UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

Gay Male Identity Disclosure and its Impact on

Workplace Negotiations

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Management

by

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I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be

submitted in whole or in part to another University

Dedicated to

Gary Andrew Johnston

My husband, partner and friend

Without you, this would not have been possible

Acknowledgements

As I come to the end of my academic journey, I have taken a moment to reflect on how I came to be here. I want to express my gratitude to all that have influenced my life, for if it were not for all these beautiful people, I would not be at this stage of my life and my final academic achievement would not have been possible.

I remember at a very early age, the words of *Desiderata* by Max Ehrmann. Being young I was not able to fully understand what the words were trying to convey, but I knew that they were profound and that it would make sense today as I reflect, this now seems relevant:

> *"Go placidly amid the noise and the haste, and remember what peace there may be in silence. As far as possible, without surrender, be on good terms with all persons. Enjoy your achievements as well as your plans. Keep interested in your own career…Take kindly the counsel of years, gracefully surrendering the things of youth."*

My life as a mature student has been varied and long, yet this final chapter seems to be the longest and toughest! Therefore, without the guidance and support of my supervision team at Sussex, I could not have completed my dissertation. I have three fantastic supervisors and want to recognize and acknowledge their individual and collective contribution to this project. First of all, thank you to Dr Benjamin Everly, who helped me from the beginning. Without Ben's guidance, support, feedback, encouragement and knowledge, I would have been lost. Dr Michelle Luke provided me with the structure that I needed. While challenging at times, I always knew that Michelle was trying to bring out the best, so that I would be successful and a credit to the department and the team. Dr Natalia Slutskaya provided guidance and support on

the qualitative portion of my research, her ability to help me refocus was essential. In the beginning, I was an over-excited baby researcher with too many theoretical 'toys' and concepts and Ben, Michelle and Natalia have provided guidance and discipline.

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They say that completing a PhD is like running a marathon, except not always knowing when the finish line will be in-sight and whether that is the end or just another beginning! Two people have travelled the same journey, run the marathon and completed the race. They have been inspirational and have encouraged and supported me throughout my journey. Dr Isabel Phillips, someone who gave me such fantastic advice and ultimately believed in my ability to finish, with words of encouragement and sending a message, just when I needed it. Dr Kevin Baker, someone who was focused, had a plan and always kept saying to me "you'll be fine…you've got this…" On those challenging, lonely days I would have you both with me, thank you for paving the way and thank you for being so generous with your time. There is one other person who has provided academic support, through her timely, appropriate and honest vlogs, Dr Tara Brabazon from Flinders University. I would listen to Tara's regularly updated posts, and there always seemed to be a topic that was relevant at the time, so while you might not know who I am, I want to thank you.

Of course, I have lived a long and varied life, and I want to take the opportunity to thank those that have been important in my professional and personal life (yes this

will be like an "Oscar's" speech because it will be the last one that I will have a chance to make…probably!)

I work for a fantastic and supportive organization, and I would like to thank all of my colleagues at JAMS, especially members of my team (Sherman, Matthew, Margaret, Burton and Fernando). They have been patient, listening to my PhD updates and ongoing editing challenges. Also, my colleagues on the Senior Management Team (Mark, Brian, Liz, Gina, Sheri, Laura, William and Nate) in particular, my mentor and supporter Kimberly Taylor, who provided flexibility and encouragement. I also want to acknowledge the CEO of JAMS, Christopher Poole, his genuine interest has been so invaluable. Finally, Rich Birke - words are not enough - Thank You for being YOU! All these pockets of support from all of my colleagues at JAMS have provided the 'fuel' to keep me going on those endless days and helped me finish this PhD marathon!

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Several people have been part of my support team for years, and mere words are not enough to express my gratitude. Robert Costagliola has always been a constant

source of strength and encouragement. He has seen all of my career growth and development and has been a big part of my success. Laura Glennie who has been such an essential part of my life, the sister I never had, the friend who is always supportive and the cheerleader everyone needs, especially when things get tough, we are each other's biggest fan! Eric Cylc, a warm smile, a big heart, great dancer and always found the goodness in people and situations. Eric provided support at some very challenging and difficult times, and he will have a special place in my heart, now and always. Tima Wilson, from the first day at Law School I knew that we would be friends, we have been through so much together, seen our lives change, be challenged and as Barry Manilow would say "*we made it through the rain.*" David Smith, my oldest friend, the one who has seen it from the beginning, which was sometimes a mess…'*look at the old girl now'* thank you for all of your support and patience. John Partington, a loyal supporter and fantastic friend…and during the first six months of COVID lockdown and chaos the almost nightly calls, reminding me of the normalcy of life, the time to talk about non-work or PhD, that was exceptional, and I needed that dose of reality!

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are lovely, kind, generous and fun - always concerned that I am doing too much and willing to provide support and wine! Jeff Benz, a friend first and supporter always.

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Finally, I want to thank my family, who has been supportive, loving kind and understanding. I know where I get my drive, commitment and stubbornness. Thank you to my Father, so much of Ranse, Snr. is part of me. The things that have been made possible in my life are because I have his focus, talent and willingness to take a risk. I have a fantastic Step-Mother, who is generous, kind, concerned and accepting. I have some amazing Aunts, and I am so lucky to have such a special relationship with each of them. Stacey, Dusty, Maureen, Varina and Laurie – five gorgeous, strong, powerful and amazing women – and my gifted and spirited Uncles Ron, Rex and Robert - thank you.

So how do I end this, perhaps with some final words from Desiderata:

"And whether or not it is clear to you, no doubt the universe is unfolding as it should. Therefore be at peace with God, whatever you conceive 'Him' to be. And whatever your labours and aspirations, in the noisy confusion of life, keep peace in your soul. With all its sham, drudgery and broken dreams, it is still a beautiful world. Be cheerful. Strive to be happy."

I could NEVER have achieved all that I have without all of you – you are part of my formative past, which has led to my present success and who knows what the future will hold!

Thank you again for making this possible.

Abstract

Gay men have historically experienced discrimination based on their gay identity. Research has further shown that disclosure of gay identity can have an impact on interpersonal relationships. The research aimed to identify whether the disclosure of gay identity had an impact on the outcome of a negotiated agreement in the workplace. This mixed-methods research project consisted of four studies. The first study, a short answer survey, explored whether disclosure of gay identity had an impact on interpersonal relationships in the workplace, and 30 gay men participated in this study. The second study was a series of semi-structured interviews of 30 gay and 12 straight male participants. This study explored the disclosure of sexual orientation and the impact of disclosure on workplace negotiated outcomes. The third study was an experiment in which 25 male participants negotiated with a confederate and tested whether disclosure of a gay or straight identity would impact on who will achieve a better result in negotiation. In the final study124 male participants participated in a survey experiment and was designed to test whether the method of disclosure of gay identity would influence the results of a negotiation. The combined results of the four studies suggest that gay male identity does influence interpersonal relationships, and this influence will have an impact on the outcome of a workplace negotiation.

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Introduction

Gay identity disclosure has an impact, and this project started because I wanted evidence to support what I had observed and experienced within the workplace. In my experience working in large and small organisations,[1] there is assumed heteronormativity[2] in the workplace. This environment determined whether an individual would be comfortable disclosing their gay identity or would be concerned about the impact that disclosure might have on others. I observed that there was often a reluctance to disclose their gay identity, which was a result of actual (or perceived) discrimination, retaliation, or biased based behaviour. When individuals felt uncomfortable disclosing their gay identity and integrating with colleagues, either as part of their role or function, and I observed that subtle psychological blockages would emerge. I was also aware that individuals did not feel comfortable with their colleagues or in their surroundings. This had an impact on interpersonal relationships and the managing of conflict and assessment of risk, which meant that there was a lack of trust and a sense of unknowingness about someone who did not share the same 'straight' identity. Both parties in a negotiation will be suspicious about the other party's motives and intent, and barriers will emerge, which will have a negative impact when they try to reach an understanding or agreement. I realised that to broaden the discussion beyond my own experience and to address a perceived gap in the body of knowledge. I needed

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[1] Ranse Howell is Director, International Operations at JAMS based in Washington, DC and London. He has provided enhanced negotiation, leadership, and influencing skills to numerous in-house clients who seek to improve inter- and intra-team functioning. These include: Siemens, Tetrapak, Deloitte, Allen & Overy, numerous Lloyd's syndicates, Intel, BBC, MTR, IHG, KBC Bank, Deutsche Bank, and Commerzbank. Ranse also worked with numerous international organisations, providing mediation and dispute resolution training. These include: EIB, EBRD, UNHCR, IFC, and ILO (excerpt from CV – Appendix A).

[2] Heteronormativity is defined as "the expectations, demands, and constraints produced when heterosexuality is taken as normative within a society and thus when biological gender roles fit with sexuality" (Priola et al., 2014 p. 2).

to embark on a substantive research project, to identify research questions and explore

and examine the results. This project examines the impact of the disclosure of gay male

identity within a workplace environment to try to reach a negotiated agreement with

straight men.[3]

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[3] Negotiation for the purpose of this research is defined as a dialogue between two or more people intending to reach an agreed beneficial outcome. Negotiations are not just limited to things like formal contracts. For the purpose of this study, a negotiation would also include examples, such as: agreeing on work responsibilities with a supervisor or subordinate, debating the course of action for addressing a problem, or negotiating things like pay and promotions.

Chapter One – Background

Social identity, as a theoretical concept, has been explored and tested over the past fifty years. (Hornsey, 2008; Jetten, Spears, & Postmes, 2004; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1974). As part of the development of social identity theory, there has also been a discussion about the impact and scope of stigmatised visible social identity (Choi et al., 2016; Jones & King, 2015; Pescosolido & Martin, 2015). Ellemers & Baretto (2006) discussed the concealable or hidden stigma. Clair et al. (2005) expanded on this, discussing whether an individual with an invisible 'stigmatised' identity, such as being gay, a former alcoholic or someone who has declared bankruptcy, should 'disclose' or 'pass'. When individuals 'pass', this decision has been found to have a negative psychological impact (Riggle et al., 2017; Brower, 2015; Mendela, 2015; Sedlovskaya, 2011). However, researchers have also found a positive impact of disclosing a gay identity (Bowring & Brewes, 2015; Hedi et al., 2012; Tilsck, 2015). This identity management strategy can be situational and contextual, such as in the workplace (Wax, Coletti, & Ogaz, 2018), to build relationships with others (Henderson, Simon & Henicheck, 2018; Bohet, 2006; Lewicki et al., 2006), and to improve emotional and psychological well-being (Rivera et al., 2019; Whitman & Nadal, 2015).

Individuals are supported by an ever-developing workplace environment when they disclose their gay identity, as a result of legal requirements and organisational commitments (McFadden & Crowley-Henry, 2018). However, because of non-conformity, hegemonic masculinity's[4] hierarchy of gender (Platt & Lenzen, 2015; Schipps, 2007) and unconscious bias (Banaji et al., 2015), individuals might continue to

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[4] Hegemonic masculinity assumes a hierarchy of gender, identifying the qualities and characteristics that are related to femininity, and has been used to identify differences within genders and attributes of what it is to be male and female (Schipps, 2007).

experience heterosexist[5] passive or covert discrimination (Baker & Baker, 2019; DeSouza et al., 2017; McNamara et al., 2020).

Researchers studying invisible stigmatised social identity have provided some direction on further areas of research and investigation. Disclosure of gay identity provides visibility of gay identity. For example, Collins and Callahan (2012) stated that it is beneficial to encourage workplace diversity. Additional work must also examine how to support human resource outreach and intervention, which would promote and support disclosure. Crouteau (2008) suggested that researchers further explore identity management strategies by looking at the degree of disclosure of gay identity, the timing of disclosure and in which context, personal or professional. Capell et al. (2018) argued that more research should be conducted to understand further the role of trust within the workplace. They also found that individual managers should improve their ability to handle 'gay'-related issues and encourage a more inclusive environment, to erase or at least reduce a heterosexist environment. Moreover, Clair et al. (2005) suggested that managers must be aware of a range of identities and that more in-depth qualitative research (either using ethnography or case studies) would provide further insights that would help inform organisational practice and diversity integration. They also examined how individuals could use their social networks to build trust, recognition, and support, and how this engagement could be encouraged.

An area of study that remains unexplored is the impact of gay identity on workplace negotiated outcomes. We know that a lack of interaction can influence the amount of trust that is created and, ultimately, on an on-going relationship (Capell et al., 2018). However, what seems to be absent from the literature is how disclosure of gay

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[5] Heterosexist is generally seen as the negative behaviour or discriminatory practices of heterosexuals against homosexuals (Kollen, 2016)

identity can influence the results of a workplace negotiation. Little guidance exists on what sort of negotiation strategy a man with a 'straight' identity should adopt when negotiating with a man with a 'gay' identity. Researchers should examine what drives negotiators to want to reach an agreement and whether this is increased or decreased when the gay identity of the partner is known.

Purpose of This Research

The purpose of this sequential complementary mixed-methods research is to examine whether the disclosure of gay identity can have an impact on the outcome of a negotiated workplace agreement.

Structure

A literature review follows this introduction, providing support for the theoretical framework of social identity theory, invisible stigmatised social identity, workplace interactions and, distributive negotiation theory. The research methods section provides support for selecting a sequential complementary mixed-methods approach. This research project consists of four studies, and these are presented in sequential stand-alone chapters. Further, each chapter includes a separate introduction, literature review, research methods section, discussion, and conclusion. The final part of the project consists of a general discussion and limitations section and conclude with recommendations for future research.

Once this project is published, I intend to share the results of this research with the academic and business communities. I hope that this continues to ignite interest and furthers the conversation of recognising and managing the response and reaction to individuals who possess an invisible stigmatised gay identity.

Chapter Two – Literature Review

Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the purpose of the research and background as to why this topic was selected. In this chapter, the theoretical framework will be identified and applied to the research topic.

The first section of this literature review examines Social Identity Theory (SIT), which forms the underlying theoretical framework. Included in this section is a discussion of some of the developments in visible and invisible SIT. Also included is identity, and identity management strategies, from the perspective of the individual with the invisible stigmatised social identity. The literature review continues to look at SIT from the perspective of the non-stigmatised group and their response when an individual discloses their stigmatised identity, and the impact this has on their interpersonal relationships, especially within the workplace. The final section examines negotiation theory and the importance of building relationships and developing trust within a workplace negotiation.

As mentioned in the introduction, this section reviews literature that is relevant to the entire project and, because of its design, each of the four studies has a literature review section and introduces material that is relevant to the individual study, not to the entire project.

Social Identity

Individuals do not operate and function in isolation: they take their meaning and a sense of identity from engaging with others (van Dick et al., 2018). Early studies by Tajfel (1973) showed that minimal conditions[6] were enough to demonstrate in-group

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[6] Minimal conditions are those conditions that need to be present for there to be discrimination between groups (Tajfel, 1970)

favouritism, and this process of "mere-categorisation"[7] confirmed the divide between groups. The mechanism of how individuals dealt with conflict and change led Tajfel to enquire further, which, in turn, led to the foundation of Social Identity Theory (SIT).[8] Social identity 'is that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group or groups together with values and emotional significance attached to the membership' (Tajfel, 1973, p.63). Tajfel and Turner (1979) wanted to understand how groups managed intergroup conflict and how they were formed, not just by personal and social characteristics, but also positive (social) identity. They observed how they would interact with those who did not share the same characteristics and were part of the 'out' group (Jetten et al., 2004).

Principles of SIT

SIT is a psychological process that explains how social identities are different from personal ones. This strategy reinforces a social identity that is positive since individuals are more motivated to have a useful distinction from others and this is also a way in which individuals define their social quality (Tajfel, 1975). Tajfel and Turner (1979) identified that SIT had several key characteristics of social structure (Tajfel & Turner, 1979):

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[7] Mere categorisation was found in early studies by Tajfel and colleagues (1971). They found that individuals favoured those identified in the same category (group) than those outside of their group, without any additional incentives. Also, they found that labelling was enough (Tajfel, et al., 1971)

[8] SIT has been described as metatheoretical, with numerous empirical research models emerging from this approach (Hornsey, 2008)

i.   Social Categorisation

Individuals are clustered into groups, and this psychological process provides a way of responding to complex social situations.

ii.   Social Comparison

Group characteristics are assessed and interpreted by this personal and subjective assessment.

iii.   Social Identification

Individuals will want to protect or enhance the value of the group and engage with those that share the same or similar characteristics.

With categorisation comes in-group and out-group classification and hierarchy. SIT also recognises how individuals might not want to be associated with a lower status group and further suggests mechanisms for individual and group change. These are:

i.   Individual Mobility

Individuals might want to deny belonging to a group, and they can do this by attempting to "pass" as a member of a higher status group. Here, the focus is on the status of the individual, not the group.

ii.   Social Creativity

It might be possible to redefine specific group characteristics with the focus on positive rather than negative characteristics. This can be achieved by focusing on other areas of intergroup comparisons or widen the comparison by including other higher status groups.

It is also possible to change the meaning of labels that have been associated with the lower status group.

iii.   Social Competition – Social Change

This requires the group to engage in some form of societal conflict to change the status quo and is the most far-reaching option; however, it takes time and engagement. Another challenge is improving the status and whether this is achievable, whether the group's boundaries are permeable, and if it would be possible to be a member of the group, thus motivating individuals to act. Time, opportunity, and appetite for change determines if this group's status will remain the same and how distinctive their status would remain, too. They can do this by challenging assumptions and whether the current situation is legitimate based on a series of characteristics ascribed by others. The power for change does not lie with the individuals or group who are looking for an increase in their social status; rather, it lies with the group with the higher social status to recognise and acknowledge their equality.

In SIT, individuals will look to enhance their self-esteem and associate with groups that enhance the value of their identity because of the positive characteristics of that group (in comparison with similar groups). Further, while not explicitly stated by Tajfel and Turner (1979), they also recognised the importance of intergroup relations (Jetten, Spears & Postnes, 2004). Within-group differences are recognised as being unique, and a variety of personalities can be embraced. However, when referring to a member of the 'out'-group, Block et al. (2011) commented that while it is easy to

generalise and make assumptions, these methods of making decisions, heuristic

shortcuts, do not always produce the best results. SIT makes sense of some of the visual

manifestations and composition of the group. This classification provides a shortcut to

determine who is part of the group and to identify social status (Ellemers & Baretto,

2006). While SIT offers a foundation of understanding, it goes beyond mere

categorisation and instead looks at broader identity management strategies (King et al.,

2017). While SIT provides structure, some have questioned SIT's relevance.[9] However,

I believe that this questioning comes from a relatively narrow interpretation of SIT, a

theory which has a much broader application (Helms et al., 2019). While SIT is a

mechanism that provides categorisation, it also provides a mechanism of engaging in

social mobility and social change (Beatty & Kirby, 2006). Further, through Tajfel &

Turner's (1979) research, it was able to identify how individuals and groups could

become accepted.

In some of Tajfel's earlier work, there was a discussion of how individuals could

pass for a member of a higher status group. This act of "passing" is where an individual

is a recipient of the privilege of a higher status group by pretending to be something

they are not (Tajfel, 1975). As a result of this behaviour, individuals make assumptions

about the person based on this deception. Therefore, at the earliest stages of the

development of the theory social identity could be both visible and hidden. Tajfel

(1971) and others were looking at individuals who were from a different social status

and might have come from an immigrant family yet managed to become part of a

different group via education and professional affiliation. These individuals who formed

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[9] For the purpose of this research project, there was no scope to explore the limitations of SIT, although I
am aware of these and acknowledge that some researchers believe that it has become too broad and that
there is some concern about how the theory deals with categorisation, identity, and status (Hornsey,
2008). There has also been a concern about legitimacy. However, given the very narrow scope of the
application, the theory is useful because of the context in which it is applied.

a stigmatised group were able to become socially mobile, and the barriers were permeable – as long as they conformed and appeared typical of the characteristics of a particular group, ensuring that they would blend and fit into the environment (DeSouza et al., 2017).

Visible Stigmatised Social Identity

SIT produces recognisable groups that interact with individuals that have similar characteristics (Ellemers & Barreto, 2006) and out of these heuristics develop, which are neurobiological shortcuts[10] (Shepherd & Haynie, 2011). These, however, can lead to stigmatisation[11] and discrimination, especially when these characteristics are visible and based on cultural and societal norms and unconscious reinforcements. These stigmatised identities possess a characteristic that is devalued in a context by a dominant 'in' group (Barreto et al., 2006).

Social Categorisation. Stigmatised social identities that are visible are easily recognisable, categorisable, and assumptions about their characteristics and behaviour are easily made (Huang & Low, 2018). The in-group/out-group status and hierarchy have been formed by years of learning, experiencing, and refining behaviour, so a response to these becomes unconscious and automatic (Pinel, 2011). Visible stigmatised social identity can best be characterised by the two groups who are most easily identifiable and often marginalised:[12] firstly, those who are identified by their gender, and, secondly, those who are identified by their race.

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[10] Heuristics are cognitive shortcuts when limited information is available, which allow individuals to cope with complex situations and make decisions quickly (Caputo, 2013)

[11] For the purposes of this project, stigmatisation means the "social process embedded in social relationships that devalues through conferring labels and stereotyping" (Pescosolido & Martin, 2015, p. 92)

[12] Marginalisation is a process where individuals of a particular group's actions are devalued and opinions relegated (will not be considered) because of their association with this particular lower status group.

Social categorisation – Gender.[13] There has long been a divide between how men and women have been treated in the workplace (Pinel, 2011). This could be as a result of the lack of female role models in certain technical professions and university degree courses (van Veelen et al., 2019), including STEM[14] courses. This disparity extends to the role of women, both in and out of the workplace. In many cases, women are still seen as the primary caregiver (von Hippel et al., 2011). While many jurisdictions have opportunities for men to share childcare responsibilities with their partner, offering them paternity leave, this is not requested in many industries and professions, meaning that childcare is still the responsibility of the Mother. So, while there are opportunities to reduce the disparity and stigmatisation of being a woman and a mother, there has not been as much progress in the UK[15] as in other European countries,[16] and this stigmatisation can be traced back to the perceived role of women in relation to men (Manoharan & Singal, 2017). Indeed, Hanappi-Egger and Kaur (2018) explained that professional ambitions of women must often be curtailed when they become a parent, a caregiver, or they have other familial responsibilities (such as caring for an elderly parent or relative). While this is an over generalisation of the role of women in the professional workplace, it fits with this definition, as it is beyond the scope of this discussion to address the uniqueness of a very complex group who have

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[13] For the purpose of this research project, gender refers to male and female, and, because of the limited scope, was not able to include the additional gender classifications. These have been mentioned in the limitations section.

[14] STEM is a recognised acronym for the areas of Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (Yoder & Matthias, 2016).

[15] Paternity leave – In the United Kingdom, statutory leave of one or two weeks might be available if a spouse or partner is having a baby, adopting a child, or having a child through surrogacy (https://www.gov.uk/paternity-pay-leave).

[16] For example, the Scandinavian approach to paternity leave is more generous than in the UK. For example, in Sweden both parents are allowed 240 days per child (https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jul/10/sweden-parental-leave-corporate-pressure-men-work), whereas in Norway Fathers are encouraged to take the four weeks of paternity leave that is available (https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/world-of-work-magazine/articles/WCMS_081359/lang--en/index.htm).

been stigmatised and are unable to establish differentiation when viewed by the higher status male group (Huang & Low, 2018).

Social categorisation – Race. Race and ethnicity have long been a form of instant categorisation and stigmatisation, and individuals make assumptions about the characteristics of an individual based on their race. Further, within these non-white groups, there is a form of social hierarchy (Betz et al., 2013). Much of this is contextual; the professional context, in particular, comes with many assumptions about attributes, desire, and competency. However, a racial category that is viewed from a dominant white cultural paradigm has had multiple messages reinforcing what it means to be non-white (Betz et al., 2013). As with gender, in the professional environment, there are fewer positive non-white professional role models, and this can be traced back to opportunities and reinforcement in the home, school, and society (Manoharan & Singal, 2017). Also, depending on geopolitical events might suffer more significant discrimination and stigmatisation because of their perceived race/ethnicity (King et al., 2017b; Madera, 2010). The higher status group makes assumptions about the beliefs, attributes, and societal engagement of the lower one. These assumptions have often been challenged (Blair et al., 2011), yet the dominant white male group remains in control.

Social comparison – Gender. Women have long fought for equality, but, as a social group, they still face many challenges, especially for equality in the workplace (Type & Price, 2020; Adams & Kirchmeier, 2016). Restrictions and access to certain professions have been removed. However, there is still an underrepresentation due to a perceived hostile environment or an inability to access roles. Research looking at women in STEM examined that while more women have entered these degree programs in the past decade, they are less likely to enter into professional STEM roles (van

Veelen et al., 2019).[17] STEM fields remain a male-dominated profession that lacks

mentor support and encouragement (Adams & Kirchmaier, 2016).

Several initiatives have been created to increase the visibility and inclusion of

women in traditionally male-dominated professions, such as the legal profession. For

example, The American Bar Association (ABA) (Liebenberg & Scharf, 2019) has led

several campaigns to ensure that women are given equal opportunities and supported

within firms to advance their careers. However, numerous studies have identified that

the number of women who attend ABA-accredited law schools in the United States does

not equate to the number of women who remain in the profession, following graduation.

While the number of female admissions into these law school programs is on par with

male admissions, this statistic does not translate when it comes to the women who then

continue onto a traditional law firm setting and attain a senior managerial role (Peery et

al., 2020). There is still a belief that when a woman takes a career break due to

maternity leave that this is not a break but an ending of future possibilities within their

firm and, potentially, others (Liebenberg & Scharf, 2019). While legal protections exists

to prevent discrimination, and organisations have policies in place, there is still an

underlying belief that women cannot be as focused on their work if they have family

obligations. Further, if they fail to conform to these obligations, they are also punished

by the assignments they receive or promotion potential because of their non-

stereotypical gender behaviour and non-conformance to pre-set roles (Type & Price,

2020).

Social Comparison – Race. In the workplace environment, 'race' has been a

barrier to enter certain professions and achieve equality, either because of actual or

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[17] Van Vreeland, et al., (2019) observed that in Netherlands 24% of the students in STEM degree courses were attended by women and out of these a majority chose careers outside of STEM (71%).

perceived environmental barriers (Block et al., 2011). This has cultural and societal

origins, and there is often a lack of support from a familiar environment, a lack of

expectation, and assumptions about the applicant's level of interest. Further, peer

pressure has an impact on aspirations, roles, and what individuals might want to achieve

(Clair et al., 2005). There is an assumed lack of ambition, with few role models and

even fewer opportunities, when it comes to non-white employees. While there has been

an effort to encourage a colour-blind environment in the workplace, that phrase itself is

somewhat offensive to some non-white employees who report that there is still

unconscious biased behaviour. This behaviour is supported by Type and Price (2020),

who found in their research that individuals from minority groups experienced subtle

micro-aggressions, which were often not observable to others.

Access to professional education has long been a goal for ethnic minorities.

However, when individuals from a minority background attend law school, as with the

example for gender, there are few positive role models. Moreover, there are few

examples of those who graduate from a 'good' law school and become an associate and

then partner in a significant 'magic circle'[18] or 'white shoe' law firm.[19] Rarer still is for

an individual from a minority background to take a managerial role in these significant

law firms. There is evidence that while diversity and inclusion are promoted heavily in

recruiting associates and clients, their actual acceptance and longevity still needs

improvement (Resnick & Galupo, 2018).

Social Identification – Gender. Gender-based stereotypes have led to the

stigmatisation of women, particularly in professional roles traditionally thought of as

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[18] 'Magic Circle' was a term generated by legal journalists to identify the most prestigious law firms based in London: Allen & Overy, Clifford Chance, Freshfields, Linklaters, and Slaughter and May (https://www.chambersstudent.co.uk/law-firms/types-of-law-firm/magic-circle-law-firms).

[19] A 'White Shoe' firm is a term for a group of professional services firms that are located in the United States of America, over a 100-years-old, and represent Fortune 500 companies (https://marketbusinessnews.com/financial-glossary/white-shoe-firm-definition-meaning/).

male. While more women have studied STEM at university, their opportunities are limited, with many women excluded from these 'male' professions. However, in many ways, the men who were excluding women did not have traditionally male characteristics and were often characterised as being 'nerdy'(van Veelan et al., 2019). Even within these roles, then, there is a hierarchy of status: those with potentially less masculine characteristics feel that they have a higher status than women (van Veelen et al., 2019). Women often look for support, encouragement, and advice that might be available. However, they recognise that they do not necessarily have the power to incite the change needed (Block et al., 2011).

Social Identification – Race. Individuals will associate favourably with others who look and sound like them (Dutton et al., 2010). This learned behaviour by individuals who are socialised in an environment that makes them comfortable (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In research that focused on predominantly white college campus students, the non-white students did not feel accepted by their college classmates, and Asian students reported feeling pressured to overachieve because of their race (Betz et al., 2013). This would, in all likelihood, speak to the low number of individuals from a diverse background in law firms, too (Liebenberg & Scharf, 2019). However, what Ruggs et al. (2019) found was that by affirming and acknowledging race and racial identity, the impact of discrimination was reduced.

Invisible Stigmatised Social Identity

Social identity and individual categorisation provide individuals with the ability to make sense of themselves and improve their social status. With invisible social identity, an individual can remain silent about their stigmatised social identity, even though it could have an impact on their relationship and psychological well-being (Mereish & Paul Poteat, 2015; Pachankis, 2007; Riggle et al., 2017). Social identity and

labels are essential: they provide direction and the ability for us to make sense of inter and intrapersonal relationships. The absence of labels (heuristics or mental shortcuts), however, is challenging and requires more thought and analysis than is preferred (Caputo, 2013).

Invisible social identity leads to the stigmatisation of those who are viewed as unacceptable, causing them to engage in identity management[20] strategies. Relationship building requires a series of transactions according to which 'every relationship obliges the related person to exchange an appropriate amount of intimate facts about self' (Goffman, 1963, p. 86). Socially marginalised groups with stigmatised social identities often express these characteristics in private. Invisible social identity is associated with social stigma, and these stigmatised individuals often have lower self-esteem and are viewed by others with disdain (Shepherd, 2014).

Social stigma is associated with perceived faults of character or behaviour (Pescosolido & Martin, 2015). While those from a higher status group might provide sweeping generalisations about the characteristics of an individual with the stigmatised social identity, it is extremely difficult to challenge and manage the psychological shortcut (Chugh, 2004). Negative attributes are attributed to those who have a perceived moral or psychological characteristics, such as bankruptcy (Shepherd, 2014), mental health (Newheiser et al., 2017), and addiction (Pescosolido & Martin, 2015).

