

**Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Workers in Chicago:
Enacted Stigmatization, Stigma Consciousness, and Outness**

BY

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DISSERTATION

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This dissertation is dedicated to advocates who tirelessly work for social justice and to create safe spaces for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer people. And for Ian Samuel and Linden Grant, may you grow to walk with justice and compassion, contributing to a world that treats all people with dignity and respect.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DADT	Don't Ask Don't Tell
DOMA	Defense of Marriage Act
DSM	Diagnostic and Statistical Manual
HRC	Human Rights Campaign
IHRC	Illinois Human Rights Commission
LGB	Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer
NASW	National Association of Social Workers
NGLTF	National Gay and Lesbian Taskforce
NNSWM	National Network of Social Work Managers
SCQ	Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire
OI	Outness Inventory
WHEQ	Workplace Heterosexist Experiences Questionnaire

SUMMARY

Employment discrimination against lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) people is a significant social welfare problem. The Williams Institute, a think tank on sexual orientation law and public policy, estimates that between 16 to 68% of LGB people report experiencing employment discrimination (Badgett, Lau, Sears, & Ho, 2007). There are repeated anecdotal examples of how the workplace is currently unsafe for LGB people. For example, LGB workers have been subjected to anti-gay bullying, name-calling, and physical harassment by their co-workers and bosses, accused of spreading their “homosexual agendas” when talking about their lives, and arbitrarily fired because they are different (American Civil Liberties Union, 2007).

However, not all employment discrimination experiences against LGB people are the same. This Internet-based descriptive study examined the experiences of LGB people in the workplace. In particular, the study explored the extent to which LGB people living and/or working in metropolitan Chicago, Illinois experience sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination in the workplace, the extent to which the experience of sexual orientation-based harassment differs by certain characteristics, the extent to which LGB people experience stigma consciousness, the extent to which the experience of stigma consciousness differs by certain characteristics, and the relationship between sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination and stigma consciousness.

A convenience sample ($N = 215$) of LGB workers, aged 18 to 64, living and/or working in metropolitan Chicago, Illinois was recruited using various social networking sites, Internet and print advertisements, and paper flyers at several Chicago-area agencies serving LGB people. Participants were given an anonymous survey examining workplace stigma-related experiences.

Several existing measures were used, including Waldo's (1999) Workplace Heterosexist Experiences Questionnaire, Pinel's (1999) Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire for Gay Men and Lesbians, and Mohr and Fassinger's (2000) Outness Inventory, which highlighted some of the differences in LGB workplace experiences. Major findings of the study were that LGB workers' stigma-related experiences differed by social identity, that outness may positively impact the workplace, and that formal legal protections do not necessarily prevent workplace stigma experiences.

Findings of the study have relevance for social work education, social work practice, and social welfare policy. Work is an important part of our lives, yet many LGB workers are prevented from full participation in the workplace because of their stigma-related experiences. Social workers are likely to encounter LGB workers affected by stigma-related experiences, and have a responsibility to affect change, both with that individual client and with broader social welfare policy systems.

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this descriptive study was to examine the extent to which LGB people living and/or working in metropolitan Chicago, Illinois experience sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination in the workplace, the extent to which the experience of sexual orientation-based workplace harassment and discrimination differs by certain characteristics, the extent to which LGB people experience stigma consciousness, and the relationship between sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination and stigma consciousness. Given that LGB people experience higher levels of stigmatization in the form of harassment and discrimination than heterosexual workers, this study examined both the extent and nature of the above mentioned relationships for individuals of different backgrounds. This chapter discusses the background of LGB workplace discrimination as a social welfare problem, the conceptual framework guiding this study, the conceptual definitions used in this study, the study research questions and hypotheses, and the significance of LGB workplace discrimination as a social welfare problem warranting further research.

A. Background

LGB people experience stigmatization in the American workplace (Badgett, Lau, Sears, & Ho, 2007). Though there is no universally accepted estimate of the prevalence of LGB people, roughly 3 to 10% of the general population is believed to identify as LGB (Robison, 2002).

LGB people are likely to be similarly represented in the United States (US) workplace.

A factor that likely contributes to LGB workers' stigma-related experiences is the lack of protection from discrimination at the federal level in the United States. While there is no federal tracking of the extent of enacted stigmatization, the Williams Institute, a think tank on sexual

orientation law and public policy, estimates that between 16 to 68% of LGBT people report experiencing employment discrimination (Badgett, Lau, Sears, & Ho, 2007). There are repeated anecdotal examples of how the workplace is currently unsafe for LGB workers. For example, LGB workers have been subjected to anti-gay bullying, name-calling, and physical harassment by their co-workers and bosses, accused of spreading their "homosexual agendas" when talking about their lives (e.g., the LGB schoolteacher), and arbitrarily fired because they are different than the average heterosexual worker (American Civil Liberties Union, 2007).

Protections for LGB workers in the US were first conceived as a possibility and gained momentum during the twentieth century. Early homophile groups, including the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis, can be credited as being among the first to call attention to LGB workplace issues by challenging Senator McCarthy's attempts to purge LGB workers from federal employment. Other attempts gained momentum in 1974, five years after the Stonewall Rebellion, a now famous rebellion by the LGB community in New York City against police mistreatment (D'Emilio, 1998). Nevertheless, there is currently no federal protection for LGB workers from arbitrary hiring, firing, or harassment based upon sexual orientation. The military's "Don't Ask Don't Tell" (DADT) policy and the federal Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), which were both instituted during the Clinton administration, have, until recently, been enforced and defended by the federal government (Lind, 2004; Rivera, 1998). LGB people are excluded from countless privileges that are enjoyed by their heterosexual counterparts in American society (Gates, 2010).

Protecting the rights of LGB people in the US has been of interest to social activists throughout at least half of the twentieth century, yet employment protection measures have failed

to become law (National Gay and Lesbian Taskforce [NGLTF], 2008). Other employment protections for LGB workers, generally introduced in various forms of the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA), have been proposed by progressive policymakers and defeated over the last thirty years. There are currently no widespread federal protections that prohibit the enacted stigmatization of LGB people in the workplace.

However, there have been a number of positive protections for LGB individuals enacted at state and city levels and within individual corporations, including tangible benefits such as similar medical insurance, life insurance, bereavement leave, and other benefits for same-gender domestic partners (Kovach & Millsbaugh, 1996). Marriage, civil union, domestic partnership, or other relationship recognition measures have been instituted in California, Colorado, Connecticut, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Iowa, Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, Maryland, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, Washington State, Wisconsin, and other jurisdictions (Human Rights Campaign [HRC], 2008; HRC, 2011). DADT was fully repealed as of September 20, 2011, and a LGB servicemember may not be separated from the military solely by making a disclosure of sexual orientation. However, due to DOMA, same-sex partners of military service members are not afforded the privileges normally given to opposite-sex partners (Servicemembers Legal Defense Network [SLDN], 2011a).

The need for widespread federal employment protections for LGB people has gone unmet. Lack of federal protections likely contributes to workplace stigma for LGB people. In many places in the United States, LGB people may be refused employment, discharged from their position, or otherwise discriminated against in employment with little or no legal recourse.

B. Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework guiding this study is a framework of modified labeling. Human beings differ from one another in a variety of ways, from inconsequential differences like the music that they enjoy and the spaces they frequent to more consequential differences like social class, ethnicity, faith, and sexual orientation identity (Link & Phelan, 2001; Phillips & Gates, 2011). Labeling theory suggests that stigmatization is not inherent to any particular social identity—such as sexual orientation identity—but is rather a social process whereby those in power negatively label the less powerful as "deviant" from social norms (Link, 1987). The person labeled as deviant has a mark or attribute that links him or her to undesirable characteristics or to a devalued social position (Goffman, 1963; Jones et al., 1984).

Labeling as deviant is not the end of this social process, as there are numerous negative psychosocial consequences of labeling (Link, Cullen, Struening, Shrout, & Dohrenwend, 1989). Link, Cullen, Struening, Shrout, and Dohrenwend (1989) developed a theory of “modified labeling” that considered the negative consequences of labeling. Although all human differences can be stigmatized, the extent to which the individual is conscious of those differences will vary. Stigmatized individuals either accept their label of deviant or dismiss the label as irrelevant to them and their lives. If the stigmatized person accepts the label, she or he may respond by withdrawing, by concealing the stigmatized attribute (if possible), or by educating the stigmatizer. The stigmatized person may experience other psychosocial consequences such as isolation, poor self-esteem, or vulnerability to other social problems.

The stigmatized person’s label of deviant becomes part of the cultural reality of the dominant society. Labels are “taken for granted as being just the way things are” by much of the

dominant culture (Link & Phelan, 2001, p. 367). By virtue of the person's physical or social characteristics, experiences, or beliefs, the person is perceived to have an inferior attribute that deviates from the norm of a social unit (Page, 1984; Stafford & Scott, 1986).

Particularly problematic for the person with a stigmatized status is the social and cultural variability of the stigmatized label. Labels that are stigmatized under some social conditions are irrelevant in others, yet any attribute can potentially become stigmatized (Coleman, 1986). Attributes such as psychiatric disorders, employment standing, HIV seropositive status, or LGB identity may be deemed "inferior" in one context but less problematic in others (Corrigan, Larson, & Kuwabara, 2007; Herek & Capitanio, 1999; Weiner, 1995). Negative labeling is context-specific—one might be labeled as "deviant" in one workplace and "ordinary" in another.

The stigmatized person may possess one or multiple characteristics that may be potentially stigmatized, yet only experience stigmatization based upon a single characteristic (e.g., an African American lesbian who is stigmatized by her predominately African American community because of her status as a lesbian, but not as an African American). The ambiguous and unpredictable nature of stigma is particularly troublesome for the stigmatized because each social situation tends to bring with it uncertainty (Ainlay, Coleman, & Becker, 1986; Goffman, 1963; Pinel, 1999). This is further complicated by the fact that a person may be stigmatized by a combination of his or her identities.

There is a distinction between stigmatizing labels and stigmatizing behaviors (i.e., enacted stigmatization). That is, individuals can believe another person has an inferior identity, endorse attitudes that discredit the person based upon their stigmatizing attributes, or believe that the person is "not quite human" (Goffman, 1963, p.5), without necessarily acting on those

beliefs. On the other hand, stigmatizing attitudes often lead to unfavorable treatment or overt actions against the stigmatized person. Enacted stigmatization is the overt behavior and actions taken against an individual as a result of her or his stigmatized status (Herek, 2007). A large number of LGB workers experience not only labeling but also overtly stigmatizing behaviors, such as discrimination and harassment in the workplace (Badgett, Lau, Sears, & Ho, 2007).

People who are stigmatized also differ in the extent to which they are aware of and experience their “inferior” status (Coleman, 1986; Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998). The person labeled as deviant may have a vague sense that she or he has a personal attribute that is regarded by society as a “defiling thing to possess” (Goffman, 1963, p. 7). In severe cases, the person may develop a troubling, chronic self-awareness and self-consciousness about her or his stigmatized status (Brown & Lee, 2005). Researchers have defined awareness of stigma in a variety of ways, from *perceived or felt stigma*, the individual’s perception of the probability of being stigmatized (Becker & Arnold, 1986; Goffman, 1963), to *stigma consciousness*, the individual’s chronic awareness of stigmatized status and expectation that all social interactions will be a stigmatizing experience (Pinel, 1999), to *enacted stigma*, the individual’s experience of a negative action as a result of the individual’s stigmatized status (Corrigan, 1998; Couture & Penn, 2003).

Stigma internalization occurs when the person who is the target of stigma begins to believe that the label is actually true (Corrigan, Watson, & Barr, 2006; Page, 1984). Those with chronic internalization of their stigmatized attributes experience less psychological well-being than those who are chronically aware but do not internalize society’s stigmas (Brown & Pinel,

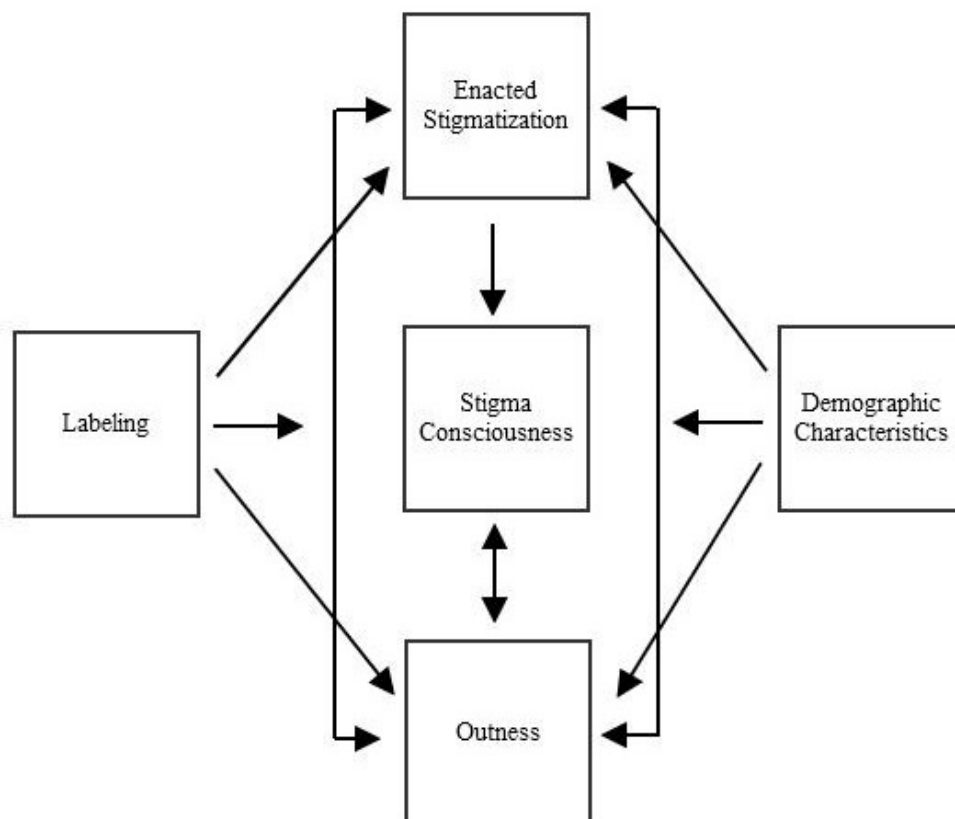
2003). Link et al. (1989) hypothesized that experiences of being labeled as deviant in society can create an expectation of future labeling by the stigmatized person.

LGB individuals are often chronically self-aware of their stigmatized status and experience forms of enacted stigma, such as harassment and discrimination. Responses to stigma can range from disregarding the negative and stigmatizing label, internalizing the stigmatized identity, hiding his or her LGB identity, or attempting to conceal his or her circumstances by living a more heteronormative lifestyle (Becker & Arnold, 1986; Goffman, 1963; Pinel, 1999; Price, 2007). These responses are varied and are not absolute. The LGB person might internalize the stigmatized label but make no effort to conceal his or her LGB identity. An LGB person may have a high level of stigma consciousness, while not internalizing the label. In other cases, the LGB person may have a high level of stigma consciousness, accept the stigmatizing label as valid, and make efforts to conceal his or her LGB identity. However, regardless of the response, there seems to be ample evidence that LGB identity is a risk factor in many life domains, including the workplace.

Figure 1 illustrates the relationships between labeling, demographic characteristics, and the variables of interest, including enacted stigmatization, stigma consciousness, and outness. First, the LGB employee is labeled as “deviant” or the “other.” Labeling can result in harassment or discrimination (described here as “enacted stigmatization”) against the LGB worker, chronic self-awareness of the LGB worker that she or he is viewed deviant and will be stigmatized (described here as “stigma consciousness”), and different levels of outness of the LGB worker and/or concealment of her or his sexual orientation identity. These individual relationships affect the relationships between all three of the constructs of interest. That is,

enacted stigmatization can contribute to the stigma consciousness of the LGB worker. Stigma consciousness can affect the degree to which the LGB worker is comfortable being “out” at work. The LGB worker's outness may affect the extent to which she or he is perceived as actually being LGB. This can affect whether she or he experiences enacted stigmatization. Finally, the LGB worker's other demographic characteristics and social identities impact these relationships as well. The LGB worker's race and ethnicity, social class, specific sexual orientation identity (i.e., whether the person is a gay male or a bisexual female, etc.), and education level, can impact the LGB worker's enacted stigmatization, stigma consciousness, and outness. These relationships are explored further in the literature review.

FIGURE 1
CONCEPTUAL DIAGRAM



C. Conceptual definitions

There are a number of key terms that are essential for understanding the key elements of this study. These terms are defined below, but will also be discussed throughout the text.

Stigma is defined as an attribute that is viewed by society as inferior, a deviation from the social norm, or deeply discrediting. Stigmatized persons are marginalized in society because of their perceived inferior attributes (Goffman, 1963).

Enacted stigmatization is defined as unfavorable treatment or other overt actions taken against an individual as a result of her or his stigmatized status (Herek, 2007). There is a distinction between what people *think* versus what people *do* towards stigmatized persons. Examples of enacted stigmatization are harassment and discrimination.

Stigma consciousness means a person's chronic self-awareness of her or his stigmatized status and expectation that all social interactions will result in stigmatization (Pinel, 1999).

Labeling refers to the social process whereby those in power negatively label the less powerful as deviant from social norms (Link, 1987).

Sexual orientation identity refers to a continuum of enduring emotional, romantic, sexual, and/or affectional attraction to other persons (American Psychological Association, 2008).

Sexual orientation may range from affectional feelings towards people of the same or opposite sex, to sexual behaviors with people of the same or opposite sex. There is a distinction between sexual orientation identity and sexual behaviors (e.g., an individual may engage in sexual behaviors with persons of the same sex without identifying as LGB).

Gay man is defined as a male who has enduring emotional, romantic, sexual, and/or affectional attractions to other males and who identifies himself as a gay man.

Bisexual refers to male or female individuals who have enduring emotional, romantic, sexual, and/or affectional attractions to people of both sexes and who identify themselves as bisexual men and women.

Lesbian is defined as a female who has enduring emotional, romantic, sexual, and/or affectional attractions to other females and who identifies herself as lesbian.

Lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) community refers to the shared social and political identity of LGB persons. Transgender individuals, those individuals whose bodies may not match their gender identity, are often grouped into this collective political identity, but their experiences can be quite different from LGB persons. Gender identity is separate from sexual orientation identity (e.g., transgender may be either LGB identified or heterosexually identified). Additionally, LGB people may express their gender in a variety of ways, and their gender expression may not match their biological sex or gender identity (Gill Foundation, 2012; Morrow & Messinger, 2006).

Outness is defined as the extent to which the LGB person has disclosed her or his LGB identity to one or more persons.

Discrimination is the unwarranted negative treatment of historically underrepresented, disadvantaged, and/or marginalized individuals or groups that denies those individuals or groups full equality (Allport, 1987; Dovidio & Hebl, 2005).

Harassment is defined as unwelcome offensive conduct based upon a protected class status. Offensive conduct can include offensive jokes, slurs, name-calling, physical assault or threats of physical assault, intimidation, ridicule, mockery, insults, offensive objects or pictures, and/or interference with work performance. Harassment is severe or pervasive enough to create

work environments that a reasonable person from the same class or similar class would consider hostile, abusive, or intimidating (Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, n.d.). Federal law does not protect LGB people from sexual orientation based harassment and discrimination in all workplaces.

Worker means a person who is employed to perform services of any kind for wages on a part-time or full-time basis.

Social class is a worker's social category based upon "interdependent economic and legal relationships, premised upon people's structural location within the economy" (Krieger, Williams, & Moss, 1997, p. 345). Social class is closely linked to a worker's rank in the social hierarchy, the worker's ability to access goods, services, and knowledge, and the worker's occupation, income, and educational level (Krieger et al.). For this study, social class is defined as lower, working, middle, and upper class.

Metropolitan Chicago, Illinois is defined as Cook, Dupage, Kane, Kendall, Lake, McHenry, and Will Counties in Illinois (Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning, 2010) and Lake County in Northwestern Indiana.

D. Research questions and hypotheses

This study examined the following research questions:

RQ1: To what extent do lesbian, gay, and bisexual people living and/or working in metropolitan Chicago, Illinois experience sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination in the workplace?

- RQ2: To what extent does the experience of sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination differ by certain characteristics (i.e., lesbian, gay, or bisexual identity, racial and ethnic identity, gender, social class, education, and outness at work)?
- RQ3: To what extent do LGB people experience stigma consciousness due to their LGB status?
- RQ4: To what extent does stigma consciousness differ by certain characteristics (i.e., lesbian, gay, or bisexual identity, racial and ethnic identity, gender, social class, education, and outness at work)?
- RQ5: What is the relationship between sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination and stigma consciousness?

The hypotheses for the study were as follows:

- H1: Sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination differ by certain characteristics (i.e. lesbian, gay, or bisexual identity, racial and ethnic identity, gender, social class, education, and outness at work).
- H2: Stigma consciousness differs by certain characteristics (i.e. lesbian, gay, or bisexual identity, racial and ethnic identity, gender, social class, education, and outness at work).
- H3: Sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination and stigma consciousness are significantly related.

