the real-world phenomenon being simulated in a research study are more likely to behave in the study as they would outside of it compared to those who are not as familiar with the real-world phenomenon (Eastwick, Hunt, & Neff, 2013). Therefore, they would be able to better apply the information in a hiring task, like the one presented in this study. Going forward, researchers may consider raising the stakes of a resume rating task so that discriminatory choices have potential consequences, as they may in real hiring scenarios. Or research could sample hiring professionals whose behavior may more accurately reflect the real-world phenomenon.

#### Follow-Up Analyses

LGB Resume scores were significantly and negatively related to both Lesbian and Gay Heterosexism, Role Power, and Organizational Power. The negative relationship to heterosexism suggests that participants may have been evaluating resumes based on their own opinions of LGB resume experience as opposed to resume quality. Resumes were created using basic task statements about an office manager position and were designed to be equal in quality. Therefore any differences in resume score can be attributed to the presence of LGB identifiers or lack thereof. The negative relationship between resume scores and both role and organization power lead me to the idea that those thrust into positions of power may be statistically less empathetic to the struggles of the



LGB community. For example, heterosexual people, older adults, and men are more likely than homosexual people, younger adults, and non-men to be supportive of the LGB community (Cook & Glass, 2016; Fingerhut, 2011). However, the former is much more likely to be in a position of power within their organizations and roles (Costa, Silva de Rosa, & Lunkes, 2018). The LGB Policy manipulation was generally unsuccessful, but there was one significant negative relationship found with the individual ranking. When comparing the LGB policy group to the no-policy group, those in the LGB policy group were more likely to rate the LGB individuals in the top half of applicants.

While there was no significance between policy and LGB score or ranking, there was a significant correlation between the LGB non-discrimination policy and LGB rank order when the former was dummy coded against no prompt. Those who saw the LGB non-discrimination policy were more likely than those who saw no prompt to rate LGB individuals in the top half of applicants. When given directions specifically addressing non-discrimination of LGB employees, participants were mildly perceptive, but the same results were not found for the other two prompts which also implicate non-discrimination. In this study, Title IV was not a significant deterrent for LGB discrimination to lay people, nor was a general disclaimer that all people have the right to fair work. This suggest that at this stage in American history, the most effective deterrent for LGB discrimination is legislation explicitly stating protections for LGB folks. However, taken with the

other results of this study, this type of clear and direct legislation must be accompanied by a cultural shift towards acceptance for LGB folks.

### Methodology, COVID-19, and Limitations

Despite the lack of support for any of the hypotheses, I feel based on the literature reviewed, this is not necessarily an issue with the theory, but rather an issue with the method. This study was an attempt to replicate the findings of previous research (Barron, 2011; Barron & Hebl, 2013) and to incorporate gender non-discrimination. In their studies Barron and Hebl conducted a study where the participants were the interviewers. They were trained to interview applicants. The policy manipulation was randomly introduced through that training, and the LGB applicants were identified by wearing or carrying LGB affirming indicators, like pins, clothing, and other accessories. As a result of COVID-19 restrictions, completing in person training and interviews was not possible. Rather than developing an online version of this interview discrimination method, the survey method used in this study was designed to instead look at resume discrimination. However, it should be noted that the lack of face-to-face interaction and supervision due to COVID-19 may have failed to induce any kind of real-world stakes or commitment by participants to the exercises asked of them.

By designing the study based on resume discrimination, I was also able to collect more data in a shorter amount of time. There were a few limitations with the method chosen. While the LGB resumes were scored lower than the non-

LGB resumes when participants were asked to rate them based on their personal interpretation of job fit, the policy manipulation did not seem to transfer to this method of data collection at a significant level. When participants were asked to recall what policy was presented to them at the beginning of the study, 60.08% answered that they were not sure or had an answer that was impossible to sort as correct or incorrect (i.e., “resume” or “health care”). Between the remaining 97 participants, 50.52% answered incorrectly. This suggests that the policy manipulation was not strong enough despite being shown to the participant twice – once in written form and once in their video instruction. I speculate that these pages were skipped or skimmed by many of the participants. This lends further support to the idea that lay-people may not be a good source for research about hiring decisions (White, 1984). Priming based on policy was intended to be subtle as it was in Barron and Hebl’s work. They either did or did not add a few lines in their training about LGB discrimination. The difference may be that their policy prime was in person and was under the supervision of a research assistant, which the at home survey in this study was not. An in-person study may have added additional pressure to pay attention to directions.