Invisible Stigmatised Social Identity – Psychological Well-being. Individuals reported that having to hide something that produces a negative response in others is challenging. Such as the invisible stigma of declaring bankruptcy, Shepherd (2014) found that it had an impact on their psychological well-being due to their fear of being

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[20] Identity management is a range of behavioural strategies to manage levels of disclosure of an invisible identity and can include counterfeiting an identity, avoiding disclosure of an identity, and integrating or revealing an identity (King, et al. 2014).

discovered and reveal why it was necessary, such as a failing business venture

(Shepherd, 2014). Individuals with a psychological disorder experience the same sort of

response. Even when the adverse impact is regulated by medication, there is still a

concern that this will have a negative influence on their interpersonal relationships.

While an individual might consciously accept that they can be trusted and function

normally; however, because of the stigma associated with this identity they will always

be checking to see if there is any sign of this disorder impacting on their behaviour. The

individual who has revealed this invisible stigmatised identity will also be

hypervigilant, which may increase their anxiety and reduce functioning and

effectiveness (DeJordy, 2008).

Invisible Stigmatised Social Identity – Moral Defects. A stigmatised identity

that is invisible has often been associated with moral defects. For example, individuals

who declare that they regularly attended a support group to help them manage their

addiction would have to manage negative attributes associated with this, even though

they are in recovery (Block et al., 2011). However, the one commonality is that there is

a perception of weakness relating to the individual, and, in some cultural settings, this

has its roots in specific Judeo-Christian values (Martinez et al., 2013). For example, if

an individual revealed that they were receiving treatment for being a recovering

alcoholic, the receiver of this information might be able to process this message

favourably; however, this is a socially acceptable response and might not coincide with

their unconscious belief (Blair et al., 2011). This sense of morality extends to those who

do not conform to societal heteronormativity.

Invisible Stigmatised Social Identity – Gay Identity. Individuals with a gay

identity will often have to choose whether to disclose or conceal their gay identity. They

will engage in a variety of identity management strategies based on context, prior experience and necessity.

Identity Management Strategies – Passing. Gay identity can be hidden, masked, or unconfirmed. Passing is used as an identity management strategy because people 'anticipate becoming targets of prejudice or discrimination in a particular context and […] aim to avoid this type of treatment' (Barreto, 2006, p. 325). Passing is the process of engaging in 'two simultaneous acts, an act of deceit (lying about membership in the devalued group) and an act of self-preservation (pretending oneself is a member of a more valuable group)' (Barreto, 2006 p. 328). Individuals pass because they expect to be more valued. Passing is a discreet psychological mechanism, which enables 'the management of undisclosed discrediting information' (Goffman, 1963 p. 42), and individuals constantly fear being exposed as an impostor. While effective, it requires a great deal of energy to maintain this behaviour and be mindful of social interactions. People with invisible stigmatised social identities report lower psychological well-being, which can have an impact on physical health (Mereish & Paul Poteat, 2015). Clair et al. (2005) noted that passing requires a certain amount of 'fabrication, concealment and discretion' (p. 92). Passing happens over time and requires energy and effort, and these strategic responses produce: [a] dissonance response because the identity presented through passing is consistent with the identity expressed by self; [and] b) its goal is to project conformity with specific characteristics (Clair et al., 2005).

The impact of passing is that 'concealing [a marginalised identity] in public should inhibit the integration of public and private selves, a phenomenon we have termed public-private schematization' (Sedlovskaya et al., 2013 p. 3). Schematisation is, therefore, a cognitive 'coping' strategy, according to which an individual conceals their stigmatised behaviour and can control what information to reveal. This strategic

approach has an impact, and this public-private schematisation causes psychological distress, such as depression (Sedlovskaya, 2013).

Unlike discrimination based on gender or race, an individual's gay identity can remain hidden. This nondisclosure can harm all involved, causing inter- and intrapersonal conflict and stress (Brower, 2015), resulting in discomfort about gender and sexual identity (Madera, 2012). The challenge in such situations is that many gay men feel that they cannot disclose their identity for fear of being excluded, dismissed, or professionally ignored (McNamara et al., 2020; Tejeda, 2006). There have been very few instances in which heterosexuals have been discriminated against because of their sexuality, whereas such discrimination is prevalent against gay men (Priola et al., 2014). Bower (2015) found that bias is pushed underground in organisations that have anti-discrimination policies in place. Balakrishnan and Bower (2016) found that policies that were meant to improve LGBT rights did not necessarily improve the environment, while Connell (2015) found that, in some sectors, it remains unprofessional to 'come out' as a gay man. Due to society's forced male gender norms, 'heterosexual men exhibit the most negative attitude towards gay males' (Reid, 2009, p. 102), and gay men must, therefore, decide whether to adopt a strategy of 'passing' or of revealing their gay identity (Baker & Baker, 2019; Flett, 2012; Ragins, 2008).

There is often a perception of the need to 'pass' and adopt a strictly masculine 'normative presentation of self' (Connell, 2015, p. 44), and thus appear 'normal.' Connell (2015) describes this as the 'gay-friendly' closet. Brower (2015) found that even though there are laws to protect against discrimination, there is a general reluctance for these to be enforced, and a law alone cannot alter the majority's belief. In traditionally male-dominated sectors, evidence has found that men face a stereotype threat, and some gay men believe that their gender identity is incompatible with their in-

work professional persona (Von Hippel, 2015). Liberman and Golom (2015) found that nondisclosure may result from the perception that gay men cannot become leaders. There was also a negative attitude towards gay men because they did not fit the stereotype of being in control (Pichler & Ruggs, 2017). Discrimination is often challenging to detect and address, and, in some organisations, there are few protections and benefits beyond what is legally required,[21] so there is little incentive to disclose one's sexuality due to concerns about repercussions (Priola et al., 2014). This fear of disclosure is an under-researched area: indeed, studies require that LGBT individuals play an active role in the process (Lim et al., 2018), which requires them to come out to researchers and their colleagues.

Identity Management – Disclosure. Gay identity is seen, by some, as a choice and as a psychological disorder by others. However, others recognise that it is not a defect. Instead, it is a natural response to a biological characteristic (Falomir-Pichastor & Hegarty, 2014). Yet, there are still groups in existence that claim they can cure being gay using therapy (Gonsiorek et al., 2014). Even though this practice has been discredited and banned in many jurisdictions, the fact that it remains means that some people still see don't see this as a natural phenomenon, rather a choice. When an individual reveals their gay identity, this could surface in some regard as social acceptance. However, years of unfavourable messaging about the implied behaviour, and the internalisation of its perceived moral defects, reinforces the subtle, damaging beliefs of what it means to be gay in the person who hears the disclosure (Dutton, Roberts & Dedner, 2010). Therefore, all invisible stigmatised social identities have one

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[21] Legal requirement is not always protection because of the need to reveal the alleged discriminatory behaviour, which also then discloses the stigmatised identity of the individual seeking protection.

thing in common: specific characteristics that are associated with this and can leave an unconscious message in the receiver of the disclosure (Mohr et al., 2019).

When individuals elect to disclose their gay identity, they no longer have control: it is up to the other person to decide how to respond (Sabat et al., 2014). There could be multiple responses, such as a partial acceptance or a more profound rejection that is based on unconscious responses about what it means to be gay and what impact the interaction would have going forward (Collins & Callahan, 2012; Quinn & Chaudoir, 2015). Individuals who disclose their sexuality would be concerned about prejudice, difficulty, and acceptance in the workplace (Schrimshaw, Downing, & Cohn, 2016). Einarsdottir et al. (2015) further noted that disclosure in a hostile environment would have an impact on relationships within the workplace (Rengers et al., 2019).

Social Change – Social Creativity. Individuals with a gay identity use methods of 'social creativity' and redefine the characteristics that are associated with being gay, focusing on the positive rather than the negative (Mohr et al., 2019). Therefore, to provide differentiation within the gay community, individuals could emphasise this distinctiveness and differentiation to increase social acceptability (Shih et al., 2013). Individuals who remove or reduce their gay identity to become socially acceptable might lose their sense of self. Ozturk and Rumens (2014) noted that if individuals become more aligned with heteronormativity, it is the workplace that should adapt and recognise the benefit that this can have. Men with a gay identity can have a positive sense of self and look to others in their community to enhance their self-esteem (Wax et al., 2018). Within the professional environment, many networks have been created to reinforce the value and self-worth of this group (McFadden, 2015). Thus, when individuals feel comfortable, it helps to create an environment in which they can bring

their whole selves to the workplace, which is good for the business, too (Githens &
Aragon, 2009).

Social Change – Social Competition. Another way that gay men could further
enhance social change is to highlight their positive attributes compared to their straight
male colleagues, such as having connections and friendships with straight female
colleagues (Russell et al., 2013). This can also lead to a more diverse team, greater trust,
and better option generation when it comes to finding solutions (Russell et al., 2013).

Workplace Identity Management

Workplaces go to great lengths to allow the integration of work and home
persona, but there is often a divide (Wessel, 2017). This might be improved by
removing boundaries between the two domains of work and home by providing
integrating policies, such as diversity and alliance groups, or promoting an inclusive
work climate during the recruitment process (Everly & Schwarz, 2015; Pichler et al.,
2016). Thus, not only do individuals vary in their preference for segmenting home and
work, but the ability for workplaces to cope varies, too, depending on the flexibility of
the organisation and the ability for the line-manager to supervise the individual with the
gay identity (McFadden, 2015).

Gay Identity Disclosure - Positive Impact

There is an assumption by straight men that men with a gay identity have
Feminine traits and characteristics. As a result, they can reject the individual because
they are do not comply with heteronormative behaviour (Rumens, 2013). However,
some of these traits have been recognised as being useful within the workplace, as
women are said to be more empathetic, think more creatively, and take fewer risks in
business (Bowles et al., 2007). As ascertained by Everly, Unueta, and Shih's (2016)

study, women are more likely to be respected by their gay male colleagues because of their ability to develop interpersonal connections.

Following legislative and societal pressure, individuals have fought for equality in the workplace (Discont, 2016). This also extended to acceptance in the boardroom (Baker & Baker, 2019; McFadden, 2015). For the ability for gay men to feel comfortable in the work environment or the bargaining table is contingent on them being accepted, both at the organisational (Tejeda 2006) and personal level (Trau & Hartel, 2004). Broomfield (2015) and Tilcsik (2015) noted that this could be difficult in sectors dominated by straight men, such as the army and the police force (Anteby & Anderson, 2014; McNamara et al., 2020). However, Madera (2012) found that individuals who were able to bring their gender identity to work reported higher job satisfaction, increased work retention levels, reduced stress, and improved productivity. Bowring and Brewes (2015), citing Moradi (2009) and Truitte (2010), found that, in contrast to the previous assumption that being gay in the army would cause tension, the process of coming out to colleagues improved 'unit cohesion' (Bowring & Brewes, 2015 p 32).

Moreover, Hebl et al. (2012) found that gay employees who had gay mentors were more resilient than those who had straight mentors and had more positive attitudes towards the work environment (Rivera et al., 2019). Organisational support for disclosure has led to the development and popularity of LGBT alliance groups in a variety of public and private sectors to provide a voice for the LGBT community in the workplace (Bachmann & Gooch, 2018; Pichler et al., 2016). These alliance groups offer greater visibility and have the potential to reduce stigma by those who may not have encountered an individual who does not conform to the norms of gender and sexuality (Fiona & Aidan, 2012). Everly et al. (2016) found that gay stereotypes have become

more positive and that there are some professions to which gay men have been historically drawn to because of acceptance and access. For example, hairdressing, interior design, and the theatre (Tilcsik, 2015).

Gay Identity Disclosure – Negative Impact

While there are many benefits to coming out at work[22] and having a positive sexual identity, homosexuality remains a pathological behaviour (and choice) in the eyes of some. Even though, in 1974, it was removed from the American Psychological Association diagnostic manual (DSM-III) as a mental health disorder (King et al., 2008). Therefore, for some in the workplace, being 'open' is a concept rather than a resolution, with individuals still feeling marginalised. Self-disclosure – is defined as revealing personal information to another – is a process that often takes time (Collins & Callahan, 2012). Disclosing may change personal views, and the timing of disclosure, whether immediately or later on in the relationship, is controllable. However, the fear of prejudice remains (McFadden, 2015), and it all depends on whether the organisation has a favourable climate for disclosure.

Professional identity and role identity are a product of organisational culture (Reed, 2015). Many companies expect professionals to assume an identity that supports the brand, and a worker's professional persona must thus be consistent with this image. People apply for jobs or are persuaded to consider a role, based on incumbent identity management stereotypes. Certain professions and roles demand heteronormative behaviour. For example, professional team sport seems to be based on exclusion with individuals suffering as a result of the ongoing "heterosexist and homonegative discourse" (Sartare & Cunningham, 2009, p. 100). Sport, as a profession, is perceived

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[22] Self-verification theory suggests that individuals will seek interactions with individuals that affirm their own sense of self (Crouteau, et al., 2008).

as being almost entirely heterosexual (Reid, 2009). Cunningham et al. (2010) found that in the personal training and fitness profession, there are few 'out' fitness trainers. The researchers conducted a study in which participants were asked to rate whether they would recommend an applicant for a role as a fitness instructor. In one of the conditions, an applicant was identified as being gay. When the participant was asked if the applicant was perceived as trustworthy, moral, and ethical, and whether they would recommend the applicant, the study found that gay identity did indeed have a negative impact (Cunningham et al., 2010). In the athletic coaching setting, there is a concern about telling players that a coach is gay (Melton, 2014). Certain assumptions prevail among athletes and sporting organisations regarding physical ability and sexuality (Sartare & Cunningham, 2009). Coaches who work with children face an additional challenge in terms of parental concern, specifically that a gay coach could, potentially, be a paedophile (Herek, 2002).

There are industries and professions in which there is a belief that the workforce cannot be gay, possibly because employees are skilled at concealing their true identity. This remains the case for individuals who are professional athletes (Cunningham, 2012; Sartore & Cunningham, 2009), athletic coaches (Melton & Cunningham, 2014), police (Rumens & Broomfield, 2012), and the armed forces (Collins & Callahan, 2012; Estrada et al., 2013; Moore, 2017; National Defense Research Institute, 2010). Broomfield (2016) found that some gay men have dual roles: at work, they are heterosexualised, while, outside of work, they revert to their gay 'off-duty' identity. Some sectors, such as engineering, banking, and finance, report that there are few gay men in the profession and are unsure whether it is worth the effort to introduce a policy on gay discrimination (Blake, 2014). In this way, silence and nondisclosure can

reinforce marginalisation (King et al., 2008). Potentially because of the apparent lack of representation in these professions, discrimination can occur (Block et al., 2011).

In traditionally male-dominated sectors, men respond and act in a particular way. Thus, some gay men are influenced into believing that their gender identity is incompatible with their in-work professional persona (Von Hippel, 2015). Liberman and Golom (2015) found that nondisclosure may result from the perception that gay men cannot become appropriate leaders. Baker (2019) learned how the 12 corporates leaders in his study had experienced challenges and found that there was a negative attitude towards gay men because they did not fit the stereotype of being in control.

Managing the conflict between the work and home domains has become an increasingly compelling and pressing issue (Trau & Härtel, 2007). Individuals must routinely negotiate the boundaries between work and home as they participate in daily activities (Bell, 2012). This process of boundary negotiation can be frustrated by individual differences or environmental circumstances, such as a hostile or unsupportive workplace (which depends on ease or difficulty of transition between work and home) (Dutton, 2010). Individuals vary in their preferences for segmenting or integrating aspects of their work and home persona (Edwards & Rothbard, 1999). 'Segmenters' prefer to keep the two domains as separate as possible, creating and maintaining a boundary or 'mental fence' (Zerubavel, 1991); that is, they prefer to keep work at work and home at home. Others, however, like to integrate elements of both domains, permanently removing boundaries between the two and blending facets of each (Wax et al., 2018). Just as individuals vary as to the degree to which they wish to segment or integrate their work and home lives, workplaces vary in the degree to which they create an environment that promotes either segmentation or integration (Hochschild, 1997).

The literature so far has been focused on the role SIT has on the individual, and how gay male identity is something distinctive that can be hidden or disclosed. The literature review now looks at the impact of disclosure of gay identity from the perspective of the group, or individuals who have a straight identity.

Interaction with the Straight World

The previous section looked at identity from the individuals who possess the stigmatised social identity, and SIT provides classification, categorisation, and how dominant groups look to others for social acceptance and how this 'out' group can possess characteristics. The next portion of the literature review examines the impact of disclosing an invisible social identity on the receiver and how someone with a gay identity interacts within the workplace to reach a negotiated agreement.

As society has moved forward in accepting a more extensive range of social identities, it has also become more accepting of sexual identities, not just straight. The biological theory of sexual identity – that being gay was not a choice but more a genetic predisposition – was thought to be 'pro-gay', and a body of research found that where individuals accept that gay identity is biological, there will be greater acceptance (Falomir-Pichastor & Hegarty, 2014). A recent US Supreme Court decision that expanded protections in the workplace for gay and trans employees, and stipulates that individuals could not be discriminated "on the basis of sex" (Bostock v. Clayton County, Georgia, 2020).[23] While gay identity might be gaining greater protection, not everyone feels comfortable with this acceptance; there are some males with a straight identity who reject the claim that it is biological and look for ways to differentiate their 'straight' sexual identity from others by highlighting their distinctiveness and trying to

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[23] The United States Supreme Court Case – The Bostock Decision expanded the protection of gay, lesbian, and transgender people from discrimination by employers on the basis of their sexual orientation. This was an expansion of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act (1964) (590 U.S. (2020))

maintain their heterosexuality as their social identity (Lucyk, 2011). This is a reactive response and could have a cultural and social influence, and is further motivated to maintain a positive and distinct social identity as a response to distinctive threats (Rivera & Dasgupta, 2018).

Sexual identity is unique to each individual; we learn by experience, which informs action and response to gay identity disclosure. It is possible for a gay person to feel an unconscious, potentially negative response about having a gay identity, for society has reinforced that to be gay is a choice (Habarth, 2015). Foucault identified that this strong, negative, and often unconscious response stems from the development of the modern classification of homosexuality[24] (Anteby & Anderson, 2014). The decades of advances in social acceptance have to battle against a cultural and social narrative of what it means to have a gay identity, and individuals fear rejection because of religious doctrine and the ideology of others (Schrimshaw, Downing & Cohn, 2016). The response to the US Supreme Court decision further confirms that some feel that straight identity is being threatened and therefore needs to be protected. As a result of this decision, there is a demand that the United States Government repeal or amend the Civil Rights Act and articulate what protections are permitted, rather than leaving up to the interpretation of the courts (National Review, 2020).

Straight Identity - Social Categorisation

Social identity theory provides some explanation of the potential hostility that is expressed by some straight men towards individuals who have a gay identity. Straight men in the workplace want to ensure that others see them as prototypical and 'normal' to maintain their self-esteem, power, and higher status compared to the lower status gay

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[24] Homosexuality was initially examined by scientists as a medical condition. Indeed, in the 1890s, homosexuality was investigated as if it were a medical abnormality. Further, studies were conducted to understand the origin of this 'condition' (Anteby & Anderson, 2014).

male group (Resnick & Galupo, 2018). Thus believing that this approach assures their status and further confirms a belief that having a gay has negative consequences. As Lucyk (2011) found, this is part of a process to enhance self-esteem by maintaining a positive heteronormative identity.

Gay male identity is something that triggers a response. Benozzo (2015) found that disclosure often had an immediate and often negative reaction, resulting in a power imbalance. While there has been 'progress,' the unconscious signal about what it means to be male is associated with being straight; thus, it becomes difficult and sometimes impossible for gay men to disclose their gay identity for fear of rejection and discrimination (Marrs & Staton, 2016). For example, Sartore and Cunningham (2009) found that, in sports and athletics, the focus is on success, competition, and being dominant, and how this is continued off the field in the locker room, where it is common for derogatory language and negative references about gay men to be made. Straight men, then, claim superiority over non-masculine males, for being straight is perceived as being superior (Cunningham, 2012).

Straight Identity – Social Identification

Individuals will associate with the norms of the group and, by association, this will improve their status and social identity compared to a lower status group (Brown, 2015). Much of straight male interaction has been formed by cultural and societal references that have developed over time. Straight men see that being gay is non-prototypical of being a man (Pichler & Iv, 2017). This belief is based solely on their gay identity and without them necessarily knowing the individuals that they are excluding, whether this is through playing team sports, a college/university association, or participating in other social groups (Habarth, 2015). There is a shared understanding that they are all male and are similar, so, therefore, there is an underlying assumption

that they are straight (Marrs & Staton, 2016). While it might be possible for gay men to join these groups, they would find it challenging to be fully engaged because of the perceived difference between the two identities (Melton & Cunningham, 2014).

Straight Identity - Social Comparison

The similarity of the characteristics increases comparison to another group's value, and the membership of a group improves self-esteem compared to others (Jetten et al., 2004). The group reaffirms self-esteem, and straight men have a heightened sense of what it means to be male – anything else is deficient. Broad generalisations are possible if the identity is limited to gay identity by those who see this group as being inferior or lacking in value, further reinforcing a negative response. Individuals have been provided with a variety of cultural, social, and political messages about what it means to be gay (Blankenship, 2019; Rengers et al., 2019). The dominant male straight group might tolerate 'out' gay men if they were kept at a distance but might not accept them. However, many gay men have not disclosed their gay identity; for example, many straight men have interacted with gay men who play sport yet do not possess the qualities that are expected of gay men (Lucyk, 2011).

Stereotype

Men who have disclosed their gay identity are often subject to biased based behaviour because they do not conform to gender norms of heteronormativity (Platt & Lenzen, 2013). This, in turn, can harm their interpersonal relationships within the workplace (Whitman & Nadal, 2015). Cialdini confirmed this approach in his research, stating that individuals look to others for behaviour, using the psychological influence of social proof (Cialdini, 2007). However, in their experiment, Buck and Plant (2011) found that the levels of discrimination were reduced when disclosure of gay identity

happened later on and the subjects did not conform to gay stereotypical behaviour (Buck & Plan, 2011).

Heteronormative dominance within organisations would still seem to block gay male access to many of the norms and benefits experienced by their straight male colleagues (Harbarth, 2015). King et al. (2017) noted that it appears to many that the two worlds (gay and straight) are in silent conflict, and a barrier exists for the weaker social group to gain access. Foucault (1976) noted that there are various ways of not saying things, mainly when 'power' is everywhere, and there are benefits to certain kinds of restraints and the silencing of sexual minorities. The concept of voice, or the silencing of gay identity, has the power to disrupt the identity of the individual in question, and, within the organisation, this silence or lack of voice often extends beyond LGBT issues. It can form part of an unconscious response (Priola et al., 2014). Therefore, there might be an unheard 'silenced' minority who feel that they do not fit within the straight world or the gay world, such as the feeling expressed by some who do not think that they fit into the socially recognised gay community (Barratt & Pollock, 2005). Using the sports example again, there are men with a gay identity who want to engage in team sports, but this desire is seen as inconsistent by those that have maintained the heteronormative environment (Cunningham, 2012). This lack of connection or displacement has an impact, causing emotional and psychological distress (King et al., 2015; Riggle, 2017).

Studies on diversity have mainly focused on visible and invisible diversity, particularly among the LGBT community, but this area remains under-researched. This is partly because LGBT individuals would have to reveal their identity to researchers, which may also inform colleagues within the workplace (Priola et al., 2014). Even in organisations with a stated diversity policy and affinity groups, heteronormativity is the

dominant paradigm. This dominance silences non-heterosexual groups to readily

identify and connect with other gay colleagues (Priola et al., 2014). Discrimination is

often challenging to detect and address, especially when there is no perceived benefit to

disclosing due to concerns over repercussions (Resnick & Galupo, 2019). Formal

discrimination is discouraged because of legal protection, but informal discrimination is

pervasive and often occurs without detection (Burdell, 2011). Even with the United

States Supreme Court decision (*Bostock v. Clayton County, Georgia*, 2020), individuals

would still have to disclose their gay identity for an investigation to be carried out, to

support their claim of discrimination, something that many would want to avoid.

Discrimination is biased based behaviour, which is often hard to detect, for

much of this is expressed as micro-aggressions, or through a hostile environment, which

is perceived by the individual/s with a gay identity and can increase over time (Galupo

& Resnick, 2016). Discrimination based on sexuality can be tested using the

Homonegative Micro-aggression Scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2002; Wegner 2016),

which tests for the more subtle forms of discrimination and the effect that these might

have on others. Morrison and Morrison (2002) developed this scale which tests

individual attitudes towards LGB issues and rights; those who scored higher on the

scale avoided contact with LGB individuals. Those who discriminate believe that gay

men are second-class individuals with assumed deviance and that they conform to

behavioural expectations (DeSouza, 2017). This prejudice can result in threats of

violence against those with a stigmatised gay identity (Zurbrugg, 2016), causing them to

navigate through their work or social environments in fear and experience less

satisfaction about life (Strizzi, 2016). Many must also live in secrecy for fear of

physical violence (Strizzi, 2016) or being rejected from their community, as Itzhaky

(2015) found when researching how gay orthodox men dealt with their sexuality. This

perceived gender nonconformity triggers individuals who are perpetrators to engage in threats or violence (DeSouza, 2015). This aggressive behaviour is triggered because men with a gay identity are seen as a threat and do not conform to hegemonic male gender norms (Collins & Callahan, 2012; Rumens, 2013; Sloan et al., 2015).

Unconscious Bias

While there can be benefits to disclosing gay identity, the risk is that individuals may then discriminate against the openly gay person due to their stereotypes and prejudiced attitudes (Einarsdóttir et al., 2015). While prejudice can be harmful, it is pervasive and can be quite subtle (Lemm, 2006). This prejudice can take the form of conscious and unconscious bias. According to Chugh (2004), decisions are made in milliseconds, and Greenwald and Kreiger (2006) found that implicit (unconscious) bias is discriminatory and based upon attitudes and assumptions of an individual or group who are representatives of a particular stereotype. Banaji et al. (2015) distinguished between prejudice (intent) and implicit bias (impact), identifying that even where the effect of the implicit bias is unintentional, it is still up to the person who caused this harm to correct or provide a remedy (Banaji et al., 2015). In addition, they found that unconscious bias was 'pervasive' and dominated by a preference of individuals to adhere to their own group's behaviour.

Unconscious Bias – Interpersonal Relationships

Unconscious bias against those who are perceived to be different can have a severe impact on on-going relationships and the ability to achieve a negotiated agreement. Richeson and Shelton (2003) found that racial attitudes caused cognitive impairment for mixed-race groups, something that was not evident when white participants were operating with same-race groups. Moreover, Erikson (2012) concluded that negotiation was influenced by biased behaviour based on the gender of

the negotiator. Amanatullah (2013) found that there was a radical difference in the treatment and response to behaviour in negotiation, depending on the gender of the negotiator. Female negotiators have been punished for being too assertive and perceived as low in feminine behaviour (Faes et al., 2010). Women who initiated or were demanding in a negotiation process did not conform to gender norms because of the biased association that negotiation is a highly masculine behaviour (Amanatullah, 2013). This reaction could emerge as a result of unconscious institutionalised gender dynamics within organisations. The perception of men and women as professional negotiators is often embedded within an organisation's DNA and does not depend on their role or function (Deborah, 2013).

Long-term exposure might help reduce prejudice; however, contact alone does not reduce discrimination, and many individuals work in environments that are openly hostile and must tolerate a systemic anti-gay bias. Tejeda (2006) found that workplace hostility and conscious bias against gay men was high where it was tolerated and where there was no organisational support.

Unconscious Bias – Biased Based Behaviour Reduction

Unconscious bias, however, can be reduced. Richeson and Shelton (2007) found that racial biases could be reduced through exposure and self-awareness. Many individuals might have personal experience working with or interacting with gay men, and the contact hypothesis suggests that even imagining interacting with an individual with a gay identity can reduce prejudice (Cameron et al., 2011). Those who have experienced long-term contact with gay men held more favourable implicit and explicit attitudes (Lemm, 2006). Buck and Plant (2011) researched the timing of disclosure of gay identity. Their study information about interacting with a gay participant was disclosed at the beginning of the first study, and participants responded more negatively

compared with a later disclosure in the second study, where individuals had already made an impression. This suggested that the levels of discrimination could be reduced when, in their experiment, the disclosure of gay identity happened later on, and the subjects did not conform to stereotypically 'gay behaviour' (Buck & Plant, 2011). The challenge with any behaviour that is triggered by the signals and stimuli of behaviours, assumptions, and contexts is that it takes constant monitoring and time to adapt behaviour.

Negotiation

Effective negotiation is enhanced by individuals working with each other, build trust, and manage or resolve conflict, all while trying to reach an agreement. Conflict in negotiation has been described 'as a process in which one party perceives that its interests are being opposed or negatively affected by another' (Wall and Callister, 1995, p. 517). Meanwhile, individuals' inability to successfully resolve conflict in negotiation could have a decisive effect on the outcome, particularly if they are perceived to be different because of their sexuality (Tejeda, 2006).

In every integrative (reconciling the needs of both parties) and distributive (dividing value) negotiation, some form of conflict is present (Bazerman et al., 1985). The way that individuals prefer to address their conflict (Thomas, 1976) is determined by many factors, including gender, culture, sexuality, bias, and need. The challenge of a negotiation is to understand the cause of the conflict and to identify the appropriate remedy (Jehn, 1995; Wegner, 2016). The same inquiry is what led Tajfel and others to look at how groups dealt with their conflict, leading to the emergence of SIT (Tajfel et al., 1971). However, when one of the participants enters a workplace negotiation knowing that they are being 'dishonest,' which could lead to discovery, this might have an impact on their current and future relationship, damage his/her reputation with

others, and can also have an ongoing impact (Newheiser et al., 2017). The question

arises of whether passing as straight is being dishonest or playing the game. Negotiation

for some is like a game that is similar to chess, involving a series of strategic moves to

achieve a stated goal – a 'win' (Chambers & De Dreu, 2014). The term win-win is used

in negotiation and is supposed to demonstrate the purpose of both parties benefiting and

winning from the result (Fisher and Ury, 1981).