E. Significance of the study

Social workers have been concerned with the status of LGB people in the workplace and the marginalization of LGB people for the last several decades. Position statements from professional social work organizations have ranged from the National Association of Social Workers' ([NASW], 2005) acknowledgment of the importance of competent and affirmative practice with the LGB community to positions like that of the National Network for Social Work Managers ([NNSWM], 2004), which affirm diversity (broadly defined) in the workplace.

Ameliorating disparities among people of different social classes is important to the mission of social work; yet, that history has been a contentious one. Social work ethical standards call for social workers to strive towards social change in the areas of poverty, unemployment, and discrimination (NASW, 1996). However, meeting that ethical mandate has been complicated by social workers' own efforts to position themselves as real professionals. For example, social welfare historian Walkowitz (1999) found evidence that social workers have been interested in the concept of class from the invention of the profession. Walkowitz notes that social work foremothers such as Mary Richmond of the Charity Organization Society in New York sought to firmly establish and maintain their own status as middle class and professional while positioning themselves to be uniquely qualified to meet the needs of the poor, impoverished, and oppressed. Today, social class remains a vital issue for social workers.

Employment issues have also been of interest to social workers since the inception of professional social work. Occupational social work as a specialty within the profession emerged in its earliest form during the 1920s and was concerned with the well-being of workers (albeit LGB workers were likely quite invisible in the American workplace at this time). This has remained a small yet enduring practice specialty concerned with worker well-being (Akbas &

Kurzman, 2005). Work is of interest to social workers because employment tends to be an important part of social identity in the US:

The very fabric of our life revolves around work. Our entire identity encompasses the type of work we are doing—or not doing, for that matter. The type of food we eat, the neighborhood we live in, the clothes we wear, and how we socialize--all somehow are related to our work. (Berry, 2005, p. ix)

Workplace stigma is an important concern to social workers. Social workers can be both the subjects of stigmas based upon sexual orientation identity as well as the people who stigmatize others. The declassification of homosexuality from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM) was hailed by LGB activists as a well-deserved instant “cure” of the 20 million homosexuals in the US, some of whom included social workers (“Sick no more,” 1999, p. 62). However, a small contingent of social workers, often motivated by religious beliefs, are a part of the ex-gay movement, a movement which frames LGB identity as pathological and worth changing (Bright, 2007). Murphy, Rawlings, and Howe (2002) found that professionals have very little formal training on LGB issues and that the majority of those with training on LGB issues identified as LGB themselves. Logie, Bridge, and Bridge's (2007) study of Master of Social Work (MSW) students found that a majority of these social workers in training have positive attitudes towards LGB people and low levels of phobia. Yet, there was a small contingent of social work students with stigmatizing attitudes. Similarly, Ben-Ari (2001) conducted a study of the attitudes of faculty in several human service disciplines towards homosexuality and found that human service faculty members have low levels of homophobia, with religion being a major predictor of negative attitudes towards LGB people.

This descriptive study, which was conducted electronically via the Internet, contributes to the body of knowledge by examining the extent to which a sample of LGB people living and/or

working in metropolitan Chicago, Illinois experience sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination in the workplace, the extent to which the experience of sexual orientation-based harassment differs by certain characteristics, the extent to which LGB workers experience stigma consciousness, and the relationship between sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination and stigma consciousness. Work is a fundamental experience throughout the majority of our lives, yet LGB individuals risk marginalization and stigma in much of society.

This study contributes to social work research by examining differences that exist in stigma-related experiences for LGB people. Though stigmatization is part of the collective consciousness of LGB communities, not all experiences of stigmatization are equal. This study examines how differences in sexual orientation identity, racial and ethnic identity, gender, social class, education, and outness at work lend themselves to different workplace stigma-related experiences. Social work researchers aim to understand the state of social problems, such as marginalization of LGB workers, with a goal of ameliorating the conditions in which these problems occur. Stigmatization is a social justice issue, and social work researchers can help identify how stigma-related experiences differ by various types of identities. This study contributes to the field by examining where those differences lie.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Stephen Centola worked for the United States Postal Service for over seven years. He claimed that his co-workers tormented him continuously by making comments and leaving photographs which mocked his masculinity, portrayed him as effeminate, and implied that he was a homosexual. Although Centola is homosexual, he never disclosed his sexual orientation to any of his co-workers or managers. On one occasion, Centola's co-workers placed a sign stating 'Heterosexual replacement on duty' at his [desk]. They taped pictures of Richard Simmons 'in hot pink pants' to his [desk]. Fellow carriers asked if Centola would be marching in the gay parade and asked him if he had gotten AIDS yet. At other times, his co-workers called him a “sword-swallower” and anti-gay epithets. His co-workers also placed cartoons mocking gay men near him. Centola testified that this was a 'constant thing.' (*Centola v. Potter*, as cited in McDonald, Ravitch, & Sumners, 2006, p. 77).

As demonstrated by the above case example, LGB individuals have considerable potential for being stigmatized in the workplace. This review provides background information relevant to this study, including evidence that LGB stigmatization exists in the workplace and that LGB workers differ on several important life domains. Key themes explored in the literature are the historical context of LGB harassment and discrimination in the workplace, LGB stigma, differences in LGB harassment and discrimination in the workplace, and consequences of enacted stigma and stigma consciousness of LGB workers.

A. Historical context of LGB harassment and discrimination at work

Understanding the historical context under which discourse on LGB harassment and discrimination has developed is important. Prior to several key events there was not a great deal of public discourse on LGB workplace issues. In this section, key historical events, including Title VII, the declassification of homosexuality from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), the absence of federal workplace protections, and the development of jurisdictional protections, are explored.

1. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act

Prior to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, employment discrimination was not part of our public discourse on the workplace. Title VII prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Although workplace discrimination on the basis of sex has been protected since 1964, it took more than a decade before opposite-sex sexual harassment became recognized under Title VII of the Act and another 20 years before the Supreme Court recognized same-sex sexual harassment as actionable under Title VII (Faley, Knapp, Kustis, Dubois, Young, & Polin, 2006). Title VII has explicitly provided that no action may be taken that discriminates against an individual on the basis of sex with respect to compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment.

Discrimination and harassment of LGB workers, however, remains pervasive (Carpenter, 2007; Drydakis, 2009; HRC, 2009; Law & Hrabal, 2010; Lewis, 2009; Weichselbaumer, 2003). Despite swift development in state law and popular consciousness about LGB workers, the current federal legislation is largely silent on discrimination that is based on sexual orientation (Law & Hrabal, 2010; Ford, 2009; HRC, 2009).

2. Declassification of homosexuality from the DSM

Homosexuality was officially classified as a type of mental disorder in the first DSM in 1952 by the American Psychiatric Association ([APA], Stein, 2001). According to this manual, same-sex sexuality was a type of sociopathic personality disturbance defined by the existence of certain behaviors and not by the presence of distress and/or dysfunction (APA, 1952). Given the prevailing social mores, this classification was not controversial at the time. From the 1940's to 1950's, however, there was a push by Alfred Kinsey and others for

understanding that same-sex sexuality was a normal variation of sexuality, rather than a disease or illness. It was through the Kinsey Reports that many in the psychiatric community began to understand sexual orientation as a natural and normal continuum, rather than dichotomous categories of heterosexual and homosexual (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948).

The treatment of homosexuality as a pathological, developmental disturbance persisted in the DSM-II until 1968, despite continued criticism from the gay rights movement (APA, 1968; Eartman, 2001). The pressure eventually resulted in a proposal presented to the Nomenclature Committee of the APA to eliminate homosexuality from the DSM in 1973. Following this approval, homosexuality was for the first time declassified as a type of mental disorder or illness. The DSM-III reclassified sexual orientation disturbance into a new diagnostic category of “ego-dystonic homosexuality” or a general psychosocial disorder, which labeled homosexuality as a mental disorder only when accompanied by persistent distress (APA, 1980). Later, all references to homosexuality were withdrawn in DSM-IV (APA, 1994; Stein, 2001). The latter declassification was phenomenal in influencing both the cultural and conceptual understanding of homosexual behavior within American society.

The declassification of same-sex sexuality by the APA has had profound benefits to the LGB community. At the organizational level, groups of LGB individuals have been recognized. Although at the clinical level debates on how to conceptualize homosexuality rage on, affirmative action has, nonetheless, been explored. With the removal of same-sex sexuality as pathology, LGB people are no longer viewed by the helping professions as diseased. This understanding has spilled over to the mainstream community and other disciplines such as the

law, social sciences, and humanities (Drescher, 2010; Eartman, 2001; Stein, 2001). LGB individuals are now more generally integrated in mainstream society, including in the workplace.

3. Absence of federal protections for LGB workers

The state's interest in regulating same-sex desire was nothing new in the US. During the 1950s, Senator Joseph McCarthy prompted widespread fear about communists and other social “deviants” like homosexuals working in the federal government. Johnson (2004) chronicles how McCarthy's myth of the homosexual as a security risk ultimately led to the questioning of thousands of federal employees. Nearly 100 federal employees who were homosexual, or at least perceived to be homosexual, were purged from civil service, along with countless others believed to be communists or communist sympathizers (Escoffier, 1985). McCarthy's lavender scare had a lasting impact on many federal employees who were perceived to be homosexual, with some of them losing their families, losing their careers, and/or committing suicide (Johnson, 2004).

However, the state's interest in regulating sexual behavior and failure to protect the LGB worker has existed beyond the federal workplace. There has been an evolution of laws around sexual behaviors. Historically, same-sex sexual behavior has been regulated through the enactments of legal codes at the federal, state, or local levels with the explicit and implicit intents of defining and restricting specific sexual conduct as well as accordance of protection (Di Mauro, 2001; Eartman, 2001; Schultz & Goldsmith, 2001). Sodomy laws and military laws regulating sexual behavior are two such examples of laws that restricted same-sex sexuality. Sodomy laws in the US have a history going back to the original 13 colonies that continued the English tradition in which the act of sodomy carried the death penalty. By the 1960s, all states

had some form of law barring sodomy; however, their terms were at times vague or lacking in explicit definitions of what the law prohibited (Di Mauro, 2001). Countless state laws that made same-sex sexuality a criminal offense were once on the books, yet those laws have been since overturned. The Supreme Court's 1986 decision in *Bowers v. Hardwick*, which stated that an individual is not afforded sexual privacy according to the Constitution, was repealed through *Lawrence v. Texas* in 2003, which found that consensual intimacy between two adults is protected under the rights to privacy and due process (Chauncey, 2004).

Same-sex sexuality was also regulated in the military. Until 2011, the military's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) policy restricted a servicemember's sexual activities. Servicemembers were forbidden from engaging in same-sex sexuality. DADT also prohibited others from asking, pursuing, or harassing homosexual service members with regard to their sexuality (Di Mauro, 2001). DADT was signed into law by Democratic president Bill Clinton in 1994 and was portrayed by the White House as a protection for LGB service members. Whereas prior military practice did not preclude military leaders and other servicemembers from entrapping LGB servicemembers (e.g., the military routinely attempted to identify servicemembers engaged in same-sex sexuality), DADT offered a degree of protection. However, DADT created a false sense of security for LGB servicemembers. Between 1994 and 2011, there was a literal purge of LGB people serving in the military, not unlike the purge of federal employees during the McCarthy era. The military discharged more LGB people from the military after the passage of DADT than during prior years (Rivera, 1998). The Obama administration, as a matter of policy, defended DADT until the matter was forced before the courts. However, during the course of this study, DADT was repealed, and servicemembers could serve openly in the United States

military as of September 20, 2011 (Servicemembers Legal Defense Network, 2011b). The repeal of DADT represented a significant change in military policy.

Proposed legislation over the past 30 years at the federal level in the US has provided for protection of LGB workers, yet those protections have been less than successful. Early gay rights groups, like the Mattachine Society (1959), began speaking up much earlier, during the McCarthy era, arguing that “homosexual men and women have always existed in great numbers, and always will” (p. 31). However, the LGB community had far from a cohesive voice, and rarely agreed about what was the most pressing civil rights issue. Sexism divided the LGB community, and the perspectives of male-dominated groups such as the Mattachine Society were often privileged over lesbian groups such as the Daughters of Bilitis (Gallo, 2006). During this time, these activist groups were effective in calling attention to a variety of LGB civil rights issues, yet the viability of advocating for LGB employment issues by most politicians was not realized until at least a decade later.

The possibility of a federal ENDA in the US was first conceived during the 1970s, five years after the famous 1969 Stonewall riots, an angry rebellion by the LGB community in New York City against police mistreatment (D’Emilio, 1998). In 1974, Representatives Bella Abzug (D-NY) and Edward Koch (D-NY), supported by the National Gay Task Force (now referred to as the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force [NGLTF]), first introduced the Equality Act of 1974, a bill that would ban discrimination based upon sexual orientation, marital status, and gender in public accommodation, housing, and employment. Though the initial equality measure proposed by Abzug and Koch failed to pass, LGB activists were invigorated by the civil rights movement of the 1960s, the Stonewall rebellion, and the possibility of changing attitudes

towards minority groups in the US. Abzug reintroduced the bill as the Civil Rights Amendment of 1975, which would add protections based upon sexual or affectional preference to existing civil rights laws. Abzug and NGLTF achieved co-sponsors for anti-discrimination bills during 1976 and 1977, but, ultimately, the measures for LGB protection in employment were unsuccessful (NGLTF, 2008a). A federal ENDA has been proposed over the last several years, most recently in 2009, but the measure has still failed to gain momentum. LGB workers are clearly a stigmatized group, yet civil rights and legal protection from discrimination are often denied them because they are perceived to be choosing a “deviant” lifestyle (Lasala, 2006).

4. States in which protections exist and do not exist

Protections for LGB workers have been more successful at the state level. A patchwork of state level protection for LGB individuals in the workplace exists in some states (Law & Hrabal, 2010). HRC (2009) notes that twenty-one states, including California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oregon, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin, as well as the District of Columbia, have laws that prohibit discrimination based upon sexual orientation. A number of other states have pending legislation that may protect the rights of LGB workers.

The Illinois Human Rights Act of 2006 (775 ILCS 5) prohibits any employer from refusing “to hire, to segregate, or to act with respect to recruitment, hiring, promotion, renewal of employment, selection for training or apprenticeship, discharge, discipline, tenure or terms, privileges or conditions of employment on the basis of unlawful discrimination or citizenship status” (Illinois General Assembly, 2006, n.p.). Protected classes in Illinois include race, color,

religion, sex, national origin, ancestry, citizenship status, age (40 and over), marital status, familial status (with regard to housing), arrest record, physical and mental disability, military status, and sexual orientation.

B. LGB stigma

In this section, stigma as an attribute of LGB workers is considered. Major themes in the literature related to stigma in general, the specific discrimination that LGB workers face, stigma consciousness among LGB workers, and enacted stigmatization of LGB workers, are examined. Additionally, differences among LGB workers are discussed.

1. Stigma in general

The concept of stigma has been of interest to scholars throughout history, from the Greeks, who defined stigma as bodily signs often cut or burned into the body that call attention to an individual's moral failings (Ainlay, Coleman, & Becker, 1986), to Emile Durkheim, who is recognized as one of the first researchers to explore "outsider" status (Falk, 2001), to Erving Goffman, who is credited as one of the most influential modern sociologists and who studied the nature, sources, and consequences of stigma (Link & Phelan, 2001). Contemporary definitions of stigma are similar to the original Greek meaning. Stigma refers to attributes that are "deeply discrediting" (Goffman, 1963, p. 3), attributes in a person or group that set that person or group apart from others, or less apparent attributes, referred to as concealable stigmas (Falk, 2001).

Stigma is a social construction based upon prejudice or negative stereotyping (Corrigan & Penn, 1999) that separates individuals who "possess... some attribute or characteristic that conveys a social identity that is devalued in some particular context" (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998, p. 505), and it generally influences others to treat the person with a stigmatized status

negatively or differently in day-to-day interactions (Burke, 2007). To the rest of society, the stigmatized person possesses attributes that make her or him different from the norm in her or his social unit (Jones, Farina, Hastorf, Markus, Miller, & Scott, 1984). In some cases, the person is considered “not quite human” (Goffman, 1963, p. 5). The stigmatizing label’s full impact extends to the individual, when the individual, aware of the stigma, internalizes the discredited identity (Page, 1984).

The stigmatized person has a mark or attribute that links the person to undesirable characteristics (Goffman, 1963; Jones et al., 1984). Goffman comments that when human beings are faced with a person who is unknown and different, they may naturally perceive her or him to be less desirable. In extreme cases, they may perceive the different person to be “thoroughly bad, or dangerous, or weak” and may reduce the different person in their minds from “a whole and usual person, to a tainted and discounted one” (pp. 2-3). The stigmatized person’s attributes are identified, labeled as inferior, and then “taken for granted as being just the way things are (Link & Phelan, 2001, p. 367). By virtue of the person’s physical or social characteristics, experiences, or beliefs, the person is perceived to have an inferior attribute that deviates from the norm of a social unit (Page, 1984; Stafford & Scott, 1986).

Particularly problematic for the stigmatized person is the social and cultural variability of the stigmatized attribute. Attributes that are stigmatized under some social conditions are irrelevant in others; however, any attribute can potentially become a stigma (Coleman, 1986). Attributes such as psychiatric disorders, employment standing, or HIV seropositive status are “inferior” in one context, but less problematic in others (Corrigan, Larson, & Kuwabara, 2007; Herek & Capitanio, 1999; Weiner, 1995). The ambiguity and unpredictable nature of stigma is

particularly troublesome for people who are stigmatized because each social situation tends to bring with it uncertainty (Ainlay, Coleman, & Becker, 1986; Goffman, 1963; Pinel, 1999).

The extent to which the stereotyped person is aware of his or her “inferior” label is also important to the understanding of stigma (Coleman, 1986; Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998). Stigmatized individuals become aware of a personal attribute that is a “defiling thing to possess” (Goffman, 1963, p. 7), though they vary in how chronically self-aware they are of their status (Brown & Lee, 2005). Researchers have defined awareness of stigma in a variety of ways. Awareness of stigma has been described as perceived or felt stigma, or the individual’s perception of the probability of being stigmatized (Becker & Arnold, 1986; Goffman, 1963). Pinel (1999) frames awareness of stigma through the term stigma consciousness, the individual’s chronic awareness of stigmatized status and expectation that all social interactions will be stigmatizing experiences. Additionally, individuals may have a profound awareness of their stigmatization because of stigmatizing experiences or incidents of enacted stigmatization, meaning the individual’s experience of negative actions as a result of the individual’s stigmatized status (Corrigan, 1998; Couture & Penn, 2003).

The problematic nature of stigma consciousness is supported by the empirical literature. Stigma consciousness has been studied in various populations, including children (Austin, MacLeod, Dunn, Shen, & Perkins, 2004), college students who have been stigmatized because of their ethnic backgrounds (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002), and individuals with psychiatric disabilities (Corrigan, Watson, & Barr, 2006). Recently, other potentially stigmatizing characteristics such as sexual minority status (Lewis, Derlega, Griffin, & Krowinski, 2003; Pinel, 1999; Waldo, 1999) and employment status (Boyce, Ryan, Imus, &

Morgeson, 2007) have been studied. The research suggests that the stigmatized person's awareness of her or his stigmatized status has an important impact on negative consequences of stigma-related experiences (Pinel, 1999).

The extent to which the individual accepts his or her stigmatized status is referred to as internalization (Pinel, 1999). Awareness of stigma does not automatically yield internalization of the stigmatizing attitudes (Corrigan & Watson, 2006). Stigma literature refers to the internalization process in a variety of ways, including stereotype agreement, self-concurrence, and self-stigma. Internalization occurs when the individual agrees with the stigma and applies it to herself or himself (Corrigan, Watson, & Barr, 2006; Page, 1984). Conversely, a person may reject the assumption that his or her attribute is inferior and resist internalizing the stigma. Internalization may take the form of stigma consciousness, defined as the extent to which an individual with a stigmatizing attribute believes his or her stigmatized status permeates interactions with non-stigmatized groups (Pinel, 2002).

Individual levels of internalization have been found to be correlated with negative consequences associated with stigma. Individuals who do not internalize stigma and reject the stigmatization of others as "unjust or irrelevant" tend to experience little or no reduction in self-esteem due to stigma (Corrigan & Watson, 2006, p. 47). For example, homeless people may internalize stigma and believe that "they have no purpose and no meaning in this world" (Falk, 2001, p. 261) or disengage from stigmatizing situations and reject this assumption of inferiority (Page, 1984). Individuals with a sexual minority identity may internalize the stigma, resulting in either hiding their sexual identity or attempting to correct their circumstances by living a heterosexual lifestyle (Becker & Arnold, 1986; Goffman, 1963; Pinel, 1999; Price, 2007).

People with a mental health diagnosis may internalize a stigmatized status and suffer diminished self-efficacy and self-esteem or discard negative stereotypes about the mentally ill as irrelevant or untrue and buffer themselves from negative effects (Corrigan & Watson, 2006; Pinel, 1999).