Additionally, when collecting data from paid participants, their goal is unlikely to be the same as the researcher. As the methods become more complex and supervision becomes less overbearing, I speculate that the participants felt low internal and external motivation to pay attention and were less likely to maintain their assigned role of hiring professional in the presented

scenario (Plant & Devine, 1998). Given the monotony of this study, it is likely that this is what happened. Participants may have gotten to the point where they just wanted to be done and get paid – their true motivation. In the future, for those attempting to replicate Barron and Hebl’s research, I would suggest a method which better puts the participants in the mindset of a hiring professional or to sample those whose positions involve hiring decisions. Barron and Hebl decided to train their participants in person and evaluate in person, therefore adding pressure to perform appropriately. Additionally, this method should also be one which engages the participant, even if acting as a hiring professional is not a path they have chosen to pursue. I also suggest recruiting hiring professional and those in hiring roles, as they may be more likely to care about providing accurate information and will already have experience with the hiring process.

### Future Directions

The limitations discussed above require more work be done in the future. Future studies attempting to improve upon the methods presented here can begin with the following three suggestions. (1) Study a sample of hiring professionals. This improves the quality of the sample and the real-world implications. (2) Simplify the resume evaluation process, such that each participant only evaluates resumes in one manner (hard copy or digitally; rank, score, or other methods; individual or organization assessment). Part of simplifying is also to clearly establish expectations for rating, which could have been accomplished by using Biographical Inventory Blank or scoring rubrics.

Simplifying reduces the concern that participants are bored and/or confused about the task. This may also reduce missing data from those who skipped large sections at a time. (3) Furthermore, use counter balanced resumes between groups. For example, all resumes should be of equal quality; in one group, odd numbered resumes can have LGB identifiers, and in the other group, even numbered resumes can have LGB identifiers. Another solution could be to show deconstructed resumes, such that some participants see only the education section while others see only the work history. This reduces the concern that resumes may not have been created equally.

I suggest future researchers continue to study how non-discrimination policy can directly and indirectly (by way of culture) affect changes in behavior and attitudes. Additionally, the role of existing policy should be studied to better understand how policy which logically supports the LGB community but does not explicitly state support for sexual minorities (Title VII) affects attitudes and behaviors. To address a larger concern about representations, more literature should study the interaction between sexual orientation and other identities. For example, race (beyond just Black and white), ethnicity (beyond just Hispanic and non-Hispanic), gender presentation (beyond just male and female), age, and disability. Furthermore, more sexual orientation research should include the experience of those outside the LGB spectrum.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, this study was unable to provide sufficient evidence for the effect that policy directly has on LGB resume scores. While data was insufficient to support the alternative hypotheses, this study does show that LGB discrimination is still present when assessing resumes. This community struggles to find acceptance in a country which has yet to identify them as a protected class and continually rolls back policy which seeks to help them reach equality. Since starting this research, multiple policies have been proposed at the state and national level to protect LGB employees in the workforce and to discriminate against LGB employees in the workforce, not all of which could be noted in the literature review. It is possible that this volatility also played a role in the results of this study. Going forward, researchers attempting to comply with COVID-19 restrictions should attempt to bring increased supervision to the research process, especially as it relates to studies which involve role playing and attention to detail.

I argue that if it were so easy to fairly rate applicants, then the problem would be solved. The null results of this study may in fact reflect the true state of the world. Without specific guidance and fairness directives, simply telling someone it is legally wrong, is not a strong enough motivator to change their bias. Furthermore, the short time period between when the non-discrimination policy was presenter and when the participants was asked to rate resumes, was likely not enough time to improve their inward acceptance of the LGB community.