Distributive Negotiation

Distributive negotiation is the process by which gains are made by one party at

the expense of the other; in other words, the more 'B' obtains, the less 'A' receives

(Fisher & Ury, 1981). Distributive negotiation assumes that the value of the pie is

relatively fixed and that the challenge in the negotiation is how the share of the 'pie' can

be enlarged so that 'A' or 'B' gets bigger or better slices than they otherwise would

have. Negotiation uses a game theory approach of zero-sum exchange, in which balance

is maintained, for, as one person gains, the other person loses the same amount (Lax &

Sebenius, 1986). This movement from one position to another affords minimal

opportunity for options to be generated, and, generally, the only way forward is through

a series of concessions or compromises. These series of movements is known as the

negotiation 'dance'(Howell & Cohn, 2010), and it often requires a series of several

actions before a satisfactory resolution is achieved. Distributive negotiation is prevalent

on account of its simplicity, and it is often conceived of as 'tough' or intuitive, requiring

little preparation and demanding little flexibility or creativity. Common tactics include

the use of threats, bullying, argumentation, and stonewalling (Amgoud & Prade, 2005).

A purely distributive approach has many challenges, as it often involves

aggressive strategies or provokes an aggressive response, and this can damage or

severely impact the relationship of the parties who are negotiating. A series of

experiments conducted by Gerald Williams in the 1970s and 1980s sought to identify the characteristics of effective lawyer negotiators and how they impacted the success of the negotiations. The findings revealed that 65% of the observed lawyer's negotiation style was cooperative, and 24% was competitive (Williams, 1983). Schneider (2002) examined the competitive-cooperative ('bi-polar') approach and suggested that the least successful negotiators were those who were strictly positional, displayed discourteous, untrustworthy behaviour, were disinterested in others and were inflexible and manipulative (Schneider, 2002). However, 'ethical' or 'softer' positional negotiators were found to be more productive, indicating that with some flexibility comes greater success and suggesting that it is possible, depending on the skill and approach of the negotiator, to be 'effective' by blending styles and being pragmatic (Howell & Rupasinha, 2015).

Negotiation – Visible Social Identity and Gender

The mechanism of negotiation has a certain 'maleness.' Further, through messages in society – for example, through social media and popular press and entertainment – there is consistent reinforcement that part of being 'male' is a tough negotiator. The literature has reviewed some of the challenges that women encounter when they negotiate and the very fine line that they must navigate (Faes et al., 2010). Indeed, women cannot be too feminine, as this would be a weakness, and both sexes must conform to hegemonic labelling of what it is to be male and female (Sloan et al., 2015). Women must also avoid appearing too 'tough,' or they will be labelled as aggressive, uncontrollable, and emotional (Huang & Low, 2018). Since some of the same attributes are given to gay men, the same labelling and expectations of function and success in negotiation prevail (Hanappi-Egger & Kauer, 2010).

Negotiation and Invisible Social Identity

Negotiation, as with any interpersonal exchange, can be challenging, and this

pressure increases when engaging with someone who does not conform to gender norms

(Everly et al., 2012). This may lead to discomfort at the bargaining table, because gay

men may feel that many of the normal exchanges or icebreakers during a negotiation

should be avoided, or that they should attempt to pass as straight (Bower, 2015). This

reduces the amount of social capital created, and the lack of personal interaction often

leads to the parties feeling uncomfortable and, potentially, considering the other

untrustworthy (Broomfield, 2015), possibly as a result of the unconscious bias of a

party (Lehmiller, Law & Tormala, 2009) and perceived discrimination. Meanwhile,

individuals' inability to bring their whole self to their job is likely to have a crippling

effect on them in a work environment, causing stress and discomfort (Brower, 2015;

Tejeda, 2006).

Negotiation and Invisible Social Identity – Disclosure of Gay Identity.

Disclosure of gay identity should enhance the negotiation process, which can often be

tense and stressful. Successful negotiation requires individuals to engage in an

interaction that relies on mutual trust, respect, and understanding (Lewicki et al., 2006).

Further, when a gay contracting partner can reveal their gay identity to the straight

contracting partner, this has the potential for highly positive results (Bowring &

Brewers, 2015). When individuals feel comfortable disclosing their sexual identity, this

demonstrates to the other party that trust has developed. One of the underlying

requirements for building trust is the ability to show vulnerability, and it is up to the

other party, whether they choose to trust (Bohet, 2006). An additional benefit to the

contracting process is the enhancement of social capital (Baron & Markman, 2000),

something which is essential, particularly when conflict and deadlock begin to emerge. Disclosure does, however, come with the risk of rejection.

Negotiation requires the development of trust and the belief that the opposite party is trustworthy (Lewicki & Stevenson, 1997; Malhotra, 2004). For the gay non-disclosing party, this inability to build trust because of the desire not to share information, which would show vulnerability, sends subtle messages to the other party, causing them to be more cautious or unwilling to provide concessions. Perales (2016) found that sexual identity influences a range of outcomes, including emotional and psychological satisfaction, all of which will have a direct impact on how individuals interact at the negotiation table.

While there is little evidence in the current literature to directly support the claim that disclosure of sexual orientation would have an impact on a negotiation, what is known and accepted is that negotiation requires individuals to be able to engage with others and to be genuine and consistent (Malhotra, 2004). Negotiators who are also gay can play the role; however, there will always be an inability for them to engage in casual conversation for fear of being discovered (Zak et al., 2005). This lack of openness would eventually alert any experienced negotiator (through micro-signals), who might misunderstand cautious behaviour as disinterest or disengagement. This perception by others will be informed by experience and both conscious (prejudice), and unconscious (bias) will influence the interaction (Galinsky et al., 2008).

Conclusion

This literature review has introduced several theoretical frameworks, most notably Social Identity Theory and Negotiation Theory. The structure also introduces themes and headings that will be explored in the studies that follow. While the literature started very broadly, the overall goal was to provide focus and ultimately by narrowing

the scope would provide support for this research and identify gaps, where they exist. The literature confirmed that gay identity had an impact on interpersonal relationships within the workplace and that many individuals were reluctant to bring their whole-self to these interactions, which could undoubtedly affect the quality of engagement and results gained from an agreement and will be examined in the studies that follow. Each chapter has a separate literature review, which provides additional support for the research question to be explored or the hypothesis to be tested. However, all these sections work together to create an underlying foundation to support the research topic and understanding of invisible stigmatized social identity theory.

Chapter Three - Research Methods

The previous chapter provided an overview of some of the foundational literature on how individuals relate and compare themselves to other groups by applying social identity theory and discussed visible and invisible stigmatised social identity and identity management strategies. The literature review further explored how others would respond when gay identity is disclosed. Also, it identified the importance of interpersonal relationships when trying to achieve success in workplace negotiation. The literature review identified that there was a gap in the knowledge, the results of this research will add to the body of knowledge in the area of stigmatised invisible social identity theory and distributive negotiation theory.

The purpose of this introductory research methods section is to provide support for the research design method selected and the sequence of data analysis. As stated in the introduction, there are four studies: Studies 1 and 2 use qualitative methods, while Studies 3 and 4 use quantitative methods of data analysis. Each study is contained in a separate chapter, which also includes a research methods section that is unique to that chapter and study.

Paradigm

Mixed methods have been increasing in popularity, especially in social science. However, this approach continually faces the challenges of suitability, rigour, and understanding (McKim, 2017). In selecting this approach, a fundamental question that needs to be addressed is, '*What philosophical approach should be used and how will this remain distinct?'* A mixed-methods approach was selected so that I could apply the flexibility of the qualitative approach to explore the narratives and stories of individual participants. Using this information and the themes that emerged helped me design quantitative studies to examine the data and test hypotheses. This project recognised

that to apply a mixed-method approach two philosophical assumptions would need to be addressed: (1) from the qualitative paradigm (the interpretivist), and (2) from the quantitative paradigm (the positivist) (Brannen, 2005). One could argue that the flexibility of this approach means that some research questions can be answered by the interpretevist (qualitative methods). In contrast, others can be answered by the positivist approach (quantitative methods). While they are located in different paradigms, the benefit of using both is the ability to understand how an individual interacts with and within society (Archibald et al., 2015).

Mixed methods researchers have acknowledged that what drives the methodology are the research questions. In this project, there are multiple research questions, thus making it even more possible to apply a mixed-method approach (Creswell, 2003). Bryman (2006) stated that the selection of mixed methods might stem from a philosophical paradigm, or, as with my project's focus, a more pragmatic goal and purpose.

Research questions were designed to explore gay identity and the impact of negotiated outcomes. The research is arranged from two different perspectives: 1) the gay male (analysis of self), and 2) those whom they interact with (analysis of others). The research questions that were developed and guide the project are:

i.   Does gay identity have an influence on interpersonal relationships in the workplace?

ii. Does disclosure of gay identity have an impact on workplace negotiated agreements?

iii. Does the disclosure of gay identity have an impact on who will achieve a better result in a negotiation?

iv.   Does the method of disclosure of gay identity influence the results of a negotiated agreement?

The selection of mixed methods can add further validity to the findings and can be selected when there is a lack of quantitative data or research in a particular area (O'Cathain & Thomas, 2004). When researching visible and invisible social identity, it is useful to get a deeper understanding that will, hopefully, provide greater confidence in the results (O'Cathain & Thomas, 2004) which is something that is exploring the personal narrative can provide, because it can uncover information that might not be found in the literature. Individuals have been reluctant to reveal or engage in workplace disclosure and therefore will not be captured by literature, measures, or meta-analysis. As there is such a gap in the knowledge, when thinking about suggestions for future research, using a mixed-method approach also helps to craft for future ideas in scope and design.

Method

A mixed-method design can be conducted in several different sequences. For this project, the research was conducted sequentially (QUAL-QUANT), and this approach is not as common as the QUANT-QUAL approach (Brannen, 2005). The benefit of the method selected is that it allows the qualitative portion of the research to be conducted first, which could be described as a 'mapping' exercise. This approach helps to inform the research design and the identification of variables for the quantitative study (Hammond, 2005).

Research Design

This project used a complementary sequential design, with the qualitative introduced to explore the narrative and provide a framework. This approach would help to identify the variables to be tested in the quantitative portion of the project

(Hammond, 2005). The term mixed methods does not mean that the data would be mixed; instead, it is the approach that is mixed. Thus, the data generated by different methods should not be combined to create an answer. Morgan (1998) outlined the methods of corroboration. Further, in this project, the data is analysed in a way that looks for complementarity, which permits information to be viewed from different perspectives. This ability to make connections is achieved through Triangulation, a process which can compare and contrast the data while recognising the uniqueness of each approach (Hammersley, 2008)

Study 1

The first study used a short answer survey approach. The surveys were distributed to a wide range of LGBT professional networks, and the study was conducted between May and September 2018. All of the participants (n=30) self-identified as gay, male professionals. The data was coded to conduct a thematic network analysis, and an additional review of the coding was provided, to ensure the validity of the analysis.

The goal of the first study was to explore the research question:

Does gay identity influence interpersonal relationships in the workplace?

This study also started the mapping out process, to provide thematic guidelines that would inform the structure and development of the next study in this complementary sequential structure.

Study 2

The second study was a series of in-depth, semi-structured interviews and was conducted between September and December 2018. The participants (n=42) were recruited from LGBT professional networks, business contacts, and referrals. All participants identified as either gay (=30) or straight (n=12) professional men. The data

were analysed using a grounded theory approach. For consistency and accuracy, a colleague, who was not associated with this project, checked the themes and constant comparisons. The research question explored:

> *Does disclosure of gay identity have an impact on workplace negotiated*
>
> *agreements?*

The first two studies were designed from the perspective of the gay individual and how they interact with others, where they have either disclosed or not disclosed their gay identity. The focus in Studies 3 and 4 was from the others' perspective – those who discover, directly or indirectly, an individual's sexual identity and the influence this had on the results of a negotiation.

Study 3

In Study 3, experiments were conducted in March and April 2019. Participants were recruited through the University of Sussex's psychology participant pool, and an online request was sent to 449 pre-screened participants, out of which 25 participated. The experiment had two conditions:

i. A research assistant (RA) self-disclosed that he was gay in the participant information sheet, which was shared with the negotiation partner before the commencement of the negotiation exercise. The two then engaged in a classic two-party distributive negotiation scenario, and the results were recorded.

ii. In this experiment, the RA self-disclosed that he was straight in the participant information sheet, and this shared with this negotiation partner before the commencement of the negotiation exercise. The participants in this experiment then engaged in the same negotiation scenario as in (a), and the results of the negotiations were recorded.

The focus of this experiment was whether the disclosure of gay identity would have an impact on the negotiated outcome. The research tested this:

Does the disclosure of gay identity have an impact on who will achieve a better result in a negotiation?

Following the completion of the experiment, the results were initially reviewed for headline trends using Excel, and further tests were conducted using SPSS.

Study 4

A second quantitative study was conducted to provide additional confirmatory data. In this study, the active or passive disclosure of gay or straight identity was tested to determine if it would have an impact on an anticipated internal resource negotiation. A questionnaire was made available on Amazon Mechanical Turk. A total of 124 participants completed the instrument, and all of the completed questionnaires were used for the analysis. All participants were self-identified adult men. The questionnaire asked a series of background questions about their negotiation experience. A negotiation scenario was selected containing conditions that could be manipulated. There were four different conditions and were randomly assigned to the participants. The four conditions were:

    i.   Active disclosure of straight identity.

    ii.   Passive disclosure of straight identity.

    iii.   Active disclosure of gay identity.

    iv.   Passive disclosure of gay identity.

The research question was:

Does the method of the disclosure of gay identity influence the results of a negotiated agreement?

Following the completion of the experiment, the results of the single short-answer questions were reviewed for any thematic trends, and the quantitative data was uploaded from Qualtrics, and analysed using SPSS.

Conclusion

Mixed-methods research is not a different or unique method but rather a combination of two traditionally used research methods, using them as complementary sources. The next chapter presents the first qualitative study and uses a short-answer survey to explore the research question.

Chapter Four– Study 1

Introduction

   This chapter will begin by introducing additional literature that will support the research question, which is followed by a research methods section that begins the sequential data analysis, which progresses over the four studies. The results and discussion section provided an opportunity to explore the themes that emerged against research evidence and identified areas for further exploration in the studies that followed.

Literature Review

   The literature review in Chapter Two introduced the importance of interpersonal relationships in the workplace and the benefits and challenges of disclosing gay identity. In this section, additional literature focuses on workplace identity and how this influences the interaction with others.

Interpersonal Relationships – Workplace

   The literature recognises the challenge of researching men with a gay identity – a group that, while extensive, does not always wish to self-identify in the workplace (Anteby & Anderson, 2014). Further, Ragins (2008) noted that almost half the population at work has an invisible stigma and that men with a gay identity are one of the least studied groups (Ragins, 2004). What Ragin (2004) was trying to suggest, and is supported in more recent literature, is that even with a significant presence in the workplace, individuals still prefer to manage their identity. They see this as a form of self-protection and not be subject to potential persecution or exclusion (Jones & King, 2015). As McFadden (2015) found, there is an ingrained, stigmatised belief that gay men are not appropriate for certain kinds of professions, such as those in which they might come into contact with vulnerable populations. The same study found that, while

there was an acknowledgement that businesses recognise the benefits of a diverse workforce, 30% of respondents have dealt with some form of discrimination (McFadden, 2015). Many LGBTQI associations exist in the workplace, and over 91% of Fortune 500 have anti-gay discrimination policies (Anteby & Caitlin, 2015). However, visibility remains a challenge, especially as some feel that there is a risk of being associated with these groups (Beaver, 2018).

Individuals try to assert that they can have separate professional and personal lives and that one need not impact the other. However, this might not always be possible, meaning that the attitudes and emotions for one domain are likely to emerge in all others (Bell et al., 2012). In the context of a personal-professional dichotomy, positive spill-over would be affirmed when the satisfaction, energy, happiness, and stimulation which an individual experiences at work cross over into positive feelings and energy at home, and vice versa (Balmforth & Gardner, 2006). Negative spillover from work to the family is demonstrated when the problems, conflicts, or energy at work strains and preoccupies an individual, making it difficult for them to effectively and positively participate in family life (Bell et al., 2012).

Employee comfort within the workplace has a direct impact on productivity and commitment (Lloren & Parini, 2017; Pichler et al., 2016). Concerning the stressor-strain relationship, if the employee has social support within the organisation, this may help to reduce the impact of their stress and strain as a result (Carlson and Perre, 1999). Businesses need to resolve internal difficulties because when there are high levels of work/non-work conflict, individuals will focus on the conflict, not on role fulfilment (Thompson and Werner, 1997 p. 594). However, even if there is a system that provides support, individuals must self-identify as needing this, and it might be beneficial for multiple methods of access to be made available, to encourage participation.

Work-Home Segmentation versus Integration

The stigma of homosexuality is a socially constructed model, and individuals must consider how people and contextual factors influence non-disclosure or disclosure (Rumens & Broomfield, 2011). There have been attempts to identify how many 'out' employees there are in an organisation but without success. These numbers tend to be underreported because of fear or an unwillingness to 'come out' (Anteby & Anderson, 2014). Lucas (1993) identified three coping strategies when considering how to manage workplace identity: an individual can counterfeit, avoid, or integrate. The choice to disclose a gay identity could be motivated by a broader purpose: due to personal integrity, to develop or improve workplace relationships, and/or to act as a role model for others (Rumens and Broomfield 2011).

In the United Kingdom, the Equality Act (2010)[25] banned discrimination based on sexual orientation, pressuring the workplace to reduce sexism, racism, and gay identity (Einarsdóttir et al., 2015). However, this can be challenging where heteronormativity is the norm, and gay relationships are seen as deviant and an abhorrent choice and activity (Goffman, 1963).

There has been an increase in the number of articles about the interaction of LGBT individuals in the workplace. However, McFadden (2015) found that 30% of those who were interviewed in the study (and felt comfortable reporting) have dealt with discrimination from heterosexuals. This perceived and actual discrimination also has an impact much earlier on in an individual's career development (Moore, 2017), as LGBT individuals have fewer role models (Shih, 2013). Hoffman et al. (2008) identified that where there was multi-level support from superiors, individuals reported

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[25] The Equality Act (2010) is a United Kingdom statutory instrument that provides the mechanism to protect individuals from discrimination in the workplace (https://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi?title=Equality%20Act%202010).

greater job satisfaction and also stated that the level of workplace heterosexism is associated with the level of workplace comfort and organisational strategy and citizenship. When individuals experience high levels of work/non-work conflict, their commitment to their organisation is negatively impacted, which, in turn, leads to lower organisational loyalty (Thompson & Werner, 1997, p. 594). Chong (2011) examined various strategies of dealing with discrimination and found that individuals could leave their job, say nothing, seek support, or confront those who exhibit discriminatory behaviour.

It is essential to have a diversity and inclusion policy within organisations, but this policy must be promoted across all parts of the business. This will increase the likelihood that individuals will be fully productive, bring their 'whole' self to the role, and develop productive inter- and intra-organisational workplace relationships.

Research Methods

Thematic network analysis was selected because it provided a mechanism to analyse the limited narrative information from the questionnaire and was also able to guide in shaping Study 2. This section includes a brief overview of the process choice, followed by an introduction to the stages of analysis required in thematic network analysis. After that, there will be a discussion of the themes that emerged from the data. These methods were selected to answer the research question, *'Does gay identity have an influence on interpersonal relationships in the workplace?'*

Participants

In this study, the questionnaire provided data from professional male respondents (n=30) in the UK and US, using the broad definition of negotiation.[26] All

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[26] The definition of negotiation from Study 1 is: "Whatever your position/role, you will be engaged in some form of mutual exchange or interpersonal communication, some of which are explicitly recognised

participants completed the questionnaire voluntarily and provided their consent before completing it. Participants were recruited via LGBTQ groups from organisations, individual contacts, referrals, and a variety of social media platforms, such as Facebook and LinkedIn groups.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire had two sections, one qualitative short-answer survey, and a quantitative scale section. The original plan was to analyse both parts, as my initial research plan was to engage in a simultaneous mixed-methods approach. During the extensive ethical review process, I had time to reassess this approach. Therefore, in consultation with the doctoral supervision team, I decided to change to a sequential complementary mixed-methods approach. This adjustment in focus meant that I only used the qualitative portion of the questionnaire and did not analyse the additional sections, as this would be inconsistent with the revised approach. However, the questions were useful, for they provided a framework in the design of Studies 3 and 4.

Qualitative Data Analysis: Thematic Analysis

Qualitative analysis has become more relevant in understanding interpersonal relations, and benefits from being flexible in structure and interpretation (Holloway & Todres, 2003). The method selected must provide meaningful results and ensure that the 'material under scrutiny is analysed in a methodical manner' (Attride-Stirling, 2008, p. 386). Thus, prejudgments can be avoided during this stage of analysis by keeping an open mind (Bree & Gallagher, 2016). In selecting an approach, I realised that I wanted to understand the themes that emerged and how these individual narratives are connected (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This desire led me to thematic analysis, which is

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as a negotiation, whereas, in other cases, this will be more discrete. Negotiation is a dialogue between two or more people intending to reach an agreed beneficial outcome."

looking for themes and patterns that emerge out of the data that has been gathered (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017, p. 3352). For this analysis, and for use in guiding further research studies, I needed to understand the connections among the themes, so I thus selected a thematic network approach as a means of organising and analysing the data. Thematic network analysis uses the themes that emerge to provide a structure. Within this structure, there are different levels, which are connected through thematic networks (Attride-Stirling, 2008, p. 387).
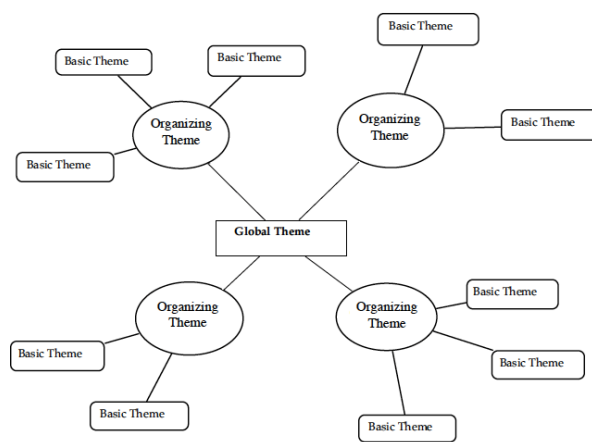
Figure 1 – Thematic Network Analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2008)

Thematic network analysis should emphasise the themes that are 'presented in web-like nets to remove any notion of hierarchy' (Attride-Stirling, 2008, p. 389) and includes several stages that the researcher must follow to provide a complete analytical network (Figure 1). The analysis commences by identifying a global theme. From this, a series of organising themes emerge and more detail about each organising group is examined through these basic themes. Attride-Stirling (2008, p. 391) identified these stages as follows:

     i.   Analysis stage:

          a.   Code the material (framework and text segments).

          b.   Identify themes (identify and refine common themes).

           c.   Construct thematic networks (identify global, organising, and

              basic themes).

      ii.   Exploration of the text:

           a.   Describe and explore thematic networks.

           b.   Summarise thematic networks.

      iii.   Interpret patterns.

Thematic Network Analysis. A thematic network analysis was conducted on the responses given to the questions from Section 1 of the questionnaire and to ensure consistency, a subset of the data was checked by a colleague familiar with this type of analysis. This approach to data analysis has three stages.

Stage 1: Identification of the Main Theme. This research project is focused on the disclosure of gay identity and the impact that this can have on the outcome of a negotiated agreement. For the purpose of this analysis, it was possible to create groups for both disclosure and non-disclosure of gay identity. Participants had an experience of disclosure and non-disclosure of gay identity and the impact that this has, and these are analysed in the basic themes that were identified and follow below.

Figure 2 – Identification of the Main Themes

*Stage 2: Organising Themes. I*dentifying these themes was the most challenging part of this analysis due to the amount of information that was available and the need to make sense of the narrative using the coded section of the text. This required me to,

once again, review the original coding mechanism. Once I had engaged in further analysis, I found that four themes emerged from the data. The first was how respondents felt about their own lived experience and how comfortable they were with their gay identity, and how this might have changed over time (Theme 1: Personal). The second theme was that of relationships with others and how these could influence gay people's choice to disclose or not disclose their gay identity (Theme 2: Relationship with Others). The third theme, the participants' role/work function, was something that the respondents referred to both positively and negatively and fitted in well as a separate theme (Theme 3: Role/Work Function). The final theme, Strategic Approach, had to be included, for the decision to pass or disclose was such a strong theme in the literature and appeared in all the responses in some way (Theme 4: Disclosure Strategy). For this analysis, I decided to focus on the 'personal' and 'relationship with others' categories, as this analysis provided me with themes that could be explored and provided guidance for the structure of Study 2.
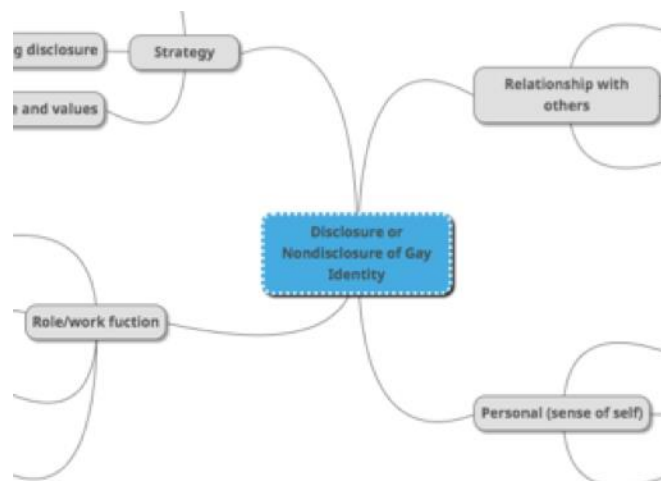
Figure 3 – Organising Themes

Stage 3: Basic Themes. The final themes to emerge from the data are depicted in Figure 4.
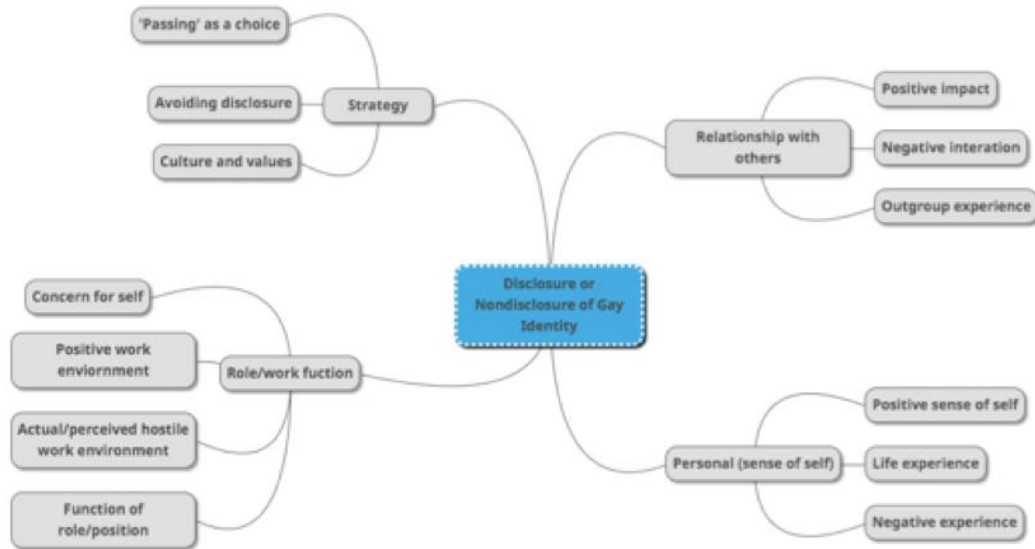
Figure 4 – Basic Themes

The basic themes could have appeared as part of several of the organising themes, and this repetition is what persuaded me to review just two of them in more depth. These basic themes highlight the respondents' underlying narrative of some of the successes and challenges of either disclosing or not disclosing their gay identity and the impact that this had on their negotiation experience. For this study, I will explore the following (integrating some of the text from the respondents):

    i.   Personal (Sense of Self):

        a. Positive Sense of Self.

        b. Life Experience.

        c. Negative Experience.

    ii.   Relationship with Others:

        a. Positive Impact.

        b. Negative Interaction.

        c. Outgroup Experience.

Thus, I focused on the themes on the right-hand side of Figure 2.

Results

Personal (Sense of Self)

The ability to be comfortable with oneself is a theme that emerged in the literature review and is the fundamental reason why many individuals prefer not to disclose their sexual identity. In response to the question 'Have you ever concealed your sexual orientation?' some participants indicated discomfort with colleagues knowing their identity, reporting: *'I constantly steer conversations and discussions away'* (R19); *'I think it changes how people see me'* (R16); *'I feel uncomfortable about the disclosure'* (R13); *'It's not appropriate or permitted to be gay'* (R13) and found it difficult to have a work persona that included their sexual identity. One respondent mentioned, *'Yes . . . in some settings it is not appropriate or permitted to be gay'* (R1), while another reported, *'Yes, I was in a room with numerous heterosexual men and didn't feel disclosing would do me any favours'* (R26). Other respondents felt that it was only necessary for a particular setting; one stated that he would not mention his identity *'[…] unless it will help the discussion. For example, if it is a diversity inclusion meeting or if the topic of the meeting is appropriate'* (R4).
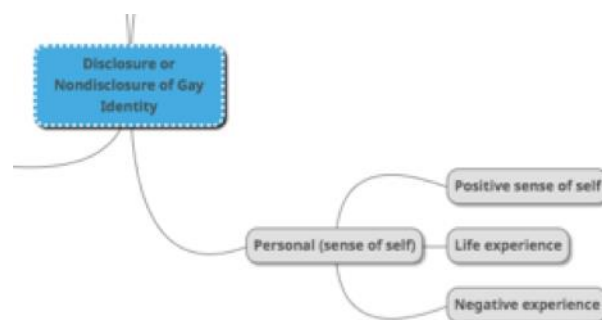
Figure 5 – Personal (Sense of Self)

Positive Sense of Self. Emotional well-being can result in positive physical and mental health and often dictates the level of involvement that an individual might have within their work environment (Wessel, 2017). One respondent reported, *'Anyone who*

knows me, knows my sexual orientation . . . [there has] never been a problem' (R25).

Therefore, assisting employees in improving their health may be one method that helps

to increase the overall organisational commitment. One respondent commented, '*I am*

openly gay; therefore, my sexual orientation is known to everyone beforehand' (R28),

while another stated, '*[It] came up as part of interview – discussing personal life. I*

wanted to make sure they knew, and it wouldn't be a problem' (R24) and *'I refused to*

"be in the closet" during the ten years that I worked in this medical centre and I asked

my question concerning the equity of corporate benefits loudly and proudly. I disclosed

my sexual orientation and never hide who I am in terms of sexuality' (R18).

> ***Life Experience***. Many respondents preferred to hide their true identity, with

one saying, *'I feel uncomfortable about the disclosure, and I evaluate how the*

disclosure is relevant to the job at hand. What is the relevance to disclose?' (R16).