The extent to which the stigmatized person is subject to unfavorable actions as a result of his or her stigmatized label refers to enactment. Stigma enactment is the behavioral actions that target an individual because of the individual's stigmatized status (Herek, 2007). People who stigmatize others use a "multiplicity of individual gestures, nuances, and planned acts of strategy at various levels of consciousness and deliberation" (Loveridge, 1987, p. 13), with enactment often being the strongest indication of social rejection (Coleman, 1986). On the extreme end, enacted stigma results in physical, verbal, or sexual harassment, destruction of property, work sabotage, or aggression (Bates & Thompson, 2007; Irwin, 2002). It can also include covert forms of harassment, such as negative glances or gestures, ignoring the person, refusing to listen to the person, or imitating the person's type of walking, talking, or expressions, all of which are equally as damaging as overt behaviors (Kaukiainen et al., 2001).

2. Stigmatization of LGB workers

LGB identity is a devalued social identity due to socially constructed individual and societal attitudes towards LGB people. Stigmatizing attitudes towards LGB people are among the last culturally acceptable behaviors against a minority group in society. Though stigmatizing attitudes against LGB people are common among people with conservative faith backgrounds (Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009), stigmatizing attitudes towards LGB people are found throughout the general public. In a quantitative study of heterosexuals' use of words such as "fag" and "queer" to refer to one another in an insulting manner, Burn (2000) found that

heterosexual males self-report that they frequently use terms indicative of LGB stigma to deride one another. Swim, Pearson, and Johnston (2007) found that LGB participants report daily heterosexist experiences, including stereotypical comments about the participant or LGB individuals that dealt with stereotypes (e.g., gay males are effeminate or lesbians are “butch”), jokes that involve stereotyping or hostility towards LGB individuals, overt threats of violence or hate, or general dislike or stigmatization of LGB individuals.

Underlying the stigma associated with LGB individuals is prejudice. Allport (1987) comments that prejudice is thinking ill of others without warrant or harboring unfavorable feelings towards a person that may or may not be based upon actual experience. Stigmatization of LGB people is pervasive in our society (Kim, 2008) and is based upon what Herek (2000) describes as sexual prejudice, negative attitudes towards an individual because of his or her sexual orientation. Herek (1991) comments in his review of the literature that, while attitudes of the public towards LGB individuals are changing, LGB individuals continue to be the subject of prejudice in our society and continue to be rejected on moral grounds due to their homosexuality or on personal grounds because heterosexuals feel uncomfortable around them.

Underlying sexual prejudice is homophobia, fear or hostility towards homosexuals (Hudson & Ricketts, 1980), and/or heterosexism, the societal bias that privileges heterosexual behaviors, identity, or norms while discrediting the behaviors, identities, and norms of LGB people (Smith & Ingram, 2004). Herek (2004) comments, in a history of homophobia, that although members of the public may or may not have stigmatizing views about LGB people, we all share the knowledge that LGB desires and identities are widely considered bad, sick, immature, or inferior to heterosexuality.

The stigmatization of LGB people has historically included HIV/AIDS-related stigma. Linsk and Gilbert (2008) noted that HIV-related stigma has been influenced by public perceptions of sexuality, particularly same-sex expression of sexuality. The LGB liberation movement has been inextricably wed to the HIV/AIDS epidemic, with the first onset of the virus referred to as Gay Related Immunodeficiency Disease by public health officials (Brier, 2009). Although the disease affects those far beyond the LGB community, HIV continues to disproportionately affect men who have sex with men (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2009). Block's (2009) qualitative study of HIV-related stigma, which included workplace stigma experiences, found that participants were often blamed for contracting the disease and asked inappropriate questions, such as “‘How did you get it?’, ‘What, are you gay?’ and ‘Are you going to die?’” (p. 9). These findings suggest that some LGB-related workplace stigma may be impacted by a culture of HIV/AIDS-related stigma

The shared knowledge of cultural stigma affects LGB individuals across various life domains. For example, a study by Drydakis (2009) found that when potential employers were mailed a pair of identical curriculum vitae that were different only by sexual orientation of the applicant, gay men faced a significantly lower chance of receiving an employment interview than heterosexual men. Thus, stigmatization of LGB individuals may occur at the hiring phase. Several researchers have found that between 25-66% of LGB individuals experience stigmatization in the workplace (Croteau & Lark, 2009; Croteau & von Destinon, 1994; Irwin, 1999). LGB experiences in the workplace can include overt, enacted stigma, such as homophobic or heterosexist jokes, verbal harassment, or physical violence. They can also include more covert actions such as being overlooked for promotion or being given fewer

privileges or benefits than heterosexual counterparts, such as domestic partner insurance (Irwin, 1999).

LGB people differ from other minorities in the workplace because they can choose, in most cases, to either disclose or conceal their stigmatized identity. In a qualitative study of attitudes about homosexuality, and LGB educators in particular, McClusky (2007) found that while educators had negative views towards LGB identity and behavior, they felt a great deal of sympathy for LGB educators who had to live closeted lives. Morrow and Messinger (2006) commented that "coming out," being honest about one's sexual identity, is a central feature in the experience of being LGB. Much of society is taught from birth, and throughout much of their lives, to value gender conformity and heterosexuality (Connell, 2008). Every individual who transgresses traditional heterosexuality "comes out" to varying degrees throughout daily life. Gedro (2009) commented that, although sexual orientation is sometimes perceived to be outside the domain of work, it is very much a part of our work. She notes that sexual orientation manifests itself daily at work by pictures of spouses or children on desks, wedding bands, or bringing a spouse to a company function. Thus, even when LGB workers choose to conceal their stigmatized identity it is, nonetheless, apparent by the absence (in some cases) of a wedding band, or (in other cases) by the gendered norms that the LGB people either obey or risk challenging. LGB workers realize they are "discredited" in society yet must make a decision about whether to make known their identity in the workplace.

3. Stigma consciousness as an attribute of LGB workers

The extent to which the LGB person experiences, accepts, and internalizes his or her stigmatized status, and begins to believe his or her experience of stigma pervades every

interaction is referred to as stigma consciousness (Pinel, 1999). Pinel and Paulin (2005) commented that targets of stigma recognize that their group membership plays a role in how others interact with them and defined stigma consciousness as the extent to which targets expect to be stereotyped and/or discriminated against. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that LGB individuals come to expect stigmatization in the workplace because that experience has occurred in various other life domains. Croteau and Thiel (1993) commented that LGB workers may or may not have actual experiences with LGB stigma in the workplace; however, they may have a generalized consciousness and anger about the LGB stigma that exists in society. In a quantitative study of stigma, rumination, and psychological distress, Hatzenbuehler, Nolen-Hoeksema, and Dovidio (2009) found that those who reported LGB stigma-related experiences spend a great deal of time ruminating about those experiences. Regardless of whether or not LGB workers endorse, internalize, or believe that the LGB stigma prevalent in society is true about them personally, they have a consciousness of the possibility of stigmatization that pervades every social interaction.

The workplace is a microcosm of our broader social environment. Though there are penalties for expressing stigmatizing views in the workplace, a person who has discriminatory views outside of the workplace is not likely to abandon those views simply because they are at work. Similarly, though LGB workers may have some protection from stigmatizing views in certain workplaces, their consciousness about their experiences of stigmatization outside of work accompanies them at work. Pinel and Paulin (2005) commented that the workplace is a relevant place to study the real-world consequences of stigmatization, and workers with stigmatized identities are acutely aware of that stigmatization.

Stigma consciousness negatively impacts the lives of workers who experience it (Boyce, Ryan, Imus, & Morgeson, 2007; Couture & Penn, 2003; Crocker, 1999). In a qualitative study of the life stories of gay men, Dooley (2009) found that LGB stigma played an enormous role in the lives of the men interviewed. The participants reported that occupation and employment were major forces in their lives, and they were quite conscious of the repercussions for being open in the workplace. A similar stigma consciousness occurs among lesbians. In a study of out lesbians, Lewis, Derlega, Clarke, and Kuang (2006) found that stigma consciousness was positively correlated with intrusive thoughts about their sexual orientation, negative mood, and lesbian-related stress. Pinel and Paulin (2005) found that stigma consciousness was positively correlated with self-consciousness and perceptions of discrimination for LGB participants. Lewis, Derlega, Griffin, and Krowinski (2003) found in their study of 200 LGB individuals that stigma consciousness was a predictor of depressive symptoms.

LGB workers experience stigma consciousness as a group, yet there are differences in how workers expect to be stereotyped and/or discriminated against. Gay men as a group tend to have slightly higher levels of stigma consciousness than lesbians (Pinel, 1999), which may speak to society's attitude generally towards men who transgress traditional gender boundaries versus women who do so. Additionally, workers may also have different levels of stigma consciousness due to specific work experiences of stigmatization. Especially when coupled with overt forms of harassment and discrimination (Szymanski, Kashubeck-West, & Meyer, 2008), stigma consciousness is an important attribute of the LGB worker.

4. Enacted stigma towards LGB workers

a. Harassment

The extent to which LGB workers experience negative actions because of their sexuality orientation identity is referred to as enactment of stigma. Harassment, a wide range of physical or verbal behaviors with the intention of threatening or intimidating others, is a type of enacted stigma. Herek (2007) describes enacted sexual stigma as the overt behavioral expression of sexual stigma, such as the use of anti-LGB epithets, shunning and ostracism of LGB people, and other overt forms of harassment. Harassment is a common experience among LGB workers. In their comprehensive review of the empirical literature on LGB stigma in the workplace, Badgett, Lau, Sears, and Ho (2007) note that between 7 and 41% of LGB workers report being verbally or physically abused or having their workplaces vandalized, which is consistent with other findings. For some LGB workers, negative attitudes and verbal harassment become physical harassment. In a study of sexual prejudice and anger in antigay aggression, Parrott and Zeichner (2005) found a significant relationship between sexual prejudice and physical aggression. Herek, Gillis, Cogan, and Glunt (1997) found in their study of interpersonal violence that LGB stigma is common and that almost 50% of participants reported at least one instance of harassment and/or violence within the last year.

Workplaces differ in the extent to which the LGB workers are protected from harassment. Supportive organizations establish workplace anti-harassment and discrimination policies that can objectively provide some protection for the worker (Bates & Thompson, 2007; Brodsky, 1976). Workplaces that protect the right of LGB workers to be free from harassment enjoy the benefits of workers who have higher commitment to the organization and increased job

satisfaction. In a quantitative survey of 900 LGB workers, Day and Schoenrade (2000) found that the more LGB workers were open about their sexual orientation at work, the more they were affectively committed to their respective organizations. Workers who perceived they could be open about their sexual orientation also reported that they felt supported by their managers, and experienced greater work-life balance.

LGB workers who do not have the support of their organizations, however, do poorly compared to those in workplaces that are more supportive of LGB workers. Without formal protections, LGB workers often fear reporting harassment to the organization. Ferfolja (2008) found that anti-lesbian harassment was often not reported to supervisors for fear that they would not be supported or would make matters worse by drawing attention to their lesbian identity. Without formal protections, overt and covert harassment can be part of the daily experience for LGB workers.

b. Discrimination

A related form of enacted stigma is discrimination. Discrimination refers to stigmatizing attitudes or actions towards a person based upon her or his status. LGB discrimination can be a difficult concept because of the range of stigmatizing attitudes or actions possible that may be considered discriminatory. Additionally, it is difficult to separate harassment from discrimination because they occur in tandem with one another (i.e., harassment may be inherently discriminatory). A person generally does not harass a co-worker or subordinate due to their LGB identity without also having discriminatory views. Conversely, discriminatory views frequently result in harassment in some form.

In their review of the literature on the workplace experiences of gay and lesbian people, Welle and Button (2004) commented that there are a number of methodological issues that make identifying discrimination against LGB people in the workplace difficult. Stigma-based discrimination can result in tangible workplace outcomes (e.g., overt harassment, discriminatory hiring or firing), but also may be affective on the part of the worker. That is, the individual may perceive prejudicial attitudes while never being the target of overt discrimination.

Labeling an action as discriminatory, however, can be problematic because of the lack of formal protections in many workplaces. LGB discrimination is complex because of the variety of subtle ways LGB discrimination manifests itself in the workplace. For example, the LGB worker may not experience a coworker writing anti-LGB epitaphs on his or her cubicle, but may be the victim of gossiping or exclusion from work social circles.

Discrimination affects the LGB worker in innumerable ways. In a study of heterosexual events and psychological distress in lesbians, Syzmanski (2006) found that recent discrimination and other forms of harassment were significantly positively correlated with psychological distress. In a study of the workplace experiences of LGBT teachers, Irwin (1999) found that nearly all of the respondents reported some form of discrimination at work. Of these respondents, 90% of them reported an increase in anxiety and stress levels, and 63% reported a loss of confidence at work as a result of the incident. Similarly, Moradi (2009) found in a study of the employment experiences of LGB military veterans that LGB discrimination was negatively correlated with workgroup cohesion.

Additionally, the presence of workplace discrimination for LGB workers may have less tangible consequences, because many LGB workers will remain in the closet. Rondahl, Innala,

and Carlsson (2007) found through qualitative interviews of LGB nurses that participants see their invisibility in the workplace as a great threat, because their co-workers unconsciously (or, in some cases, consciously) discriminate against LGB workers because they do not realize their presence in the workplace. This invisibility can lead to great stress for the workers. They perceived that homosexuals fell outside the margin due to their invisibility and were not seen as deserving protections in the workplace. This phenomenon contributes to the greater stigma consciousness of LGB workers because they believe that they are likely to be discriminated against but not likely to receive the protection of their employers.

C. Differences in LGB harassment and discrimination in the workplace

The above review demonstrates that stigma theory provides a useful framework for understanding the experiences of LGB workers. LGB workers experience enacted stigma in the workplace, in forms of overt harassment and discrimination, and have high levels of stigma consciousness. However, one must consider the extent to which enacted stigma and stigma consciousness differ among different subgroups. Researchers have examined differences among LGB worker subgroups (Irwin, 1999; Kwon and Hugelshofer, 2010; Ragins, Singh, & Cornwell, 2007; Ratcliff, Lassiter, Markman, & Snyder, 2006). The results of previous studies are inconsistent and vary widely. Differences by types of sexual orientation identity, sex, outness at work, and class status are considered below.

1. Types of sexual orientation identities

Several studies suggest that LGB workers who are stigmatized in the workplace are different in non-trivial ways. Whether the LGB worker identified as lesbian, gay, or bisexual, is one important difference. However, quantitative researchers tend to presume that LGB

workers are a single unit and group LGB individuals together in their analysis. For instance, in a secondary analysis of the General Social Survey, a nationally representative survey of public attitudes, Badgett (1995), an economist, found that, even when controlling for education levels and occupation, LGB workers earn less than heterosexual workers. Among those workers, gay and bisexual men earn 11% to 27% less than heterosexual men, and lesbian and bisexual women tend to earn 12% to 30% less than heterosexual women (though, the sample size of lesbian and bisexual women was too small to achieve statistical significance).

Ragins and Cornwell (2001) tested a model of perceived sexual orientation discrimination with a nationally representative sample of 534 LGB individuals and found no statistically significant differences by gender. The analysis did not examine the nuanced differences among people of the various sexual orientation identities. Similarly, Croteau and Lark (2009) found that 61% of LGB respondents report some kind of harassment and discrimination in the workplace, but failed to examine how that differs by sexual orientation identity. In the limited studies that begin to look at sexual orientation identity differences, gender, rather than the nuanced differences among gay and bisexual men, and lesbian and bisexual women, is used as a criterion. For example, in a prospective study of the intersection of workplace discrimination, life satisfaction, and hope, Kwon and Hugelshofer (2010) found that LGB men and women report no statistically significant difference in workplace discrimination.

Others have pointed to conceptual and/or qualitative differences among LGB workers by types of sexual orientation identity. There is limited support suggesting that the experiences of lesbian and female bisexual workers are different than gay and bisexual male workers. Brand (2008), for example, commented that while lesbians risk discrimination in many workplaces,

being lesbian is beneficial in other work environments, such as male dominated workplaces, where the lesbian worker may be able to fit in as “one of the guys.” Other studies, however, found contradictory results. Qualitative interviews of African American lesbians by Bowleg, Brooks, and Ritz (2008) suggested that women still held less power and prestige than gay men in the workplace. For example, one lesbian worker in the study felt that she had less freedom to bring a same-gender partner to a work party than a similarly situated male co-worker. Hook and Bowman (2008) commented that lesbian workers may be different than gay men in important ways primarily due to the fact that lesbian women are similar to other women in that they face gender discrimination. Gender role socialization places upon them a variety of expectations that specify the type of work that lesbians “should” do and their respective role within those work environments. Similarly, Ryniker (2008) commented that lesbians are often subject to hostile workplace harassment and discrimination due to their sexual orientation identity, as well as sexual harassment based upon gender. While these studies are inconclusive, they point to potentially significant differences by type of sexual orientation identity, and suggest that LGB workers should not necessarily be considered a single group in empirical studies of the workplace. These other intergroup differences should be included in the empirical study of LGB workers.

2. Sex and gender identity

Sex and gender identity are also important distinctions in studies of LGB workers. While transgender individuals are often included with lesbian, gay, and bisexual (i.e. the “LGBT” community) research, gender identity is separate from sexuality orientation identity. Kirk and Belovics (2008) commented that, while transgender people are represented in nearly

every profession, they experience a disproportionate number of career, personal, and legal challenges in the workplace and have the highest rate of unemployment and underemployment. For example, in qualitative interviews of gay men and lesbians in education, Irwin (1999) found that 67% of the female respondents reported workplace discrimination and harassment, while a 57% of men reported such harassment. Transgender people reported the highest levels (75%) of workplace discrimination and harassment.

Several studies point to sex differences among the experiences of LGB workers. When we separate gender-based discrimination and harassment from LGB discrimination and harassment, lesbian and bisexual women fare better than gay and bisexual men. In a review of the literature on gender differences related to sexual prejudice, Herek (2000) comments that heterosexual men have more negative attitudes towards gay men than lesbians. Gillingham (2006) commented that men who transgress societal imposed gender roles, such as male social workers, are viewed with distrust. Gay and bisexual men who transgress societal roles, such as the gay male social worker who works in child welfare, often have their motivations for entering the field questioned (albeit, heterosexual men are more likely to abuse children than gay and bisexual men). In a study of workplace discrimination in the form of hiring, Crow, Fok, and Hartman (1998) found that “male homosexuals” experienced a higher discrimination priority than “female homosexuals.” Both black and white male homosexuals were more likely to be discriminated against than black and white female homosexuals.

Ratcliff, Lassiter, Markman, and Snyder (2006) found that negative attitudes towards LGB individuals fall more heavily on gay men than lesbians. Studies by Luhtanen (2003) and Lyons, Brenner, and Fassinger (2005) found that workplace harassment and discrimination due

to LGB status is more salient for men than women. These studies suggest that, while sexual harassment continues to be a problem for women in the workplace, LGB workplace discrimination and harassment may not be statistically significant factors for women because women's experiences of sexism in the workplace better equip them to negotiate the challenges of harassment and discrimination due to LGB status (Lyons, Brenner, & Fassinger, 2005).

Complicating the constructs of sex and gender identity is gender expression. Whereas sex and gender identity refer to biological and/or social constructions of gender identity, gender expression refers to the ways in which individuals display their sex and gender identity (Morrow & Messinger, 2006). Gender expression is an extension of the LGB worker's gender identity:

Gender expression refers to the ways in which we each manifest masculinity or femininity. It is usually an extension of our "gender identity," our innate sense of being male or female. Each of us expresses a particular gender every day – by the way we style our hair, select our clothing, or even the way we stand. Our appearance, speech, behavior, movement, and other factors signal that we feel – and wish to be understood – as masculine or feminine, or as a man or a woman. For some of us, our gender expression may not match our biological sex. That is, while other people see us as being male or female, we may or may not fit their expectations of masculinity or femininity because of the way we look, act, or dress (Gill Foundation, 2012, n.p.).

Embrick, Walther, and Wickens (2007) commented that gender expression is an important factor in the experiences of LGB people in the workplace, especially in what they describe as hyper-masculine fields, such as industrial or factory-based positions. In a qualitative study of a large baked goods company in the Northwest, they found that gay men were treated with particular disgust for transgressing hyper-masculine gender role expectations in the company. This suggests that contempt for gay men may be deeply bound in contempt towards women and femininity generally—especially for those LGB workers who express their gender identity in

non-traditional ways. However, these results are far from conclusive, and further research is necessary to assess the impact of sex and gender identity differences among LGB workers.

3. Outness at work

Another relevant difference in the experiences of LGB workers is the extent to which LGB workers have disclosed their sexual orientation identity, or "outed" themselves at work. LGB workers often agonize over their decision to "come out" at work, expend a great deal of energy about the decision, and carefully assess the consequences of doing so (Gusmano, 2008). In a conceptual paper about the extent to which LGB workers decide to "out" themselves at work, DeJordy (2008) commented that "societal norms not only dictate what is stigmatized but also the expectation that those who would be subjected to stigmatization carry the responsibility for making their marginalized status known and thereby are responsible for inviting on themselves the consequences of others' stigmatization" (p. 519). Degges-White and Schoffner (2002) commented that, unlike other minority groups, LGB individuals have a concealable stigma and can often choose between being out at work or not. This choice can lead to a great deal of discomfort and distress for the LGB worker. In a narrative about outness at work, LGB social workers (who were completing their internship at the time they wrote their narrative) Messinger and Topal (1997) commented that they found themselves avoiding "questions about marriage, boyfriends, and future plans" (p. 109), which made them feel dishonest and inauthentic. However, Ragins, Singh, and Cornwell (2007) found that fear of coming out at work was associated with negative workplace outcomes for LGB workers, while actually coming out was not associated with negative workplace outcomes.