Without real world consequences for behavior (legal or social), non-discrimination policy cannot be effective.

APPENDIX A1

RESUME 1



## First Last Name

Phone: 021-555-1234

E-mail: [name@gmail.com](mailto:name@gmail.com)

## Experience

02/2014 – Present Office Manager | White Dog Dental

- Develop and maintain computerized dental record management systems to store and process data
- Schedule medical professionals and staff, according to workload, space, equipment availability, and patient need.
- Develop, expand, and implement medical programs or health services that promote research, rehabilitation, and community health.
- Develop instructional materials for in-service and community-based dental educational programs.

02/2012 – 02/2014 Office Manager | LGBT Alliance of Northern California

- Prepare meeting agendas, attend meetings, and record and transcribe minutes.
- Complete work schedules, manage calendars, and arrange appointments.
- Operate and maintain office machines, such as photocopiers and scanners, copy machines, voice mail systems, and personal computers.
- Collect, count, and disburse money for basic bookkeeping, and complete banking transactions.

## Education

09/2008 – 06/2012 BA, University of Northern California

- Majored in Business Administration
- Excelled in management coursework

## Leadership and Affiliations

09/2008 – 06/2012 Gay Straight Alliance – UNC Chapter

5/2010 – 06-2012 Gender Sexuality Action Committee – UNC Chapter

APPENDIX A2

RESUME 2

## First Last Name

Phone: 022-555-1234

E-mail: [name@gmail.com](mailto:name@gmail.com)

## Experience

02/2015 – Present Office Manager | Aspen Anesthesiology

- Direct, supervise and evaluate work activities of medical, nursing, technical, clerical, service, maintenance, and other personnel.
- Maintain communication between governing boards, medical staff, and department heads by attending board meetings and coordinating interdepartmental functioning.
- Consult with medical, business, and community groups to discuss service problems, respond to community needs, enhance public relations, coordinate activities and plans, and promote health programs.
- Manage change in integrated health care delivery systems, such as work restructuring, technological innovations, and shifts in the focus of care.

05/2013 – 02/2015 Office Manager | Tech Connect

- Answer telephones, direct calls, and take messages.
- Type, format, proofread, and edit correspondence and other documents, from notes or dictating machines, using computers or typewriters.
- Train other staff members to perform work activities, such as using computer applications.
- Deliver messages and run errands.

## Education

09/2008 – 06/2012 BA, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

- Majored in Project Management
- Excelled in management coursework

## Leadership and Affiliations

09/2008 – 06/2012 Robotics Club – UIUC Chapter

5/2010 – 06-2012 Volunteer Council – UIUC Chapter

APPENDIX A3

RESUME 3

## First Last Name

Phone: 023-555-1234

E-mail: [name@gmail.com](mailto:name@gmail.com)

## Experience

08/2013 – Present Office Manager | Immuno

- Direct recruitment, hiring, and training of personnel.
- Establish evaluative operational criteria for medical professionals and staff.
- Review and analyze facility activities and data to aid planning, risk management, and to improve service use.
- Maintain computerized record management systems to store and process patient data.

08/2011 – 08/2013 Office Manager | Pride Insights

- Communicate with customers, employees, and other individuals to answer questions and explain information about LGBT community projects.
- Inventory and order materials, supplies, and services.
- Type, format, proofread, and edit written interoffice and
- Count, weigh, measure, and organize materials.

## Education

09/2007 – 06/2011 BA, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

- Majored in Marketing
- Excelled in management coursework

## Leadership and Affiliations

09/2007 – 06/2011 UNC Pride Network – UNC Chapter

5/2019 – 06-2011 LGBT Issues Commission – UNC Chapter

APPENDIX A4

RESUME 4

## First Last Name

Phone: 024-555-1234

E-mail: [name@gmail.com](mailto:name@gmail.com)

## Experience

02/2013 – Present Office Manager | Evergreen Radiology Lab

- Develop and implement organizational policies and procedures for the facility.
- Review and analyze facility activities and data to aid planning and cash and risk management and to improve service utilization.
- Direct, supervise and evaluate work activities of medical, nursing, technical, clerical, service, maintenance, and other personnel.
- Establish objectives and evaluative or operational criteria for units managed.