While there have been advances in social attitudes towards people who identify as gay

over the last few decades, in some professions and parts of society, little movement has

been made, such as evident from the lack of individuals with a gay identity who coach

or participate in professional sport (Cunningham et al., 2010; Sartore & Cunningham,

2009). Further, with the hegemonic attitude ever-present, individuals had to start to

create their own role models. One respondent reported, *'Yes . . . especially if they have*

preconceptions about what it is to be straight/gay—also, my own assumptions about

what they must be thinking' (R2). Workplace experience and the passage of time had

helped many become comfortable with disclosure, as one respondent reported, *'when I*

was younger, I would hide my sexuality in interviews and new jobs' (R24). Further, he

reported that, more recently, it *'[…] came up as part of the interview . . . [I] wanted to*

make sure that it wasn't a problem' (R24). This respondent reported a change in their

own attitude, and how time and life experiences helped him to become comfortable with disclosing his gay identity.

Negative Experience. Responses to negative information and experience are unique to each individual. Stress researchers are concerned with the (inadequate) adaptation of individuals to their environment and with the resulting physiological, behavioural, and psychological consequences and concern, with one respondent reporting, *'In my work environment I would often deflect questions about my personal life' (R25).* Within the responses analysed, there was an underlying theme of discrimination, which harmed individuals. One respondent noted, and another agreed, that *'[…] other people prefer not to hire gay people based on their own religious beliefs, preconceived notions of how gay people behave, or their expectations of how a gay person will fit in with their existing staff'* (R12). This had an impact because:

> *At work, I mostly consciously steer conversations, discussions, and interactions away from my personal life to avoid the issue. This typically means that I choose my words and actions very carefully, but I believe that this approach stems more from my own upbringing and background than an assessment of my work environment. I also think that the degree to which I influence and steer negotiations away from this area depends on the person and their status with whom I am negotiating.* (R22)

The disclosure of sexual orientation also had a direct impact on advancement, with one respondent stating, *'Yes, I think I've been turned down for roles because of [my] sexuality. Some people were visibly uncomfortable when I discussed my sexuality'* (R24).

Relationship with Others

Deutsch (1985) has characterised relationships in terms of their psychological orientations of the complex synergy of 'interrelated cognitive, motivational and moral orientations' (p. 94). He maintained that people establish and maintain social relationships partly based on these orientations, these relationships influence them, and

vice versa: *'I mostly just felt comfortable disclosing my sexuality and wouldn't want to work somewhere that is not inclusive anyway'* (R3). Because people strive to keep their orientations internally consistent, they may seek out relationships that are congruent with their own psyche, so they can feel comfortable exploring and sharing their personal narrative (Methot et al., 2017). Even if we have no direct experience with another person, our expectations may be shaped by what we learn about them through friends, associates, and hearsay (Ferris et al., 2003), with one respondent stating, *'My HR supervisor added me on Facebook. He then told many people at work that I was gay'* (R19). The other's reputation often creates strong expectations that lead us to look for elements of trust or distrust, and also leads us to approach the relationship attuned to trust or to suspicion (Glick & Croson, 2001). For example, *'Sometimes mild flirting with someone of the same sexual orientation can play a role'* (R28) and *'I think the fact I was very open helped gain trust'* (R24).
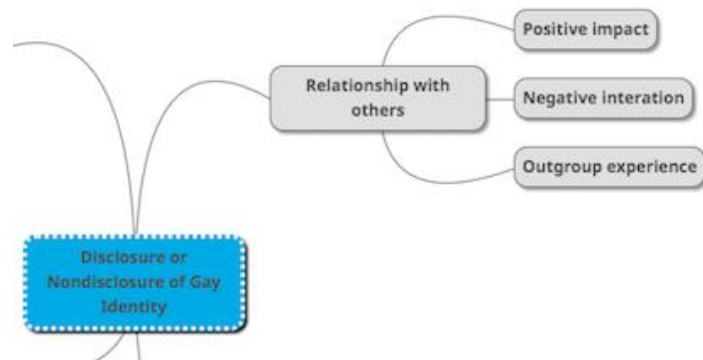
Figure 6 - Relationship with Others

Positive Impact. Individuals might have personal experience working with or interacting with a gay man, and contact hypotheses suggest that imagining contact can reduce prejudice (Cameron et al., 2011). Those who have experienced long-term contact with gay men reported having had more favourable implicit and explicit attitudes (Lemm, 2006), with one reporting, *'It may take me out of any macho "dick swinging"*

sort of competition in negotiating with straight men, allowing us to negotiate more calmly' (R29). Long-term exposure might help to reduce prejudice; for example, *'Relationships between co-workers are stronger and healthier when orientation is known'* (R11).

  Negative Interaction. However, contact alone does not reduce discrimination. Indeed, many individuals work in environments that are openly hostile and must tolerate systemic anti-gay bias. For example, *'Hell, yes . . . the corporation used the law to prevent my partner from getting benefits that he would have gotten if only he had a vagina!'* (18). Tejeda (2006) found that workplace hostility and conscious bias against gay men was high where it was tolerated and did not have organisational support. For example, *'Yes, I've learned that people have negative opinions about gay people, and even those okay with gay people fear that gay people with HIV should not be hired'* (R12); *'It most definitely did. I was "out". I was shut out of corporate benefits. I worked as much as "heteros" but got less because of my sexual orientation'* (R18); and *'Yes, I worked for a private research firm. They fired me due to one of my co-workers disclosing that I was gay'* (R10).

  Outgroup Experience. Cultural complexity is part of learned experience and is both situational and unique to each individual. However, while gay identity receives a lot of focus, it is only one of the multiple influencers that individuals have to navigate: *'In most situations, my orientation is irrelevant unless I am dealing with individuals from another region of the United States that consider any deviation in what is considered "normal" – then I modify my behaviour'* (R15). To have a home and work persona and to keep them separate is challenging and can often lead individuals to become depressed and less fulfilled (Madera et al., 2012; Ramarajan & Reid, 2013).

The constant monitoring of behaviour and the analysis of what information is being

discussed and revealed can also have a huge impact on interpersonal relations:

> *Most of the time I felt I needed to conceal my sexual orientation, because in [my] previous job experience[s] I was discriminated against, and a boss attempted to fire me because he was prejudiced. I always worried that knowledge of my sexual orientation might cause me not to get hired.* (R12)

This situation causes a strange dynamic of not being genuine, which causes both

parties to feel dissatisfied by the encounter; however, individuals nevertheless feel that

they need to engage in this sort of cover story to secure employment and even their

reputation.

As individuals interpret and evaluate the characteristics of their workplace, this

can have an impact on their job satisfaction: *'Because I work so closely with people and

run a program for gay men people know I am gay'* (R9). Individuals have preferences,

and they interact to create fit or misfit, people are more or less satisfied overall with

their job. Job role misfit, however, is not uncommon and may be due to the attitudes of

others: *'I think that staff in the past had issues about being supervised/managed by a

gay man. This may happen especially with heterosexual men'* (R9). Therefore, when a

workplace is congruent with a person's preferences, job satisfaction increases:

> *My sexual orientation was once a requirement, which I was unaware of until after I started working. It was a small company with 99% female employees who wanted to hire a gay man because they felt [one] would provide some protection, as they were in a bad neighbourhood and having a gay man would be good because the girls would get along better with a gay man instead of a straight man, plus gay men don't have kids, so they can work late and [do] overtime without families to support or take time away from working.* (R12)

The feeling of wanting to belong and connect would also have an impact when

considering the type of role and organisation to which a person is best suited; a

respondent confirmed this by stating *'more in the manner. As I am actively involved

with the campus LGBTQ student organisations and my involvement comes up from time

to time, especially in new hire training and encouraging others to participate in the safe

zone training' (R16). Therefore, individuals should consider which environment is more welcoming when discussing the disclosure of their gay identity.

Discussion

Disclosure of Gay Identity - Positive Experience

      Many who responded reinforced the opinion that they drew comfort from being the same – or a similar – person in and outside of the workplace. This consistency of persona adds to the level of job satisfaction and company loyalty (Madera, 2012). While there were many challenges of being gay in the workplace, the emotional and psychological benefits of disclosure outweighed the negatives. However, this is only possible where there is institutional support and where leaders and managers actively provide active support and engagement; there are fewer advantages if there is little or no support (Sabat, 2014). Many reported that they were able to build and maintain relationships, and one even said that the disclosure of his gay identity further reinforced trust. This National Research Defence Institute (2010) found that when individuals felt comfortable disclosing their gay identity, this helped them to build social connections and ensure that they had effective working relationships. Whereas non-disclosure left individuals suffering from anxiety and made them unable to form social bonds (NRDI, 2010).

      Several respondents commented that there were few positive role models in the workplace. While this is slowly improving, this is role and sector dependent; there are still too few influential leaders who identify as gay (Baker & Baker, 2019; Kaplan, 2014). Some participants were comfortable with their gay identity and reported that the organisation supported their disclosure and even became part of their role or organisational group function. There are some occasions when the response is not always negative, depending on the role and the hiring manager (Everly, Unzueta &

Shih, 2015). Therefore, as supported by respondents and the literature (Moore, 2017; Pichler et al., 2016), where there is support within the workplace, and where an individual works in a supportive team or group, the individual is more comfortable disclosing his gay identity.

Disclosure of Gay Identity - Negative Experience

Participants experienced a range of negative consequences, especially when an individual or group's perceived interests or perceptions of reality, was opposed to their own, and commented: *'I was fired'* (R9); *'I have learned that people have negative opinions about gay people'* (R11); *'I've been turned down for roles'* (R21); *'I was excluded from key strategy meetings'* (27) . Individuals within the workplace can experience overt anti-gay treatment, even where there are laws and policies in place that are supposed to protect them, which is often as a result of institutional ignorance, apathy, and perceived passive support (Einarsdottir, 2015). Respondents noted that their experience of discord and divergent interests had an impact on their perceptions, values, and beliefs. There are occasions when individuals can also anticipate discrimination due to their previous experiences. Blankenshop (2019) found individuals with an internalised stigma which hindered their career aspirations and progress, within the workplace. This internalised stigma supported respondents feelings about disclosure and how this would influence their role and career expectations. There was also a concern that if they did disclose their sexual identity, they could experience stigmatised based behaviour as a result (Ng & Lyons, 2012). This perceived negative response or anticipated reaction is likely to elicit anger, disgust, and fear, thus threatening their self-esteem and necessitating cognitive resources to enable them to cope with the situation, which requires resilience and strength (Meyer, 2015). However, the experience of social

isolation and retaliation would prevent others from wanting to disclose their gay identity.

Some of the respondents reported that they had a private and public persona and that they would continuously monitor and deflect the conversation at work, and this impacted the development of their relationships due to a perceived barrier. Further, while many say that they would prefer to disclose their gay identity to others in the workplace, the impact and imagined strain that this would cause on their career would be too significant a risk (Marrs, 2016). The non-disclosure of an invisible stigmatised identity does present a barrier between individuals (Chugh, 2004). This disconnect could be misinterpreted by others, especially when trying to build a relationship and establishing trust, as this unconscious discomfort would, eventually, cause conflict or disharmony.

Cultural complexity and influence had an impact on individuals who are not comfortable with disclosure, whether based on individual characteristics, national, religious, organisational, or perceived difference, with many engaging in a series of identity management strategies, such as concealment, fabrication and discretion as a result of this influence (Croteau, 2008). Participants reported that they understood what to expect and what was expected of them. They had to conform to these 'rules' to comply and 'fit', or, as reported by one individual, they would be ejected, or even fired. However, as has been discussed in previous sections, this has a psychological impact, resulting in a reduced sense of belonging within the organisation (Clair et al., 2015).

Life Experience

For many individuals, being gay as a young adult was a painful experience. To identify as gay at a young age, even in high school, was not encouraged, and young gay people had few positive role models (Cox et al., 2011; Willis, 2011). Further, gay men

who did disclose (or come 'out') were often stigmatised, and these negative labels would then lead then to assumptions about being gay. Positive attributes and role models, however, are useful, not only for those looking for others with a gay identity but also for those who are straight (Rumens, 2012). While personal contact can challenge assumptions, imagined contact with a gay person has also been able to reduce anti-gay prejudice (Lehmiller, 2010). The increased visibility of alternative lifestyles and identities has become part of the dialogue when discussing diversity and inclusion. Despite this, as with the race and the civil rights movement, it takes time from awareness-raising to full integration (Kaplan, 2014). This journey from recognition to acceptance provides a frame of reference, for it charts cultural and societal influences at a time when those responding to the questionnaire came of age and went on to develop their personal and professional identities.

Individuals were aware that unconscious messages are a response to triggers based on previous experiences (Bargh & Morsella, 2008). One respondent stated that he thought that this bias was '*in my head*' (R19), which would have an impact on attitudes because bias will influence past, present, and future behaviour. However, this imagined or anticipated discrimination prevents relationships from being formed and presumes everyone feels the same way (Blankenship, 2019; Ng et al., 2012). Some reported that they changed their attitude to disclosure over time; however, a general theme was apparent: this disclosure was situational and contextual.

Those who reported greater comfort with disclosure also confirmed that they were in an environment that was supportive. The timing of disclosure can have an impact on behaviour, for example, immediate disclosure of gay identity can increase one's workplace experience, but only can be achieved within a supportive environment (King et al., 2017).

Individuals who reported monitoring their conversation and disclosure were not always aware of how much control they needed over the conversation. This need to control and monitor what is being said might be mistaken by others as a negative characteristic. This is especially challenging when trying to build a relationship, and this negative perception could be misinterpreted as being untrustworthy (Rumens, 2013).

The in- and the out-group experience was different for the survey respondents: some felt that they had to conform, whereas others felt the need to reject this environment. Therefore, individuals have a choice to disclose their identity; there is still a concern about the impact that this will have on their role. As Moeller (2018) discovered, individuals were concerned about overseas assignments because they might have disclose their gay identity and Rengers (2019) where individuals had to consider the impact that disclosure would have in the in-country field offices. Therefore, individuals need to consider whether to disclose or not disclose and face potential retaliation or worse, have to leave their position (Williamson, 2017).

Conclusion

The purpose of Study 1 (see Appendix B) was to answer the research question: *'Does gay identity have an influence on interpersonal relationships in the workplace?'* Only the qualitative portion of the questionnaire was explored, as this provided the most usable data. Respondents reported that disclosure of their gay identity influenced their behaviour and interaction with others. The identified themes explored confirmed that disclosure context was important, as life experience, disclosure, and timing were still aspects that would be assessed against the impact that disclosure would have on their career and interaction with others. Furthermore, it emerged that there was there still an underlying fear of the impact that disclosure would have, and thus 'passing', concealment or avoiding was sometimes a preferred strategy.

The results confirmed that a high proportion of individuals had faced direct and indirect discrimination in the workplace, as a result of the disclosure of their gay identity. Respondents also reported that this had an impact on their interaction with others, and this distance had an impact on business relationships. These issues are explored further in Study 2.

Limitations and Future Implications

The limited response and completion rate is potentially due to the design of the questionnaire, with respondents asked to reflect on negotiation and then the impact of gay identity and the interaction with others. In the future, another study should be conducted that incorporates an online questionnaire that explores the same themes but is restructured, with individuals responding to a series of questions on a 7-point Likert scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), followed by the qualitative, reflective questions, to further support what the results of this study confirmed. This would provide a framework and foundation for the participants and would ease them into the personal reflection section of the questionnaire.

Chapter Five – Study 2

Introduction

In the previous chapter, the aim was to identify and explore key themes that emerged from the survey. The results provided support that gay identity did indeed have an impact on workplace relationships. The purpose of this chapter is to expand the scope of exploration to answer the research question, *'Does disclosure of gay identity have an impact on a workplace negotiated agreement?'*

The first section of this chapter introduces additional literature that is relevant to this study and the research question, which is followed by a research methods section that explains the part of Grounded Theory as a process of qualitative research analysis. Following this section are the results and discussion sections that use co-axial codification as a framework, and the chapter ends with a conclusion section.

Literature Review

Interpersonal Relationships

Professional identity and role identity is a product of organisational culture, which often expects workplace 'professionals' to assume an identity that supports the culture or brand, meaning that workers' professional personas must be consistent with the company's image (Priola et al., 2014). People tend to apply for jobs based on company reputation. This desire to conform can result in individuals aligning themselves to certain identity management stereotypes, thus being compelled to adopt a strategy of either passing or revealing their gay identity (Reed, 2015). Lower-status identity groups are subject to intense discrimination because the rewards usually go to those who are considered 'normal'. Reed (2015) found that almost all people who are in a position to pass 'will do so at some occasion by intent' (p. 74). Surveys have attempted to identify how many 'out' employees there are in an organisation. These

numbers tend to be underreported because of the fear or unwillingness to come out, to disclose, or to be a whole and not a 'work' identity.

Individuals differ in the amount of control they need over their environment; however, what is agreed is the need to have at least some control (Burger & Cooper, 1979). There are advantages of being in control for health and mood (Abeles, 1990), and, concerning work and identity, a high level of control positively influences well-being. However, a lack of this resource (actual or perceived) may result in physical or psychological withdrawal (Seligman, 1979).

Disclosure of gay identity within work, versus keeping identity as something that remains at home (or is never disclosed), is one mechanism for managing concerns over the stigma and actual or perceived cultural or environmental factors in organisations. Invisible, stigmatised social identities can cause a conflict between the fear of being subject to discrimination and not being honest to oneself and others (Clair et al., 2005). All this requires self-monitoring, which is a contextual choice between the benefits of passing versus those of revealing. Identity management is a constant feedback loop and is psychologically draining (Croteau et al., 2008). Also, it has a direct impact on the ability to develop and maintain relationships.

Social Capital and Building Relationships

The ability to build and maintain relationships in business is essential, as it can have a direct impact on building a reputation and enhancing career opportunities (Camén et al., 2011). Therefore, individuals who work with others need to 'build' capital, which, like any commodity, has value. Some of the prominent theorists of social capital, such as Bourdieu (2011), Coleman (2009), and Portes (1998), have considered social capital to be a resource for action, which is developed and accessed through membership in organisations. The means of developing social capital is the individual's

capability to collaborate effectively, with interactions characterised not solely by shared goals. Indeed, a high level of trust and interdependence can be created through effective communication (Methot et al., 2017). While there has been a focus on improving performance, other non-work issues (e.g., the work-family conflict) have been recognised as harming performance (Bell et al., 2012). Narrow sociological definitions of social capital focus on networks within, between, and outside of groups (Creary et al., 2015). However, this can also include individualistic behaviour, such as trust, reciprocity, and social skills, as well as institutional measures, including contract enforceability.

Social capital has become one of the most deeply mined concepts in contemporary social science. Like collaboration, it features heavily in many national- and local-level public policy areas, including economic and community development, education, crime, healthcare, the environment, and civic responsibility. Putman (1993) defined social capital as the features of social organisations, such as social networks, social interactions, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Others, such as Inglehart (1997), refer to a culture of trust and tolerance from which emerge networks of voluntary associations. Fukuyama (1999) saw social capital as the biological predisposition of humans to society and claimed that cooperative behaviour is not independently constructed by culture.

Social capital, a term used by Bourdieu (1986) as a means of explaining how social and economic forces create and maintain capitalist culture. Others have said that the concept has been around for a long time but has not been labelled as such. Furthermore, views have also been divided as to whether social capital should focus on what it is rather than what it does. Certainly, social scientists have expended much effort in defining social capital, and these efforts have, unsurprisingly, been influenced

by their particular disciplines and have led to, at worst, a diluted concept and, at best, a multi-faceted one (Creary et al., 2015). With such diversity in the concepts, many social scientists are now searching for a synthesis of theoretical frameworks from different disciplines and asking researchers and policy-makers to 'tread' carefully when referring to the concept.

The literature is introduced to support building relationships in the workplace. While individuals might be able to agree without these interpersonal connections, the robustness of the agreement and the level of engagement will both suffer without a foundation of understanding.

Research Methods

Participants

From August to December 2018, I conducted 42 interviews. Participants self-identified as either gay (30) or straight (12) male employed professionals. Participants were recruited from questionnaire participants, contacts with LGBT alliance membership groups, business contacts, and referrals.

Interview

Participants were given a series of interview questions about their negotiation experience (see Appendix C), and at the beginning of the interview, negotiation was defined as:

> *Negotiation is a dialogue between two or more people intending to reach an agreed beneficial outcome. Negotiations are NOT just limited to things like formal contracts. For the purpose of this study, a negotiation would also include examples like agreeing on work responsibilities with a supervisor or subordinate, debating the course of action, addressing a problem, or negotiating things like pay and promotions..*

The interviews were analysed using a grounded theory approach process, which required me to read the interviews to familiarise myself with the words and themes that emerged, and a subset of the data was analysed by a colleague to ensure consistency.

Following this, a more probing analysis was conducted, in order for coding to begin. Categories were analysed to establish relationships, which provided supporting evidence with which to answer the research question and demonstrate that disclosure or non-disclosure of gay identity does have an impact on interpersonal relationships and the outcome of a negotiated agreement.

Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is a method of analysing the data collected (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This approach requires data to be collected and analysed; however, the use of the word 'theory' in this approach is slightly misleading. Grounded Theory comes from the process of being 'grounded' in the collection of data. In contrast 'theory' refers to the process of 'collecting and analysing the data' (Khan, 2014) to generate a theory. The process of building a grounded theory consists of the following concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1990):

i. Theoretical Sampling.

ii. Theoretical Saturation.

iii. Constant Comparison Movement.

iv. Theoretical Sensitivity.

Theoretical Sampling

Theoretical sampling helps the researcher codify and categorise the data and also 'feel' the data by attempting to understand what it communicates, which is contextual and unique to the individual narrative that emerges. The goal in each interview is to understand the lived experience, and is achieved by demonstrating empathy towards the interviewee, from where emerges the 'latent content': that is, the narrative that lies behind what is being expressed (Charmaz & Bryant, 2010; Glaser et al., 2019).

Theoretical Saturation

Theoretical saturation is the moment in which a new interview does not contribute to the analysis that is in progress: that is, at which a new interview does not add any new information to help the researcher create new codes or categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1999). At this moment, we can end the constant comparison movement between the interviews and the on-going analysis.

Constant Comparison Movement

The movement of constant comparison is the movement that the researcher makes when their mind goes back and forth between the data and the developing analysis. For the review to progress, it is necessary for the researcher to continually make a comparison between the data (the interviews) and the on-going analysis. This movement also allows the researcher to repeatedly corroborate the codes chosen and the categories created.

Theoretical Sensitivity

Theoretical sensitivity must be used to codify and categorise the data. The researcher must 'feel' the data, delving into it and attempting to unravel that which it communicates. In this sense, it is useful to reimagine the context in which each interview was conducted, the person being interviewed, and what was being narrated. In every case, the researcher attempts to attain a level of empathy towards the interviewee to glimpse the 'latent content,' and understand what lies behind what is being expressed.

Grounded Theory Process

Coding Stage

Coding begins by reading an interview to become familiar with the words of the interviewee. From this, you get a feel for what emerges and an understanding of the

underlying narrative and themes. A more careful, line-by-line reading of the same interview follows.

A 'code' is the label assigned to an 'event,' indicated in the transcript of the interview, and must be relevant to the research question. An event is the verbal expression of an attitude or a complete individual or collective act. Two steps codified each 'event' found in the interviews: firstly, by describing what it was: that is, what the code's definition is, and, secondly, by adding a textual quote of what was considered to be an event. The textual quotation of the words used by a participant aims to guarantee the consistency of the description in progress.

Codes emerged as the interviews were – a word or phrase (label) in the right margin of the document – were assigned. This approach is then repeated, with the second interview using the same codes as the first, and others would be created, if necessary. In these initial stages of analysis, it is essential not to miss or overlook anything mentioned by the interviewees. This coding process was applied to the third and fourth interviews.

The second step of analysis is introduced after four interviews are analysed, at which point the codes are reviewed to identify the following:

    i.   What is the theme?

    ii.   What is emerging?

    iii.   What is the narrative?

This further analysis provides the opportunity to group some codes before creating categories. At the end of the first stage, the interviews became a series of small pieces, each comprised of a description and a text quote with a code associated with it (see Appendix C – assigned and an analysis of the interviews).

Categorisation

A category must be defined, and this can be constructed from the participant's explanations. From these characteristics, attributes or property dimensions are determined. In grounded theory, a category has three elements:

    i.   Definition

    ii.   Attributes (also called properties)

    iii.   Its dimensions

The comparison of the codes from the first set of interviews made it possible to specify the points of resemblance (as well as the points of a discrepancy). This constituted the characteristics of the category and the degree of importance given by each participant to the properties mentioned. Finally, the series of codified pieces evolved into a grouping of statements capable of defining and characterising a category.

The data was then analysed again, at which point the analysis was more complicated. We asked the following:

    i.   What is happening here?

    ii.   What is this about?

    iii.   What phenomenon are we facing?

To ensure that adequate codes and category names were selected, the approach of constant comparison between the interviews (the original source of the data) and the analysis was selected. This ensured that the codes and categories corresponded with the information that emerged from the data. However, the construction of categories requires a higher level of analysis, answering questions such as: 'What is happening in the text?' 'What is happening here?' 'What is it?' and, 'What phenomenon are we facing?' Also, the construction of categories required these to be defined so that they

showed what they represented as a concept because a category does not refer to the event itself but rather to what this incident represents in the data.

Establishing Categories – Relationships. As the construction of the categories continued, relationships among them began to arise. In this stage, the following questions needed to be answered: 'What have we here that is related to each other?' and 'How are they linked to each other?' As a result, it was possible to proceed, analysing the categories, to answer the questions and identify the proposed links that could comprise relationships among the categories in question.

Integration of Categories. In the integration stage, it is essential to return to the research question to group all the categories that delimit the object of study. The aim is to identify, as clearly as possible, the 'overall unit,' or central category, that would give meaning to the series of categories that have emerged from the grounded-theory data analysis. Thus, the following questions were asked: 'What is the main problem?' and 'Ultimately, what is our study about?' Addressing and answering these questions maintains focus and ensures that the correct themes are analysed and with the appropriate conclusions reached.

Open Coding and Description of Categories. The phenomenon described below is related to negotiation. This research aims to identify if gay identity can have an impact, positively or negatively, on the outcome of an agreement. By studying the exchanges during a negotiation, many aspects of this phenomenon could be identified. One of these could be the sexual orientation of the parties. Indeed, it can be supposed that while sexual orientation makes no part of the negotiation, it could have an unconscious influence.

Applying grounded theory explains how negotiation and gay identity might influence each other. These explanations emerge from the data and the following

sections are organised according to the categories constructed from the data analysis, following an inductive process and respecting the stages formulated by Strauss and Corbin (2012).

Integration of Concepts. In this stage, it was essential to be sensitive as the foundations of the data analysis emerged. In grounded theory, the axial codification process allows the primary columns that support the theory to be visualised. In this study, three axes emerged from the data analysis (see Figure 7).

THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS

THE WEIGHT OF RESPONSIBILITY

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS

GAY IDENTITY IN A STRAIGHT WORLD

DYNAMIC OF THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT DISCRIMINATION

WORK EXPERIENCES WITH BIASED PEOPLE

PERSONAL STIGMA

ISSUES DURING NEGOTIATION

COMPANY OPENNESS TOWARDS LGBTQI

SEXUAL ORIENTATION'S IMPACTS ON RELATIONSHIPS

FEARING TO REVEAL THEIR SEXUAL ORIENTATION DURING THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS

MEASURES TO ACHIEVE ACCEPTANCE OF MINORITIES

Figure 7 - Axial Codification

The following section explains the content of each axis.

Axis 1 - Environment of the Negotiation Process.

In the first axis, I regrouped the concepts concerning the definition of negotiation – the diverse experiences that participants reported when dealing with their counterparts (e.g., clients, patients). The company's openness towards the LGBTQI community and the comments they made about the measures to achieve acceptance of minorities were also incorporated into this axis.
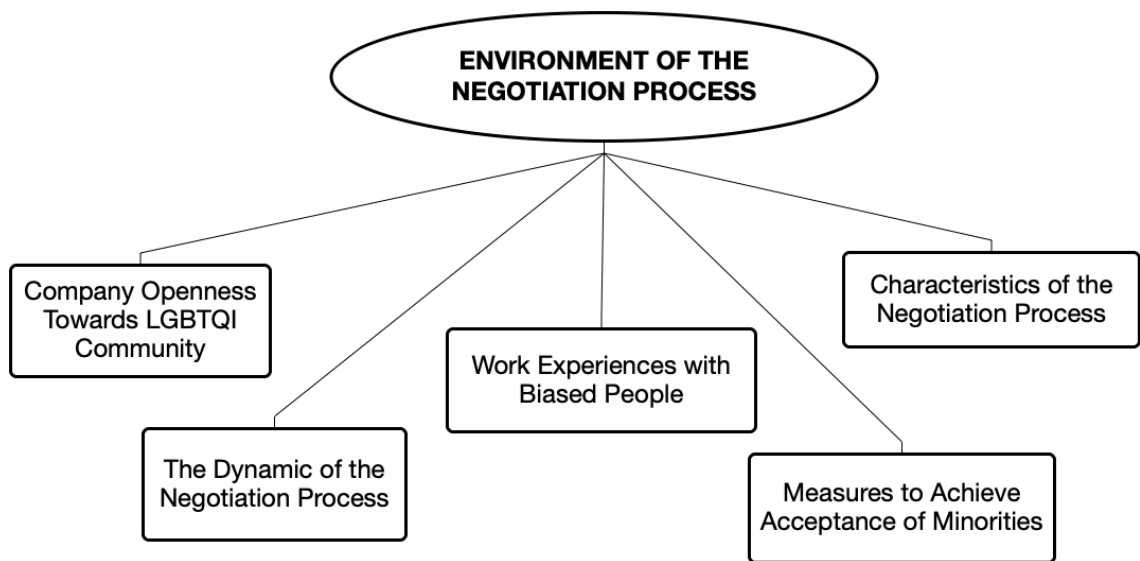
Figure 8 - First Axis: Environment of the Negotiation Process

This axis contained only statements concerning the companies, the participants' work, and what participants thought and believed about the fact of approaching 'negotiations' as a gay or straight person. In short, the environments and characteristics of workplaces were grouped under the first axis because it is essential to understand the varieties of the participants' work environments.