Researchers have found that the actual experiences of LGB workers in the workplace are different in important ways for workers who are out. For example, LGB people who work in supportive workplaces with nondiscrimination policies or other practices that protect them are more likely to be out at work and more affectively committed to their workplaces (Bouzianis, Malcolm, & Hallab, 2008; Day & Schonerade, 1997; King, Reilly, & Hebl, 2008). Conversely, Brenner, Lyons and Fassinger (2010) found that organizational tolerance for workplace harassment and discrimination is predictive of levels of LGB outness at work.

Additionally, there is ample research support that demonstrates the positive psychological aspects of being out at work. For example, Bowleg, Burkholder, Teti, and Craig (2008) found in their mixed-methods study of black lesbian and bisexual women that outness to coworkers was one of several factors associated with perceptions of social support and psychological wellness. However, there appear to be important distinctions in the experiences of outness between LGB men and women. In a study of the health consequences of LGB visibility in the workplace, Huebner and Davis (2005) found that gay and bisexual men who are out at work experience higher levels of stress, measured by salivary cortisol and negative affect, than those who are not out. This suggests that being out at work may make the gay or bisexual male worker more of a potential target for workplace harassment and discrimination. Collectively, this evidence suggests that, along with type of sexual orientation identity and sex, outness at work is a relevant factor affecting LGB discrimination and harassment in the workplace, and that gay and bisexual men are different than lesbian and bisexual women in important ways.

4. Social class

Additionally, social class is a significant distinction among LGB people in the workplace. Social class is a worker's social category based upon "interdependent economic and legal relationships, premised upon people's structural location within the economy" (Krieger, Williams, & Moss, 1997, p. 345). Social class determines the sorts of goods, services, and knowledge to which the worker has access and is affected by the worker's occupation, income, and educational level (Krieger et al.). Whether one is of lower, working, middle, or upper class defines and shapes the LGB worker's experience in the workplace, yet those differences have been largely overlooked. In particular, LGB working class people have been largely overlooked by the LGB academic world, and as such, the literature has a "decidedly middle and upper class slant" (Mallon, 2001, p. 116). The intersection between sexual orientation and social class is frequently ignored in the research literature (McDermott, 2006; Oldfield, Candler, & Johnson, 2006), yet there appears to be at least some theoretical support for differences among LGB workers of different class backgrounds.

Ignorance of the intersection between sexual orientation and social class may be driven by the popular cultural myth of LGB affluence within society in the US. Largely driven by LGB consumer market research, this cultural myth is based upon the assumption of "Dual Income, No Kids," (DINK)—that is, LGB people have no children and thus have disposable income to spend frivolously (Badgett, 1998). This assumption, however, has been challenged by several researchers (Anastas, 2001; Badgett, 1998; Black, Gates, Sanders, & Taylor, 2000). For example, in a review of the literature, Anastas (2001) challenges the myth of the affluent LGB person and notes differences by class, work, and ethnic identity.

Instead, LGB people in the US were found to be represented across social classes. Badgett (1998) noted that “gay, lesbian, and bisexual people are found throughout the spectrum of income distribution: some are poor, a few are rich, and most are somewhere in the middle, along with most heterosexual people” (p. 4). Badgett’s study challenged the myth of affluence in LGB communities, stating that the myth of affluence comes largely from market research, rather than population-based studies. Using a secondary analysis of data from population-based studies like the US Census, the General Social Survey, the Yanklovich Monitor, and other large scale studies, Badgett found that most LGB people earn no more than heterosexuals and in some instances earn less. For example, the average gay man earns 4 to 7 percent less than the average heterosexual man, while the average lesbian, in most instances, earns less than the heterosexual woman. Gay men, on average, earn approximately \$10,000 more annually than lesbians. Black, Gates, Sanders, and Taylor (2000) did a similar demographic study using secondary data from the National Health and Social Life Survey and the General Social Survey and found that on average, partnered gay men earn substantially less than heterosexual married men.

Other researchers have found specific evidence of class divides and rifts among LGB communities. Carter (1998) notes that class divisions among the LGB community limit the access of working-class LGB people from LGB-inclusive resources and spaces that would otherwise be available to them. Working-class LGB people are "outsiders" among a community that is presumably middle-class and/or affluent. Appleby (2001a/2001b) published a series of papers using qualitative interviews of working class LGB people, and found evidence of "outsider" status and divides between working-class and more affluent LGB people. One of Appleby’s (2001b) participants noted that, “I’ve experienced discrimination more from the gay

community... I was told by an [LGB] organization I volunteered for that I didn't look professional enough. When I pressed on this, I was told my failure to dress nicely or have non-spikey, elegantly combed hair was a factor. I ceased to be a volunteer, rather than comply with that nonsense... It's hard for me to fit in [with the LGB community]" (p. 145). Another agreed, stating that "working-class men are more apt to experience discrimination from the middle-class queers than from the straights" (Appleby, 2001a, p. 60). Jo (2005) discusses the middle-class "arrogance" among some members of the lesbian community and laments, "so how did this cruelty and coldness come into our community? Were the class-privileged Lesbians who spoke about 'Sisterhood' and equality just pretending?" (p. 140). Similarly, Taylor's (2009) qualitative study of working-class lesbians found that intersections between sexual orientation and class were very real in the lived experiences of the research participants. For example, several of Taylor's participants described difficulties "fitting in" within mainstream, middle-class LGB organizations. One participant noted, "I think there is a lack of working-class places and that's a problem for working-class people. So you... either assimilate middle-class values, go into expensive places where you don't feel comfortable... or stay in a working-class environment where you get your head kicked in" (p. 198).

Class status differences among LGB workers also affect actual workplace experiences of those workers and access to LGB-inclusive workplace support. For example, Barrett and Pollack (2005) challenged the myth that the LGB community is middle class and hypothesized that class status provides middle class LGB workers a variety of economic and psychosocial resources not available to those of a lower class status. They found that a higher class status is positively correlated with outness and access to LGB social supports. McDermott

(2006) found through a series of qualitative interviews that working-class lesbians tended to work in organizations in which heterosexuality was most rigidly enforced, without accessible LGB-inclusive social supports. As such, there is at least some evidence that the intersection of social class and sexual orientation identity in the workplace matters a great deal. LGB people of higher social classes have different workplace experiences; thus, it is important to capture those unique differences.

D. Consequences of enacted stigma and stigma consciousness

Understanding the experiences of enacted stigmatization of LGB workers, in the forms of overt and covert harassment, is important, yet understudied. As Barton (2010) notes, LGB people are “frequently the butt, the object, or the “other” of scientific inquiry, and even more pronouncedly, public stereotyping... [LGB people] are often *talked about* but seldom *listened to*; rarely are they asked about their own oppression and the individuals and institutions oppressing them” (p. 466). Work is one of the hallmarks of adulthood, and finding meaningful work and satisfying relationships at work is a major component of happiness during this hallmark of adulthood (Akabas, 1993; Hall, 1986).

The stigmatization of LGB workers limits their meaningful access to this important part of life. Poverny (2000) comments that while LGB workers are beginning to demand protection under the law, it is perfectly legal to discriminate in many locales and at the federal level. She notes that “job discrimination against sexual minority workers is still clearly evident” (p. 88), and many LGB workers experience stress as a result of hiding their minority status.

The stress that LGB workers experience by being stigmatized at work has been described in a number of ways. Meyer (1995) notes that LGB people are subjected to chronic stressors

such as internalized homophobia, expectations of discrimination and rejection, and actual events of discrimination and rejection. Meyer describes these experiences as “minority stress,” and found that such stress contributes to high levels of psychological distress among LGB people. Waldo (1999) comments that, “unlike members of other minority groups, such as racial and ethnic minorities, who most often grow up in families with the same racial/ethnic background, [LGB] people spend most of their lives being relatively isolated from members of their cultural group” (p. 219).

Others describe the stress of LGB workers as a threat to their psychological well-being. Individuals who do not experience minority stress are thought to be psychologically well, which is demonstrated by their ability to look on the bright side of things, avoid ruminating excessively about negative events, have meaningful social relationships, and possess adequate resources available to work towards goals that they value (Diener, Suh, Luxas, & Smith, 1990). Experiences of discrimination in the workplace have been found to increase anxiety and stress levels, and result in loss of confidence (Irwin, 2002).

Harassment and discrimination against LGB workers has demonstrably negative consequences. In a qualitative study of LGB minority stress, Hequembourg and Brallier (2009) found that societal imposed stigmatizing attitudes cause a great deal of stress for LGB workers. One respondent in this study reported that:

There are kinds of nonviolent, aggressive situations that you experience as a gay person. Aggressive for me is like my heart beating really, really fast and I’m feeling really nervous. My first day at my job, like I just met these people. I’m at a new job. You know this in the first place: You want to make a good impression. We all go to lunch, we sit down, and they ask me, you know, “Do you have a boyfriend?” Huh! And I was like, “No!” But I didn’t tell them I had a girlfriend. So then everybody was trying to hook me up with their nephews and stuff. (p. 282)

Other authors similarly found minority stress to be a consequence of LGB stigmatization. Using a combination of the Workplace Heterosexist Experience Questionnaire (Waldo, 1999), the Sexual Identity Distress Scale (Wright & Perry, 2006), and Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire (Pinel, 1999) with a sample of 301 LGB youth ages 16-24, Keller (2009) found that the linear combination of these measures of negative workplace experiences related to LGB status were predictive of psychological distress. Smith and Ingram (2004) also found in their study of workplace heterosexism and adjustment among LGB persons that heterosexist events were positively related to depression and psychological distress.

Other consequences of LGB stigmatization have also been measured in the empirical literature. In a study of the consequences of workplace harassment for LGB workers in the form of alcohol use and abuse, Nawyn, Richman, Rospenda, and Hughes (2000) found a significant relationship between workplace harassment, increased alcohol consumption, and problems, particularly for lesbian and bisexual women. Gay men reported a similar degree of harassment, but there was not a significant corresponding relationship found in alcohol use and problems.

Waldo's (1999) study of the antecedents and outcomes of heterosexism in the workplace represents, to date, the best available evidence. Through this study and a related study, Waldo developed the Workplace Heterosexist Experiences Questionnaire, a scale that assesses both direct and indirect experiences of heterosexist harassment in the workplace. Prior to this study, no reliable quantitative measures of LGB workplace harassment and discrimination existed. Waldo found among his LGB worker participants that experiencing heterosexism was correlated with negative psychological and health outcomes. This suggests that there are multiple consequences of LGB stigmatization in the workplace.

E. Summary

This chapter examined the historical context of LGB harassment and discrimination in the workplace, LGB stigma, differences in LGB harassment and discrimination in the workplace, and consequences of enacted stigma and stigma consciousness for LGB workers. Researchers estimate that between 25 and 66% of LGB individuals experience stigmatization in the workplace (Croteau & Lark, 2009; Croteau & von Destinon, 1994; Irwin, 1999; Levine & Leonard, 1984). Protections are available in a number of states for LGB workers, including Illinois. LGB people represent a sizeable portion of the workforce, yet no federal protection of LGB workers exists.

LGB workers are different in important ways, yet they are often grouped together for the purpose of empirical research. There is some evidence that lesbian workers, gay male workers, and bisexual workers are different in their experiences of harassment and discrimination, but the volume of research that examines those differences is relatively slim. This study looks at these important differences and examines how certain characteristics, such as lesbian, gay, or bisexual identity, ethnic identity, gender, social class, education, and outness at work, impact LGB people's experiences of enacted stigmatization and stigma consciousness.

While it may make intuitive sense that LGB workers experience enacted stigmatization and stigma consciousness, the quantitative evidence supporting this is sparse at best. Many of the studies of LGB workplace stigmatization are qualitative or anecdotal accounts. None of the studies examine enacted stigmatization and stigma consciousness among LGB people living and/or working in metropolitan Chicago, IL. These studies lay the groundwork for further quantitative research to add to the social work knowledge base on LGB workers. This study

responds to that gap by examining enacted stigmatization, stigma consciousness, and outness among a sample of LGB workers in Chicago.

III. METHODS

This descriptive, Internet-based, quantitative study explores sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination in the workplace and stigma consciousness using a convenience sample of LGB workers in metropolitan Chicago, Illinois. Existing research on the experiences of LGB workers provides some empirical evidence supporting the phenomenon of enacted stigmatization and stigma consciousness (Croteau & Lark, 2009; Drydakis, 2009; Pinel, 1999; Swim, Pearson & Johnston, 2007; Waldo, 1999); however, the evidence is far from conclusive or well supported. This chapter discusses the methodology and research design, used in this study, to address this gap. A description of the sampling procedures, measures used, and approaches to statistical analysis approaches is provided.

A. Sampling

Sampling LGB workers presents a number of methodological challenges for researchers, as LGB workers are a population for whom there is no consistently valid sampling frame (Ragins & Weithoff, 2005; Sell & Petrilio, 1996). This section discusses some of those challenges and identifies the strategies that were used for sampling.

1. Inclusion criteria

The population for this study was self-identified LGB individuals who are employed, between 18 and 64 years old as of the day they completed the study, and living and/or working in the metropolitan Chicago, Illinois area. Eligibility for inclusion in the study was assessed using potential participants' self-reported sexual orientation, age, employment status, and location. Potential participants first had to identify that they are lesbian, gay, or bisexual. Potential participants must have been employed for pay on a part-time or full-time basis at least 3

months within the past 24 months. Additionally, potential participants who reported residing and/or working in the metropolitan Chicago, Illinois area were eligible for the study. Those who did not meet these criteria did not complete the study.

2. Sampling approach

Sampling LGB individuals presents a number of challenges in social science research, as there is no master database or registry of all LGB individuals within a designated region or workplace. Researchers examining the experiences of LGB individuals, with few exceptions, have historically relied upon convenience samples and/or snowball sampling, recruiting participants from LGB identified advocacy organizations, businesses, and LGB pride events (Ragins & Weithoff, 2005; Sell & Petrilio, 1996). This tends to be a persistent (often, difficult to avoid) methodological limitation prevalent in LGB research.

In addition to snowball sampling, other approaches, such as respondent-driven sampling, were considered for the study. Respondent-driven sampling, a technique that combines snowball sampling with weighting to account for non-random recruitment, is an improvement over convenience sampling or snowball sampling. However, respondent-driven sampling tends to have bias towards more socially connected individuals (Heckathorn, 2002). These individuals are probably different than other LGB individuals in that they are more likely to be “out” and more connected to LGB advocacy issues than those without such social connections.

Time-space and time-location sampling were also possibilities for the study. Targeting hidden populations, such as LGB communities, is frequently done by identifying the organizations, places, and spaces where they are likely to congregate (Muhib et al., 2001; Sell & Petrilio, 1996). For example, Blair's (1999) sampling plan targeted gay men living within a

geographic area by identifying the telephone exchanges associated with commonly known LGB districts within a metropolitan area. Utilizing telephone exchanges was determined to be less efficacious, given the advent of cell phones. However, targeting the places and spaces that LGB people are likely to access remained a viable recruitment method.

While non-probability samples, such as samples of convenience, are not without bias, the convenience and the cost of using alternative sampling methods were factors in this study. Snowball, respondent-driven, time-space/time-location sampling, would have required additional resources beyond the scope of the project. An even better alternative—a larger, population-based sample of LGB workers—would have yielded less bias, but at considerable additional expense. Such a sample would require contacting thousands of participants in the general population to yield several hundred LGB-identified participants. Convenience sampling was thus determined to be an acceptable strategy given resource limitations and scope of the project.

To obtain a convenience sample for this study, four recruitment steps were used. During step one, online banner advertisements inviting potential participants to access a web survey were placed on the websites of three prominent metropolitan Chicago, Illinois area publications and allied publications for a period of four weeks, including: Windy City Times (WCT), Gay Chicago Magazine (GCM), and the Chicago Reader (CR). Published since 1985, WCT is metropolitan Chicago's oldest LGB weekly free newspaper, and its website hosts 85,000 unique visitors per month, 733,000 page views per month, and has 4,000,000 hits per month (Windy City Media Group, 2010). GCM is a weekly subscription-based magazine in Chicago that has been published for 33 years. Its website hosts "hundreds" of LGB visits from Chicago each month (Gernhardt Publications, 2010). CR is a free weekly newspaper with a readership of

450,000 and has been recognized nationwide as Chicago's alternative newspaper for politics, culture, and music. It also has a highly visited website (Creative Loafing Media, 2010).

For step two, print classified advertisements were placed in the same three LGB and allied publications, WCT, GCM, and CR. Recruitment via print advertisements also took place for a period of four weeks. These print advertisements invited potential LGB participants to visit the same web survey.

Step three targeted LGB participants who access Internet search engines and social networking sites, including Google, Facebook, and Craigslist. Targeted web advertisements were placed on Google Adwords, an online search engine, for a period of four weeks. Google Adwords are targeted, pay-per-click, short, one-line headlines with two additional text lines that direct users to websites (Google, 2010). Users that searched for terms gay, lesbian, or bisexual and Chicago, received the advertisement inviting them to access a web survey. Facebook Ads is an advertising tool used on the social networking website Facebook. Facebook Ads targets pay-per-click or pay-per-impression advertisements to individuals based upon their location, age, and interests (Facebook, 2010). Users who reported living in metropolitan Chicago, Illinois, who reported that they are males interested in other males, females interested in other females, or males or females interested in both males and females, received a one-line advertisement inviting them to participate in a survey of LGB workers. Lastly, Craigslist was also used for advertising the study. Craigslist is a largely free form, community-moderated forum of location-based classifieds that are used for advertising jobs, housing, goods, services, and personal advertisements. The site is used by approximately 50 million people in the US (Craigslist, n.d.).

Invitations to participate in the study were posted to the Craigslist Chicago, Illinois site in the personals sections labeled “Men seeking Men” and “Women seeking Women.”

In the final recruitment step, invitations to participate in a web-based survey of LGB worker experiences were placed on-site at area nonprofit organizations, including Center on Halsted, Howard Brown Health Center, Chicago Black Men's Gay Caucus, CALOR, Asians and Friends Chicago, and Chicago Prime Timers. Permission to post the advertisement was given by these organizations. Center on Halsted is Chicago's LGB community center and provides for a variety of social, recreational, cultural, and social service needs of LGB individuals in the area (Center on Halsted, 2010). Howard Brown Health Center in Chicago is one of the nation's largest LGB healthcare organizations and serves more than 36,000 individuals each year (Howard Brown Health Center, 2010). Chicago Black Men's Gay Caucus is a non-profit organization serving Chicago's African American gay and bisexual male community (Chicago Black Men's Gay Caucus, 2010). CALOR serves Latino people affected by HIV/AIDS in the Chicagoland area (CALOR, 2010). Asians and Friends Chicago serves Asian/Pacific Islanders who identify as sexual minorities (Asians and Friends Chicago, 2011). Finally, Chicago Prime Timers is a social support organization for older gay and bisexual men and their admirers (Chicago Prime Timers, 2010).

3. Sample size

The desired sample size was determined through a power analysis based on Cohen's (1992b) observations and the following assumptions for the necessary parameters. According to Cohen (1992a), effect sizes are small, medium, and large and differ by the type of analyses used. The necessary sample size was estimated using a power analysis assuming

$p < .05$, and a power of 0.80 to detect a medium effect size of 0.15. The effect size estimate was based on a review of the literature. Previous studies (Pinel, 1999; Smith & Ingram, 2004; Waldo, 1999) measuring the dependent variables of interest showed effect sizes ranging from small effect sizes (0.04) to very large effect sizes (0.47). For this study, a medium effect size of 0.15 was determined to be a conservative parameter, and the resulting sample size provided enough participants to allow for response variance.

G*Power 3.1.0 was used to calculate the desired sample size. Six independent variables (i.e., lesbian, gay, or bisexual identity, racial and ethnic identity, gender, social class, education, and outness at work) are the number of predictors required for the multiple regression models used in this study. Considering the medium effect size of 0.15, a power of 0.80 and a significance level of 0.05, the *a priori* sample size for this study was 215 participants.

4. Protection of human subjects

Prior to beginning this study, IRB approval was obtained from the University of Illinois at Chicago. Participation in the study was voluntary, and participants could opt out of the study at any time. Due to the sensitive nature of the study and to protect the anonymity of the participants, a waiver of written documentation of informed consent was obtained from the IRB. A signature indicating informed consent would have unnecessarily revealed the identity of the respondents and would be one of the only identifiable links to the participant. A subject information sheet was provided to participants, documenting the purpose of the research, research procedures, benefits and risks, costs to the participant, withdrawal procedures, and participant rights. After the subject information was provided, participants had to click on “Agree” to enter the survey. The subject information sheet is available in the Appendices.