01/2011 – 02/2013 Office Manager | Fortify Construction

- Maintain and update filing, inventory, mailing, and database systems, either manually or using a computer.
- Deliver messages and run errands.
- Operate office machines, such as photocopiers and scanners, copy machines, voice mail systems, and personal computers.
- Inventory and order materials, supplies, and services.

## Education

09/2007 – 06/2011 BA, University of Wisconsin, Madison

- Majored in Finance
- Excelled in management coursework

## Leadership and Affiliations

09/2007 – 06/2011 United Cultures Club– UWM Chapter

5/2009 – 06-2011 Outreach 360 – UWM Chapter

APPENDIX A5

RESUME 5



## First Last Name

Phone: 025-555-1234

E-mail: [name@gmail.com](mailto:name@gmail.com)

## Experience

01/2014 – Present Office Manager | Dermatology of Eastern Ohio

- Conduct and administer fiscal operations, including accounting, planning budgets, authorizing expenditures, establishing rates for services, and coordinating financial reporting.
- Manage change in integrated health care delivery systems, such as work restructuring, technological innovations, and shifts in the focus of care.
- Direct or conduct recruitment, hiring, and training of personnel.
- Maintain communication between governing boards, medical staff, and department heads by attending board meetings and coordinating interdepartmental functioning.

01/2012 – 01/2014 Office Manager | Out & Equal

- Compile, copy, sort, and file records of office activities, business transactions, and other activities.
- Collect, count, and disburse money, do basic bookkeeping, and complete banking transactions.
- Answer telephones, direct calls, and take messages.
- Complete work schedules, manage calendars, and arrange appointments.

## Education

09/2008 – 06/2012 BA, University of Pennsylvania

- Majored in International Business
- Excelled in management coursework

## Leadership and Affiliations

09/2008 – 06/2012 Bilateral (Bisexual Career Interest Group) – UP Chapter

5/2010 – 06-2012 Lesbian-Gay-Queer Research Initiative – UP Chapter

APPENDIX A6

RESUME 6

## First Last Name

Phone: 026-555-1234

E-mail: [name@gmail.com](mailto:name@gmail.com)

## Experience

02/2015 – Present Office Manager | Atlas Emergency

- Develop and implement organizational policies and procedures for the facility.
- Maintain awareness of advances in medicine, computerized diagnostic and treatment equipment, data processing technology, government regulations, health insurance changes, and financing options.
- Establish work schedules and assignments for staff, according to workload, space, and equipment availability.
- Develop instructional materials and conduct in-service and community-based educational programs.

01/2013 – 01/2015 Office Manager | Market Magnetix

- Communicate with customers, employees, and other individuals to answer questions, disseminate and explain information, take orders, and address complaints.
- Review files, records, and other documents to obtain information to respond to requests.
- Compute, record, and proofread data and other information, such as records or reports.
- Complete and mail bills, contracts, policies, invoices, or checks.

## Education

09/2009 – 06/2013 BA, University of Chicago

- Majored in Accounting
- Excelled in management coursework

## Leadership and Affiliations

09/2009 – 06/2013 Entrepreneurs Club – UC Chapter

5/2011 – 06-2013 Debate Club Treasurer – UC Chapter

APPENDIX A7

RESUME 7

## First Last Name

Phone: 027-555-1234

E-mail: [name@gmail.com](mailto:name@gmail.com)

## Experience

03/2014 – Present Office Manager | Great Lakes Hospice

- Plan, implement, and administer programs and services , including personnel administration, training, and coordination of medical, nursing and physical plant staff.
- Conduct and administer fiscal operations, including accounting, planning budgets, authorizing expenditures, establishing rates for services, and coordinating financial reporting.
- Monitor the use of diagnostic services, inpatient beds, facilities, and staff to ensure effective use of resources and assess the need for additional staff, equipment, and services.
- Prepare activity reports to inform management of the status and implementation plans of programs, services, and quality initiatives.