Axis 2 – Gay Identity in a Straight World

The second axis groups participant's experiences into two categories, how they identify their stigmatised identity and the impact of this identity in the straight world. Under this axis, I grouped the concepts concerning the private life, beliefs, values, and events of the gay community, plus the gay participants' relationships with other people.
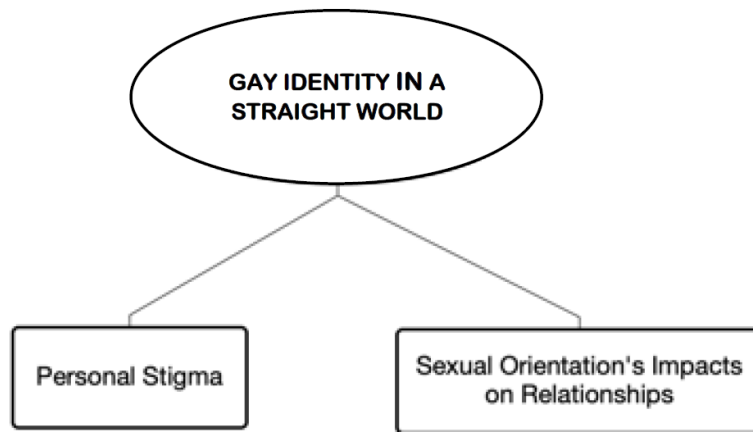
Figure 9 – Second Axis: Gay Identity in a Straight World

The second axis groups the aspects concerning personal experiences since childhood. As the majority of participants indicated that their sexual orientation had undoubtedly had an impact in their relationships, concepts referring to this aspect were also grouped into the second column. Thus, this axis represents the participants' lived experiences and their understandings about the impact that their sexual orientation has had on their relationships with others, along with its impact on their own lives. This column is of paramount importance, for this study needs to understand the background of the gay participants and how these growing environments, with their beliefs and values, have shaped the perception of the life and work performances of these individuals.

Axis 3 - The Weight of Responsibility

The third axis concerns the aspects regarding the awareness of self and sexual orientation and the possible impact of these factors on the outcomes of a negotiation. In general, at the moment of the exchange with others, gay participants seemed to fear the reaction of their counterpart when the latter perceived their sexual orientation to be other than straight. Many questions arise regarding the outcomes of the negotiation,

such as: 'Can I obtain this contract?', 'Can I receive this offer?', and 'What can happen if the counterpart does not give me the project because of my sexual orientation?' The entire image of these encounters provokes the withdrawal of any behaviour that provides an indication of a sexual orientation other than straight. Individuals with a gay identity feel a tremendous responsibility when facing a work environment, especially where there is a need for them to build relationships and interact with others, the outcome of which must be positive for the company.
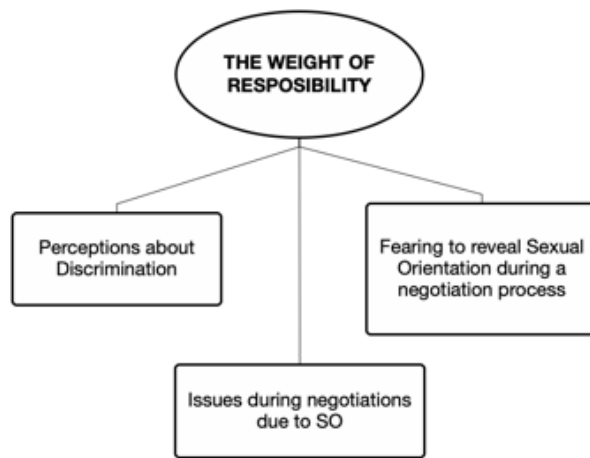
Figure 10 – Third Axis: The Weight of Responsibility

Selective Coding

The selective codification is the last stage of grounded theory. In this stage, it is possible to reunite the three columns into one central concept, thereby completing the analysis and naming the phenomenon.

I have thus far employed an inductive approach to analyse the data. However, at this stage, it is necessary to find a label to identify the entire phenomenon of the negotiation, perceived from two different sides: the *straight* and the *gay* perspectives. What is involved in each process is profoundly different and is explored in the discussion. The following figure illustrates selective coding with the central concept that completes this application of grounded theory and explains what occurs in negotiations when sexual orientation plays a role in the process.
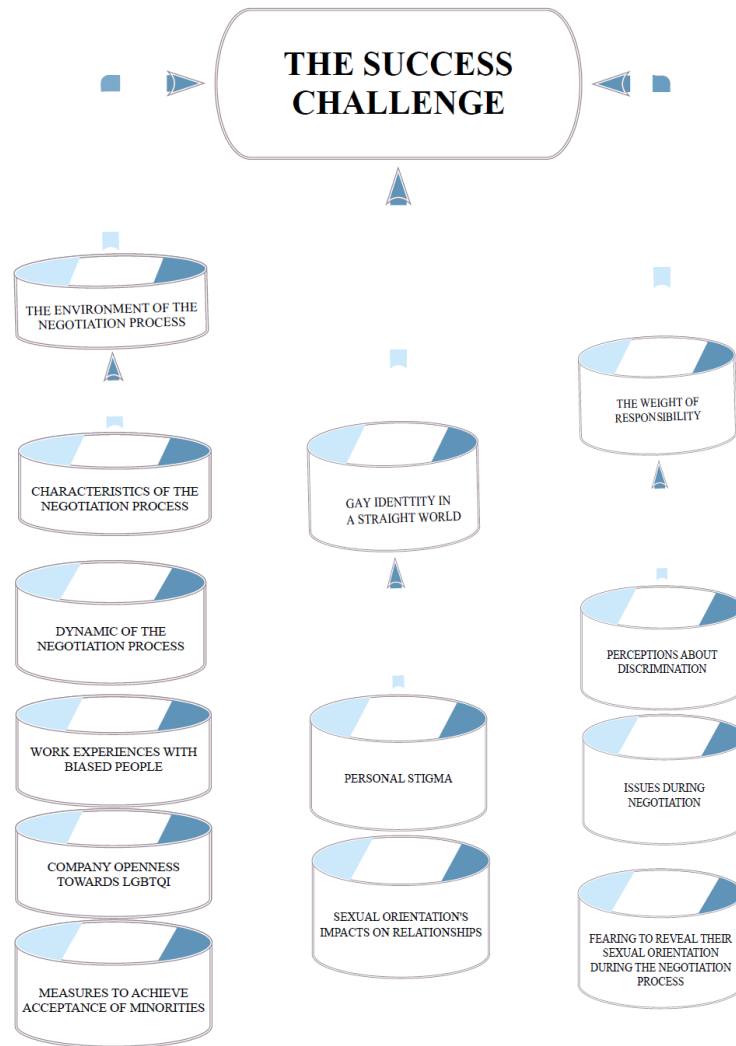
Figure 11 – Selective Codification and Central Category – The Success Challenge

The success challenge (figure 11) provides a visual representation of the information that emerged from the data. Grounded theory is a substantive theory that has emerged from the data gathered relating to the negotiation and the sexual orientation from the interviews. However, the approach cannot be generalised to other processes, and other factors, such as race, religion, or nationality, were not considered in the analysis.

Results

The results are organised by the categories from the data analysis, following a process formulated by Strauss and Corbin (2012).

Axis 1: The Environment of the Negotiation Process

This aspect refers to the diverse experiences that participants engage in when dealing with negotiation counterparts.

Category 1: The Characteristics of the Negotiation Process. The Characteristics of the Negotiation Process is a concept that can be defined from the interviewees' words regarding the various aspects involved in a negotiation. For example, elements, exchanges, and people involved. Figure 12 presents the properties and dimensions that comprise this concept.
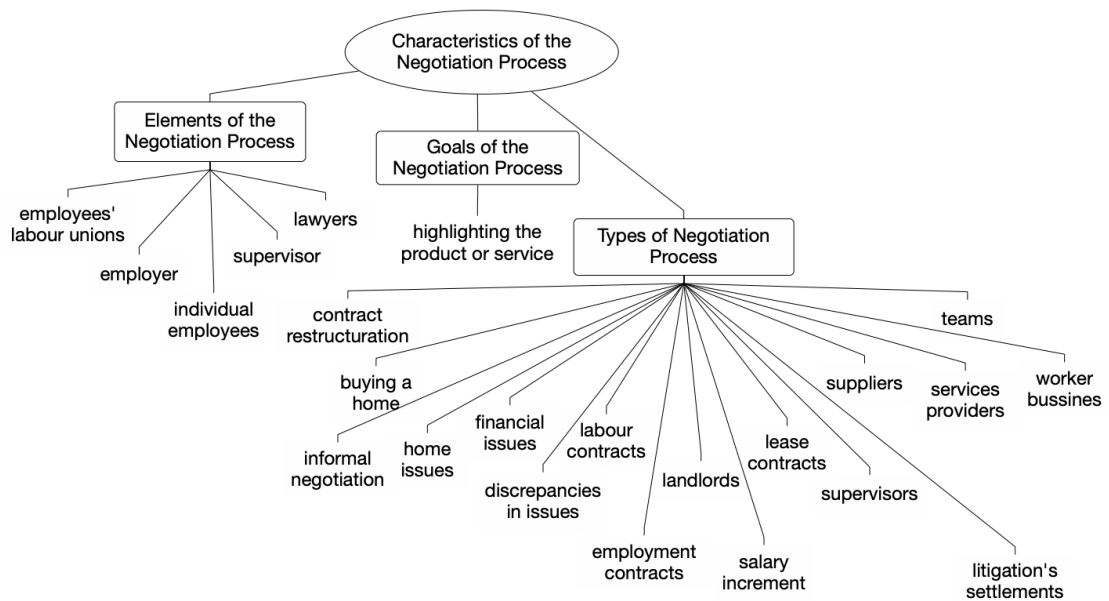
Figure 12 – Characteristics of the Negotiation Process

This concept is composed of three properties: types of negotiation, elements of the negotiation, and goals of the negotiation. Properties are the characteristics of the concept, and each property includes several dimensions.

The first property, *types of negotiation*, refers to the many types of situations in which participants have experienced the negotiation process. The interviewees named

several situations in which a 'negotiation' was present: *negotiation with suppliers*, *teams*, *salary increase*, *services providers*, *supervisors*, and *litigation settlements*, among many others of a personal nature, such as a contract to *buy a house* or *home restructuration contracts*, and *rental contracts with landlord*. In this line, some participants declared that *'As someone who hires many people, I would say I regularly negotiate people's terms of employment'* (E9). Another participant stated, *'That would be the negotiation of contracts for audio-visual integration projects where a building construction company has got our price [for audio-visual integration] and wants to talk about it'* (E8), while someone else referred to *'[…] when we've rented with the landlord'* (E1). Thus, the participants can be said to have had extensive negotiation experience.

The second property, *elements of the negotiation process*, refers to the many roles that can be experienced during negotiations when individuals are placed in different situations. These elements include *negotiation with employees*, *employers*, *labour unions*, *lawyers*, and *supervisors*. For example, one participant mentioned that *'More recently and more commonly for me would be negotiating with unions over labour contracts or other agreements'* (E2). While another declared: *'The parties that would be involved would be myself, the client, [and] the entire client team for the financial institution I work for'* (E5). Also, E2 commented, *'Oftentimes, at least for litigation, I would negotiate with lawyers. I think that's about it.'*

The third property, *goals of the negotiation process,* allows us to determine some of the aims of the parties during the negotiation exchange. An example is given below:

> *I would be providing resolution or remediation steps to negate some or reserve some credit exposure or potentially risky products that we offer. So essentially what it means is that time is currently offered with the series of products, my role is to a) highlight what those products are, b) highlight what the exposed*

credit . . . a product could result and c) provide solutions that would remediate both resolve those credit exposures. (E5)

Thus, *the product* or *service* that can be provided by the individual is the aim of the negotiation. The goals can vary, depending on the working area of the participant. However, what is interesting is the process according to which the negotiation progresses, which is explained below.

Category 2: Dynamic of the Negotiation Process. Dynamic of the Negotiation Process is a concept defined by the interviewees' statements regarding their relationships, the evolution of the negotiation process, the development of new skills, and the role played by sexual orientation in the negotiation interaction. Figure 13 presents the properties and dimensions that comprise this concept.
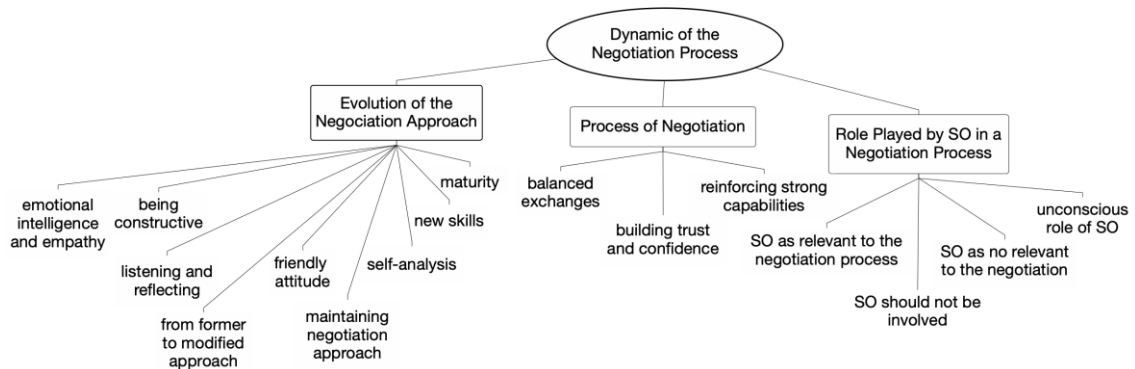
Figure 13 – Dynamic of the Negotiation Process

The first property was named the *process of negotiation*. Some participants expressed their point of view through the use of metaphors to address the fact that negotiation demands *trust and confidence*. In this sense, one participant mentioned, *'I do find that part of the negotiation is kind of dancing around with each other and building a bit of trust and rapport'* (E1). Equally, the negotiation process implies a *balance* between the parties: *'It's a bit of give and take in all of that'* (E10). Also, E8 highlighted the following: *'Through that process, you listen to them, and maybe you*

need to sometimes alter your response to them to fit with their budgets' (E8). Finally,

another interviewee also stated that:

> *There were different factors I had to balance. I had to kind of really run home to*
> *her that if I were to meet her request, she was going to have to step up and*
> *empower me as a manager to give her what she wanted.* (E7)

According to the participants, during the negotiation process, some things must

be granted, and others conceded to achieve a compromise and attain a mutual

agreement.

The dimension *reinforcing strong capabilities* was also identified to describe

how in the negotiation – for example, a contract negotiation – the strong points of the

candidate are highlighted to obtain the greatest benefits from the contracting company:

> *For the negotiation, I obviously wanted to get as much as possible in my favour,*
> *so I discussed how much work I'd done, how well I could do the job, and [how]*
> *they didn't need to train me . . . On my part, I would fashion as much*
> *information out to them as possible to say they need to give me the terms I*
> *wanted because they didn't have to train me or spend any money on me.* (E11)

The second property, evolution of the negotiation approach, refers to the

statements mentioning the development of participants regarding their perception of

'negotiation'. Some participants stated that their initial *approach to negotiating does not*

evolve: *'With respect to negotiating for work, I don't think I've really changed. In*

negotiating the contract of work, I don't think I've changed too much on that front'

(E3). However, other interviewees manifested an evolution in their negotiation

approach. *Self-analysis*, *maturity*, and the *development of new skills* – such as the use of

emotional intelligence and empathy, *being constructive*, *listening and reflecting*, and

maintaining a friendly attitude – are some of the new abilities mentioned. In this regard,

some participants stated, *'I think probably just growing in confidence. Being able to*

kind of stand up for my needs and put forward what I want and what my objectives are.

Just growing in confidence' (E4). Another participant also mentioned:

I guess the main reason that my perception of negotiation has changed is I've realised that there are many, many more opportunities for a compromise that present themselves initially when you get into a set of negotiations. Oftentimes, parties start out at what seem to be almost polar opposites, certainly at or somewhere towards the opposite ends of the spectrum. (E2)

Meanwhile, another participant declared:

I suppose over time, my appreciation of emotional intelligence and just being empathetic towards what the other person's stance or position or needs [are] have kind of evolved rather than being a bit more inflexible. It's become a bit more flexible. Try to look for a shared goal or purpose. (E9)

In addition:

I've learned over the years that if you're creative and you listen, there are oftentimes ways to work through that and find the middle ground. Oftentimes, it does come from dialogue; not from trying to develop other positions you think might be acceptable, but actually listening to the other party and starting to actually change your position, open your mind, and go from there. (E2)

The third property is a *role played by sexual orientation in a negotiation*

process. Some participants stated that *sexual orientation should not be involved* in a

negotiation process. As (E11) stated:

No, I don't think it's relevant. In the workplace, never. I mean in personal negotiations maybe, but in the workplace never. Why would sexual orientation have anything to do with how I'm going to complete some work? [. . .] I wouldn't normally reveal because I don't think it's relevant, not in the workplace.

However, most of the participants have stated that, in general, their sexual

orientation has different effects on the processes of negotiation that they have led. Some

gay participants mentioned: *'Again, I keep coming back to work scenarios because*

that's the environment most likely to require negotiation. It [his sexual orientation] has

caused me difficulties in the past' (E7). Interestingly, a straight interviewee agreed with

his gay colleague and emphasised the following:

I think it likely [that sexuality] would have had an impact. It depends on the parties that you're dealing with. Well, not only dealing with but your own parties. But I suspect yes. People bring biases with them, and that bias might infect, in a sense, the negotiation process. (E2)

Thus, sexual orientation can influence negotiation. At this point in the analysis, several questions arose: 'What role does sexual orientation play?', 'How can sexual orientation impact the practice of negotiation?', and 'Why does sexual orientation have a role in a negotiation between two or more people?' These questions are explored below.

Category 3: Work Experiences with Biased People. The concept *Work Experiences with Biased People* is defined through the interviewees' comments referring to their personal experiences with people biased against gay men in the workplace. Figure 14 presents the properties and dimensions that comprise this concept.

Figure 14 - Work Experiences with Biased People

The category is composed of two properties: *behaviour reactions* and *experiences reported*. The first property refers to the observed *behaviours reactions* against gay people while performing at workplaces. The behaviour reaction could be either acceptance with non-judgment or rejection with an implicit judgment. Interestingly, the narrated experiences occurred recently, which brings attention to the on-going prejudices that remain in some workplaces. Indeed, *snickering and laughing –*

that is, mocking or making fun of someone because of their sexual orientation – remains

an observed behaviour between colleagues at work:

> *I mean I've got some very sad ones that pop into mind, too. Like people actually snickering and laughing because of who I am. So, they don't know me [and] they haven't met me, but their general low-level disgust for someone who's gay meant that they felt it [was] okay to snicker and laugh and not engage me. And I'm talking about grown-up people, and I'm talking about in the last year. This is now 2018. This is still happening.* (E21)

Equally, references to someone's sexual preference can be disguised through the words

used to address this person:

> *When I worked at revenue and customs, one of my chief inspectors found out that I was gay. Behind my back to my other work colleagues, he was referring to me in the female tense […] it was, you know, 'Is she in the office today?' and 'Is she out on an inspection?' When he finished managing me, there was obviously a dynamic there on his side. So, when I'm talking to him and interacting about my job or my goals and all the rest of it, he'd obviously plugged into my sexuality to try and get a laugh out of other people in the same environment.* (E27)

The participants mentioned indiscreet assumptions about sexual orientation:

> *I was a journalist. I was a reporter at a magazine called Broadcast, and I was being made redundant. And my editor – she was the acting editor – told me I should go into fashion. And I have absolutely no interest in fashion. Anyone who knows me would never even suggest that I would wanna' go into fashion. I mean, I like dressing nice and all that, but I would never want to work in fashion. And I thought that was a bit, 'Why on earth would she say that?' That was a bit tough.* (E4)

Another current behaviour is to *avoid contact*. Someone's sexual orientation can

provoke work colleagues to move away and not try to establish contact with this person.

Visual contact was mentioned as an example of particular behaviours indicating the

refusal to accept gay people in the workplace:

> *In saying that, there's a few people at work who just don't give me eye contact, who don't engage in conversations, who look the other way, and so I figured they've still got something – still got some level of prejudice. On the whole, the younger people, [who are] 35 and below, just seem fine about it.* (E31)

Participants also reported that people *avoided conversations;* for instance, one

participant stated:

When there's a discussion happening about what happens on the weekends, I think he [my current boss] would probably hold back [talking to me], because he may be thinking, "Oh my God, he's going to talk about something that I would find difficult to hear, or I don't want to know those kinds of things, because they may offend me." So, he may actually hold back from those kinds of discussions with me, whereas he [would] probably would ask some of the other staff members who are straight about their weekends more readily. (E12)

Individuals hold assumptions and engage in particular behaviours, such as avoiding conversations or visual contact, that creates a working atmosphere in which gay people are often treated differently to straight co-workers. Another participant commented that *'I've worked in investor relations for a very short time and that was . . . They were all city boys that ran the company, and there's no doubt [that] they were very homophobic'* (E4). Similarly, at work, it is also assumed that gay people could have greater freedom in terms of their work schedules:

I have seen in the past . . . because I am a gay man . . .we have to work around their home/work restrictions… we can work around their hours, we don't have a family life, and well as a straight individual would be given more leeway for the children and so forth, so there is very directly and assumption because you are gay, you can't have children. (E5)

Individuals reported that *work advantages and projects* were offered to people whose sexual orientation was straight, rather than to gay people. One participant reported, *'I have an actual example [of] colleagues [who have] been given opportunities over me. It's been displayed in me being told, "Oh, you're not on this project, or so and so is on this project". That's how it's been displayed'* (E11). *Insults* have also been heard in response to people's assumptions regarding sexual orientation or ethnicity:

I have gotten into arguments in public places with people who work there or others, where, when they get angry, the first thing they say is 'faggot' or something like that. It makes me angry. It's either that or my skin colour, so I don't know. Either one is great [. . .]. When people see you, what do you think the first thing they might unconsciously [think is]? What's the first image that they might see? Because I look Mexican, they think that I'm lower-class. (E6)

Finally, for gay people, certain *assumptions* appear prevalent at work and allow for discrimination and the reinforcement of differences in the treatment of employees. However, other participants have mentioned that they did not know or did not remember any experiences with biased people. One participant, a straight man, reported that:

> *I don't really believe I've experienced much of that [experiences with biased people]. I really can't say any more than that to that particular, but I don't know that I've actually . . . I'm trying to think of a situation where I really sense that . . . I probably have, but I can't come up with any examples.* (E2)

Meanwhile, another interviewee, a gay man, pointed out: *'I can't. I don't think I've ever experienced one. I can't answer that one at the moment . . . I don't really know'* (E30). Another participant did not remember any experiences with biased people and stated, *'I can't think of anything immediately . . . As I said, it's not something I've given a great deal of thought to. Let me clear these there. I'll think about it'* (E10). It should be noted that E2 and E10 are straight participants, while the other is gay.

Category 3 leads to the observation that heterosexual people do not have to confront the type of rejection and negative behaviours, assumptions, and indiscreet comments because heteronormativity is assumed as the 'right' and only appropriate orientation. These assumptions have consequences, such as the inability of the gay employee to bring their 'whole-self' to the workplace, which limits participation, creativity, integration, and engagement.

Category 4: Company Openness Towards Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Questioning, and the Intersex (LGBTQI) Community. This category is composed of two properties: *LGBTQI Community's Passive Incorporation in the Company* and *LGBTQI Community's Active Incorporation in the Company*. Some participants reported that their companies actively supported the LGBTQI community,

while others supported it more passively. Figure 15 presents the properties and

dimensions that comprise this concept.
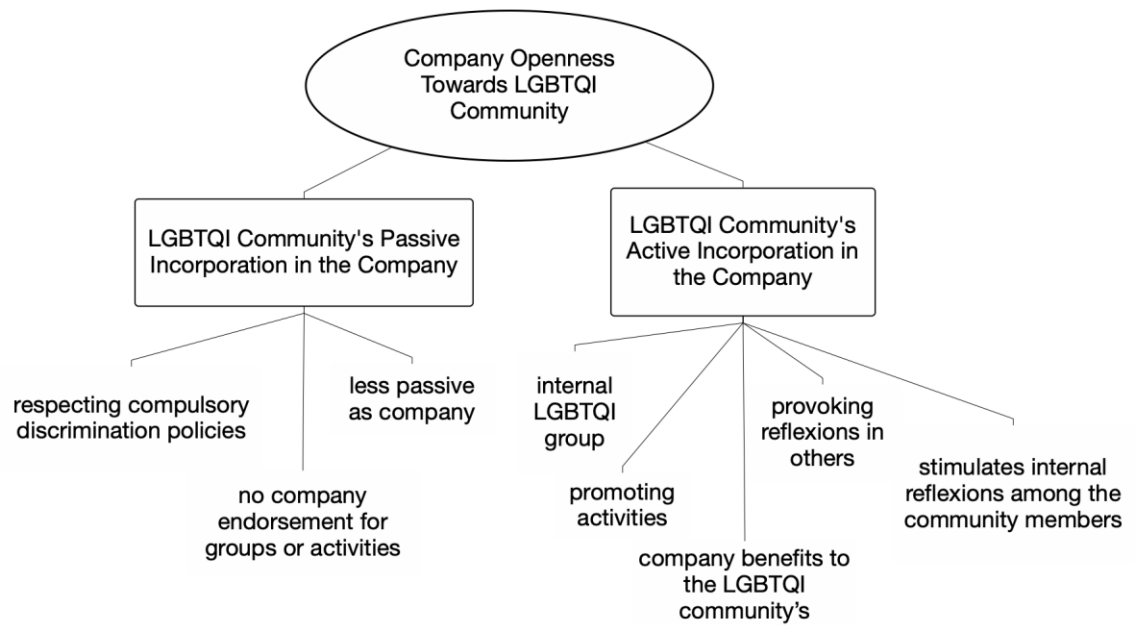
Figure 15 – Company Openness Towards the LGBTQI Community

Regarding the first property, *LGBTQI Community's Active Incorporation in the*

Company, it was found that some companies have an *internal LGBTQI group* of

company members: *'I work with an incredible organisation, and we have an LGBTQI*

group' (E1). These internal groups *promote different events* as part of their *activities*:

'We promoted various key events linked to the LGBTQI community, Stonewall and gay

rights et cetera' (E1). These activities represent an opportunity to invite others to

approach the community: *'I have really invited peers and colleagues and stay quarters*

to attend LGBTQI events' (E5).

Some companies are very sensitive towards the rights of the LGBTQI

community, to the point of offering *benefits for their workers*:

> *Totally. The financial firm that I work for has an LGBT employee group, which I*
> *am part of. [I have] allies throughout the firm, from top to bottom. We have*
> *been championing LGBT equality from the word go. We also offer – we are the*
> *first firm to offer – benefits for partners. I think I am fully supported left, right,*
> *and centre*. (E5)

Consequently, these activities not only support and recognise LGBTQI community members but also *promote reflection* on the part of people who do not belong to this community:

> *I work with incredibly gifted and smart people and isn't it funny. Also, they're gifted and smart, and they've all gone and done qualifications in things about making the world a better place, so I think it allows them a critical reflection on their own values and beliefs.* (E19)

Interestingly, this organisational commitment also *stimulates internal reflection among the community members* themselves:

> *I am challenged and don't forget the continuum or the spectrum of sexuality growing and growing. I was in an office just last week, and there was a clearly transitioning man to woman, so a person who was going to become a woman. And, you know what, I felt myself click and look and wonder, and had these unconscious biases. I actually had to stop and reflect, because I just think, "Oh, you know what's going on there?" And it'd be lovely if one day I could just look and go, "It's just a whatever, It's just a person transitioning," but it's still news for me, so I get it, but it's – you [have] got to be exposed to stuff.* (E1)

Diversity and gender expression recognition is a reality in the workplace, yet there are inconsistencies in how organizational response and it starts with awareness and recognition. There is also an urgent need for education, which would help all groups understand how to work together and allows those that felt marginalised to recognise and claim their rights.

Some companies exhibit passive behaviour concerning the real incorporation of the LGBTQI community's members: namely, *LGBTQI Community's Passive Incorporation in the Company*. These companies might do as little as simply maintaining and respecting anti-discrimination law. *Respecting compulsory anti-discrimination policies* became a dimension for this property, given that some interviewees declared that their companies supported this without displaying any other form of acceptance. One straight participant stated, *'We have the right policies in place that are in favour of non-discrimination, etc.'*. (E2). However, a gay participant

declared, *'I think they try to be'* (E36), further evidence of the workplace attempting to

be supportive of the LGBT community but is not always successful.

Some companies embrace a policy of *non-endorsement for LGBT groups or*

activities. For example, one straight participant pointed out:

> *There's nothing done proactively, which some corporations do. We don't. Even*
> *from an employee standpoint it really doesn't seem like there's any . . . Doesn't*
> *have to be advocacy just support. Overt support, that sort of thing.* (E27)

One gay participant also declared, *'There wasn't any kind of [support] . . . at my last*

agency, there wasn't anything specifically there for LGBT people' (E4).

Given that some companies have demonstrated a passive attitude towards the

LGBT community, some interviewees mentioned some *suggestions* that companies

could consider. For instance, one straight participant (E2) demanded an open acceptance

of LGBTQI company members: *'There needs to be a more explicit acceptance and*

endorsement of the gay and lesbian causes, and also [by] employees' (E2). Also,

another participant highlighted the following idea:

> *Some of our clients are trans, identity as trans, and we've only recently started*
> *talking about it. I have two clients that are trans, and I've made a request that*
> *we have gender non-specific facilities for them to use, and it hasn't happened,*
> *and I think that it's absolutely one of the first things you do – to convert at least*
> *one bathroom to a gender non-specific bathroom.* (E6)

Inclusion can thus be encouraged through subtle changes and support within an

organisation. It should also be noted that gay participants felt that there was an

atmosphere of acceptance in organisations with an active and inclusive LGBTQI

environment.