The risks to participants were minimal. To the extent possible, the study was anonymous, and at no point did the investigator have access to the names or other personally identifying information of the participants. Participants were advised of the potential for security breaches in an Internet-based study. For example, Internet Protocol (IP) addresses could be used to trace the Internet service provider of participants, and could, with the assistance of the Internet service provider, be used to identify participants. Participants could be reasonably assured of their privacy when completing the study.

There was minimal to no risk for exploitation of the participants. No financial compensation was provided for the study. Participants could opt out of the survey at any time without any consequence. Additionally, the response burden was minimal. Participants were able to complete the survey once and were able to complete the survey in 20 minutes or less.

Risk of psychological distress to the participants was also minimal; however, the investigator anticipated that some participants could have experienced mild psychological distress as a result of participating in the survey. Some participating LGB workers could have currently been targets of workplace harassment and discrimination and may have had psychological needs beyond the scope of this study. As such, professional referral information was provided. Additionally, information about filing a workplace harassment and discrimination complaint with the IHRC was provided to all survey participants.

B. Instrumentation and Measures

A number of instruments and measures were used to examine the extent of workplace sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination, differences by certain characteristics, the extent of stigma consciousness among LGB workers, and the relationship between workplace

sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination and stigma consciousness. There are several existing reliable and valid measures that address the constructs of interest for this study (Mohr & Fassinger, 2000; Pinel, 1999; Waldo, 1999). This section will discuss the independent and dependent variables as well as validated instruments that were used.

1. Independent variables

a. Sexual orientation identity

Participants were asked to self-identify their sexual orientation using the question, “How do you describe your sexual orientation?” Possible responses included gay, lesbian, bisexual, or straight. Potential participants who identified as straight did not meet the study's inclusion criteria and were excluded from the study.

b. Gender identity

Participants were asked to self-identify their gender using the question, “How do you describe your gender?” Possible responses included male, female, male-to-female transgender, or female-to-male transgender. As gender identity is separate and distinct from sexual orientation identity, participants who identified as transgender and LGB were eligible to complete the study. Straight transgender participants were excluded from the study.

c. Outness

Outness means the extent to which the LGB person has disclosed her or his LGB identity to one or more persons. Outness at work was assessed using two items from Mohr and Fassinger's (2000) Outness Inventory (OI): the extent to which the LGB individual is out to work peers and the extent to which the LGB individual is out to their supervisor.

Outness has been measured in other empirical studies using a number of different approaches, such as developing a short measure for the study, assessing outness with a single-dichotomous variable, or using qualitative, open-ended responses. There is no universally accepted measure of outness, and existing measures of outness have insufficient validation with psychometric data. A number of other measures were considered but were rejected because of significant shortcomings. For example, Herek, Cogan, Gillis, & Glunt (1997) developed a Disclosure of Sexual Orientation scale, an instrument that assesses whether participants had disclosed their sexual orientation to current heterosexual friends, acquaintances, and heterosexual friends known prior to coming out. Morris and Rothblum (1999) measured outness by asking participants to rate the percentage of which four groups of people (gay and lesbian friends, straight friends, family, and co-workers) knew about the participant's sexual orientation. Day and Schoenrade (2000) measured outness at work by asking participants the extent to which they actively work to conceal their sexual orientation identity from people at work. Waldo (1999) measured outness on a nine-point scale across three life domains—in the workplace, throughout life in general, and to parents—yet did not examine differences in outness at work (i.e., whether the worker is out to co-workers, supervisors or managers, etc).

Mohr and Fassinger's (2000) OI measures the extent to which LGB individuals are open about their sexual orientation, and has been used in several studies examining LGB wellness on life domains such as interpersonal relationship quality and social support (Lewis, Derlega, Griffin, & Krowinski, 2003; Moradi et al., 2010, Todosijevic, Rothblum, & Solomon, 2005), but to date has not been used in LGB workplace studies. The OI was developed based upon a review of the literature and in consultation with subject matter experts. OI has content validity but its

construct validity has not been established. Additionally, the OI has internal reliability (Chronbach's alpha) but test-retest reliability has not been established. Despite these shortcomings, it was selected as the best available instrument and was determined to be a better option than constructing an instrument *ad hoc* for the study.

The final instrument contains 11 items in which participants rate the extent to which their sexual orientation is known and openly talked about by various types of individuals (e.g., parents, work peers, work supervisors, members of religious community). The full instrument is available in the Appendices. The extent to which various types of individuals know and talk about the participant's sexual orientation is rated on a 7-point scale ranging from person definitely does not know about participant's sexual orientation status (1) to person definitely knows about respondents' sexual orientation status and it is openly talked about (7). The scale is not weighted by closeness of relationship; for example, outness to one's mother is evaluated on the same scale as outness to one's boss. The Chronbach alpha ranged from 0.74 to 0.97.

d. Race and ethnicity

Participants were first asked to self-identify their race using the question, “How do you describe your race?” Possible responses included White, Black/African American, American Indian/Alaskan Native, Asian, Pacific Islander/Native Hawaiian, Multi-racial, or Other. A Multi-Racial or Other response prompted the participant to type all of their identified race(s). Participants were then asked to self-identity their ethnicity using the question, “How do you describe your ethnicity?” with possible responses of Hispanic or Non-Hispanic.

e. Age

Participants were asked to report their age using the following items. First, potential participants were screened using the question, “As of today, are you at between 18 and 64 years of age?” with possible responses of “Yes” or “No.” Then participants were then asked, “What is your age as of today?” Potential participants who reported that they were younger than 18 years of age or older than 64 years of age did not meet the inclusion criteria and were excluded from the survey.

f. Education

Participants were asked to report their highest educational attainment using the question, “What category best describes your highest educational attainment?” Possible responses included Less than High School, General Educational Development (GED), High School Diploma, Trade/Vocational Degree, Some College, Associate’s Degree, Bachelor’s Degree, Master’s Degree, and Doctoral Degree.

g. Social class

Social class was assessed in three ways. First, participants were asked to self-identify their occupation, using the question, “How would you describe your primary occupation?” The US Bureau of Labor Statistics (2010) Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) system was used for collecting occupational data. The SOC is used by federal agencies to classify workers into one of 840 detailed occupations, which are then categorized into 23 major groups. The 23 major occupational categories used in this study can be found in the Appendices.

Next, participants were asked to describe their social class status using the question, “How do you describe your social class?” Responses to this item included lower class, working

class, middle class, and upper class. Thirdly, participants reported their income, in \$10,000 increments, using the questions, “What is your individual adjusted gross income, before taxes?” and, “What is your household adjusted gross income, before taxes?”

h. Employment status

Participants were asked to self-identify their employment status using the question, “How would you describe your employment status within the past 24 months?”

Twenty-four months was used to remain consistent with the standard WHEQ and to avoid potentially biasing the sample by excluding potential participants whose employment may have been terminated recently and/or terminated related to the participant's LGB identity. Possible responses to this item included part-time (i.e., less than 35 hours per week), full-time (i.e., 35 hours or more per week), or unemployed.

Additional self-report measures were used to determine the nature of participants' employment status during the past 24 months. The additional questions were adapted from the National Comorbidity Survey, Replication Study (Harvard School of Medicine, 2002).

Participants will be asked to rate the number of months spent in each employment situation during the past 24 months using the following questions: “During the past 24 months, how many months did you spend in each of the following work situations: (1) How many months did you work either for pay or profit, whether part-time or full-time, including time spent on paid vacation, paid sick leave, paid maternity leave, or other paid leave?; (2) How many months were you not working because you were on unpaid leave, such as unpaid sick leave, disability leave, maternity leave, or something else?; and (3) How many months were you not working at a paid job and not actively looking for work—for example, you were retired, disabled, a student, or at

home caring for children?” Finally, participants were asked to describe any unusual circumstances in their employment during the past 24 months with an open-ended item “Please describe any unusual circumstances in your employment situation during the past 24 months (Enter N/A if Not Applicable).” Potential participants who reported employment of less than 3 months during the past 24 months did not meet the inclusion criteria for the study.

i. Geographic location

Participants were asked to self-identify the county in which they live and work. First, participants were asked, “Is your primary place of residence or primary place of work in metropolitan Chicago, Illinois (i.e., Cook, DuPage, Kane, Kendall, Lake, McHenry, Will Counties in Illinois, and Lake County in Northwestern Indiana)?” with possible responses of “Yes” or “No.” Follow-up questions included, “In which county is your primary place of employment located?” and “In which county is your primary place of residence located?” Possible responses to these items included Cook, DuPage, Kane, Kendall, Lake, McHenry, and Will Counties in Illinois, and Lake County in Northwestern Indiana.

j. HIV status

Finally, participants were asked to self-identify their HIV status. First, participants were asked, “Do you know your HIV status?” with possible responses of “HIV Positive,” “HIV Negative,” or “Not Sure.” Follow-up questions included, “Do your co-workers know about your HIV status?” and “Does your supervisor know about your HIV status?” Potential responses included “Yes,” “No,” and “Not Sure.”

2. Dependent variables

a. Enacted stigmatization

Enacted stigmatization refers to unfavorable treatment or other overt actions taken against an individual as a result of her or his stigmatized status (Herek, 2007). There is a distinction between what people *do* versus what people *believe about* a stigmatized person. This construct was assessed using the 25-item WHEQ that measures direct experiences of workplace harassment and discrimination due to LGB identity (Waldo, 1999).

Experiences of LGB-related harassment and discrimination have been measured in a variety of ways in related studies. For example, Herek, Gillis, Cogan, & Glunt's (1997) measure of discrimination experiences focuses explicitly on experiences of criminal victimization and hate crimes. Another example, the Perceived Heterosexist Harassment, Rejection, and Discrimination Scale (Szymanski, 2006), measures heterosexist harassment among lesbians among several life domains yet is not appropriate for the proposed study because only three items measure workplace events. Larger studies have measured incidence of harassment and discrimination using a single measure (Diaz, Ayala, Bein, Henne, & Marin, 2001; Huebener, Rebhook, & Kegeles, 2004) but have not captured the range of discrimination and harassment experiences for LGB workers. While these instruments have provided preliminary evidence of the extent of LGB enacted stigmatization in the workplace, none of the measures captures the range of LGB workplace experiences as well as Waldo's (1999) WHEQ.

Waldo's (1999) WHEQ is a reliable measure of workplace harassment and discrimination and has been used in several empirical studies on the workplace experiences of LGB people

(Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Moradi, 2009; Smith, & Ingram, 2004). The WHEQ was developed based upon a content analysis of previous research and interviews with LGB employees. Draft items were reviewed and revised by professionals attending a conference on sexual orientation in the workplace. The instrument contains 25 items of experiences ranging from subtle and slight discrimination to overtly hostile harassment. The statements are presented with the stem “During the past 24 months, have you ever been in a situation where any of your coworkers and supervisors” and a four-point Likert response scale ranging from never (0) to most of the time (4). Higher summative scores on the WHEQ mean more reports of workplace experiences of harassment and discrimination. A full list of WHEQ items is available in the Appendices.

To establish construct validity, Waldo (1999) associated the WHEQ with several work-related outcomes, including organizational tolerance for heterosexism, and job satisfaction indices. For example, the WHEQ was validated with the Worker, Coworker, and Supervisor subscales of the Job Descriptive Index (Smith, Kendall, & Hulin, 1969), an adapted version of Hulin, Fitzgerald, and Drasgow's (1996) Organizational Tolerance for Sexual Harassment Inventory called the Organizational Tolerance for Heterosexism Inventory, and Job Withdrawal Scales (Hanish & Hulin, 1991). Waldo found in his instrument validation study that the WHEQ was moderately to highly correlated with other measures of negative effects of heterosexism such as negative health related-outcomes ($r = 0.72$), health satisfaction ($r = 0.80$), and job withdrawal ($r = 0.80$). Additionally, Waldo found the WHEQ to have a high internal consistency and reported a Chronbach's alpha of 0.92.

b. Stigma consciousness

Stigma consciousness means the LGB person's chronic self-awareness of her or his stigmatized status and belief that all social interactions will result in stigmatization (Pinel, 1999). Stigma consciousness was assessed using Pinel's (1999) 10-item Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire (SCQ) for Gay Men and Lesbians. No other measures were available that directly assessed stigma consciousness for LGB communities.

There were several additional possible measures in the empirical literature related to the extent to which the LGB person is aware of his or her stigmatization (i.e., perceived stigma), or has accepted those stigmatizing beliefs as true (i.e., internalized stigma and/or internalized heterosexism/homophobia). However, none of these measures captured the constructs of interest as well as Pinel's (1999) SCQ. Several alternative measures, including Attitudes Towards Gay Men scale (Herek, 1994), Internalized Homophobia scale (Martin & Dean, 1987), internalized heterosexism measures (Szymanski, Kashubeck-West, S., & Meyer, 2008), measures of expected stigma validated with other populations (Link, 1987), and other unvalidated measures of perceived discrimination (Mays & Corcoran, 2001), were considered for use in this study. Though alternative instruments measured related concepts and conceivably proxies for stigma consciousness, only the SCQ for Gay Men and Lesbians directly measures the LGB person's chronic self-awareness of her or his stigmatized status and belief that all social interactions will result in stigmatization (Pinel, 1999). Alternative instruments would have required significant adaptation and instrument validation to capture the constructs of interest.

The SCQ for Gay Men and Lesbians was developed by Pinel (1999) as an adaptation of Pinel's SCQ for Women (Pinel, 1999). The original SCQ for Women was developed using a

sample of psychology students, and the adapted SCQ for Gay Men and Lesbians used a convenience sample of gay men and lesbians attending a gay pride event in San Francisco. The instrument contains 10 items measuring the extent to which gay men and lesbians interpret their experiences in light of their group membership. Participants ranked their level of agreement with each item on a seven-point scale, ranging from strongly disagree (0) to strongly agree (6), with a midpoint of neither agree nor disagree. A larger overall score on the SCQ, after taking into account the reverse coding, means higher levels of stigma consciousness. Pinel completed a factor analysis of the instrument, which identified all items as composing a single factor. Items include, “When interacting with heterosexuals who know my sexual preference, I feel they may interpret all of my behaviors in terms of the fact that I am a homosexual” and “Most heterosexuals have a lot more homophobic thoughts than they actually express.” Some items were reverse-coded, such as: “My being homosexual does not influence how people act with me” and “Most heterosexuals do not judge homosexuals on the basis of their sexual preference.” A full list of the items is available in the Appendices.

To establish construct validity, Pinel (1999) tested the SCQ for Gay Men and Lesbians with measures of perceived discrimination and with measures of trust in other people. Pinel adapted Scheussler's (1982) Doubt About the Trustworthiness of People Scale and Rosenberg's (1957) Faith in People Scale to create a 13-item trustworthiness scale (Chronbach's $\alpha = 0.89$). Additionally, Pinel developed a 7-point discrimination scale in which participants ranked the extent to which they believed lesbians and gay men are discriminated against as a group and the extent to which she or he is discriminated against personally as a lesbian or gay man. Pinel found that the SCQ for Gay Men and Lesbians was weakly correlated with

trustworthiness of people ($r = 0.16$), but found measures of perceived discrimination against LGB people ($r = 0.57$) to be moderately correlated with the SCQ for Gay Men and Lesbians. Additionally, Pinel found the SCQ for Gay Men and Lesbians to have a high internal consistency. Chronbach alpha's for the SCQ for Gay Men and Lesbians was 0.81.

3. Additional clarification

At the end of the survey, participants were given the opportunity to provide additional clarification to the investigator. Respondents were asked the question, “Do any of your survey responses require additional clarification?” with a possible response of “Yes” or “No.” Participants were asked to provide further clarification through the following open-ended question: “Experiences in the workplace are unique. Please describe your unique workplace experiences of discrimination and/or harassment as a lesbian, gay, or bisexual person.”

C. Data Collection

Data were collected from participating LGB workers via a web-based electronic survey. Through online and print advertisements, potential participants were invited to visit an Internet Uniform Resource Locator (URL) that redirected them to an electronic survey hosted on Survey Monkey (SM). SM is a cost-effective online survey tool that enables investigators to create customized surveys and to view the results graphically and in real-time. SM enables participants to complete a survey entirely online and from a location of their choice. SM protects confidentiality of the data through encryption technology and password protection (SM, 2009). Conducting surveys using the Internet is an efficient data collection strategy and is beginning to be used more routinely in health and behavioral sciences research (Dretsbach & Mover, 2008; Mimiaga et al., 2008; Sheth, Operario, Latham, & Sheoran, 2007).

Upon accessing the URL, participants were presented with an electronic subject information sheet. Participants were advised they would be participating in a survey of the workplace experiences of LGB people living and/or working in metropolitan Chicago, Illinois. An explicit statement of the purpose and objectives of the study, as well as potential benefits and risks, was provided to participants. Participants were informed that their participation would be voluntary and anonymous and that they could end their participation at any time without any consequence. Participants were advised that written documentation of their identity and informed consent is waived. Waiver of documentation of informed consent allowed the participants to maintain their anonymity, absent an unforeseeable Internet data breach, as written documentation of informed consent would be the only source of identifying information of participants. Participants indicated their consent by clicking the “Agree” key. Waiver of documentation of informed consent was obtained from the University of Illinois at Chicago's Institutional Review Board.

Next, potential participants were presented with a three-item screen assessing their eligibility for the survey per the inclusion criteria. The survey gathered participants' self-identified sexual orientation identity, age, and work status. If the participant did not meet the inclusion criteria, they were advised that they were ineligible for the study and skipped out of the survey to a page that provided information on where to obtain support as needed, including: the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of five Licensed Clinical Social Workers (LCSW) or allied professionals in the metropolitan Chicago, Illinois area specializing in employment issues, and information for filing workplace harassment and discrimination complaints with the IHRC. Participants who met the inclusion/exclusion criteria were presented with the opening screen of

the survey questionnaire. At the conclusion of the survey, eligible participants were provided with the same information on additional resources and where to obtain help within the community as potential but ineligible participants.

D. Technical Review

In October of 2010, a technical review of the instrument was completed. The purpose of the technical review was to assess readability, logic, and ease of navigation of the survey. Additionally, technical reviewers evaluated whether the instrument was culturally sensitive and respectful of LGB participants. Three doctoral students in social work competent in research methodology and LGB issues also reviewed the instrument. These reviewers identified as gay male, lesbian female, and bisexual female. Each reviewer completed the survey online and evaluated the survey in narrative form. Reviewers made minor suggestions for text and layout changes to improve readability, logic, and ease of navigation. After the revisions were made, these reviewers indicated that the survey appeared sensitive and respectful of LGB participants.

E. Data Analysis Plan

This study explored the extent to which Chicago-area LGB workers experience sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination in the workplace. The study examined whether this harassment differed by certain characteristics. Additionally, the extent of stigma consciousness among the sample, including differences by certain characteristics, was explored. Finally, the relationship between sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination and stigma was considered. Below the data analytic plan is described by each research question.

1. Extent of sexual orientation based harassment and discrimination in the workplace

RQ1 examined the extent to which LGB workers experience enacted stigma in the workplace; descriptive statistics were used. The summed WHEQ was used to assess the extent of sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination among this sample of LGB workers. Descriptive statistics on the frequency of enacted stigmatization, as determined by the direct heterosexist experience score, were reported for LGB participants in the study.

2. Sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination differ by certain characteristics

RQ2 examined how the experience of sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination differs based on lesbian, gay, or bisexual identity, ethnic identity, gender, social class, education, and outness at work. H1 stated that sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination would differ by these characteristics. To assess these relationships, experiences of direct heterosexist harassment were based on the summed WHEQ score. Multiple regression is an appropriate statistical technique to assess the relationships between one dependent variable and several or more independent variables. Multiple regression can establish, through a significance test of the F statistic, a comparison of the proportion of variance explained relative to the variance unexplained (Pagano, 2010).

3. Extent of stigma consciousness due to LGB status

RQ3 examined the extent to which LGB workers experience stigma consciousness due to their LGB status; descriptive statistics were used. The summed SCQ was used to assess the extent of sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination among this sample of LGB

workers. Descriptive statistics on the frequency of stigma consciousness, as determined by the SCQ score, were reported for LGB participants in the study.

4. Stigma consciousness differs by certain characteristics

RQ4 examined how the experience of stigma consciousness differs by lesbian, gay, or bisexual identity, ethnic identity, gender, social class, education, and outness at work. Stigma consciousness was evaluated based upon the summed SCQ score. Multiple regression was again used to assess these relationships.

5. Relationship between sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination and stigma consciousness

H3 stated that sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination and stigma consciousness are significantly related. Pearson's R was calculated to assess the association between enacted stigmatization and stigma consciousness, using the summed enacted stigmatization and stigma consciousness scores. Given that the study variables were continuous (e.g., interval or ratio data) and the question seeks to assess the relationship between these variables, or how the distribution of the z scores vary, the Pearson's R was the appropriate statistic (Pagano, 2010).

IV. RESULTS

This study explored stigma-related workplace experiences for LGB workers in metropolitan Chicago, Illinois. Data collection methods, a description of the sample, and analysis by study hypotheses are discussed. Additionally, this chapter describes the key results of the study, outlined below.