03/2012 – 03/2014 Office Manager | Family Equality Network

- Maintain and update filing, inventory, mailing, and database systems, either manually or using a computer.
- Review files, records, and other documents to obtain information to respond to requests.
- Open, sort, and route incoming mail, answer correspondence, and prepare outgoing mail.
- Process and prepare documents, such as business or government forms and expense reports.

## Education

09/2008 – 06/2012 BA, University of Michigan

- Majored in Human Resources
- Excelled in management coursework

## Leadership and Affiliations

09/2008 – 06/2012 Sexual Equality Network – UM Chapter

5/2010 – 06-2012 SHOUT (Students Homosexual and Otherwise United Together) – UM Chapter

APPENDIX A8

RESUME 8

## First Last Name

Phone: 028-555-1234

E-mail: [name@gmail.com](mailto:name@gmail.com)

## Experience

04/2013 – Present Office Manager | Spark Pediatrics

- Maintain awareness of advances in medicine, computerized diagnostic and treatment equipment, data processing technology, government regulations, health insurance changes, and financing options.
- Plan, implement, and administer programs and services, including personnel administration, training, and coordination of medical, nursing and physical plant staff.
- Prepare activity reports to inform management of the status and implementation plans of programs, services, and quality initiatives.
- Inspect facilities and recommend building or equipment modifications to ensure emergency readiness and compliance to access, safety, and sanitation regulations.

04/2011 – 04/2013 Office Manager | Blue Ocean Cookware

- Open, sort, and route incoming mail, answer correspondence, and prepare outgoing mail.
- Compute, record, and proofread data and other information, such as records or reports.
- Compile, copy, sort, and file records of office activities, business transactions, and other activities.
- Monitor and direct the work of lower-level clerks.

## Education

09/2007 – 06/2011 BA, University of Georgia

- Majored in Management Analysis
- Excelled in management coursework

## Leadership and Affiliations

09/2007 – 06/2011 Serving the Deaf – UG Chapter

5/2010 – 06-2012 Model UN – UG Chapter

APPENDIX B  
SURVEYS



## Modern Lesbian Homophobia Scale

Rate your agreement with the following statements from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) regarding people who identify as Lesbians (Raja & Stokes, 1998).

1. Employers should provide health care benefits to the partners of their lesbian employees.
2. Teachers should try to reduce their student's prejudice toward lesbians.
3. Lesbians who adopt children do not need to be monitored more closely than heterosexual parents.
4. Lesbians should be allowed to be leaders in religious organizations. (R)
5. Lesbians are as capable as heterosexuals of forming long-term romantic relationships.
6. School curricula should include positive discussion of lesbian topics.
7. Marriages between two lesbians should be legal.
8. Lesbians should not be allowed to join the military. (R)
9. I would not vote for a political candidate who was openly lesbian. (R)
10. Lesbians are incapable of being good parents. (R)
11. I am tired of hearing about lesbians' problems. (R)
12. I wouldn't mind going to a party that included lesbians.
13. I wouldn't mind working with a lesbian.
14. I am comfortable with the thought of two women being romantically involved.

15. It's all rights with me if I see two women holding hands.
16. If my best female friend was dating a woman, it would not upset me.
17. Movies that approve of female homosexuality bother me. (R)
18. I welcome new friends who are lesbian.
19. I don't mind companies using openly lesbian celebrities to advertise their products.
20. I would be sure to invite the same-sex partner of my lesbian friend to my party.
21. I don't think it would negatively affect our relationship if I learned that one of my close relatives was a lesbian.
22. Physicians and psychologists should strive to find a cure for female homosexuality. (R)
23. Lesbians should undergo therapy to change their sexual orientation. (R)
24. Female homosexuality is a psychological disease. (R)

#### Modern Gay Homophobia Scale

Rate your agreement with the following statements from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) regarding people who identify as Gay (Raja & Stokes, 1998).

1. I wouldn't mind going to a party that included gay men.
2. I would not mind working with a gay man.
3. I welcome new friends who are gay.