Category 5: Measures to Achieve Acceptance of Minorities. This concept

concerns statements reporting the primary and most urgent measures that must be taken,

in social and private environments, to promote and improve the acceptance of the

LGBTQ community. This concept is divided into *Actions to Achieve Acceptance in the*

Workplaces and *Social Actions to Actions Acceptance*. Figure 16 presents the properties

and dimensions that comprise this concept.
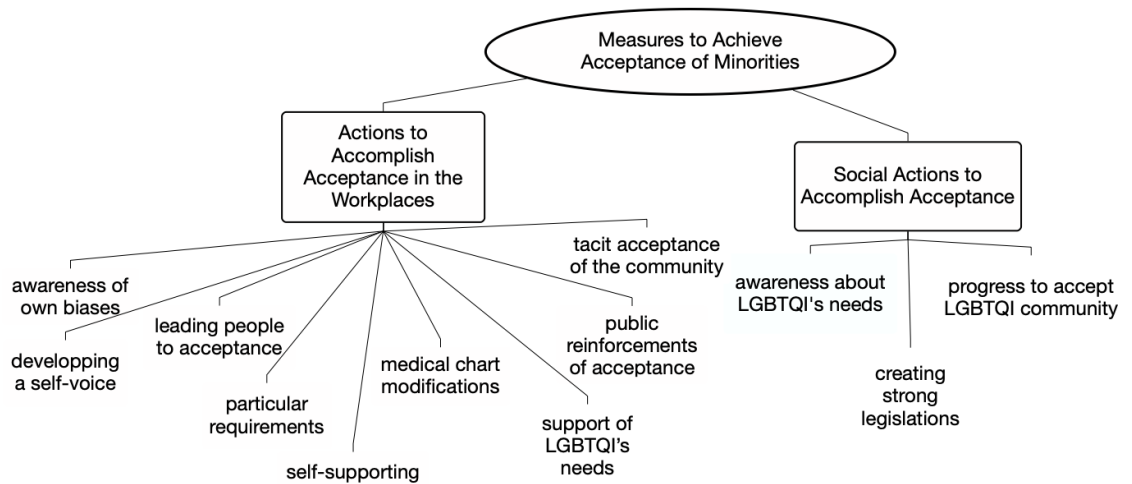
Figure 16 – Measures to Achieve Acceptance of Minorities

Under the property *Actions to Achieve Acceptance in the Workplaces*,

participants pointed out several actions that must be taken to achieve a higher degree of

acceptance. For instance, it was found that *awareness of our own biases* reflects the

necessity to self-review biases as a first action to achieve acceptance: *'I have seen this*

survey, a questionnaire. [It] made me think of, well, my unconscious biases, and our

inner homophobia' (E5). Another participant wished for a formal company assertion

declaring its acceptance of the LGBTQI community: that is, *companies' public*

reinforcements of the acceptance of LGBTQI's community. He demanded a declaration

that goes beyond what is required:

> *A bit more of a public statement, and perhaps if that was worded into the*
> *contracts of employees and kind of contractors, in terms of the terms and*
> *conditions, but I've never read them. I doubt anybody else has, so it would be*
> *nice if there was a bit more of a public statement.* (E7)

Another action that can be taken is *developing a 'self-voice'*, which is the voice

of the LGBTQI community members. Indeed, two participants mentioned the need to

assume more open behaviour regarding LGBTQI experiences:

I think gay people should talk about their identity and their experiences a lot more and be more open. 'Cause I think it's a bit of a taboo and I think [if] more people talk about, that will naturally break it down [sic]. (E4)

For the community, it is necessary to raise their voices and make their reality known:

I feel that there may be an opportunity for LGBT staff to realise that they have a voice, that no else can be their voice but themselves, and they need to be true to themselves as well, I mean we say we need an environment that we can bring our own self to work that's true, but you also need to want to bring your whole self to work. (E5)

Thus, the responsibility for achieving acceptance has two features: the organisation and the LGBTQI community, which must work in harmony to gain acceptance.

Another action to achieve recognition was *leading people to acceptance*, as pointed out by a gay participant who recognised that, in their company, some colleagues need more information about the LGBTQI community:

I think there are three things, and I think the top layer gets it, [and] the bottom layer gets it. I think that maybe the middle needs to be more engaged and really on the sense value the position that having, embracing. (E5)

Every organisation has specific needs, and these are based on the institutional goals, and the type of work and sector they operate within. Thus, *making known the particular requirements of the LGBT community* is another act of collaboration to achieve acceptance. For instance, E12 declared the following:

They [the company or the work staff] don't have any policy around LGBT. They don't have any procedures around that, and we do travel to some high-risk areas for LGBT. I think that there's a big risk there [. . .] I think we needed to really develop an LGBT inclusivity kind of policy that recognises that LGBT people do have specific requirements, specifically in relation to what we do and in the locations we work. (E12)

Meanwhile, another participant made a similar statement:

I think that I'd like to give a training. I've been reading about best practices for trans and LGBT people, and there are sensitivities which could be used. For example, on the intake form, there's no question about sexual orientation, which doesn't need to be answered, but could be answered if people would feel comfortable answering it. It alleviates the need to out oneself or describe oneself. And though that's within the context of counselling, it also – if you're trans – helps the front desk. (E6)

Modifications in the setting, or locations that welcome LGBTQI people, were suggested. For example, the category *medical chart modifications* refer to the changes that must be incorporated to show the inclusion and acceptance of LGBTQI community members:

> *And we also need a delineation in our medical charts, or in our records, that says that the person is there. Because it's medical, they need to have their assigned birth, and then they should be able to mark what their identity is – their gender identity* (E6).

Another participant reflected about his role as an LGBT community member. Indeed, he declared the necessity of *self-supporting*: that is, promoting help and support among the members. He pointed out this necessity by saying:

> *I think that as LGBT associates, we need to be more supportive and mentor one another, so we can succeed. I think that that a certain level of the community can be lacking at times; instead of all for themselves, there is some short memory loss, but once we become open, we forget how difficult it was to get to that stage, and we do not support others, going through that sort of process* (E25).

In addition to the self-support expressed in the last quote, participants insisted that the *support of LGBTQI's needs at work* is also essential. In this vein, one participant pointed out:

> *At the Malaria Consortium, I've never had a problem disclosing, and I have had to negotiate around some health issues that I had a couple of years ago. They weren't specifically gay, but they were kind of sensitive in nature [. . .] I will say that my current boss [in a different workplace] is an older African man, and I would imagine, and I've never tested this, that he would find a discussion where I would raise anything around that very difficult.* (E12)

Finally, participants also stated that companies, in general, display a *tacit acceptance of the LGBTQI community*. This refers to the law-enforced acceptance of minorities, but not to a conscious acceptance and the creation of a diversity group at work: *'There's certainly no overt discrimination happening, but I do think that there is*

an unconscious bias that you talk about, there are things that they don't understand and don't have any kind of diversity group' (E12).

The second property, *Social Actions to Accomplish Acceptance*, refers to the action that must be undertaken at a more general and social level. For instance, two participants stated that the *creation of stronger legislation* would be an excellent measure to achieve social acceptance. One gay participant mentioned:

> *[…] legislation, because I do think you just need to make it a legal fact of protection. Of course, we've got the Equality Act, which protects sexual orientation. Employers [should then] drive that home and set up education and training, starting then going backwards to schools – schools teaching kids about diversity and the need to respect people: respect women, respect black people, respect people with disabilities, respect gays and lesbians and transsexuals.* (E1)

Meanwhile, another participant, a straight man, identified a different form of discrimination that exists in society today:

> *Very much the same thing. Society has more blatant forms of discrimination, hate, and so, unfortunately, the only answer to that is stronger laws against discrimination, harassment, et cetera, based on your sexual orientation. (E2)*

Likewise, *awareness of LGBTI's needs* is another concern. The participants identified the importance of the special needs of the LGBT community. For example, E4 declared, *'I think managers need to be made more aware of LGBT issues and I think maybe mental health, too. A lot more awareness around mental health in the workplace would be a really good thing. [It could] have a kind of positive impact on LGBT people as well'*.

One final area for discussion refers to the *progress* that has been made towards the social *acceptance of the LGBTQI community*. Indeed, one interviewee mentioned the slow progress that society had made thus far: *'If you live your life authentically change is slow. They realise you're not the monster, [but] change is slow. So, I think living authentically is the best thing that a gay person can do at the minimum'* (E11).

However, the second participant was able to appreciate the progress made in a specific period: *'I think it's getting . . . I think it's [the acceptance of the LGBTQ community] improved massively in my lifetime since I've graduated. I graduated in 2003. I've seen a big, big difference just in that time'* (E4). This concept allows us to understand, from the participants' point of view, the social and work environmental measures that must be considered to achieve a more honest acceptance of the LGBTQI community.

Axis 2: Gay Identity in a Straight World

This aspect refers to the world that gay men have lived and how they relate/connect.

Category 1: Personal Stigma. Personal Stigma is defined by the interviewees' words referring to their thoughts, feelings, and actions during a negotiation. Figure 17 presents the properties and dimensions that comprise this concept.
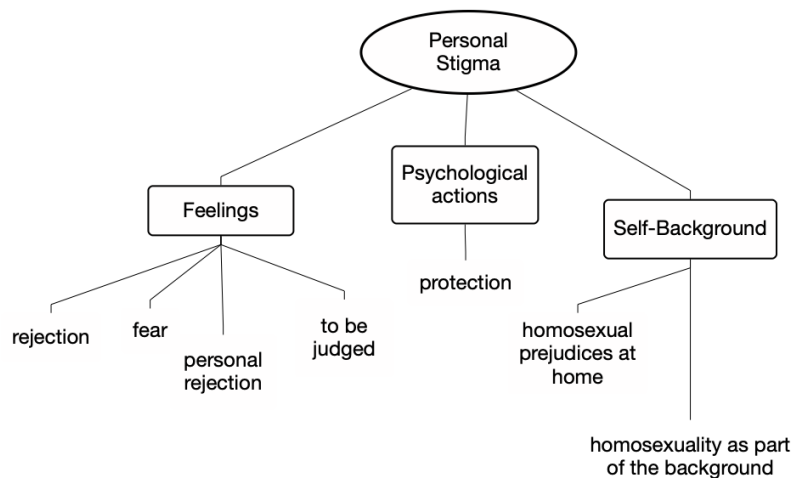
Figure 17 – Personal Stigma

The participants expressed different feelings. For example, *fears* that were related to previous personal lived experiences: '*You carry that self-stigma', 'Gosh, this might muck up the actual process that I'm responsible for' and 'Don't forget, most of the negotiation I'm thinking of in a work situation*' (E1). There is a concern about not obtaining what he is trying to achieve because of his background:

If I'm even just at the hardware store, and I'm trying to negotiate a price, just the fear that you're going to lose out because someone's going to decide you're not even that important or worth giving the discount to or listening to et cetera [is there] (E1)

Frustration is another feeling that was mentioned:

My frustration is that it shouldn't matter. It just shouldn't be part of any negotiation or any perception, because it has no bearing on the person I am, the job I'm willing to do, the kindness I have – the compassion – and anything else that has any bearing on who I am. (E6)

Being judged was another feeling:

'It's a tricky one because I certainly wear some responsibility in that I think the dialogue that goes in my head about fear of rejection and fear of judgment can impact on others and impact the negotiation experience' (E1).

It should be noted that the presence of a sort of *personal rejection* or *self-rejection* was mainly due to the environment and how gay identity (homosexuality) was perceived decades ago. For instance, E1 stated, *'I was brought up being told that being gay was wrong. It was wrong, and it was illegal. So, you carry that self-stigma. There's a level of personal rejection and fear'* (E1).

Psychological actions refer to mental *protection* that seems to be present in some of the interviewees' words. Indeed, *protection* emerges as a dimension of the property to designate the psychological combat assumed by many gay people: *'I possibly put up walls that don't need to be there, and that makes it more complex'* (E1).

Self-Background is composed of two dimensions. *Homosexual prejudices at home* refer to the general comments heard at home during childhood or adolescence:

I suppose there's a level of self-stigma [that I carry as a homosexual]. I'm an older man. I'm fifty-one-or-two-years-old now, and I'll tell you what, I was brought up being told that being gay was wrong. It was wrong, and it was illegal. It was wrong. (E1)

The other dimension was *homosexuality as part of the background*:

'No, I don't think so [that disclosing sexual orientation will have an impact within a negotiation]. But, like I said before, because of my . . . where I've

grown up and where I live and the community I'm involved with. Like I said, I enjoy those a whole lot more.' (E6)

Category 2: The Impact of Sexual Orientation on Relationships. This concept refers to the interviewees' statements related to the *type of impact* that they believe sexual orientation could have in a negotiation. Eight types of impacts were identified from the data: impact conditioned by gender, any effect on relationships or outcomes, negotiation outcomes, project assignation, the work contract, limited behaviour, and workplace environments. Figure 18 presents the properties and dimensions that comprise this concept.
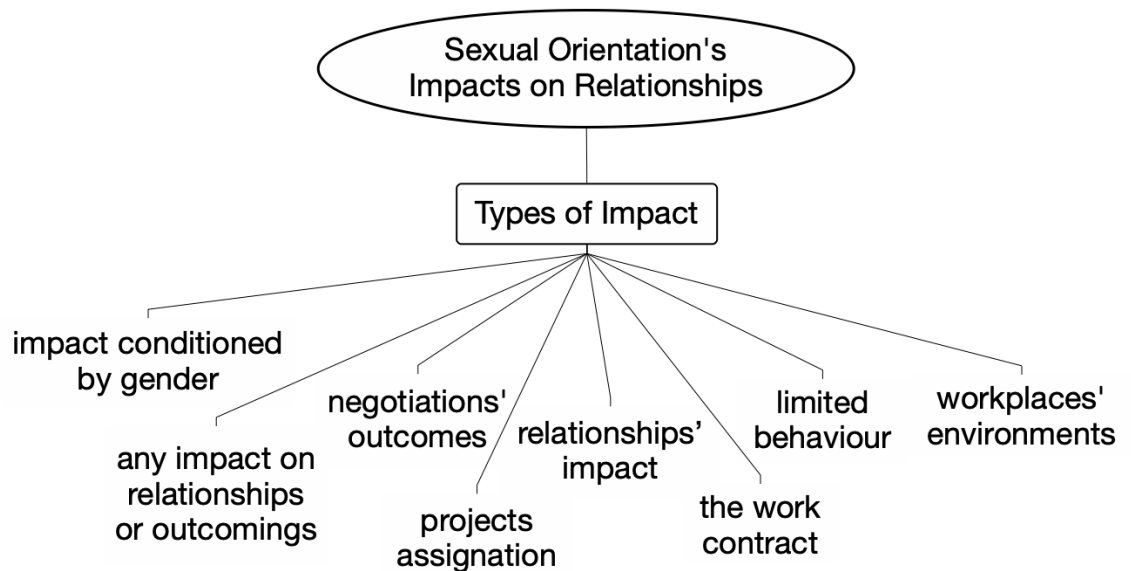
Figure 18 – The Impact of Sexual Orientation on Relationships

The *impact conditioned by gender* refers to the gender of the person with whom the participant is dealing with during a negotiation. For instance, one participant commented:

> *I think it depends on the person. I think in some ways it has a sort of impact, so with females . . . I think it has a positive impact because I think gay men naturally have a strong connection with women. That sounds a bit like a generalisation, but I think most of the time it's true. In those kinds of situations, it can be quite positive.* (E4)

Concerning the *impact on relationships or outcomes*, one gay participant commented:

Absolutely, of course, it does. Yeah. I mean, I think whatever your sexual preferences are does dictate how you interact with people. That's the same in the workplaces, as well as in social situations. It just depends on how sensitised those people are to it. (E12)

The *impact on negotiations' outcomes* was also an important aspect: *'I think it could [have an impact on the outcome], yes . . . I think it's unfortunate. It shouldn't matter. But humans are humans'* (E2).

Likewise, sexual orientation can have an *impact on project assignments*:

Definitely, definitely [sexual orientation has had an impact on relationships with those with whom I do business]. I see some project managers giving opportunities to other people that are married but who have less experience than me. So, there's . . . I'm thinking of one example this week. There's this guy with kids, and I don't know why, but he's chosen above me sometimes, even though he's got less experience. So, he was chosen for a recent contract to go to New York. And I made it known that I'd like to go for that contract, and he was chosen. (E11)

The *impact on the work contract* that gay people obtain based on sexual orientation was also identified: *'If somebody does give you the job because they want someone who's sensitive and sweet because you're gay, or doesn't give you the job because they want the opposite way, or is conscious that they shouldn't be biased in that respect'* (E7).

The *impact of limited behaviour* was also mentioned. For E6, sexual orientation indeed had an impact on co-workers and *limit behaviour*: *'With other co-workers, I can be openly gay. I can express my sexual orientation, but only to a limited extent, and I tend to feel that it's not okay to act flamboyant'*. Finally, one participant reported that *sexual orientation does not have [an] impact on the negotiation*: *'I don't think so, no'* (E10). Further, there was a reference to his sexual orientation having an impact on his interpersonal relationships during a negotiation, *'Not within a negotiating environment, no, I don't think so'* (E4). E3 also simply answered *'No'*; thus, sexual orientation has

had no impact on his interpersonal relationships. Finally, E8 also stated, *'No, I don't think it [sexual orientation] had any bearing on it at all'*.

The respondents reported that disclosure resulted in both a positive and negative experience. This was a very broad category and included interpersonal relationships and negotiation, both of which require the development of trust and trustworthy behaviour.

The *impact conditioned by workplace environments* was mentioned because environments are different in each workplace, and participants can choose to disclose or not disclose their sexual orientation:

> *At the time, I didn't think that it had any impact. I thought it was a very open place in terms of sexuality. I didn't think anyone really cared about that kind of thing . . . I don't think it had much of an impact there. I've worked [at] other places where it definitely was more of an impact. But, in my most recent agency, no, I don't think it was a big issue*. (E4)

Axis 3: The Weight of Responsibility

This aspect refers to the aspect of the discrimination, which, even if unconscious or masked, has been experienced by the participants.

Category 1: Perceptions of Discrimination. This concept is defined by the interviewees' words regarding their understanding and the meaning they attribute to the many unconscious preconceptions that they confront at work. This category is comprised of four properties, each with its own dimensions. Figure 19 presents the properties and dimensions within this concept.
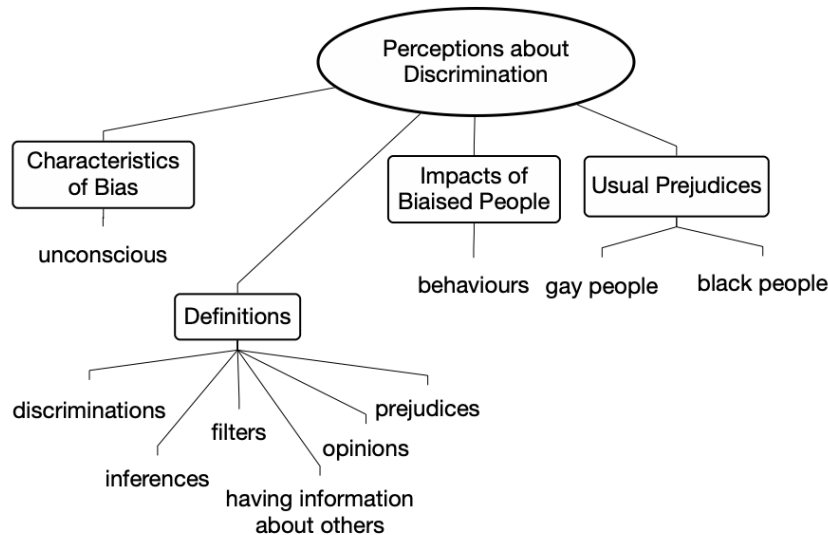
Figure 19 – Perceptions about Discrimination

Related to *characteristics of bias*, E12 highlighted the frequently *unconscious character* of biases: *'I guess it's that somebody is biased towards you [and] has an opinion towards you without even realising [it]'* (E12). Similarly, E9 stated:

> *Human beings have a tendency to think a certain way or jump to certain conclusions without knowing why [. . .] The dialogue in their brain hasn't logically taken them to that step . . . It's a prejudice or a . . . something that isn't that visible to the conscious mind that's led them there.*

The characteristic unconscious, related to the hidden aspects of thinking, is attributed to biases by many of the participants. For instance, E10 declared that biases *'[. . .] are subliminal. That's below your conscious threshold . . . you may think that you're a tolerant liberal, [and] this, that, and the other, but, in fact, in certain ways, you aren't'*. Another participant reinforces this: *'It means bias that occurs without a formal thought process or logical thought process. It's something that happens underneath or as a . . . It happens without thought'* (E6).

However, even if the biases are usually unconscious, they have an impact on the daily relationships of the people who have them. For example, E3 stated, *'It's a bias that you're not aware that you're projecting to the party or parties, that you're involved with'*. Similarly, another participant stated, '*It means a bias that isn't necessarily*

recognised by the person who has it, but it's still a factor in their behaviour' (E2). Thus, based on the participants' statements, biases can be confirmed to be generally unconscious, ingrained in the brain, and impact on the relationships and exchange between people.

Within the property *definitions*, it was found that participants defined biases as being like filters comprised of inferences, opinions, and previous information that define how the world and individuals within it are perceived. For example, E4 associated *discrimination* with biases – *'Unconscious bias is being discriminated against in the subtler ways, not [the] particularly overt ways'.* Another participant, E1, associated bias with *filters*: *'From the very definition of the word unconscious bias, I think it can be that we could all have filters over our way of perceiving the world'* (E1). For E10, bias was associated with *inference*: *'I think it's a combination of details and inference that you make about somebody'* (E10).

Some participants conceived of biases as formed by *prior information* and preconceptions: *'We are ingrained with things planted in our head that made us think or that made us jump to [a] conclusion really, without really realising it'* (E25). Indeed, it seems that people could assume conventional information without previous analysis. For example, E7 associated biases with *prejudices* constructed of all of a person's *information*:

> *[It] is when you have a little bit of information about somebody, whether it be how they speak, how they look, their family life, their age, their abilities, and you join up the dots as you would see them in relation to that at the basis of what you assume they may be like, and colour in the picture without all the facts.*

The *impacts of biases on people* explain the effect that usual biases have on people's behaviours. The reports of some participants indicate that biases indeed influence people's daily performance, as mentioned by E1:

That [biases] would impact the way I behave, or the other person behaves and reacts to that individual in front of them rather than just recognise that this is a human being and I'm just going to treat them like I would treat anyone with respect and dignity.

Finally, participants mentioned some examples of *usual prejudices*, such as *black people* or *gay people*, who have been discriminated against over time. For instance, E1 declared:

So, for example, a really obvious one is gay people or black people. [For example,] 'Black people all are going to shoot you' or 'Gay people all are going to rape your children', which is ridiculous but it's a level of bias that people don't know. (E1)

These examples indicate that participants perceive biases as preconceived ideas about particular people or specific social groups. Biases are embedded in people's minds and provoke the rejection of individuals belonging to the out-groups, resulting in discriminating behaviours. Thus, the overall situation could lead to a failure to establish relationships at work.

Category 2: Issues During Negotiations Due to Sexual Orientation. When gay or straight people are involved in a negotiation process, they will have unconscious processes that guide them, and that their sexual orientation could have some positive or negative influence on the negotiation process. Figure 20 presents the properties and dimensions that comprise this concept.
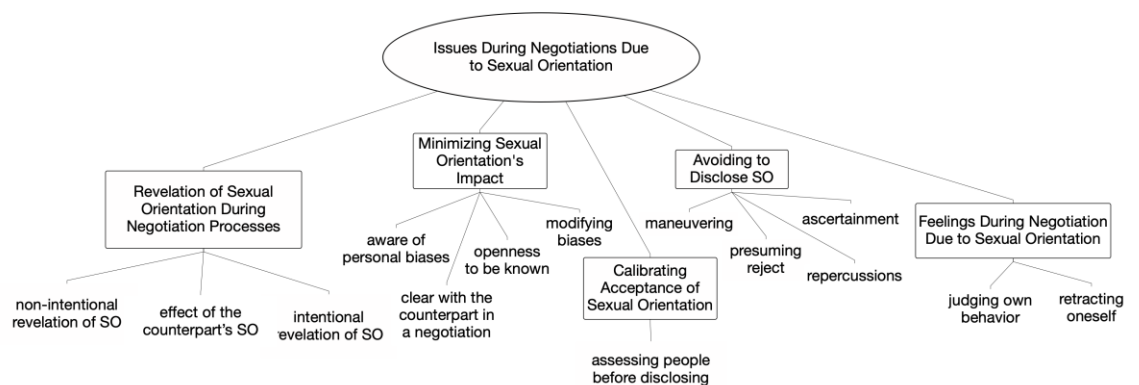
Figure 20 – Issues During Negotiations Due to Sexual Orientation

In terms of the *revelation of sexual orientation during the negotiation process,* gay and straight people addressed the negotiation process in an extremely different manner; for instance, some straight people use seduction *to attract their counterpart*:

> *I think it's probably reasonable to say that if I'm negotiating with an attractive young female, me being a straight white male that would probably influence me. I might have to be aware of that, but I am consciously thinking about the fact of my sexuality in that, no, I don't think that's something that I'm questioning.* (E10)

In the same manner, gay people could *disclose* or hide their *sexual orientation*. The choice to disclose depends on the circumstances surrounding the negotiation while keeping in mind that the aim is to obtain the best outcomes from the transaction.

In the case of gay people, some individuals *intentionally reveal their sexual orientation* because this revelation could give them more opportunities in a negotiation. This was the case of E12, who pointed out:

> *I did work for a gay men's HIV charity in Malaysia. In that instance, the more out you are, the better. . . I certainly disclosed there. In my current job, I am not shy about telling people. It's just that the opportunity doesn't happen every day or whatever.* (E12)

Another participant reported, *'I mean, I would say that when I was younger, in my 20s, I probably did it lots in job interviews. I mean, I wouldn't have out and out lied about it'* (E4).

Other individuals prefer *not to disclose their sexual orientation* because the circumstances around the negotiation do not allow them to do so. Also, they might believe that it is not appropriate to reveal their sexual orientation to not compromise the negotiation.

Concerning *Minimising Sexual Orientation's Impact*, *being aware of personal biases,* was declared as a manner to minimise the impact of sexual orientation on a negotiation. One straight man suggested:

I think you can probably manage your own side of things with a bit of enlightened understanding. But negotiation is, as you said, at the start; it's two or more people. I suppose it depends on the context of the negotiation. It might be, in certain circumstances, the right thing to do to start, and say, "I think you're now going off down this track because of x, y, and z." These cognitive or implicit biases or whatever they are. (E10)

Many participants signalled that they would try to minimise the impact of their sexual orientation on the negotiation; for instance, by *being transparent with the counterpart* in a specific negotiation. A straight man pointed out:

What can I do? I mean, I suppose a practical start would be to alert others on your negotiating team [that] I have these prejudices, these biases, these tendencies. It's important that these don't have a bearing on these negotiations. So, can you prompt me, stop me, or alert me in some way if you think that I'm straying to that kind of territory and I'll do the same for you? (E40)

Openness to be known was also mentioned as a possible way to minimise the impact that sexual orientation had in a negotiation. A gay man commented:

I'm happy, as a gay man, to give somebody who I pick up as being stigmatising and prejudiced against me a bit of a chance to get to know me and then turn and reflect on this level of perception filter as to what gay people are – that all gay people are deviants and perverts and disgusting, which is wrong. (E1)

Another participant remarked, *'As I said, sometimes if you're open, it can be quite positive because they see you as an open person and they warm to you. But it really depends on the individual you're negotiating with'* (E4).

Finally, another straight participant, E8, suggested *modifying the biases*, even if he also mentions the difficulties faced doing so:

Well, changing that unconscious bias, I suppose. Getting people to change their way of thinking is a little difficult mostly. There are some people that could be worked around or educated or enlightened. But, generally, if someone's got that shit going on, they're not going to change their mind. (E8)

Calibrate the acceptance of sexual orientation refers to actions undertaken to evaluate people and their possible reactions. *Assessing people* is the most frequent action undertaken by participants. For instance, E1 declared that making fun of himself allows him to evaluate the people he needs to meet:

It's a really funny thing; it's just a kind of general assessment I do of the room and people and their personalities. I mean, I use humour as a way to mask my [sexuality] – if I make fun of myself first, I get in front of someone else making fun of me… I just gage how well we move through that. (E1)

However, another participant stated that it is better to disclose his sexual orientation to be transparent when achieving a new relationship while negotiating:

I think the purpose would be to come across as quite open. I think that quite often when you're negotiating with a client, and we're building a relationship, it's really important to give them a flavour of who you are, but I would only ever do it if I sensed that they were someone who would appreciate that. (E4)

Avoiding disclosing sexual orientation refers to the techniques employed by some participants to avoid disclosing their sexual orientation. For instance, in some situations, participants need to *manoeuvre* or use deception to manage a conversation without directly revealing their sexual orientation:

In fact, I'll probably go out of my way to just skirt around it, so I'll talk about my partner rather than my husband, or I'll talk about us, what we did on the weekend, rather than what he and I did, so I'll take out the gender-specific titles and stuff. (E19)

Another participant expressed that he skips gender labels:

I will never imply that I'm gay or straight. I'll never say anything. I'll use terms that are non-gender specific. If I have a boyfriend at the time, I won't say boyfriend – I'll say partner or I went out with friends . . . I don't want them to change their opinion of me based on their potential prejudices. (E11)

Presuming rejection is another dimension of this property. Many of the participants presumed the biases of the people with whom they were negotiating. For instance, one participant stated, *'I think I'll start with my current role and say that I do work in environments where it is sometimes difficult to disclose your sexuality, due to them being foreign environments, very religiously conservative, et cetera. That is a challenge' (E12).* Another participant also highlighted his position regarding whether to share his sexual orientation:

Yes [I withheld my] sexual orientation to other parties within the negotiation] because I don't like the assumptions that come with the label being projected

onto me and I'd much rather just simply focus on the details and the issue that needs to be resolved rather than colouring it with the baggage that comes with labels. (E7)

Many participants feared repercussions. For instance, one gay man noted his worries, *'Well, being discriminated against. Being treated differently. Not being able to get the same opportunities as heterosexual people' (E4)*. Meanwhile, another participant noted, *'Perhaps there's a feeling that if you do disclose your sexuality – certainly with those kind of alpha male stereotypes if you're negotiating against one of those types of personality – that they could think they could railroad over you'* (E7). The last statement comes from a straight man, which asserts that *'The reason I would be hesitant to disclose it is because I would fear some sort of negative bias or repercussions from disclosure'* (E2).

Finally, participants felt as if they were the object of testing or ascertainment:

She once said to me, 'Oh, do you have a family?' I kind of knew what she was asking. She was asking, like, am I gay? Am I married? Do I have kids? The rest of it. And I said, 'Well, of course, I have a family.' My understanding of family is not the nuclear family that she was referring to . . . she's obviously sussed me out. (E7)

Another participant shared the following statement that explains this dimension:

In interviews, and sometimes when we got to clients' site, there's always those questions at the end, you know. The interview's over, and it's chit chat, [but] it's not chit chat. And they would say things like, 'So, what did you get up to at the weekend?', you know, inquiring about your home life and your private life. (E11)

Feelings during negotiation processes due to sexual orientation refer to the positive or negative feelings on experiences towards oneself. For instance, some participants seem to judge themselves, as in the case of E11, a gay man, who stated:

I feel like a bad LGBT person . . . like I was just saying then, it's not a good LGBT person, or LGBT thing to do, because I should be flying that flag and breaking down the walls. I'd rather get the outcome that I want, and I don't want to impact that at all by revealing it and possibly getting a negative response from them. (E11)

Particularly for this participant, his reflections have been evolving since his youth, and he added the following:

> *Was that the right thing to do [to withheld his SO]? As an LGBT person, when I was 18, that 18-year-old would be shouting at me, saying, 'What the hell are you doing. Have you forgotten everything?' It's made me wonder if that was the right thing to do.* (E11)

Another participant declared, *'I think that I don't want to strip identity completely because obviously identity is important, but I wish that when it comes to the way we treat each other, it was more considerate'* (E6).