A. **Data collection**

Data collection and recruitment for the study occurred for a period of four weeks, between April 5, 2011 and May 5, 2011. The survey had a total of 460 hits during the data collection period, and a total of 215 (46.7%) LGB people, age 18 to 64, living and/or working in metropolitan Chicago, Illinois, completed the survey in its entirety. A majority ($N = 152$, 70.6%) of the participants who completed the survey in its entirety were recruited via Facebook advertisements. Table I includes an itemization of cases not included in the study due to abandonment of the survey or failure to meet the inclusion criteria.

As in other research studies using Internet recruitment and data collection, it was not possible to describe the characteristics of individuals who saw the advertisement but did not participate (Kaye & Johnson, 1999). However, limited demographic data was provided by some individuals who clicked on the advertisement but abandoned the survey before completing the WHEQ, SCQ, and OI. In total, there were 109 potential participants who provided limited demographic data, but failed to complete the main dependent variables in the survey. A majority ($N = 78$, 71.6%) of those who did not complete the survey identified as White; fifty-one percent ($N = 56$) identified as lesbian; and forty-three (39.4%) identified as lower or working class. A larger proportion of lesbians failed to complete the survey than the proportion represented in the final sample ($N = 66$, 30.7%). However, those who failed to complete the survey were

demographically similar in other ways. Participants who completed the survey in its entirety included a similar proportion of white ($N = 165$, 76.7%) and lower or working class ($N = 90$, 42%) participants.

TABLE I

PARTICIPATION AND NON-PARTICIPATION BY HITS ($N = 460$)

<i>Reason</i>	<i>N (%)</i>
Completed entire survey	215 (46.7%)
Did not agree to participate	9 (2%)
Did not identify as lesbian, gay, or bisexual	37 (8%)
Was not between 18 and 64 years old	18 (4%)
Was not employed for 3 of last 24 months	28 (6%)
Abandoned after providing demographics	109 (23.7%)
Abandoned for other unknown reason	44 (9.6%)

B. Data cleaning

Data cleaning and transformation was necessary to determine whether statistical test assumptions were met, as violation of these assumptions increases the possibility of error in prediction (Howell, 2010). Data for this study were entered into a computer file using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 17.0. Dependent variables were examined in SPSS for accuracy of data entry, missing values, outliers, and fit between their distributions and the assumptions of the planned univariate and multivariate analyses. The data were reviewed for multicollinearity, linearity, homoscedasticity, normality, and independence of residuals (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Multicollinearity assumptions assessed frequency and percentages for nominal (i.e., categorical or dichotomous level data), means, and standard

deviations for interval or ratio level data, and were conducted on related characteristics as well as the variables used to answer the research questions (Howell, 2010).

Transformations were made to the data in order to meet the objectives of this study. The 25-item WHEQ was summed to create an enacted stigmatization score. After adjusting for reverse scoring, a stigma consciousness score was created through a sum of the 10-item SCQ. Finally, the two work-related items from the OI were summed to create an outness at work score.

Additional transformations to the data were made in order to complete the required analysis. Dummy-coded variables were created for the sexual orientation identity, racial and ethnic identity, gender identity, social class, and education variables. For sexual orientation, participants who identified as gay were treated as the reference group, with lesbian/bisexual as the comparison group. As racial and ethnic identity presented issues with collinearity, the variables were collapsed, with White/Non-Hispanic as the reference group, and Non-White/Hispanic, Non-White/Non-Hispanic, White/Hispanic, Multi-racial/Hispanic, and Multi-racial/Non-Hispanic as a single comparison group. Gender identity was created with males as the reference group, and females as the comparison group. Due to insufficient responses in each social class to consider all social class groups as separate predictors, lower ($N = 12$) and upper classes ($N = 3$) were not included in dummy-coding. One dummy-coded variable was created for social class, with middle class as the reference group, and working class as the comparison group. Finally, education was created based upon a set of collapsed variables, with Bachelor's degree or higher as the reference group, and less than Bachelor's degree as the comparison. Education variable had nine categories, which included less than high school, General Educational Development (GED), high school diploma, trade/vocational degree, some college,

associate's degree, master's degree, and doctoral degree. Insufficient cases necessitated splitting the data in this way.

C. Characteristics of the sample

A series of univariate analyses were completed to gain an understanding of the characteristics of the sample. Univariate statistics were first used to describe the demographic characteristics of the sample. Univariate statistics were also used to address RQ1 and RQ3, the extent of sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination at work, and the extent of stigma consciousness due to LGB identity.

1. Demographic characteristics of the sample

Participants in the study were between 18 and 64 years old, living and/or working in metropolitan Chicago, Illinois. A majority ($N = 120$, 55.8%) of the participants identified as gay males. Two (1%) of the participants identified as transgender. The ages, racial and ethnic identities, gender identities, and social classes, grouped according to the participants' sexual orientation identities, are displayed in Table II.

TABLE II

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES BY SEXUAL ORIENTATION IDENTITY				
Variable	<i>N</i> = 69 Lesbian <i>N</i> (%)	<i>N</i> = 121 Gay <i>N</i> (%)	<i>N</i> = 25 Bisexual <i>N</i> (%)	<i>N</i> = 215 Total <i>N</i> (%)
<i>Age</i>				
Under 20 years old	4 (1.9)	3 (1.4)	2 (0.9)	9 (4.2)
20 to 29 years old	26 (12.1)	37 (17.2)	9 (4.2)	72 (33.5)
30 to 39 years old	16 (7.4)	22 (10.2)	6 (2.8)	44 (20.4)
40 to 49 years old	13 (6)	42 (19.5)	3 (1.4)	58 (26.9)
50 to 59 years old	10 (4.8)	14 (6.5)	3 (1.4)	27 (12.7)
60 years and older	0 (0)	3 (1.4)	2 (0.9)	5 (2.3)
<i>Racial identity</i>				
White	44 (20.4)	103 (47.9)	18 (8.4)	165 (76.7)
Black/African American	17 (7.8)	3 (1.4)	6 (2.8)	26 (12.1)
Asian	0 (0)	3 (1.4)	0 (0)	3 (1.4)
Pacific Islander/Hawaiian	1 (0.5)	2 (0.9)	0 (0)	3 (1.4)
Multi-racial	7 (3.3)	10 (4.8)	1 (0.5)	18 (8.4)
<i>Ethnic identity</i>				
Non-Hispanic	58 (27)	107 (49.8)	25 (11.6)	190 (88.4)
Hispanic	11 (5.1)	14 (6.5)	0 (0)	25 (11.6)
<i>Gender identity</i>				
Male	0 (0)	120 (55.8)	4 (1.9)	124 (57.7)
Female	69 (32)	0 (0)	20 (9.3)	89 (41.3)
Male-to-female transgender	0 (0)	1 (0.5)	0 (0)	1 (0.5)
Female-to-male transgender	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)
<i>Social class</i>				
Lower class	6 (2.8)	5 (2.4)	1 (0.5)	12 (5.7)
Working class	30 (14)	37 (17.3)	11 (5.1)	78 (36.4)
Middle class	32 (15)	77 (86)	12 (5.6)	121 (56.5)
Upper class	0 (0)	2 (0.9)	1 (0.5)	3 (1.4)

A majority of the participants ($N = 174$, 81%) were between the ages of 20 and 49. The mean age of the participants was 36.30 ($SD = 11.90$). Fifty (23.3%) participants identified as non-White racial groups. One hundred ninety (88.4%) participants identified their ethnicity as non-Hispanic. A majority of participants reported that their work peers ($N = 153$, 71.2%) and work supervisor ($N = 138$, 64.2%) definitely know about their LGB identity, with a mean outness at work score of 9.97 ($SD = 3.85$). A majority ($N = 191$, 88.8%) of the participants reported being HIV negative, with the remaining participants not sure about their HIV status ($N = 13$, 6%) or HIV positive ($N = 11$, 5.1%).

All of the participants reported living and/or working in metropolitan Chicago, Illinois, with 80% ($N = 172$) reporting their primary county of residence as Cook County and 80.5% ($N = 173$) reporting their primary county of employment as Cook County. All participants reported working for at least 3 months during the past 24 months, with mean of 19.97 ($SD = 6.79$) number of months of paid employment. Eighty percent ($N = 172$) of the participants reported working on a full-time basis of at least 35 hours per week. One hundred participants (46.5%) reported an individual income of \$30,000 or less. Seventy-eight (36.3%) participants identified their class status as working class and 121 (56.3%) participants identified their class status as middle class. One hundred twenty-one (56.3%) participants reported completing a baccalaureate degree or higher. Participants worked in a variety of occupations, including management ($N = 24$, 11.2%), community and social service ($N = 19$, 8.8%), and sales and related occupations ($N = 30$, 14%).

2. **Extent of sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination at work**

Participants reported the extent of sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination at work using 25 items from the WHEQ, with a mean summed enacted stigmatization score of 8.57 ($SD = 11.50$). Summed enacted stigmatization scores could range from 0 (i.e., “Never” for all of WHEQ items), to 100 (i.e., “Most of the Time” for all WHEQ items). Table III provides the mean enacted stigmatization scores by sexual orientation identity.

During the past 24 months, 168 (78.1%) participants experienced at least one instance of enacted stigmatization at work. One hundred eighteen (54.9%) participants reported at least one experience of work peers telling offensive jokes about lesbians, gay men or bisexual people (e.g., “fag” or “dyke” jokes, AIDS jokes). Seventy-nine (36.7%) participants reported at least one experience of work peers making homophobic remarks in general (e.g., saying that gay people are sick or unfit to be parents). Ninety-four (43.7%) participants reported at least one experience of work peers asking questions about their personal or love life that made them feel uncomfortable (e.g., why don't you ever date anyone or come to office social events). Seventy-five (34.9%) participants reported at least one experience in which their work peers made them feel it was necessary to “act straight” (e.g., monitor their speech, dress, or mannerisms). A smaller number of participants reported at least one experience of overt personal stigmatization due to LGB identity. Twenty (9.3%) participants reported at least one experience in which their work peers discouraged their supervisors from promoting them due to sexual orientation. Two (1%) participants reported one or more experiences of being physically hurt (e.g., punched, hit, kicked, or beaten) because of their sexual orientation.

3. Extent of stigma consciousness due to LGB identity

Participants' extent of stigma consciousness at work was measured using the 10-item SCQ for Gay Men and Lesbians. Participants had a mean stigma consciousness score of 32.04 ($SD = 9.94$). After accounting for reverse scoring, summed stigma consciousness scores could range from 0 (i.e., “Strongly Disagree” for all SCQ items), to 60 (i.e., “Strongly Agree” for all SCQ items). Table III also provides mean stigma consciousness scores according to sexual orientation identity.

Nearly all participants in the study ($N = 212$, 99.5%) endorsed at least one statement of stigma consciousness on the SCQ. One hundred twenty-three (57.3%) participants reported that they agreed that most heterosexuals judge homosexuals on the basis of their sexual orientation. One hundred ten (51.1%) participants agreed that stereotypes about homosexuals have affected them personally. Ninety-nine (45.9%) participants reported that they think about their homosexual identity when they interact with heterosexuals. One hundred fourteen (53%) participants agreed that most heterosexuals have a lot more homophobic thoughts than they actually express. Ninety-one (42.3%) participants agreed that most heterosexuals have a problem viewing homosexuals as equals.

TABLE III

SUMMED DEPENDENT VARIABLE SCORES BY SEXUAL ORIENTATION IDENTITY

<i>Variable</i>	Lesbian X (<i>SD</i>)	Gay X (<i>SD</i>)	Bisexual X (<i>SD</i>)
Summed WHEQ	10.28 (13.91)	7.24 (9.67)	10.28 (11.99)
Summed SCQ	31.84 (10.56)	32.39 (9.42)	30.88 (10.88)

D. Analysis by hypothesis

1. Sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination differ by certain characteristics

RQ2 explored the extent to which experiences of sexual orientation based harassment and discrimination (enacted stigmatization) differ by certain characteristics, including sexual orientation identity, racial and ethnic identity, gender, social class, education, and outness at work. Due to insufficient cases, transgender identified individuals ($N = 2$) were excluded from all multivariate analyses. H1 posited that the experience of sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination would differ by these characteristics. To evaluate this hypothesis, multiple regression was used.

Table IV illustrates the result of this analysis. H1 was supported. This model had overall significance ($F(6, 190) = 5.40, p = 0.000, R^2 = 0.15$). Sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination differ by certain characteristics. Holding all other variables constant, factors that are significant for sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination are gender identity, social class, and outness at work. Participants who identify as male reported higher levels of enacted stigmatization at work. Working class participants reported higher levels of enacted stigmatization at work. Additionally, participants with lower levels of outness reported higher levels of enacted stigmatization. Sexual orientation identity, race and ethnicity, and education were not statistically significant factors.

TABLE IV**MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF ENACTED STIGMATIZATION BY CHARACTERISTICS**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Sexual orientation	0.09	1.27	0.21
Race and ethnicity	-0.13	-1.42	0.16
Gender identity	-0.25	-2.91	0.004*
Social class	0.18	2.54	0.02*
Education	-0.05	-0.73	0.47
Outness at work	-0.28	-3.94	0.000*
R^2	0.15		
F	5.40		

* $p < .05$ **2. Stigma consciousness differs by certain characteristics**

RQ3 was the extent to which stigma consciousness differs by certain characteristics, including sexual orientation identity, racial and ethnic identity, gender identity, social class, education, and outness at work. H2 was that stigma consciousness differs by these characteristics. Multiple regression was used to evaluate this hypothesis.

The results of this regression model are illustrated in Table V. This regression model did not have overall significance ($F(6, 190) = 1.85, p = 0.09, R^2 = 0.05$).

TABLE V**MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF STIGMA CONSCIOUSNESS BY CHARACTERISTICS**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Sexual orientation	-0.07	-0.95	0.35
Race and ethnicity	-0.09	-0.91	0.36
Gender identity	0.002	0.02	0.98
Social class	0.19	2.57	0.01*
Education	-0.15	-1.98	0.05*
Outness at work	-0.06	-0.82	0.42
R^2	0.05		
F	1.85		

* $p < .05$

3. Sexual orientation based harassment and discrimination and stigma consciousness are significantly related

RQ5 explored the relationship between sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination and stigma consciousness. H3 stated that sexual orientation based harassment and discrimination and stigma consciousness are significantly related. To evaluate this hypothesis, Pearson's correlation was used. H3 was supported. There was a moderate positive correlation ($r = 0.31, p < .001$) between enacted stigmatization scores and stigma consciousness scores.

E. Summary of results

This study explored the extent to which LGB people living and/or working in metropolitan Chicago, Illinois experience sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination in the workplace, the extent to which the experience of these experiences differ by certain characteristics, the extent to which LGB people experience stigma consciousness, the extent to which these experiences differ by certain characteristics, and the relationship between sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination and stigma consciousness.

H1 stated that sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination differ by certain characteristics. This hypothesis was partially supported by the results of this study. Gender identity, social class, and outness at work were significant predictors of sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination. Sexual orientation, race and ethnicity, and education were not significant predictors. Males reported higher levels of sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination. Working class participants reported sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination at a higher level than middle class participants. Participants with a baccalaureate degree or higher reported higher levels of sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination. Additionally, participants who were more “out” at work reported lower levels of sexual orientation based harassment and discrimination.

H2 stated that stigma consciousness differs by certain characteristics. This hypothesis was not supported by the results of this study. The overall model did not show statistical significance.

H3 stated that enacted stigmatization and stigma consciousness were significantly related. H3 was supported. There was a moderate positive correlation between participants' enacted stigmatization scores and stigma consciousness scores. As enacted stigmatization scores increased, stigma consciousness scores tended to increase as well.

V. DISCUSSION

Stigma experiences for LGB workers differ by certain characteristics, and this study makes a contribution to social work research by examining where those differences lie. The findings of this study are consistent with what is known about labeling of socially deviant identities. Labeling is a social process in which those in power negatively label the less powerful as "deviant" from social norms, yet is not inherent to any particular social identity (Link, 1987). Social and cultural minorities, including LGB people, are often placed in a devalued social position and treated differently than people in the majority (Goffman, 1963; Jones et al., 1984; Link & Phelan, 2001).

LGB workers, as a whole, recognize their historically devalued social position and stigmatization (Croteau & Thiel, 1993; Pinel, 1999; Pinel & Paulin, 2005). Many LGB workers have a high level of stigma consciousness, expecting that every interaction at work will result in stigmatization. Even if the LGB worker rejects the stigmatizing label and fails to internalize that devalued label, they have a high consciousness of the possibility of stigmatization throughout their work lives.

However, the degree to which LGB workers in this sample are affected by enacted stigmatization and stigma consciousness depends largely upon workers' other social identities. A majority of LGB workers in Chicago have been affected to some degree by stigma-related experiences—enacted stigmatization and stigma consciousness—in the workplace during the last 24 months. This chapter discusses who is most affected. Additionally, this chapter discusses the major findings of the study, limitations of the study, and implications for future research on the experiences of LGB people in the workplace.

A. Major findings of the study

Several major findings about LGB workers were identified in the study. This study used a convenience sample of participants between 18 and 64 years of age, living and/or working in metropolitan Chicago. The results of the study suggest that workplace stigma-related experiences for LGB people differ by other social identities, that LGB worker outness can potentially change the workplace, and that formal legal protections do not necessarily alter workplace experiences of LGB people. Major findings are discussed in this section.

1. Differences by social and cultural identities

A major finding of the study is that workplace stigma-related experiences for LGB people differ by other social identities. Thus, the other stigmatizing labels that the LGB workers in this sample occupy matter a great deal. Stigmatized identities found in non-LGB worker groups were also salient for this group of LGB workers.

A majority of the participants in this study reported at least one experience of LGB-related enacted stigmatization during the last 24 months, and a majority of the participants endorsed at least one statement of stigma consciousness about their LGB identity. These results are consistent with other studies that suggest that between 16 to 68% of LGB workers experience employment discrimination of some kind (Badgett, Lau, Sears, & Ho, 2007). This study adds to the research evidence that has found that marginalization of the LGB worker remains a part of the dominant social paradigm in the Chicago metropolitan area.

Gender identity was a significant predictor of workplace enacted stigmatization for LGB people in this sample. Other researchers (Crow, Fok, & Hartman, 1998; Gillingham, 2006; Herek, 2000) have noted that gay men occupy a space of greater stigma in much of society,

presumably because they may transgress socially imposed gender roles. When compared to other sexual minorities, such as lesbians, researchers such as Ratcliff, Lassiter, Markman, and Snyder (2006) found that greater stigmatization exists for gay men. Consistent with these findings, male participants in this study reported higher levels of sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination than females. Transgressing heterosexuality, for these participants, seems to be a more egregious offense for men than women. For some LGB workers, transgressing heterosexuality may also be bound in transgressing gender normativity. For example, though gender identity and sexual orientation are distinct variables, they cannot be completely separated for some LGB workers due to differences in gender expression. Gender expression was not measured in the present study.

The LGB worker's social class position also matters a great deal in workplace stigma-related experiences. A popular cultural myth is that LGB workers are childless, middle class, and have plenty of disposable income (Badgett, 1998). The results of this study challenge this myth and provide evidence that LGB people are represented across social classes. Working class participants reported higher levels of enacted stigmatization than middle class participants, as well as having higher stigma consciousness scores than middle class participants. The results of this study related to social class lend support to an emerging body of social science literature (Appleby 2001a; Appleby, 2001b; Jo, 2008; Taylor, 2009) that suggests that those with lower class identities have fundamentally different experiences in the workplace. Increased education, which likely results in a better job and more money, likely work together in tandem to buy the LGB person greater protection from workplace stigma-related experiences.

Additionally, social work and advocacy organizations should be working to ensure that the voices of lower and working class LGB individuals are heard. LGB-identified workers can be found across occupations, and social class identities. Yet, advocacy organizations tend to privilege middle or upper-class, gay white males. This study thus provides evidence that other types of social identities change the severity of the LGB person's stigma-related experiences in the workplace, and lends evidence as to why the voices of lower or working class LGB workers need to be heard. Though a large number of LGB workers experience some forms of enacted stigmatization and endorse some stigma consciousness, this study suggests a great deal of diversity exists among LGB workers. Gender identity, social class, and outness are among the most significant predictors of workplace stigma-related experiences in this sample.

2. Outness positively impacts the workplace

A second major finding of the study is that LGB worker outness, the extent to which LGB workers have disclosed their sexual orientation identity or “outed” themselves at work, can potentially impact the workplace. Researchers such as Degges-White and Schoffner (2002) and Gusimano (2008) considered some of the negative psychological consequences of remaining closeted at work. Ragins, Singh, and Cornwell (2007) found that fear of coming out at work was associated with negative workplace outcomes for LGB workers, yet actually coming out was not associated with negative workplace outcomes. The results of this study are consistent with these findings and suggest that there may be positive advantages to LGB worker outness in the workplace. Concealing one’s stigmatized identity has personal consequences, and outness at work is one way of combating those personal consequences.