4. I would be sure to invite the same-sex partner of my gay male friend to my party.
5. I won't associate with a gay man for fear of catching AIDS. (R)
6. I don't think it would negatively affect our relationship if I learned that one of my close relatives was gay.
7. I am comfortable with the thought of two men being romantically involved.
8. I would remove my child from class if I found out the teacher was gay. (R)
9. It's all right with me if I see two men holding hands.
10. Male homosexuality is a psychological disease. (R)
11. Physicians and psychologists should strive to find a cure for male homosexuality. (R)
12. Gay men should undergo therapy to change their sexual orientation. (R)
13. Gay men could be heterosexual if they really wanted to be. (R)
14. I don't mind companies using openly gay male celebrities to advertise their products.
15. I would not vote for a political candidate who was openly gay. (R)
16. Hospitals shouldn't hire gay male doctors. (R)
17. Gay men shouldn't be allowed to join the military. (R)
18. Movies that approve of male homosexuality bother me. (R)
19. Gay men should not be allowed to be leaders in religious organizations.  
(R)
20. Marriages between two gay men should be legal.

21. I am tired of hearing about gay men's problems. (R)

22. Gay men want too many rights. (R)

### Social and Economic Conservatism Scale (SECS)

Please rate how positively (10) or negatively (0) you feel about each word presented (Everett, 2013).

1. Abortion (R)
2. Religion
3. Traditional Marriage
4. Traditional Values
5. The Family Unit
6. Patriotism
7. Military and National Security

### Decision Power in Job Role

Rate your agreement with the following statements from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) regarding the decision power you are granted over your job (Karasek, Brisson, Kawakami, Houtman, & Bongers, 1998).

1. My role allows me to make my own decisions.
2. I have a great deal of decision-making freedom as it relates to my own role.
3. My role allows me to have a lot of say in what I personally decide to do.

## Decision Power in Organization

Rate your agreement with the following statements from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) regarding the decision power you are granted in the entire organization (Karasek, Brisson, Kawakami, Houtman, & Bongers, 1998).

1. I have the power to make organization wide decisions.
2. I have a great deal of decision-making freedom as it relates to the entire organization.
3. I have a lot of say in decision affecting the organization.

APPENDIX C  
IRB APPROVAL

**IRB #:** IRB-FY2021-207

**Title:** LGB Employment and Civil Rights Protections

**Creation Date:** 1-27-2021

**End Date:**

**Status:** Approved

**Principal Investigator:** Ismael Diaz

**Review Board:** Main IRB Designated Reviewers for Department of Psychology

**Sponsor:**

### Study History

<b>Submission Type</b>	Initial	<b>Review Type</b>	Expedited	<b>Decision</b>	<span style="color: red;">Approved</span>
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### Key Study Contacts

<b>Member</b>	Ismael Diaz	<b>Role</b>	Principal Investigator	<b>Contact</b>	Ismael.Diaz@csusb.edu
<b>Member</b>	Alexa Massiquet	<b>Role</b>	Co-Principal Investigator	<b>Contact</b>	alexa.massiquet5052@coyote.csusb.e
<b>Member</b>	Alexa Massiquet	<b>Role</b>	Primary Contact	<b>Contact</b>	alexa.massiquet5052@coyote.csusb.e

APPENDIX D  
VIDEO TRANSCRIPTS



Thank you for participating in this study. In this study we are seeking to better understand the decision make process as it relates to hiring for an office manager position at a medical practice. We want to emphasize the importance that you, the participant, take this seriously. We value your authentic input.

In this study you will be asked to evaluate 8 resumes in various ways to reflect the different methods used in the real world. You will be asked to both rate each resume out of 100 and to rank order the resumes.

(The no policy group will skip this paragraph) Remember that as a hiring manager, there are general laws that you must follow. For example, [organizations have to offer fair compensation for work / organization cannot discriminate against employees based on gender / organizations cannot discriminate against employees based on sexual orientation].

Make decisions based on what you feel is right. There are no wrong answers and no penalties, so be truthful. Imagine you are a critical member in the hiring process.

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