Other participants decided to retract themselves in the quantity of information they shared with co-workers, or with other people with whom they were becoming acquainted. For instance, E1 specified:

> *Definitely, and so it's in situations where it's an all-male group. We're sitting in a room [and] there's a lot of sort of rugby talk and testosterone talk, and I just feel like I feel scared to say anything, so I don't. How'd it makes me feel? Well, you just give a little less of yourself, and I mean there's times when I've felt a bit unsure about how people would react, and a bit like they could judge me, so it's easier not to.* (E1)

Some participants experienced feelings of self-judgment and reserved information that they preferred not to share. It should be noted that reserving information can be interpreted as a means of self-protection and not talking about gay identity, should remain personal and of no interest to anyone but themselves.

Category 3: Fearing to Reveal Sexual Orientation During a Negotiation Process. Fearing to reveal sexual orientation during a negotiation process refers to the interviewees' statements regarding the causes of their fear of revealing their sexual orientation. Figure 21 presents the properties and dimensions that comprise this concept.
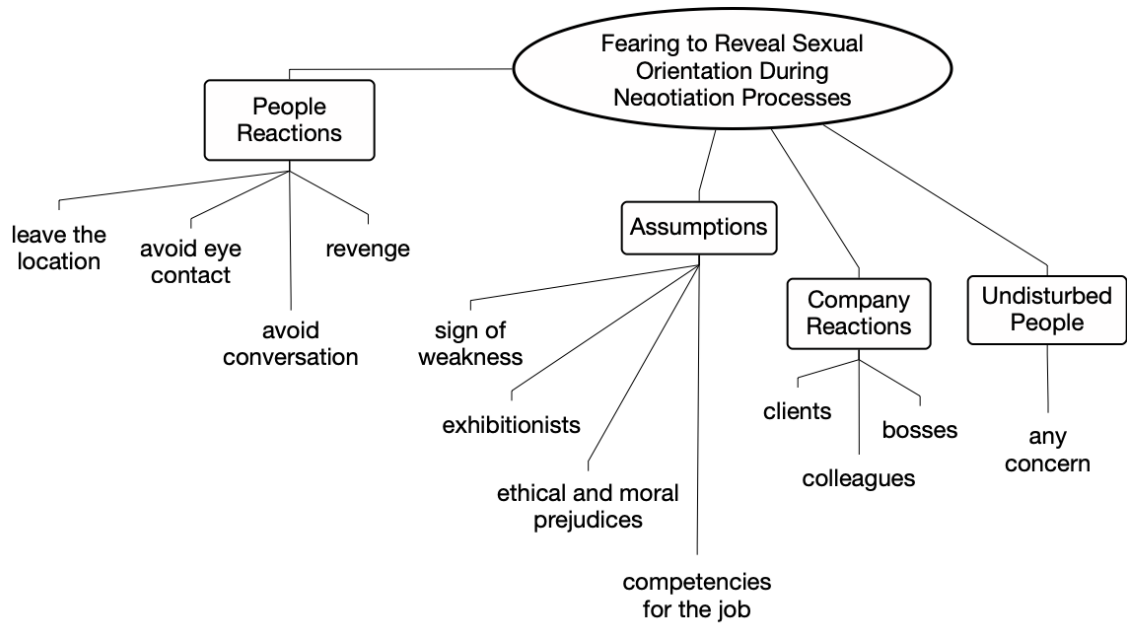
Figure 21 - Fearing to Reveal Sexual Orientation During a Negotiation Process

One of the primary reasons that individuals do not disclose their sexual orientation relates to the possible reactions of people. In general, all of the participants feared the potential impact of the revelation of their sexual orientation. For example, *'I worry that my sexual orientation will play into the kind of clients I get. It also can affect the kind of clients to which I'm assigned . . . I was concerned about that'* (E6).

Some participants feared the reactions of bosses, clients, or other colleagues, and thus left their current work location. An interviewee stated:

> *I deal with an Indian team that I look after. While I am not hiding it, I think that when earlier in my career, I may have been more when keeping the cards closer to my chest. Which now I don't do, but that is something that I probably would have done, and really kept it to business instead of out of work discussion [. . .] Now I work for a financial firm that has a strong presence in the Southern states of the U.S., and I have never hidden the fact that I am gay, but it has crossed my mind at times whether this could have been detrimental in our firm. In fact, not really from my superiors but maybe more from junior members of staff.* (E5)

Thus, at work, as in other environments, there is a fear that the disclosure of sexual orientation would have an impact. However, some participants were specific and pointed out that people can change their usual behaviour and avoid visual contact or

avoid establishing a conversation. One of the participants mentioned, *'What I do feel that you notice is when people give you less eye contact . . . and kind of engage you less and go around you a bit'* (E1). *Leaving the area* is another feared reaction: *'People might get up and leave'* (E1).

Nonetheless, one frequently mentioned reason is the fear of revenge and retaliation, as mentioned in the concept of Issues During Negotiations Due to Sexual Orientation and can be seen in both general and work relationships:

> *Because it [the workplace] was a very male-dominated, traditional environment, there was a lot of psychological bullying happening in general, and you just didn't want to give anybody any ammunition, [be they] man, woman, or child. So, everyone kept their personal life very private, but certainly, something like that would have been used, I felt, against me.* (E12)

Participants also expressed fear of the assumptions usually made by people about the gay community. For instance, participants feared being considered weak because of their sexual orientation:

> *I think there's an assumption that if you're a gay man, you are going to be more of a pussycat. I think there's an assumption that gay men are not as aggressive as the so-called straight counterparts. I think, to a certain extent, that might be true.* (E7)

Other people can assume that the gay community is made up of exhibitionists:

> *I think because people who perhaps don't have gay members of the family or don't have openly gay colleagues or friends, the image of homosexuality is very coloured by those gay men who are very vocal and very visible. And with that comes a whole set of assumptions and those assumptions may not be applicable to me. So, that's probably why I would not want that stereotype to feed into what I'm about.* (E7)

Participants also fear the possible ethical and moral values shared by the person who will engage them: *'People might be so horrified that it's ethically and morally wrong according to their beliefs'* (E1).

Finally, E9 highlighted the possibility of being judged due to their sexual orientation, such as being believed not to have the competencies for the job: *'It might*

not be right to jump to a conclusion . . . that therefore this person isn't right for this

role, or if we can, in their position, just be understanding and empathetic that they've

just made an unconscious jump and conclusion'.

Some interviewees were also undisturbed, declaring that they were *not*

concerned regarding the disclosure of their sexual orientation and the potential impacts

thereof. One commented, *'No concerns [regarding disclosure]. No concerns*

whatsoever' (E3), and others agreed: *'I don't have any concerns'* (E8) and *'For our*

Western teams, in the UK or Europe, I really have had no problem' (E5).

Discussion

The axial codification made it possible to group categories and provided an

opportunity to discuss themes at the macro and micro levels. Each category was

sequential and intended to advance the research using information from the previous

group.

The Environment of the Negotiation Process

The first axis was 'The Environment of the Negotiation Process'. Category 1

explored products or services negotiated. There was a relatively broad level of

experience, and many were in roles where they were engaged in various types of

negotiation, which provided context for the type and breadth of negotiation experience.

Participants identified that the goals and aim of the negotiation depended on the type

and process required, and the kinds of negotiation were consistent across gay and

straight participants.

Category 2 explored the type of negotiation. In this category, disclosure of

sexual orientation was explored, and it was determined that sexual orientation could

have an influence. Marrs & Staton (2016) remarked that the timing of disclosure and

level of comfort depends on the expected or perceived response from colleagues and

recipients of this disclosure. However, the degree of influence varied according to the type of negotiation and the environment and this can also be influenced by the type of relationship within the workplace, with a positive manager-subordinate relationship adding to an individual's well-being (Creary & Caza, 2015). While some mentioned that they would prefer that disclosure not have any impact, they recognised that, in reality, there is a need to be consciously aware of its potential impact. Context can be influential, and Wax (2018) found that social support would have a positive effect, with the organisational backing and integration providing the most significant indicator on the level of comfort of disclosing gay identity.

Category 3 explored the workplace context and the respondents' experience with people biased against gay men in the workplace. This category includes experiences that respondents have both witnessed and received. While some respondents reported that they could not recall seeing or experiencing biased behaviour, others did remember such behaviour, declaring that they would avoid conversations or contact with these individuals. As a result, they anticipate discrimination, which may influence their role and career expectations. These individuals are also likely to be sensitive to being stigmatised upon disclosure of their gay identity (Ng & Lyons, 2012). Participants reported that there were assumptions made, such as their lack of family commitment. They must deal with the challenge of these assumptions impacting their ability to advance within an organisation because of their presumed lack of family pressure and need. Some individuals with a disclosed gay identity might need to work harder than their heterosexual colleagues to demonstrate their worth (Discont, 2016). Discont (2016) also remarked that there have also been occasions where their disclosure has led to a negative impact on their progression within an organisation.

In Category 4, we examined the work environment, something that the literature says is important in encouraging disclosure of sexual orientation. There are occasions where organisational commitment and support can create a positive environment beyond implementing policies; this can only be achieved if leaders within the organisation are proactive (Martinez, 2013). I examined the extent to which organisations were open towards and supportive of the LGBTQ community.

While this question expanded beyond the discussion of gay men to include the broader community, an additional question asked about gay men and their experience. This discussion was divided into active and passive support and incorporation. Respondents recognised the benefit of working in an environment that is open and sensitive, and that encourages acceptance and further provides the opportunity for reflection and further integration. Within the workplace, LGBT organisations can help individuals to feel less vulnerable and give them a sense of belonging (McFadden, 2018). However, the interviews revealed that even in such an environment there is a need for more education and greater participation so that individuals know, understand, and recognise the needs of minorities, such as gay men.

Even with supportive policies in place, organisations still need to have active engagement, because, without these, employees may again not feel comfortable about disclosing their gay identity (Priola, 2014). For those participants who have worked in organisations that display passive integration, many reported that organisations complied with the legal requirements but lacked active support, which represented a lost opportunity and allowed discrimination to continue in some form. Inclusion should, therefore, be encouraged through subtle changes and support within an organisation (Webster et al., 2018). Many organisations now realise that they have a business interest when it comes to accepting gay identity because discrimination can have a mental and

physical impact, resulting in lower workplace commitment, which, in turn, has implications on productivity (King et al., 2010). Social and political environments have influenced HR policies, and organisations also look to others in the same or similar industry to assess their LGBT policies and are more likely to adopt the same or similar approach (McFadden, 2015). It should also be noted that gay participants felt that in organisations in which there was an active and inclusive LGBT environment, there was a sense of acceptance of their gay identity. Resnick (2019) observed that there had been examples of productive and inclusive environments promoted in organisations where a 'Bias Response Team' was introduced into an organisation. This team would intervene by educating the perpetrator and validate the individual who had experienced the microaggressive behaviour. This example, while well-intentioned, might cause individuals to avoid making a report for fear of the resulting impact on their workplace relationships with other co-workers.

Category 5 examined social and organisational actions that could be taken to improve the acceptance of minorities. It was necessary to sub-divide the categories because social acceptance would influence business. In this category, we explored what the respondents thought was needed for acceptance. There was a desire to see more active support and education within the workplace and for people to understand the cause and effect of bias-based behaviour. There was a discussion of the need for the LGBT community within the workplace to have its voice and be self-supporting. These groups can provide a social support space; they can also provide education and guidance to organisational development and integrate progressive HR policies (Githenz, 2009). Some of the societal changes that must take place include the implementation of more robust, proactive legal protection and better education about the challenges that still face the community, and the active acceptance of diversity and difference, such as the

acceptance of males with a gay identity, and permission for them to serve in the US

military. There is now legal and societal acceptance of greater inclusion, following

many years of confusing policies and mixed messages (Estrada, 2013).

Gay Identity in a Straight World

The next axis explored participants' concept of stigma and the thoughts and

feelings that they might have experienced during a negotiation. Participants described

their sense of what it meant to be gay and the messages that society had reinforced, and

there was a discussion about self-stigma and the burden that it imposes on individuals

and its impact on behaviour, manifesting as being guarded around others and fearing

discovery.

What can also have an impact is an exposure to negative stereotypes and

expectations about their self-identity and belonging to a group with a stigmatised

identity (Ellmer & Barreto, 2006). A need to 'put up barriers' to provide protection was

identified, but this interferes in establishing business relationships. One mechanism that

individuals might select is to 'pass', thus choosing without the stigmatised identity, but

this comes at a cost (Clair et al., 2015). This concept explained the internal universe of

some gay people, with feelings of frustration, rejection, and a fear of being judged,

leading to the development of the psychological coping mechanism of protecting

themselves by withholding their gay identity at work or during negotiations. The impact

of not disclosing can have a social and psychological impact – the effect of which

causes a lack of satisfaction and can interfere with interpersonal relationships, which

might initially start within the workplace but can carry-over into out-of-work

functioning (Sedlovskaya, 2013).

The last category to be explored was the impact of sexual orientation on building

relationships. The respondents reported that disclosure resulted in both positive and

negative experiences. This was an extensive category and included interpersonal relationships and negotiation, both of which require the development of trust and trustworthy behaviour. What has emerged from the research is that trust develops over time. Individuals need to build relationships. Clair et al. (2015) found that trust and intimacy between individuals were necessary before individuals were comfortable with disclosing their stigmatised identity. Once again, what emerged from the analysis was that disclosure was contextual; however, it was confirmed that disclosure, in some cases, had an impact on the outcome of a negotiation. This was partly because of the influence of disclosure on the type of relationships that could be developed and because of the quality of these relationships. Therefore, some respondents were comfortable disclosing their sexual orientation to close colleagues; however, they would be less comfortable disclosing this to a negotiating partner, and this lack of comfort can impact on-going relationships and negotiation outcomes.

While there has been very little research on gay identity and negotiation, there has been an inquiry into the impact and difference of gender and negotiation style. Faes (2010) observed that men were more aggressive, and women were more interested in building and maintaining relationships and developing productive channels of communication. While not commenting on the results of Faes' study, what can be inferred is that the negotiation strategy of collaboration is the preferred strategy, for it produces a positive financial and emotion return (Malhotra & Bazerman, 2008).

In sum, the concept of Personal Stigma sought to explain the internal universe, including some gay people's feelings of fear, frustration, and rejection. The fear of being judged led to a psychological response in some: they protect themselves by withholding their sexual orientation at work or during a negotiation.

Weight of Responsibility

The final axis deals with 'Weight of Responsibility.' In Category 1, we examined the perception of discrimination using the respondents' framing, rather than any external definition. In this category, participants discussed the impact of unconscious bias, which, even if unintentional, nevertheless had a negative impact. The impact of unconscious bias has been examined in the hiring process. Pitts (2017) found evidence of unconscious bias in the hiring of minority academic faculty candidates. Participants recognised that the dominant society's belief system has an impact on how people interact and that assumptions are made about individuals, even if they have had no prior contact with this group (gay men). When individuals disclose their stigmatised identity, this can be seen as having a negative impact (Pichler & Iv, 2017). This also extends to those who are in a leadership role (Pichler et al., 2016).

Further, Adams (2017) found that leaders who disclosed their gay identity received a greater proportion of negative evaluations. It was noted that such discriminatory behaviour is often subtle and can go unnoticed to those who are not subject to it, and microaggressions are commonplace (Moore, 2017). Resnick (2018) found that they are sometimes subtle yet pervasive. Individuals who are subject to this behaviour, however, tend not to report this, as it often goes unrecognised by colleagues.

Category 2 in this axis explored the impact of sexual orientation on the negotiation process. Participants discussed how disclosure is highly contextual and that sometimes it could help build relationships and improve the opportunity to negotiate. Context is important, for negotiators rely on their memory and on how to interact and make sense of their surroundings and interactions (Hanappi-Egger, 2010). Others, by contrast, felt that it was neither necessary nor appropriate to reveal their gay identity. Timing and disclosure of gay identity imply intergroup interactions. For those

considering disclosure, the anticipated interaction and resulting reaction can also have an impact (Buck, 2010). There was some discussion about gay participants being conscious of their behaviour and not wanting to reveal their orientation for fear that it would have a negative impact. As Daniele et al. (2020) found in their research, that individuals with a gay identity modulated their voice depending on the relationship with the other person. Thus, disclosure can have an impact on both the individual who has a gay identity and the person who receives this information. This process has many layers and can further have an impact on whether an individual chooses to disclose or withhold (Sabat, 2014). What participants did mention was how they learned to deflect the conversation or not respond directly to a question about family, a partner, or activities held outside of the workplace. While this protects the identity of the gay individual, it also causes an internal challenge. It creates a barrier between the individuals, which can hurt effective working. What has emerged is that this psychological function of maintaining a public-private schematisation, while providing a structure of engagement, can be a drain and can be destructive (Sedlovskaya, 2013).

Category 3 dealt directly with the fear of revealing sexual orientation during the negotiation process. This category focused on the fear that individuals would have if their identity were to be revealed and the consequences thereof and this can be situational or contextual (Moeller & Maley, 2018; Rengers et al., 2019). This fear can initially arise from the assumptions that straight men have about gay men and the labels that are commonly associated with gay men, which tend to be negative and derogatory. Heterosexuality is regarded as a heteronormative order, which means that those who do not fit within this straight ideal are subject to stigmatised behaviour and prejudice. This societal order also extends to organisational culture and team cohesiveness (Cunningham, 2010). Some participants feared that their job might be at risk because of

the response of their boss and clients. There is a fear of disclosing gay identity in the workplace because there is a concern that this will result in some form of retaliation, and even the loss of a job. Shih, Young & Bucher (2013) observed that individuals are aware of the social cost of filing a claim of discrimination within the workplace.

Moreover, as in an earlier category, some of the coping strategies were to avoid contact or engage in concealing behaviour. Those who reported this as a concern provided concrete examples, and even with legal protection and societal advances, concern remained about retaliation and consequences if their sexual orientation were to become known. Even where there are anti-discrimination policies, there needs to be 'concrete' reliable and overt support of leaders and individuals with influence within an organisation (Priola, 2014).

In sum, the category Issues During Negotiations due to Sexual Orientation aimed to explain the problems that gay people must confront during the negotiation process, or, in other circumstances, in their daily lives at work. Some gay people avoid disclosing information concerning their sexual orientation and are always calibrating the people they meet; meanwhile, others try to minimise the impacts that sexual orientation could have on their negotiation. However, the majority seem to feel bad about not disclosing and judge themselves while retracting information. Finally, it should be noted that some gay people decide to openly disclose their sexual orientation during negotiations and do not seem to fear any repercussions. In the end, many participants agreed that sexual orientation is not a component of any negotiation process, even though it is such an essential part of their identity.

Conclusion

The interviews helped answer the research question, determining that disclosure or non-disclosure of gay identity does have an impact on interpersonal relationships and

the outcome of a negotiated agreement. Respondents reported that when they did not disclose their gay identity, they felt disconnected and often discussed having two identities: work and home. Not all individuals with a hidden stigmatised identity have the freedom to reveal something that has not been disclosed because this can be a complex process and relies on the amount of diversity present in the workplace, for this will influence their willingness and comfort in disclosing (Trau, 2007). This research finding was echoed by respondents who reported that managing their identity was somewhat challenging, continually monitoring and checking their behaviour and interactions with others. Disclosure had benefits and challenges; some respondents said that they had been accepted, whereas others had experienced both subtle and direct discrimination. All stated that they had experienced some form of discrimination and that disclosure was not automatic. The approach and choice of whether to disclose or withhold stigmatised identity can become an effort and a challenge to decide the best strategy (Clair et al., 2015). Several respondents reported that their sexual orientation had a direct impact on work conditions, interaction with others, and the approach and outcome of negotiation processes.

In this study, the compelling narrative of individual life experience confirmed that disclosure of gay identity has an impact on interpersonal relationships. There was agreement that individuals would prefer not to disclose if they thought it would hurt their role/work. What was not explored was whether there was a difference in outcomes between disclosure of gay identity and straight identity, and this was something that would be tested in Study 3, and also the manner for disclosure, which would be examined in Study 4.

Limitations and Further Implications

The number of gay and straight participants was not equal, and the pool of volunteers was limited by time and access and to gain further insight, it is suggested that a larger study should be conducted and not be limited to the demographic identified in Study 2. The participants were also from urban locations (large cities in the USA and the UK). In order to get a better understanding of attitudes and the impact of disclosure and non-disclosure, individuals should be recruited from less urban areas. While it was unintentional, all of the participants were from the same cultural group, with English as a first language. Again, broadening the cultural and racial participation, while increasing the number of variables, will provide some valuable insight into the impact of visible and non-visible stigma. What this research does confirm is that while many of these individuals work in environments with very progressive LGBT policies, they still experience active or passive discrimination and that further education and integration is required to provide access for all.

Chapter Six - Study 3

Introduction

The previous chapter focused on understanding the narratives of individuals who have gay and straight identities and their experiences of negotiation and interaction with others within a work context. Out of these semi-structured interview questions, individual narratives emerged, providing further support that disclosure of gay identity does have an impact on interpersonal relationships from the perspective of the gay identity holder. This chapter follows up on the results of these interviews by exploring whether the disclosure of gay identity has an impact on the outcome of a negotiated agreement. In this experiment, we wanted to gain a deeper understanding of how the disclosure of gay identity impacts on a straight negotiating partner. The study investigates how straight men might negotiate differently against an openly gay negotiating partner compared to a straight negotiating partner.

Negotiation requires all parties to want to reach an agreement. In the negotiation process, there are opportunities for individuals to reach an agreement by building a relationship while trying to secure the 'best' deal (Galinsky, 2008). The negotiation process requires the building of trust, which can be achieved through the honest exchange of information and dialogue (Malhotra, 2016). However, to achieve this, one needs to develop a connection with the contracting partner by recognising and taking advantage of similarities. Identifying these similarities helps with building common ground and creating a rich dialogue. Without this process, the negotiation becomes more challenging as there is often a period of what is commonly called 'ice-breaking'. Ice-breaking is the time to ascertain commonality, to make assumptions about the other person based on previous experiences and hopefully, trust is formed.

This chapter will provide a review of the relevant literature that supports the experiment, and that has not already been discussed in previous chapters. Following this will be an overview of the research methodology and analysis. Finally, there will be a discussion of the findings and limitations of the study and suggestions for further research.

Literature Review

Interaction with Minority Groups

Social identity research has primarily focused on those identities that are visible and recognisable. For example, work on interracial interactions shows that those in the majority group (White people) become uncomfortable when interacting with those in the minority group (Black people). In these interactions, White people become sensitive to upsetting their interaction partner and become concerned about saying the wrong things or appearing prejudiced (Richeson & Shelton, 2007). Sometimes this sensitivity can result in overcompensating behaviour, where instead of making the other person feel comfortable, the White interaction partner can have the opposite effect, making it even more apparent that the Black interaction partner is a member of a minority group (Neel & Shapiro, 2012). The challenge of interacting with an individual who does not share the same visible identity is that this will be informed by a similar previous experience, with someone who shares this identity. This can trigger assumptions about characteristics and how to behave (Block et al., 2011). While this can be an efficient psychological short-cut, it will limit engagement and lead to stigmatisation. Thus, an individual with a stigmatised visible identity might feel that their individuality is diluted and that the characteristics of their identity are assumed.

The same approach is also applied when individuals interact with someone who discloses a stigmatised identity that is invisible. Here social desirability is a strong

driver. While there is a conscious need to acknowledge and support the individual, the unconscious response might be aligned and will ultimately drive behaviour unless controlled. The challenge of disclosure of an invisible stigmatised identity, is *when*, *where*, *why* and *how* to disclose this identity and then how to manage the impact that the disclosure will have on all individuals, will be an ongoing concern for many (Benozzo et al., 2015).

Disclosure of Gay Identity

Successful negotiations in the workplace are achievable because individuals engage in a series of relationship-building activities, which rely on building mutual trust, respect, and understanding (Lewicki et al., 2006). Therefore, disclosure of gay identity could enhance the negotiation process by increasing trust and information sharing. Therefore, when a colleague discloses their gay identity, this can provide a foundation for greater understanding, which is especially useful when entering into a series of workplace negotiations (Bowring & Brewers, 2015). For example, when an individual feels comfortable disclosing their sexual identity, this demonstrates to the other party that they are trustworthy. One of the underlying requirements for building trust is the ability to show vulnerability, and it is up to the other party whether to choose to trust (Bohet, 2006). An additional benefit to the contracting process of disclosing sexual orientation is the enhancement of social capital (Baron & Markman, 2000) – something which is essential, particularly when conflict and deadlock begin to emerge. While disclosure does come with the risk of rejection and exposure, however, as discussed earlier, the non-disclosure of gay identity can lead to even greater difficulty, potentially leading to psychological and emotional distress.

Impact of Disclosing a Gay Identity

When gay identity is disclosed, it becomes a piece of information that the negotiating partner will use to form impressions and judgments. We know from research on stereotypes and discrimination toward LGBT people that men, in particular, tend to hold more negative stereotypes and attitudes toward gay men (LaMar & Kite, 1998). Some of these negative stereotypes could be particularly relevant within the context of a negotiation. For example, men tend to view gay men as being more feminine, less severe, less confident, and less aggressive.

To the extent that straight men hold these negative stereotypes toward gay men, they will likely affect and shape the dynamic within the context of a negotiation. For example, research on fragile masculinity suggests that straight men will want to avoid threats to their manhood status, such as 'losing' in a negotiation against someone they perceive as more feminine (Vandello et al., 2008). This effect could be especially pronounced due to the stereotypically masculine nature of negotiations. In other words, because negotiations are thought of as being a masculine endeavour where assertiveness and confidence are necessary for success, straight men will be especially concerned about appearing weak (feminine) by 'losing' to an openly gay man. This concern about losing manhood status may motivate straight men to negotiate particularly aggressively against an openly-gay negotiating partner.

Furthermore, thinking back to Richeson & Shelton's (2003) previous work on interracial interactions and concerns about appearing prejudice, it is also possible that some straight men will feel particularly uncomfortable negotiating against an openly-gay man. Many straight men are already concerned that gay men will flirt with them, which might create discomfort, and may also not know how to interact with gay men. Specifically, there are some straight men who may not know what behavioural script to

follow in the early stages of the negotiation. Should they 'break the ice' the same way

as they would with a fellow straight man or might they say something that could appear

prejudiced or cause them to lose face within the crucial opening stages of the

negotiation? For these reasons, we argue that many straight men will be uncomfortable

negotiating with an openly-gay negotiating partner and that this discomfort could

manifest itself in decreased 'ice-breaking' conversation, thus shortening the overall

length of the negotiation.

> *H_1: Straight participants spend less time negotiating with an openly gay*
>
> *negotiating partner compared to the time spent negotiating with an openly*
>
> *straight negotiating partner.*

Negotiation Outcome

Although we predict that the time spent during the negotiation will be less when

the negotiation partner is gay rather than straight, the actual impact on the negotiation

outcome itself is dependent on the type of negotiation at hand. This is because there are

different types of negotiation, which require entirely different skills and approaches to

ensure a successful outcome.

Distributive negotiation is a process in which gains are made by one party at the

expense of the other; in other words, the more B gets, the less A gets (Fisher and Ury,

1981). Distributive or positional negotiation is prevalent on account of its simplicity. It

is often is thought of as 'tough' or intuitive as it requires little preparation and demands

little flexibility or creativity. Common tactics involve the use of threats, bullying,

argumentation and stonewalling (Amgoud & Prade, 2005).

Integrative negotiation, on the other hand, involves creating 'win-win' outcomes

where the overall size of the pie is increased by understanding both parties' interests

and creating mutually beneficial agreements (Barry & Friedman, 1998). The process of

successful integrative negotiation involves perspective-taking, collaboration, and joint problem-solving.

Because distributive negotiation and integrative negotiation require such different strategies to be successful, the impact of disclosing gay identity on the negotiation outcome itself could be disparate depending on which type of negotiation is present. For this study, we will focus on distributive negotiations as these are typical negotiations in the workplace and are the prototypical example that people often think of when they are asked to describe negotiations.

Negotiation – Gender. Negotiation as a 'process' should be gender-neutral, with parties trying to reach a mutual agreement. However, because negotiation is most often recognised in the commercial context, there is generally a belief that men are superior negotiators and achieve better outcomes. Huang and Low (2018) in their research described this as a 'myth,' and in their review of the negotiation literature, they found little evidence to support that men had an advantage in the bargaining process itself, however, gender norms can influence behaviour and outcome. The literature has also identified some of the challenges women encounter when negotiating and the very 'fine line' that they should follow and not to cross (Bowles, 2007; Huang, 2018). Within the negotiation process, there are still rules of engagement. For instance, straight males in a negotiation suggest that women avoid being too feminine, as this would be seen as a distraction. Also, both sexes must conform to hegemonic labelling of what it is to be male and female (Hanappi-Egger, 2010). As many women have discovered, they have to avoid appearing too tough so as not to be labelled as aggressive, uncontrollable, and emotional (Bowles, 2007). This might suggest that since some of the same attributes are given to gay men as women (Sloan, 2015), the same labelling and expectations of function and success in negotiation prevail, except that the rejection of

heteronormativity by men with a gay identity would interfere with any potential benefit that it might have made.

Negotiation – Gay Identity. Straight men have a perception of what it is to be male, and this extends to negotiation, in which situation they often engage in a competitive strategy (Faes, 2010). Such negotiators see others who do not share common attributes as the other – someone who could be easily manipulated and controlled (Hanappi-Egger, 2010). Many straight men aim to ensure that they adhere to masculine stereotypes, rejecting any association with gay or feminine behaviours; this causes them to engage in hyper-straight behaviours and exhibit a sometimes-aggressive response (Huang, 2018).

Negotiation, as with any interpersonal exchange, can be challenging, and this pressure increases when engaging with someone who does not conform to gender norms (Everly et al., 2012), as this may lead to discomfort at the bargaining table, because gay men may feel that many of the normal exchanges or icebreakers during a negotiation should be avoided, or that they should attempt to pass as straight (Bower, 2015). This reduces the amount of social capital created (Creary et al., 2015). This lack of personal interaction often leads to the parties feeling uncomfortable and potentially considering the other as untrustworthy (Broomfield, 2015), possibly as a result of their unconscious bias (Lehmiller, Law and Tormala, 2009) and perceived discrimination.