Participants in this study's sample who had higher outness at work scores reported lower levels of sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination. There are plausible alternative explanations for this finding. For example, LGB workers who are more out may simply be more likely to seek employment at more supportive workplaces. Co-workers of out LGB workers may be more likely to conceal their anti-LGB sentiments and beliefs if they know they have an LGB co-worker. Though there are other possible explanations for this phenomenon in this sample, this finding suggests that outness may be an advantage in the workplace. Concealing sexual orientation identity in the workplace is not a protection against enacted stigmatization, and appears, at least in this sample, to be of little advantage to the LGB worker. Additionally, concealing sexual orientation identity may only increase the LGB worker's stigma consciousness—however, in this study, causality cannot be established.

Findings related to LGB worker outness lend support to the work of other researchers that suggests that LGB worker outness positively impacts the workplace. For example, Bowleg, Burkholder, Teti, and Craig (2008) found that outness of lesbians and bisexual women was one of several factors associated with perceptions of social support and psychological wellness. However, consistent with other findings of the study, gender identity impacts the LGB person's experience of outness at work. This study lends support for previous empirical research that has found that out LGB workers have different workplace experiences than non-out LGB workers.

3. Formal legal protections do not necessarily eliminate stigma experiences

A third major finding of the study is that formal legal protections do not necessarily eliminate workplace stigma-related experiences of LGB people. Though the study did not explicitly measure LGB workers' perceptions of formal legal protections, the study is

unique because it occurred in a city and state that offer relatively substantial legal protections for LGB workers. The Illinois Human Rights Act of 2006 (775 ILCS 5) prohibits any employer from refusing “to hire, to segregate, or to act with respect to recruitment, hiring, promotion, renewal of employment, selection for training or apprenticeship, discharge, discipline, tenure or terms, privileges or conditions of employment on the basis of unlawful discrimination” (Illinois General Assembly, 2006, n.p.), and that protection is explicitly extended to LGB workers.

Implicit in the legal protections of LGB workers is an assumption that those laws actually make a difference in the lived experiences of LGB workers. Proposed changes to federal law, such as the federal ENDA and repeal of DADT, are based upon assumptions that LGB workers are a stigmatized group that are worth protecting. Though the measures have yet to fully materialize, activists point to jurisdictional examples of employment protections, such as the State of Illinois, as evidence that changes in federal law can make a difference.

The evidence provided by this study, however, suggests that legal protections for LGB people may not always result in actual, day-to-day protections for LGB workers. Experiences of workplace harassment and discrimination reported by participants in this study were consistent with the prevalence found in other studies on workplace harassment and discrimination (Badgett, Lau, Sears, & Ho, 2007). These results suggest that other factors, such as supportive individual workplaces with non-discrimination policies that protect LGB workers (Bouzianis, Malcolm, & Hallab, 2008; Day & Schonerade, 1997; King, Reilly, & Hebl, 2008) and organizational tolerance of LGB worker harassment and discrimination (Brenner, Lyons, & Fassinger, 2010), may be just as significant as formal legal protections. Changes in law are not sufficient by themselves. Formal legal protections do not result in actual changes in the workplace climate for

LGB workers until the environment changes—organizations and workers become invested in creating supportive workplaces for LGB people.

4. Other findings

There are additional findings from this study that contribute to scholarship about the workplace experiences of LGB people. A significant relationship was found between the enacted stigmatization scores and stigma consciousness scores. This result suggests that the extent to which the LGB worker actually experiences harassment and discrimination at work may affect the extent to which that same worker is conscious of future stigma-related experiences. In other words, having once experienced harassment and discrimination probably makes an individual more sensitive to future experiences that may be stigmatizing. Additionally, the LGB worker's level of stigma consciousness probably impacts the extent to which the worker interprets other negative workplace experiences as stigmatization due to their sexual orientation identity. These results are consistent with the work of other researchers (Croteau, 1993; Hatzenbuehler, Nolen-Hoeksema, & Dovidio, 2009) who have examined the interaction of stigma-related experiences and the LGB person's generalized consciousness about the possibility of stigmatization in their interpersonal encounters.

Another relevant finding is that the experience of bisexual participants may be different than lesbian or gay-identified participants. Though the bisexual identity was not a statistically significant predictor of enacted stigmatization or stigma consciousness, the results approached significance. These results suggest there may be some differences between bisexuals and lesbian or gay participants. Bisexual participants had a trend of higher enacted stigmatization scores and lower stigma consciousness. There were too few bisexual participants to meaningfully examine

bisexuality as a predictor of enacted stigmatization or stigma consciousness, but the results suggest that bisexuals are a unique group that should be examined in empirical research.

Finally, the findings of the present study suggest that stigma-related experiences at work may be complicated by the presence of other socially marginalized identities. There is an intersection between race and ethnicity, gender identity, social class identity, and other factors at work. For example, in the University setting, a White lesbian professor has a very different potential for stigma-related experiences than the working-class, African American, transgender woman who is working as a custodian. These experiences call into question whether it is her LGB identity or other marginalized identities that has most salience in her stigma-related experiences at work. Additionally, this intersectionality between marginalized identities could call into question whether it is the LGB worker's marginalized identities that matter at all—it may be their shared identity as “workers” that has most relevance to their experiences.

B. Limitations of study

As discussed in the previous section, the major findings of the study are promising and provide insight about the experiences of stigmatization and stigma consciousness for LGB workers in metropolitan Chicago. Findings of the study suggest that differences in other social identities are important for LGB workers, that outness may positively impact the workplace, and that formal legal protections do not necessarily alter day-to-day workplace stigma experiences. However, as in any study, these results should be viewed in light of the study's limitations.

There are several limitations to the present study, some of which can be attributed to the sampling approach. This study was cross-sectional and used a sample of convenience of LGB workers in metropolitan Chicago. As demonstrated by the study, LGB workers are identified in a

variety of occupational categories. LGB workers are no more likely to be present in one organization than another. Thus, random sampling would be difficult to accomplish because of the range of organizations in which LGB workers can be found. However, convenience samples of LGB cannot be generalized to the entire population of LGB people.

The recruitment methods were also a limitation of the study. Several of the recruitment methods targeted LGB-identified individuals who come into contact with LGB-affirming organizations. Recruiting individuals who are in contact with LGB organizations likely results in a sample of participants who are already more likely to have a higher level of outness in their personal lives. This outness may also mean higher outness at work. Participants who are more out at work, especially those who have been out in the workplace for many years, may have already negotiated some of the challenges of stigmatization in the workplace. It is also possible that these individuals may also have more stigma consciousness than other LGB people in the general population. Individuals who are “out” and affiliated with LGB-identified organizations are probably very different than individuals who are unaffiliated and not out. They may be fully acquainted with the issue of stigma in society, and may seek out supportive organizations as a way of coping with that stigmatization. While efforts were made to recruit individuals in contact with non-LGB organizations, the recruitment methods may have resulted in a high number of “out” participants and could have skewed the results of the study.

The use of online recruitment via social networking sites may contribute to problems with the validity of the study. A majority ($N = 152$, 70.6%) of the participants were recruited via Facebook advertisements. While the Facebook advertisements were successful in sampling a range of individuals in the target population, participants who responded via Facebook could be

different from other participants in important ways. Responding to a Facebook advertisement and completing the survey was more immediate than other forms of recruitment. Participants who view a print advertisement and must later access the Internet to complete the survey probably have a different level of motivation for completing the study than those who click on a Facebook advertisement and complete the survey immediately. Those who respond via online advertisements are likely to have an immediate, strong reaction to the contents of the study. Similarly, those who see a print-based advertisement and feel strongly enough about the study to access the survey via the internet at a later time may also feel very strongly about the study. Additionally, participants who have access to the Internet to respond immediately to a survey are likely to be of a different social class identity than those who did not respond. Thus, generalizability of the study to all LGB workers in metropolitan Chicago cannot be established.

There are also limitations related to the range of data obtained through the WHEQ and SCQ scales. WHEQ and SCQ scores were relatively low for this study's sample. While this limitation could be improved upon in future studies, low WHEQ and SCQ scores resulted in a limited variance and range available for the analysis. This may have weakened or over-estimated the relationships between the variables of interest in the study.

The use of an exclusively online survey instrument also limits the external validity of the study. While the Internet has become more accessible to the general population, with many workplaces and other public spaces like the public library offering free Internet access, those who have personal home access to the Internet and use the Internet more regularly were probably more likely to respond to the study. This limitation may also explain why participants of lower class identities responded to the survey at a lower rate. Taking an unpaid, Internet-based study

was probably not a top priority for individuals of lower means who were struggling to meet their basic needs. Additionally, an exclusively online survey may have also presented accessibility issues for people with physical or intellectual disabilities. The online survey required that participants be able to visually process and comprehend the content of the survey. This likely resulted in a sample that is primarily non-disabled, able to read, relatively privileged in terms of social class, and had personal access to the Internet.

Finally, restricting the sample to LGB workers in metropolitan Chicago was also a limitation in this study. Metropolitan Chicago has a relatively vibrant, diverse, visible LGB community. The number of LGB people in metropolitan Chicago was likely helpful in targeting and recruiting potential LGB participants. Participant diversity was minimal, and participants largely identified themselves as Non-Hispanic and White. This contributed to relatively low mean enacted stigmatization and stigma consciousness scores for the entire group. Participants in this study could be unique, and may be most similar to other White, Non-Hispanic, LGB individuals living in urban areas. They may be different than Non-White or Hispanic LGB workers, and may be different than participants residing in suburban or rural areas. Thus, the findings of the study are likely limited to urban, metropolitan areas similar to Chicago.

C. Implications of study

This study examined the extent of sexual orientation-based harassment and discrimination at work for LGB workers in Chicago, Illinois, the extent of stigma consciousness due to LGB identity, and differences in sexual orientation-based harassment, discrimination, and stigma consciousness by certain characteristics. Though the findings of the study were modest, there are a number of implications for social work. Implications for practice, policy, education,

and future research are considered below.

1. Implications for social work practice

The findings of this study and other studies support the relevance of LGB workplace issues to social work practice. Stigmatization of LGB people generally, and LGB workers in particular, remains an enduring problem in our society. In this sample, a majority of the participants reported at least one experience of enacted stigmatization and endorsed at least one statement of stigma consciousness related to their LGB identity. These results support the work of researchers, such as Pinel (1999), who have examined the impact of stigmatization, which may include stigma consciousness. Experiences of stigma consciousness may not always be consistent with actual experiences of enacted stigmatization. Actual experiences of workplace stigmatization are certainly not insignificant for affected LGB workers in Chicago, yet the persistent *expectation* that workplace interactions and relationships *will* result in stigmatization may hold even more salience in the day-to-day workplace experiences of these workers.

Social workers who are engaged in direct practice are likely to encounter LGB workers most affected by workplace enacted stigmatization and stigma consciousness. Work is an important part of the lives of many people, including consumers of social services. Social workers, especially those who work in employee assistance programs, may come in contact with LGB workers who are seeking services because they are experiencing psychological distress due to stigmatization at work. LGB workers may seek services related to workplace conflict with colleagues because the LGB worker is interpreting workplace conflict as stigmatization due to her or his high levels of stigma consciousness. Clinical social workers specializing in LGB issues may encounter LGB workers who are experiencing adjustment-related or enduring mental

health issues like depression because of workplace stigmatization. Social workers employed in mainstream settings may encounter displaced or unemployed workers, for whom the social worker may only learn about the worker's LGB identity after establishing a helping relationship. Social workers should incorporate knowledge of LGB worker issues into evidence-informed practice parameters (for a discussion of treatment guidelines, see Mitchell, 2001).

Administrative social workers who are employed as supervisors or managers should be aware of potential stigmatization of LGB persons that could be occurring among their staff. Though social workers are trained to recognize and to challenge the oppression of historically marginalized communities, like the LGB community, this training and knowledge may not be evident in day-to-day workplace experiences. Even in unusually LGB-supportive workplaces, LGB workers bring with them experiences that may have taught them to expect stigmatization or to be hyper-vigilant about looking for workplace stigmatization. Social work managers must regularly assess the needs of both LGB and non-LGB staff. Having supportive policies on the books is not enough. Social work managers also should be engaging staff, professional social workers and other employees alike, in discussion and training about supporting LGB workers.

2. Implications for social policy

Important social policy implications can be also found in the study. Workplace discrimination is a social justice issue. Because there are no protections in the form of a federal ENDA, LGB workers in some jurisdictions can be arbitrarily fired without recourse due to their sexual orientation identity. Social workers who are engaged in macro practice should further intensify their challenges to these social injustices. Though social workers, particularly through the NASW, are already advocating for employment protections for LGB workers, individual

social workers should be engaging in policy analysis and legislative advocacy, with the goal of passing a federal ENDA in the United States. Laws are not always enough to change the day-to-day, lived experiences of LGB people; however, supportive laws are certainly a beginning in creating environments that value the contributions of everyone, including LGB workers.

The results of this study suggest that federal policymakers should not be relegating LGB worker protections to individual states or corporations. On their own, some progressive corporations have instituted workplace protections for LGB workers. Some progressive corporations recognize the unique contributions of LGB workers, and affirmatively work to increase LGB diversity in their workforce. Some progressive corporations have policies that expressly prohibit discrimination against LGB workers, and impose penalties for the infringement of the rights of LGB workers as they would any other protected group. Similarly, states such as Illinois have instituted protections for LGB workers. Yet, the findings of this study suggest that individual jurisdictional protections or organizational protections are not enough. LGB people in this sample continue to experience stigmatization in their workplaces. Without the intervention of the federal government, these state or corporate policies may have little weight. Without federal protections, LGB workers who experience stigmatization at work have to rely solely upon the integrity of the state or corporation to enforce its own policies. Federal protections, coupled with oversight to ensure that protection actually occurs within individual workplaces and individual states, are necessary to improve the workplace for LGB people.

Stigmatization at work is a human rights issue. Article 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948) notes that, “everyone has the right to work... [and has] the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy

of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection” (n.p.)

Social work is a human rights profession (Reichert, 2001; Reichert, 2011) and human rights education has been included in the recent accreditation standards (Council on Social Work Education [CSWE], 2008). Social workers should be advocating for “social work incorporates social justice practices in organizations, institutions, and society to ensure that these basic human rights are distributed equitably and without prejudice” (CSWE, 2008, p. 5). Some LGB workers are not able to fully participate in the workplace because of experiences of stigmatization or the expectation that stigmatization may occur. Policymakers and organizations alike must begin to address this important human rights issue. Likewise, organizations should have a plan for training LGB and non-LGB workers about protecting the rights of LGB workers, and for actively recruiting LGB workers so that they are visible and well-represented in the workforce. Policymakers must begin to impose penalties when this does not occur. Ensuring that workplaces respect the human rights of all employees, including LGB workers, must begin to be a policy priority in the United States.

3. Implications for social work education

The findings of this study have relevance for social work education. As demonstrated by the results of the present study, experiences of LGB workplace stigmatization and stigma consciousness of workers is a social problem worth the attention of future social workers. In order to properly prepare future social workers, social work educators should begin through self-assessment, examining their own stigmatizing views about LGB workers. Social work educators may be professionally aware of the importance of preparing future social workers to be culturally competent in working with LGB communities. However, the social

work educator, too, lives within a society that marginalizes non-heterosexual identities. Social work educators must examine their own role—intentional or not—in perpetuating stigmatization of the LGB worker before the educator will be prepared to train others on the issue.

Educators should integrate content in working with sexual minority communities across undergraduate and graduate social work curricula. LGB content need not be relegated to specialty courses on human sexuality, but rather incorporated throughout the social work curriculum. LGB workers seeking the help of professional social workers are just as likely to seek services in a mainstream agency as they are an agency specifically serving LGB communities. Thus, social work educators do a disservice to the LGB worker and social work students by placing content on LGB communities only in specialty courses. Content on cultural diversity, including LGB diversity, is not a fringe issue, but rather one that has relevance across the social work curriculum on cultural competency. Social work students must learn about the wide range of social identities, including LGB and class identities, that shape human experience, and must learn to treat all individuals, regardless their identities, with dignity and respect (CSWE, 2008; Hines, 2012; NASW, 1996). Content on LGB diversity must be a part of mainstream courses so that students cannot “opt out” by avoiding elective LGB specialty courses. This helps ensure that more students, regardless of their social class identity, are able to access content on LGB diversity, as students who are of lower and working class identities are probably less likely to take an elective, non-required course on LGB issues.

Social work educators must also recognize that LGB workers are represented in their own classrooms. Social work educators, especially those with field education responsibilities, should be trained to recognize the signs and symptoms of stress for LGB social work students who may

be experiencing stigmatization in field placements. Being stigmatized in the field not only impacts the LGB social work student's personal well-being, but also impacts the host agency's ability to effectively serve clients.

Stigma consciousness for the LGB social work student can result in lost opportunities for the student because she or he persistently expects to be stigmatized. In the most problematic cases, experiences of harassment and discrimination and/or stigma consciousness in the field can result in disrupted field placements. In other cases, especially for students of other marginalized identities, such as race and social class, LGB stigmatization in the field can reinforce feelings of powerlessness. Students of other marginalized identities may have less opportunity, financial means, and wherewithal to find a new field placement or to fight against LGB stigmatization at their current field placement. Additionally, stigma experiences can also affect retention, and could result LGB students withdrawing early from the program. Social work educators must be proactive in identifying problems related to stigmatization in the field, and should work to ensure that field placements are safe learning spaces for LGB social work students.

4. Implications for future social work research

Finally, this study has implications for future social work research. To examine whether jurisdictional protections for LGB workers tend to produce workers with fewer experiences of enacted stigmatization and less stigma consciousness, future research should look at jurisdictions with employment protections as well as those without employment protections. Comparing work-related stigmatization in jurisdictions without employment protections for LGB workers with jurisdictions with formal legal protections may be an indication of the effectiveness of employment non-discrimination laws. Research should also begin to look at LGB worker

perceptions of jurisdictional employment non-discrimination laws. Examining whether LGB workers actually feel protected by jurisdictional legal protections could contribute to the growing body of knowledge about LGB worker experiences.

The results of this study provide some evidence that jurisdictional protections may not be adequate in reducing stigma experiences for LGB workers. Intervention research that focuses on training non-LGB employees on the value of workplace diversity and measuring the effectiveness of those interventions should be considered in future research. How workplaces comply with non-discrimination laws by training employees is just as important as the presence of jurisdictional legal protections.

Researchers should also begin to examine those workplaces that are currently safe spaces for LGB workers. Qualitative, ethnographic, and/or case studies of organizations that have LGB-supportive policies and climates can contribute to the knowledge base on LGB worker experiences. Learning about the lived experiences of sexual minority workers, including the impact of supportive workplaces on their overall quality of life, has important implications, not only for research, but for improving the overall workplace conditions for LGB people.

The workplace experiences of LGB people also, as suggested by this study, are influenced by social class. Future research must examine class differences among LGB people, and LGB workers in particular. Belonging to the working class, or having less than a baccalaureate degree, seems to influence the extent to which LGB workers experience enacted stigmatization and stigma consciousness. Future research should examine class-related differences in LGB stigma experiences that exist among the same companies. For example, research could examine whether LGB harassment and discrimination were the same within an

organization for higher paid workers, such as the President, and lower paid workers, such as custodial staff.

Future research on stigma-related experiences for LGB workers must consider intersectionality between LGB worker identity and other socially marginalized identities. Researchers should avoid the tendency to treat LGB workers as solely sexual beings; researchers must fight the impulse to allow sexual orientation identity to erase the influence of other demographic categories. Instead, researchers should examine the influence of discrimination based upon race and ethnicity, gender identity, social class identity, and other factors at work. Especially in urban settings that are fairly friendly to LGB workers, the intersection of other types of oppression may be the most salient factors for workers. Thus, future work must examine the ways in which these other identities matter to LGB workers.

Researchers should also be mindful of how stigma constructs could reinforce the pathologization of LGB workers. For example, stigma consciousness refers to the chronic self-awareness of the stigmatization of others. This language may unfairly blame the LGB worker for being aware of her or his potential for stigmatization, rather than placing the blame with the perpetrators of stigmatization. Future researchers should be mindful of their own stigmatization of LGB workers through their use of pathologizing language. Instead, researchers should strive to use constructs that highlight strengths, assets, supports, exceptions, and possibilities, rather than what is wrong with LGB workers (Blundo, 2001; Gates & Kelly, 2012 in press; Munford & Sanders, 2005; Saleebey, 2009).

Finally, future research should examine the unique occupational experiences of LGB and other workers. Whether workers have a different experience in certain kinds of occupations—for

example, working as a social worker or working as a janitor—could significantly contribute to the social work knowledge base. Anecdotally, social workers may perceive their workplaces to be safe places for LGB workers. Future research should empirically examine whether this is actually true for most social service organizations.

D. Summary

The overall purpose of this study was to examine the experiences of LGB people in the workplace. The study sought to examine the differences in enacted stigmatization, stigma consciousness, and outness, among Chicago-area LGB workers. This chapter discussed the differences in stigma experiences for LGB workers in the sample, limitations of the study, and implications for social work practice, policy, education, and future research.

This study provided an important step in understanding the experiences of LGB people in the workplace in metropolitan Chicago. Though there are likely a number of factors that contribute to workplace stigma-related experiences for this sample, this study found that different types of social identities matter. Further research is necessary to understand jurisdictional, class, and occupational differences in stigma-related experiences for LGB workers.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SURVEY INSTRUMENT

ELIGIBILITY SCREENING

To participate in this study, you must (1) be between 18 and 64 years old as of today, (2) self-identify as lesbian, gay, or bisexual, (3) have been employed for pay for at least 3 months during the past 24 months, and (4) live and/or work in metropolitan Chicago, Illinois. Metropolitan Chicago is defined as Cook, Dupage, Kane, Kendall, Lake, McHenry, and Will Counties in Illinois, and Lake County in Northwestern Indiana.

As of today, are between 18 and 64 years old?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

What is your age as of today? _____

How do you describe your sexual orientation?

- ☐ Lesbian
- ☐ Gay
- ☐ Bisexual
- ☐ Straight

How would you describe your employment status within the past 24 months?

- ☐ Full-time (i.e., 35 hours or more per week)
- ☐ Part-time (i.e., less than 35 hours per week)
- ☐ Unemployed

Were you employed for pay on a part-time or full-time basis for at least 3 months of the past 24 months?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Directions: Enter a total of 24 months in the questions below. For example, if you were employed for pay for 24 months, enter 24 in question 1, and 0 in questions 2 and 3.

During the past 24 months, how many months did you spend in each of the following work situations:

- _____ How many months did you work either for pay or profit, whether part-time or fulltime, including time spent on paid vacation, paid sick leave, paid maternity leave, or other paid leave?
- _____ How many months were you not working because you were on unpaid leave, such as unpaid sick leave, disability leave, maternity leave, or something else?
- _____ How many months were you not working at a paid job and not actively looking for work--for example, you were retired, disabled, a student, or at home caring for children?

Please describe any unusual circumstances in your employment situation during the past 24 months (Enter N/A if Not Applicable.)

Is your primary place of residence or primary place of work in metropolitan Chicago, Illinois (i.e., Cook, Dupage, Kane, Kendall, Lake, McHenry, and Will Counties in Illinois, and Lake County in Northwestern Indiana)?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

In which county is your primary place of residence located?

- ☐ Cook (IL)
☐ Dupage (IL)
☐ Kane (IL)
☐ Kendall (IL)
☐ Lake (IL)
☐ McHenry (IL)
☐ Will (IL)
☐ Lake (IN)

In which county is your primary place of work located?

- ☐ Cook (IL)
- ☐ Dupage (IL)
- ☐ Kane (IL)
- ☐ Kendall (IL)
- ☐ Lake (IL)
- ☐ McHenry (IL)
- ☐ Will (IL)
- ☐ Lake (IN)

How do you describe your gender?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female
- ☐ Male-to-female transgender
- ☐ Female-to-male transgender

How do you describe your race?

- ☐ White
- ☐ Black/African American
- ☐ American Indian/Alaskan Native
- ☐ Asian
- ☐ Pacific Islander/Native Hawaiian
- ☐ Multi-racial
- ☐ Other (please specify)

How do you describe your ethnicity?

- ☐ Hispanic
- ☐ Non-Hispanic

What category best describes your highest educational attainment?

- ☐ Less than High School
- ☐ General Educational Development (GED)
- ☐ High School Diploma
- ☐ Trade/Vocational Degree
- ☐ Some College
- ☐ Associates Degree
- ☐ Bachelors Degree
- ☐ Masters Degree
- ☐ Doctoral Degree

How would you describe your primary occupation?

- ☐ Management Occupations
- ☐ Business and Financial Operations Occupations
- ☐ Computer and Mathematical Occupations
- ☐ Architecture and Engineering Occupations
- ☐ Life, Physical, and Social Science Occupations
- ☐ Community and Social Service Occupations
- ☐ Legal Occupations
- ☐ Education, Training and Library Occupations
- ☐ Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media Occupations
- ☐ Healthcare Practitioners and Technical Occupations
- ☐ Healthcare Support Occupations
- ☐ Protective Service Occupations
- ☐ Food Preparation and Serving Related Occupations
- ☐ Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance Occupations
- ☐ Personal Care and Service Occupations
- ☐ Sales and Related Occupations
- ☐ Office and Administrative Support Occupations
- ☐ Farming, Fishing, and Forestry Occupations
- ☐ Construction and Extraction Occupations
- ☐ Installation, Maintenance, and Repair Occupations
- ☐ Production Occupations
- ☐ Military Specific Occupations

How do you describe your social class?

- ☐ Lower class
- ☐ Working class
- ☐ Middle class
- ☐ Upper class

What is your individual adjusted gross income, before taxes?

- ☐ Below \$10,000
- ☐ \$10,000-\$20,000
- ☐ \$20,000-\$30,000
- ☐ \$30,000-\$40,000
- ☐ \$40,000-\$50,000
- ☐ \$50,000-\$60,000
- ☐ \$60,000-\$70,000
- ☐ \$70,000-\$80,000
- ☐ \$80,000-\$90,000
- ☐ \$90,000-\$100,000
- ☐ Above \$100,000

What is your household adjusted gross income, before taxes?

- ☐ Below \$10,000
- ☐ \$10,000-\$20,000
- ☐ \$20,000-\$30,000
- ☐ \$30,000-\$40,000
- ☐ \$40,000-\$50,000
- ☐ \$50,000-\$60,000
- ☐ \$60,000-\$70,000
- ☐ \$70,000-\$80,000
- ☐ \$80,000-\$90,000
- ☐ \$90,000-\$100,000
- ☐ Above \$100,000

Workplace Heterosexist Experiences Questionnaire (Waldo, 1999)

EXPERIENCES IN YOUR WORKPLACE

Below are some questions about your experiences in your workplace. Some of the questions may apply to you more than others, but please try to respond to each item even if you have never told any of your co-workers that you are lesbian, gay, or bisexual. Please remember that your answers are CONFIDENTIAL.

DURING THE PAST 24 MONTHS in your workplace, have you been in a situation where any of your SUPERVISORS or CO-WORKERS:

Never	Once or Twice	Sometimes	Often	Most of the time
0	1	2	3	4

... told offensive jokes about lesbians, gay men or bisexual people (e.g., “fag” or “dyke” jokes, AIDS jokes)?

0 1 2 3 4

... made homophobic remarks in general (e.g., saying that gay people are sick or unfit to be parents)?

0 1 2 3 4

... ignored you in the office or in a meeting because you are gay/lesbian/bisexual?

0 1 2 3 4

... made crude or offensive sexual remarks about you either publicly (e.g., in the office) or to you privately?

0 1 2 3 4

... made homophobic remarks about you personally (e.g., saying you were abnormal or perverted)?

0 1 2 3 4

... called you a “dyke,” “faggot,” “fence-sitter” or some similar slur?

0 1 2 3 4

... avoided touching you (e.g., shaking your hand) because of your sexual orientation?

0 1 2 3 4

...denied you a promotion, raise, or other career advancement because of your sexual orientation

0 1 2 3 4

...made negative remarks based on your sexual orientation about you to other co-workers?

0 1 2 3 4

...tampered with your materials (e.g., computer files, telephone) because of your sexual orientation?

0 1 2 3 4

...physically hurt (e.g., punched, hit, kicked or beat) you because of your sexual orientation?

0 1 2 3 4

...set you up on a date with a member of the other sex when you did not want it?

0 1 2 3 4

...left you out of social events because of your sexual orientation?

0 1 2 3 4

...asked you questions about your personal or love life that made you uncomfortable (e.g., why don't you ever date anyone or come to office social events)?

0 1 2 3 4

...displayed or distributed homophobic literature or materials in your office (e.g., electronic mail, flyers, brochures)?

0 1 2 3 4

...made you afraid that you would be treated poorly if you discussed your sexual orientation?

0 1 2 3 4

...implied faster promotions or better treatment if you kept quiet about your sexual orientation?

0 1 2 3 4

...made you feel it was necessary for you to pretend to be heterosexual in social situations (e.g., bringing an other-sex date to a company social event, going to a heterosexual “strip” bar for business purposes)?

0 1 2 3 4

...made you feel it was necessary for you to lie about your personal or love life (e.g., saying that you went out on a date with a person of the other sex over the weekend or that you were engaged to be married)?

0 1 2 3 4

...discouraged your supervisors from promoting you because of your sexual orientation?

0 1 2 3 4

...made you feel it was necessary for you to “act straight” (e.g., monitor your speech, dress, or mannerisms)?

0 1 2 3 4

...made you feel as though you had to alter discussions about your personal or love life (e.g., referring to your partner as a “roommate”)?

0 1 2 3 4

...made unwanted attempts to draw you into a discussion of personal or sexual matters (e.g., attempted to discuss or comment on your sex life)?

0 1 2 3 4

...gave you unwanted sexual attraction?

0 1 2 3 4

...made unwanted attempts to stroke or fondle you?

0 1 2 3 4

Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire for Gay Men and Lesbians (Pinel, 1999)

Strongly Disagree		Neither Agree nor Disagree				Strongly Agree	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	

Stereotypes about homosexuals have not affected me personally.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

I never worry that my behaviors will be viewed as stereotypical of homosexuals.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

When interacting with heterosexuals who know of my sexual preference, I feel like they interpret all my behaviors in terms of the fact that I am a homosexual.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Most heterosexuals do not judge homosexuals on the basis of their sexual preference.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

My being homosexual does not influence how homosexuals act with me.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

I almost never think about the fact that I am homosexual when I interact with heterosexuals.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

My being homosexual does not influence how people act with me.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Most heterosexuals have a lot more homophobic thoughts than they actually express.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

I often think that heterosexuals are unfairly accused of being homophobic.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Most heterosexuals have a problem viewing homosexuals as equals.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Outness Inventory (Mohr and Fassinger, 2000)

Use the following rating scale to indicate how open you are about your sexual orientation to the people listed below. Try to respond to all of the items, but leave items blank if they do not apply to you.

1	=	person <u>definitely</u> does NOT know about your sexual orientation status
2	=	person <u>might</u> know about your sexual orientation status, but it is NEVER talked about
3	=	person <u>probably</u> knows about your sexual orientation status, but it is NEVER talked about
4	=	person <u>probably</u> knows about your sexual orientation status, but it is RARELY talked about
5	=	person <u>definitely</u> knows about your sexual orientation status, but it is RARELY talked about
6	=	person <u>definitely</u> knows about your sexual orientation status, and it is SOMETIMES talked about
7	=	person <u>definitely</u> knows about your sexual orientation status, and it is OPENLY talked about
0	=	not applicable to your situation; there is no such person or group of people in your life

mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
siblings (sisters, brothers)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
extended family members	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
my <u>new</u> straight friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
my work peers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
my work supervisor(s)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
members of my religious community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
leaders of my religious community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
strangers, new acquaintances	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
my <u>old</u> heterosexual friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

Do you know your HIV status? Are you:

- ☐ HIV Positive
- ☐ HIV Negative
- ☐ Not Sure

Do your co-workers know about your HIV status?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Not Sure

Does your supervisor know about your HIV status?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Not Sure

APPENDIX B

SUBJECT INFORMATION SHEET

You are being asked to participate in a research study about the experiences of lesbian, gay, and bisexual workers in metropolitan Chicago. The researcher is required to provide an information sheet such as this one to tell you about the research, to explain that taking part is voluntary, to describe the risks and benefits of participation, and to help you to make an informed decision. You should feel free to ask the researcher any questions you may have.

Research Protocol #: 2011-0124

Principal Investigator: Trevor Gates, PhD Candidate
 Department/Institution: Jane Addams College of Social Work,
 University of Illinois at Chicago
 Contact Information: 1040 W Harrison St., M/C 309, Chicago IL 60607
tgates3@uic.edu
 (773)634-9421

Faculty Chair/Sponsor: Christopher Mitchell, PhD
cgm@uic.edu

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

You are being asked to be a subject in a research study about the workplace experiences of lesbian, gay, and bisexual workers in metropolitan Chicago. Specifically, the researcher is interested in learning more about relationship between enacted stigmatization, stigma consciousness, and outness for people of different demographic backgrounds. Two hundred fifteen (215) participants are being recruited for this study.

Your participation in this research is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future dealings with the University of Illinois at Chicago. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without affecting that relationship.

PROCEDURES

If you agree and are eligible to participate in this study, you will rate your experiences of enacted stigmatization, stigma consciousness, and outness. You will complete an online survey using several questionnaires, including Waldo's (1999) Workplace Heterosexist Experiences Questionnaire, Pinel's (1999) Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire for Gay Men and Lesbians, and Mohr and Fassinger's (2000) Outness Inventory. You will also complete demographic questions about your sexual orientation identity, racial or ethnic identity, gender identity, occupation, and educational background. Completing the survey will take about 15-20 minutes.

ELIGIBILITY

You are being asked to participate in a research study about the experiences of lesbian, gay, and bisexual workers in metropolitan Chicago. In order to be eligible to participate in this study, you must (1) be between 18 and 64 years old as of today, (2) self-identify as lesbian, gay, or bisexual, (3) have been employed for pay at least 3 months during the past 24 months, and (4) live and/or work in metropolitan Chicago, IL. Metropolitan Chicago, IL is defined as Cook, Dupage, Kane, Kendall, Lake, McHenry, and Will Counties in Illinois, and Lake County in Northwestern Indiana.

POTENTIAL RISKS

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, participation in the survey will bring you no more risk of harm than you would experience in your everyday life. You may experience mild discomfort because the researcher is asking you to recall stigma-related experiences in the workplace. Should you experience psychological distress, a list of metropolitan Chicago counseling resources will be provided. Because online privacy can never be fully guaranteed, there is the risk that a breach of privacy (others may know that you are participating in research) and confidentiality (identifiable data could be accidentally disclosed) could occur.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS

This study is not designed to benefit you directly. This study is designed to learn more about the workplace experiences of lesbian, gay, and bisexual workers in Chicago. The study results may be used to help other people in the future.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Your participation in this research is voluntary. You have the option to not participate in this study. You may withdraw from the study, for any reason, at any time, without consequence.

PRIVACY AND CONFIDENTIALITY

Your participation in this research study is confidential. You will not be personally identified as a research subject. The researcher will not release information about you to your employer. Should the researcher inadvertently obtain identifying information about you, the people who will know that you are a research subject is the researcher and members of the research team. In that event, information about you will only be disclosed to others with your written permission, or if necessary to protect your rights or welfare or if required by law.

Online privacy can never be fully guaranteed by the researcher. However, your privacy and confidentiality will be protected to the extent that it is technologically possible.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

Your participation in this research is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without affecting that relationship.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or concerns about being in the study, you may contact the University of Illinois at Chicago Office for Protection of Research Subjects (the office that oversees research at this institution) at 1-866-789-6215 (toll free) or email OPRS at uicirb@uic.edu.

I have read the above information about my rights as a research participant I have been given an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I AGREE to participate in this research

I DO NOT AGREE to participate in this research

APPENDIX C
APPROVAL FROM INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARDS

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT CHICAGO

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS)
Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research (MC 672)
265 Administrative Office Building
1737 West Polk Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612-7227

**Approval Notice
Initial Review (Response to Modifications)**

April 4, 2011

Trevor Gates, MSW
Jane Addams School of Social Work
1040 W Harrison Street
M/C 309
Chicago, IL 60607
Phone: (312) 825-7662 / Fax: (773) 496-8959

RE: Protocol # 2011-0124
"Lesbian, gay and bisexual workers in Chicago: Enacted stigmatization, stigma consciousness, and outness"

Dear Mr. Gates:

Your Initial Review (Response to Modifications) was reviewed and approved by the Expedited review process on March 17, 2011. You may now begin your research.

Please note the following information about your approved research protocol:

<u>Protocol Approval Period:</u>	March 17, 2011 - March 15, 2012
<u>Approved Subject Enrollment #:</u>	215
<u>Additional Determinations for Research Involving Minors:</u> These determinations have not been made for this study since it has not been approved for enrollment of minors.	
<u>Performance Sites:</u>	UTC
<u>Sponsor:</u>	Note
<u>PAF#:</u>	Not Applicable
<u>Research Protocol(s):</u>	

- a) Research Protocol - Lesbian, gay and bisexual workers in Chicago: Enacted stigmatization, stigma consciousness, and outness; Version 1; 01/19/2011

Recruitment Material(s):

- a) Eligibility Screening (no footer)

Informed Consent(s):

- a) Subject Information Sheet; Version 3; 03/07/2011
- b) Alteration of Informed Consent granted for the eligibility screening and online survey
- c) Waiver of Signed Consent Document granted under 45 CFR 46.117 for the eligibility screening and online survey

Page 2 of 2

Your research meets the criteria for expedited review as defined in 45 CFR 46.110(b)(1) under the following specific category:

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including but not limited to research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Please note the Review History of this submission:

Receipt Date	Submission Type	Review Process	Review Date	Review Action
02/09/2011	Initial Review	Expedited	02/14/2011	Modifications Required
02/18/2011	Response to Modifications	Expedited	02/24/2011	Modifications Required
03/09/2011	Response to Modifications	Expedited	03/17/2011	Approved

Please remember to:

→ Use your research protocol number (2011-0124) on any documents or correspondence with the IRB concerning your research protocol.

→ Review and comply with all requirements on the enclosure,
"UIC Investigator Responsibilities, Protection of Human Research Subjects"

Please note that the UIC IRB has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

Please be aware that if the scope of work in the grant/project changes, the protocol must be amended and approved by the UIC IRB before the initiation of the change.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research. If you have any questions or need further help, please contact OPRS at (312) 996-1711 or me at (312) 996-9299. Please send any correspondence about this protocol to OPRS at 203 AOB, M/C 672.

Sincerely,

Marissa Benni-Weis, M.S.
 IRB Coordinator, IRB # 2
 Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

Enclosure(s):

1. UIC Investigator Responsibilities, Protection of Human Research Subjects
2. Informed Consent Document(s):
 - a) Subject Information Sheet; Version 3; 03/07/2011
3. Recruiting Material(s):
 - a) Eligibility Screening (no footer)

cc: Creasie Finney Hairston, Jane Addams School of Social Work, M/C 309
 Christopher Mitchell, Jane Addams School of Social Work, M/C 309

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

December 21, 2010

Trevor Gates, Ph.D. Candidate
 Jane Addams College of Social Work
 University of Illinois at Chicago
 1040 W. Harrison St., M/D 309
 Chicago, IL 60607



**Howard Brown
 Health Center**
 4025 North Sheridan
 Chicago, IL 60613
 (773) 388-1600
 (773) 388-8936 (fax)

Triad Health
 3000 North Halsted
 Suite 711
 Chicago, IL 60657
 (773) 296-8400
 (773) 296-8401 (fax)

Broadway Youth Center
 3179 North Broadway
 Chicago, IL 60657-4508
 (773) 935-3151 (main)
 (773) 935-4739 (fax)

Brown Elephant Stores
 3551 N. Halsted
 (773) 549-5943
 5404 N. Clark
 (773) 271-9382
 1459 N. Milwaukee
 (773) 252-8801
 217 Harrison, Oak Park
 (708) 445-0612

www.howardbrown.org

**Re: P-016 – Lesbian, gay and bisexual workers in Chicago: Enacted
 stigmatization, stigma consciousness and outness**

Dear Mr. Gates,

I recently received a request to post recruitment flyers at the Howard Brown Health Center for the above-referenced study. The policy at Howard Brown for passive recruitment is that study materials must first undergo an administrative review by the Manager of Research Compliance. If the research is found to represent Howard Brown's mission to support Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered communities, does not include topics which would be considered controversial or illegal, does not claim to be associated with or collaborating with Howard Brown, and is anonymous or the risk of a breach of confidentiality is extremely low, then passive recruitment is allowed to proceed.

After a review of your study materials, it has been determined that your study, **Lesbian, gay and bisexual workers in Chicago: Enacted stigmatization, stigma consciousness and outness**, qualifies for passive recruitment. Once you receive IRB approval from your institution, please forward the copy of your IRB approval letter to Diane Burrell, Manager of Research Compliance at which time your recruitment flyer may be posted on the Howard Brown Community Board.

Any future changes to the recruitment material will require an administrative review prior to implementation. Please contact Diane Burrell, Manager of Research Compliance, at (773) 388-8669 (or at diane@howardbrown.org) if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Diane C. Burrell
 Manager of Research Compliance
 Department of Research
 Howard Brown Health Center

cc: Jason Bird, PhD

APPENDIX D
RECRUITMENT FLYER

STARTS APPROVAL EXPIRES
MAR 17 2011 TO MAR 15 2012

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

**Lesbian, gay, and bisexual people who are employed in
Chicago, your help is needed!**

You are being asked to participate in a research study at the University of Illinois at Chicago about the experiences of lesbian, gay, and bisexual workers in metropolitan Chicago.

Please visit www.gayworkersurvey.com for further details.

Research Protocol #: 2011-0124

Principal Investigator: Trevor Gates, PhD Candidate
Department/Institution: Jane Addams College of Social Work
University of Illinois at Chicago

Contact Information: 1040 W Harrison St., M/C 309, Chicago IL 60607
tgates3@uic.edu
(773)634-9421

Faculty Chair/Sponsor: Christopher Mitchell, PhD
cgm@uic.edu

CITED LITERATURE

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