Due to the stereotypically masculine nature of distributive negotiations and the desire to preserve and maintain manhood status, we predict that straight men will negotiate competitively in a distributive negotiation against a gay man. Because this competitive, assertive style of negotiating can lead to success in distributive negotiations, we predict that straight men will achieve better results when their negotiating opponent is gay rather than straight.

H_2: *Straight participants achieve a better outcome in the negotiation when they*

negotiate with an openly gay negotiating partner compared to an openly

straight negotiation partner.

Research Methods

Participants

Participants were recruited through the University of Sussex's Psychology

participant pool. And an online request was sent to 449 pre-screened participants, out of

which 25 participated (M age = 22.56, SD age = 4.13). Participants were paid £10 for

completing the 30-minute study.

Procedures

The experiment took place in a private office in the Jubilee Building at the

University of Sussex. Two participants took part in each experiment, one was an actual

participant recruited from the participant pool, and the other was a confederate, a

Research Assistant (RA) whose role was unknown to the participant. The experimenter

greeted both participants at the door of the room, where the experiment was being

conducted. The experiment was designed so that the actual participant would not be

aware that the other participant was a confederate until after the completion of the

experiment. Both participants were informed that the experiment was designed to look

at negotiating styles and the results of a distributive negotiation. Participants were then

given consent forms to sign before the experiment began.

After signing the consent forms, participants were asked to complete a brief

information sheet (Info Sheet 1, Appendix D) about themselves, which were then

exchanged with the other participant. Participants were told that the purpose was for

them to gain some information to form a first impression of their negotiating opponent.

The participants were then randomly assigned to the *gay opponent* or *straight opponent*

condition. In *the gay opponent's* condition, the confederate's information sheet said that

he had a boyfriend. In the *straight opponent* condition, the information sheet stated the

confederate had a girlfriend. It is important to note that the confederate's information

sheet was completed by the experimenter before the beginning of the experiment so that

the confederate did not know which experimental condition he was in during the

experiment. Therefore, while the actual participant was completing his information

sheet, the confederate was merely pretending to fill out the information. When the

information sheets were swapped, the experimenter collected the blank sheet from the

confederate and switched it with the information sheet completed before the

experiment.

Participants were then asked to complete a questionnaire (Appendix D) which

asked "I was comfortable with meeting my partner after I read his information sheet"

and then asked their impression following the exchange of information, "I was

comfortable with meeting my partner after I read his information sheet" (Negotiation

Study Section 1). This section was introduced, again under the pretence of preparing to

negotiate. Participants were also asked about their negotiation experience and to

identify whether they would be comfortable negotiating with their opponent.

Following the completion of the first set of questions, the experimenter then

introduced the negotiation role-play (Appendix D). In this distributive negotiation, one

participant played the role of the Producer, and the other played the role of the Agent.

Each role's information was different and unique to their role. In this role sheet, there

was an indication of a reservation and aspiration range and terms that participants would

be willing to discuss to reach an agreement. Although the experimenter made it appear

that the roles were given to both participants randomly, the experimenter always gave

the actual participant the role of the Producer. In contrast, the confederate was always

given the role of the Agent. The role play centred around a production of Romeo and Juliet, which needed a lead actor. The participant (Producer) was trying to hire the lead actor for the lowest price, while the confederate (Agent) was trying to achieve the highest price possible for their client.

Importantly, the confederate was trained to act in a standardised way across all trials of the experiment. Additionally, the confederate was trained to be patient and encourage the participant to make the first offer in the negotiation. We did this because we felt that if the participants always made the first offer, it would be a strong indicator of how aggressively they would negotiate. Because we measured the length of the negotiation, we also wanted the participant to play the most active role in dictating how long the negotiation would take place. By allowing the participant to make the first offer, we, therefore, allowed them to decide if they wanted to negotiate quickly or if they wanted to engage in a certain amount of 'small talk' or 'ice-breaking' before making the first offer. Lastly, when the participant made the first offer, the confederate was trained to give a standard schedule of concessions to be consistent across all trials. This allowed us to test, in a more controlled manner, how the participant responded to concessions.

After reading the role sheet, but before negotiating, both participants were asked to answer another set of questions in Negotiation Study Section – 2, based on the role-play (Appendix D). This ensured that the actual participant had set a reservation value (what is the most they would pay) for the actor, aspiration (what is the least they wanted to pay), for the actor, and whether they would reach an agreement. Collecting this information before the negotiation allowed us to measure how aggressive the participants planned to be before the negotiation even began.

At this point, the experimenter made sure that each participant was comfortable with the information provided and the goal of the exercise. The negotiation then commenced, and the experimenter gave instructions on how much time was available for the negotiation, ten minutes in total. All the participants completed the negotiation in less than ten minutes, and all participants reached an agreement. The experimenter made a record of the time it took to complete the negotiation.

Following the negotiation, the experimenter asked participants to complete one last set of questions, and these consisted of a much longer instrument (Negotiation Study Section 3), 44 questions in total. These questions were a combination of Likert scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), 1 (*none*) to 4 (*Yes a lot*), 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very certain*), Yes-No questions and demographic information. After the final questionnaire, the participants were debriefed, informed of the purpose of the experiment, were asked for feedback on the exercise and thanked for participating.

Measures - Manipulation Check.

Gay identity. To assess whether participants were aware of their opponent's gay identity, in Negotiation Study Section 3, they were asked to answer the question 'After reading the information sheet, and I thought that my negotiating partner might be gay'. Participants were asked to complete their response from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Anxiety. Participants were asked to assess their anxiety before meeting their opponent and, in Negotiation Study Section 1, were asked 'I was comfortable with meeting my partner after I read his information sheet', and, in Information Section 3, 'I was relaxed in the study,' both on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Motivation. Participants were asked to assess their motivation to achieve a beneficial result using the single item 'I was motivated to do well, so my overall deal would be the best it could be'. Responses were given on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Time spent negotiating. To measure the length of the negotiation, the experimenter used a stopwatch to record the length of time the participant and RA spent negotiating. This number was then rounded to the nearest minute. The participant and RA had time to read the activity and prepare a strategy, but this time was not included in the overall time spent negotiating; the experimenter started the stopwatch only when the participant and RA began the negotiation and stopped the time when they reached a final agreement.

Final price. To measure the final price of the outcome, the experimenter recorded the final amount that the participant agreed to pay the RA at the end of the negotiation.

Results

Manipulation-check

To determine whether participants were attuned to the sexual orientation of their opponent, we conducted an independent samples t-test on the manipulation check item. The results showed that the participants in the *gay opponent* ($n = 12$) condition were significantly more certain that their opponent was gay ($M = 6.08$, $SD = 1.44$) than participants in the straight opponent ($n = 13$) condition ($M = 1.15$, SD .38), t(23) = -11.90, p < .001.

Main analysis

Anxiety. To determine whether participants were anxious during the negotiation, we conducted an independent samples t-test on the anxiety item. The

results showed that the participants in the *gay opponent* (*n* = 12) condition were not

more anxious (*M* = 1.83, *SD* = 1.11) than particiapnts in the *straight opponent* (*n* = 13)

condition (*M* = 2.15, *SD* = .99), t(23) = .76, p > .05.

    Motivation. To determine whether participants were motivated to do well

during the negotiation, we conducted an independent samples t-test on the motivation

item. The results showed that the participants in the *gay opponent* (*n* = 12) condition

(*M* = 5.50, *SD* = 1.09) were not significantly more motivated than participants in the

straight opponent (*n* = 13) condition (*M* = 5.62, *SD* .65).

    Time spent negotiating. Next, we examined whether participants in the *gay*

opponent condition spent less time negotiating than participants in the *straight opponent*

condition. To test this prediction, we conducted an independent samples t-test with

time spent negotiating as the dependent variable. The results showed that participants

in the *gay opponent* (*n=12*) condition spent significantly less time negotiating (M_{minutes}

= 4.46, *SD* = 1.56) than participants in the *straight opponent* (*n=13*) condition (M_{minutes}

= 7.07, *SD* = 2.90), t(23) = 2.77, p < .05

    Final price. Finally, we examined whether participants in the *gay opponent*

condition would achieve a better deal than participants in the *straight opponent*

condition. To test this prediction, we conducted an independent samples t-test with

final price as the dependent variable. Interestingly, the results showed that participants

in the *gay opponent* (*n=12*) condition achieved a significantly *higher* final price (*M*

$_{\text{agreed amount}}$ = 7,879.17, *SD* = 1,126.23) than participants in the *straight opponent* (*n=13*)

condition (M_{minutes} = 6,784.62, *SD* = 882.08), see fig X.
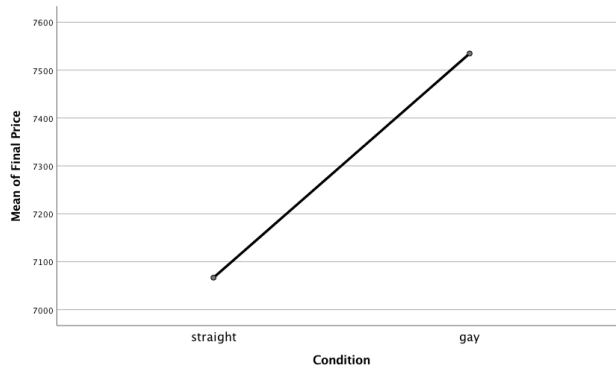
Figure 22 – Task Performance

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Discussion

The goal of the experiment was to measure the results of a distributive negotiation and whether the disclosure or non-disclosure of gay identity would have an impact on the final negotiated agreement. Both parties had a range of numbers that they could work with and the Agent would want to start with a high offer of a maximum £12,000 and the producer would want to start with a low offer of £5,000. The experiment looked at what offers were made between the parties, the time it took to negotiate and whether there was a difference between the results when the gay or straight identity was known to the opponent.

We predicted that participants would spend less time with a gay negotiating partner than those that had the straight condition. The results of the analysis support the null hypothesis and H_1 is accepted. In the straight condition, participants spent almost twice as much time negotiating than they did with the straight participant. This follows literature which identified the challenge that straight men have when interacting with gay men (Cunningham, 2012; Ozturk & Rumens, 2014; Rumens, 2013). This also contradicts some of the developments that Rumens (2018) observed: that overt disclosure increased the level of comfort and found that friendships could develop between individuals who identified as gay and straight if they were of a similar age. In

this study, some the perceived level of comfort could support Rumens' (2018) research, for the confederate and participants were of a similar age and, this could also account for this result.

We predicted that the participant would achieve a better result in the gay condition. However, in analysing the result, we had to reject the null hypotheses H_2, as results showed that straight participants actually paid more for the 'Romeo' replacement and thus achieved a worse result. In a distributive negotiation, the amount that is divided is a fixed sum, which means that the more that is paid to achieve settlement in a negotiation means the less that they would have to negotiate for other contracts or to be paid out as profit (Malhotra & Bazerman, 2008). The closest comparison to this would be the results compared to stated goals achieved by women compared to men in negotiation, as confirmed by Faes (2010), who found that women have a much more realistic goal and take fewer risks in negotiation, whereas men set higher objectives and are willing to take more risks, especially when negotiating with someone who had the same attributes. As has already been discussed, the behaviour of the straight participant could be because of the belief that gay men have feminine characteristics and therefore will respond in a negotiation the same way as with a woman (Bowles, 2007).

What is interesting is the amount of time spent negotiating, and the results are almost contrary to what would be expected, that the negotiation would have been tough and that the straight condition would have achieved a better result and paid less in the negotiation. We could first look at some of the dependent variables that were tested. Participants reported no noticeable difference in levels of anxiety or motivation between the two conditions. If individuals had reported a high level of anxiety, or they were motivated by what is perceived to be a good result, then this would explain the results. These responses were to questions, providing what they would know would be socially

acceptable, and perhaps they believe the appropriate response, what this also demonstrates is the difference between the conscious thought process and unconscious response, thinking one way and acting another. So, while organisations might have an LGBT policy, there can still be institutional homophobia (Lucyk, 2011). Or the lack of participation by gay men in a particular industry with little or no discussion, while there is no overt discrimination, the lack of inclusion provides evidence of the level of comfort and acceptance (Cunningham, 2010).

One potential explanation for the results is an unconscious response to what is known and acceptable. Heteronormativity is dominant, and individuals who do not conform to this are seen as 'other' (Ozturk & Rumens, 2014), they do not conform to a social group, and straight men often find gay men uncomfortable, feeling that they have to display hyper-masculine behaviour, or punish, or ignore (Cunningham, 2012). The results of the experiment would support the explanation that straight men are uncomfortable in engaging with a gay man, would spend little or no time in pre-negotiation conversation (ice-breaking), and this informal discussion helps to build a relationship. Another explanation that influenced the results was the 'gay' condition, and this was potentially unexpected so that it might have unnerved the participant. Individuals look to find meaning in their surroundings, and another explanation for the final price results is that they have to face a 'gay' person, someone who has revealed their identity and is a stranger (Rumens, 2012).

What is also worth considering is that societal norms provide structure and an indication of what is socially acceptable. Therefore, what is desirable, while contextual still provides an overwhelmingly influential moral guide, often referred to as social desirability and can cause individuals to present themselves favourably. King and Breuner (2000) identified how Social Desirability Bias (SDB) could impact the results

of experimental studies, which is something that researchers have recognised that they need to consider, especially when interpreting the results of those studies that involve invisible stigmatised social identities (Kumpal, 2011). While discussion of SDB is beyond the scope of this research, what it can provide is an indication of why the results of the experiment were consistently different when the confederate disclosed that they had a gay identity. Thus demonstrating a strategic conscious choice to conform to what would be socially acceptable, within this context, yet perform in a manner that is consistent with the literature, a discomfort with gay identity.

The revealing of gay identity can be empowering for those individuals that disclose, however, can often disarm those around them, either because of lack of contact or if they do not act as perceived and expected stereotypical behaviour. The unconscious response could have been triggered, and the participant might not have been able to make meaning of the interaction. This 'disarming' behaviour might have meant they were willing to accept what was almost uniformly a worse offer for the participant, yet better offer for the confederate (Roberts, 2005).

One final explanation is that straight participants might when negotiating with someone who identifies as gay, adopt the same approach as they would when negotiating with a woman, providing some latitude and not being overly harsh (Faes et al., 2010). Huang and Lou (2018) found that men are less likely to be tough with a woman. Communication between men is different than when mixed between men and women. Huang and Lou (2018) found that men could achieve more if they were less aggressive when negotiating with other men and could achieve more if they were more aggressive when negotiating with women. This could provide support for the results if a straight participant had a subconscious belief that the confederate, who identified as gay, had female characteristics, meaning they would not be willing to engage in a tough

negotiation. Huang and Lou (2018) further found that men do not view women in the experiment as equal, which, in turn, became a form of gender inequality. Hegemonic masculinity gives some indication of the approach by straight men and their thinking that men with a gay identity are of lower status (Priola et al., 2014). Many straight men think that gay men share many characteristics with women, so their attitude and approach might be similar, potentially leading the straight participants to underestimate the ability of the gay contracting partners to reach an agreement and only realise that they agreed a worse deal after the exchange. While exploring the impact of hegemonic masculinity on workplace negotiation is beyond the scope of this research project, it would certainly be worth further investigation.

Limitations

We should be careful about making any generalisations as a result of this study since all the participants were either undergraduate or graduate male students enrolled in the psychology department at the University of Sussex. The attitude that students reported in the post-negotiation questionnaire about their level of comfort negotiating with the gay confederate should be taken in the context that the University of Sussex is known to be a very progressive and, in the late sixties, quite radical, and many of the campus initiatives still have roots in this past. The experiments were conducted with male participants from one department and did not have the input or diversity of other disciplines.

Another limitation was the type of negotiation that was selected for the experiment. By choosing a distributive negotiation, there is less opportunity or need for parties to work together to achieve results. The fact pattern was written, so that is was a relatively straight forward exchange of offers (and counter offers) to reach an agreement. Had we selected an integrative negotiation, we would have forced that

parties to work together and discuss what was needed, by identifying interests, as well as concerns. This opportunity for discussion might have meant that the results would have been different because more time would have been spent, and the results might have supported the hypothesis.

The present experiment was designed to test for a control group (straight identity) and a condition that was manipulated (gay identity). Both of these conditions were known to the participant through the sharing of information. However, we were not able to test if passive disclosure of sexual identity would have an impact or influence results. Therefore, study four will look at both the active and passive disclosure of straight and gay identity. This study will be conducted through an online questionnaire and conditions will be assigned at random, with the same questions being asked and an analysis of whether these manipulations cause any difference in response.

Chapter Seven – Study 4

Introduction

In Study 3, the conditions of being openly *gay* and openly *straight* were tested. We found that participants reported no difference in levels of anxiety and motivation; however, there was a difference in the amount of time spent negotiating and the final price achieved. In the gay condition, the participant spent almost 50% less time reaching an agreement, and the straight participant received a worse result. We noted in the discussion that straight men often find it difficult to relate to gay men because of perceived difference, and this might have accounted for the results. To build on Study 3, Study 4 examines whether the active or passive disclosure of straight or gay identity has an impact on the negotiation strategy for an anticipated negotiation. Here, we wanted to explore whether the nature of the disclosure of sexual identity – actively or passively – would have an impact. This chapter begins with a literature review of how individuals might disclose their gay identity and how to build trust in a negotiation. This is then followed by the research methods section, discussion and limitations of this study. To this end, we examine the dependent variables of trust, tough negotiation, friendliness, and results.

Literature Review

In business, individuals can create personas; that is, personalities that they would like to portray to be perceived as confident, knowledgeable, and accepted by appearing to be similar. Further, by using their charm, they can appeal to the ego of others (Barreto, 2006). In business, individuals are selected to lead a team or project on what they present, and anything else would confirm the dishonesty and break the 'psychological contract' that has been established with co-workers (Creary, 2015). Cultural complexity adds to an individual's learned experience and is unique. However,

gay identity only begins to describe the multiple influencers and stakeholders that individuals must navigate (Capell, 2018), and this will influence active or passive disclose of gay identity.

Disclosure of Gay Identity - Active

Active disclosure of gay identity has been dealt with extensively in previous sections. However, while the negotiation process can often be highly tense and difficult (Farrow, 2007), the disclosure of something personal, such as gay identity could enhance the development of interpersonal relationships. Successful negotiation requires individuals to engage in an interaction that relies on mutual, trust, respect, and understanding (Lewicki et al., 2006). So, while disclosure comes with the risk of rejection and exposure (Marrs, 2016); non-disclosure can lead to even greater difficulty (Sedlovskaya, 2013). Which potentially means that when in business, an individual can reveal their gay identity to a straight partner, the results can be positive (Bowring & Brewers, 2015).

Disclosure of Gay Identity – Passive

Active disclosure of gay identity can be achieved by an individual making a public statement, and the impact has been discussed in prior sections, but what has not been considered is the indirect or passive disclosure of gay identity (Moore, 2017). This is often contextual, and this approach is often dependent on whether the method of disclosure is within the work environment or outside (Riggle et al., 2017)

Passive disclosure of gay identity might occur because individuals might not feel comfortable making a verbal declaration, however, as Moore found (2017) they might display a picture of their same-sex partner, on their desk or in a place that can be seen by others. Individuals can also passively disclose their gay identity by being a member of a group that is recognised as being gay (Bulgar-Medina, 2018). Individuals

have also described layers of 'coming out', and passive disclosure might be their way of seeking acceptance, building trust within their team or organisation (Capell, Tzafrir & Dolan, 2016).

In Moore's study (2017) some participants did not announce their gay identity; instead, it happened over time, whereas others reported that they did not make bold statements, yet would confirm their gay identity when asked. What Moore (2017) found was that some participants were concerned about sharing too much information and that disclosure would happen during the process of developing a relationship and building trust.

What also might cause individuals to be less forthcoming about their gay identity and not engage in active disclosure is the discomfort with being associated with the societal perception of gay identity and gay culture (Gyamerah et al., 2019; Madon, 1997; Heaphy, 2011). While it is assumed that men with a gay identity would want to achieve a positive self-identity by aligning themselves with individuals that shared the same self-perception and public image (Van Dick, 2017) not all share this same desire and either feel excluded or chose not to be associated with the perception of what it means to have a gay identity (Valocchi, 1999).

The method of disclosure of gay identity could be motivated by a broader purpose, by personal integrity, to develop or improve workplace relationships, and to act as a role model for others (Rumens & Broomfield, 2011). There has been a desire for individuals with a gay identity to achieve acceptance and avoid the need for acceptance or rejection by others, based solely on this identity. For many with a gay identity, they no longer feel that this is something that has to be actively disclosed because they feel accepted, and this is just one component of their whole identity. This allows them to be genuine and consistent in their behaviour (Filipowicz, 2011), which

enhances psychological wellbeing (Perales, 2016) and improves relationships (Riggle et al., 2017).

Negotiation – Working with Others

Negotiation within the workplace can be extremely challenging because of the ongoing nature of the relationship (Lewicki, 1997). Negotiating for internal resources places additional pressure on the situation and introduces an almost hostile or competitive element in what should be a collaborative interaction (Manna, 1993). Individuals can find it difficult to separate their role as a manager from that of a successful leader. This inability has a direct impact on their ability to protect their valuable resources and to be perceived as a role-model to their line-reports (Kozna, 2014).

Effective negotiation is determined by how individuals work with each other, build trust, and manage or resolve conflict, all while trying to reach an agreement (Mejia-Arauz, 2018). Conflict has been described 'as a process in which one party perceives that its interests are being opposed or negatively affected by another' (Wall & Callister, 1995, p. 517). Meanwhile, individuals' inability to successfully resolve conflict in negotiation – for example, by remaining stubborn and tough (Cote, 2013) – could have a fatal effect on the outcome, especially if there is a lack of commonality and the perceived difference is because of sexual orientation (Tejeda, 2006).

Collaboration occurs when parties work together to generate options and solutions, ultimately achieving more than was available in a purely competitive (distributive) approach (Fisher & Ury, 1997). However, this collaborative (integrative) approach is often challenging to achieve, because it would require individuals to move from their fixed position and stated demands, which takes time and effort and may require them to adopt an alternative negotiation strategy (Thomas, 1976). In the

collaborative style, all parties must fully cooperate, and, to satisfy their concerns, all parties must actively participate (a positive-sum game) (Fisher & Ury, 1997).

The concept of a 'win-win' scenario was meant to demonstrate that collaboration could be necessary, as both parties could achieve a better outcome if they worked together (Mejia-Arauz, 2018), especially when compared with a compromise or competitive solution (lose-lose/win-lose) (Hannapi-Egger & Kauer, 2010). The idea of a win-win scenario was adapted from Victor Baranco's Morehouse experiment and intended to describe a process to build better relationships. It further acknowledged that the process of arriving at such a solution could be complex (Labovitz, 1980). However, it was later adapted by game theorists. The concept and term became popular as a shortcut to reaching an agreement, and, while the theory had a foundation, it was never fully tested because the term 'win-win' had become so popular, thus causing interpretation errors (McNary, 2003). Therefore, in most conflict episodes in which an agreement is reached, neither party gains all that they want, and the result is instead some form of compromise, with both parties making concessions (McNary, 2003).

In a tough or challenging negotiation, there is often a power differential, and individuals often become competitive because they feel that to give any concession would show weakness (Farrow, 2007). By working with others and understanding their underlying needs and interests, even those with lower bargaining power should be able to offer (Strauss & Corbin, 1990): something that would assist in reaching an agreement.

Negotiation, as with any interpersonal exchange, can be challenging, and this pressure is increased when negotiating with someone who does not conform to heteronormative gender roles (Croteau et al., 2008). This may lead to discomfort at the bargaining table, because gay men may feel that many of the normal exchanges or

icebreakers during a negotiation should be avoided, or that they should attempt to pass as straight (Bower, 2015), which has the effect of reducing the amount of social capital created (Creary, 2015). This lack of personal interaction often leads to the parties feeling uncomfortable and potentially considering the other untrustworthy (Broomfield, 2015), which may be a result of unconscious bias on the part of either party (Lehmiller, Law & Tormala, 2009) and of perceived discrimination. Meanwhile, individuals' inability to bring their whole self to their job is likely to have a detrimental effect on the work environment, causing stress and discomfort (Brower, 2015) (Tejeda, 2006). This leads to the first hypothesis:

> H_1: *Participants want to gain more in the negotiation when the gay identity of the negotiator was passively disclosed.*

Trust

Trust is 'a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based on the positive expectations of the intentions or behaviours of another' (Rousseau et al., 1998 p. 395). There is, therefore, the belief that a trusting individual believes that their interests will be protected by the other party and individuals will be willing to make adjustments for behaviour that would otherwise lead to conflict (Malhotra, 2004). The level of trust an individual has for those with whom they work may affect whether they are willing to accept vulnerability by taking this information at face value (Schnackenberg & Tomlinson, 2016).

Trust is an underlying necessity for most negotiated agreements, and decisions are often made based on first impressions: a glance, a first word, a handshake (Lewecki, 2006). Trust is something that often builds over time, although some individuals are more predisposed to be trusting of others, and people can begin from a high, medium, or low trust baseline (Becerra & Gupta, 2003; Mayer et al., 1995). Individuals are more

likely to trust those who are similar and are members of the same in-group, time, culture, and experience. Those who have a high level of trust expect the same from others, even if this is never formally stated (Druckerman, 2012). However, the challenge is when an individual begins from a low trust baseline and nevertheless expects the other person to trust them (Kanter & Mirvis, 1989).

Trust enhances the ability of parties to build relationships. Deutsch (1985) has characterised relationships in terms of their psychological orientations, or the complex synergy of 'interrelated cognitive, motivational and moral orientations' (p. 94). Deutsch (1985) further maintained that people establish and maintain social relationships partly based on these orientations and other often-unconscious signals. Our opinion is often shaped by what we find out from other sources, such as business reputation and colleagues, and this information could be shaped by their own unconscious bias. Further, once some information, which begins to shape one's perceptions of someone's character, has been given, this impression is difficult to change (Ferris et al., 2003). Reputation is a powerful primer because it often creates strong expectations that lead us to look for elements of trust or distrust. We either consciously or unconsciously look for signals that confirm our initial impression, and this determines whether a relationship is to be based on trust or suspicion (Glick & Croson, 2001). This leads to the second hypothesis:

> H_2: *Participants experience greater trust with a gay negotiator who actively discloses his identity to the participant instead of the participant passively learning about the gay negotiator's identity.*

Research Methodology

Participants

A final study was conducted to examine whether active or passive disclosure of gay or straight identity has an impact on an anticipated internal resource negotiation. A questionnaire was posted on Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk), and a total of 124 participants completed the instrument and were used for analysis. All participants were self-identified adult men between the ages of 23 and 66 (M = 37.7, SD = 10.11).

Procedures

Participants were randomly assigned to a negotiation scenario (Appendix E), which contained one of four conditions (straight active disclosure, straight passive disclosure, gay active disclosure, gay passive disclosure) and in the instructions, participants were informed of the following:

> *This study is about how people strategise before entering into a negotiation. We want to learn more about what ideas people come up with before the negotiation actually begins so that they will achieve a good result. Please read the scenario below and put yourself into the scenario as much as possible. After reading the scenario, please answer the questions about how you would prepare for this negotiation.*

The scenario provided background to an internal resource (budget allocation) negotiation. The two-person internal negotiation was set in an engineering company. The CEO had communicated that due to company financial challenges, some cost and the budget reduction was necessary by the end of the year. Participants were asked to imagine that they have to meet another project manager and between them agree on how to reduce the budget based on the instructions 'Next week, you have scheduled a meeting with Henry Green during which you will negotiate how to come up with the $50,000 in budget cuts from your two projects.'

After reviewing the scenario, the participants were then asked to respond to a series of questions. The first was an open-ended question to capture some qualitative

data and prime the participant to consider their strategic approach. The question asked, 'In your negotiation with Henry Green, what strategies will you use to achieve the best result possible?' (This question was included largely to match the cover story). Participants were then asked a series of questions about their perceptions of Henry Green and the upcoming negotiation using a 7-point Likert scale (1 *strongly disagree* and 7 *strongly agree*).

Measures

Qualitative

  Strategy. A word frequency analysis was conducted to gain an understanding of some of the themes that emerged from the text. Participants were asked, 'In your negotiation with Henry Green, what strategies would you use to try and achieve the best possible result?' Participants were given space to answer this open-ended question.

Quantitative

  Manipulation checks. Two manipulation checks were added to the questionnaire to ensure that the participants had read the scenario and instructions. To check the sexual orientation of the individual mentioned in the scenario, the participants were asked 'In the background story, what was Henry Green's marital status?' and the answers to this questions were 'single'; 'married to his husband, Jeff'; 'married to his wife, Emma'; and 'don't remember'. The second manipulation check asked participants about the disclosure of sexual orientation: 'In the background story, how did you learn about Henry Green's sexual orientation?', and the responses were 'Henry told you directly', 'you overheard from a co-worker' and 'don't remember'.

  Trust. Participants were asked to assess their ability to trust the other party using the single item 'I can trust Henry Green in the negotiation'. Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Resistance. Participants were asked to assess whether the other party would be a tough negotiator using the item 'Henry Green will be a tough negotiator'. Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Friendly. Participants were asked to assess whether the other party would be friendly using the item 'I think Henry Green will be friendly'. Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Anticipated result. Participants were asked to assess whether the other party would receive a good result using the item 'Henry will achieve a good result in the negotiation'. Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Results

Qualitative

Strategy. To determine the themes that emerged from the participant's response to a strategy question, a word frequency test was applied. The results showed that the participants in the *gay active* ($n = 30$) disclosure condition and *gay passive* ($n = 30$) disclosure condition shared the same strategic themes, dominated by the theme that they would 'try' to work with the other party and the importance of the 'team', whereas, in the *straight active* ($n = 31$) disclosure and straight passive ($n = 33$) disclosure condition, the themes that emerged were to 'cut' resources and a focus on the 'budget'.

Quantitative

Manipulation checks. To determine whether participants were aware of the sexual orientation of their opponent, we looked at participants' responses to the first manipulation check item. In both conditions where Henry Green was said to have a husband, 51 out of 60 participants (85%), correctly answered the manipulation check item. In both conditions where Henry Green was said to have a wife, 62 out of 64

participants (97%) correctly answered the manipulation check item. Therefore, 113 out of 124 participants (91%) correctly identified the sexual orientation of Henry Green. Participants who incorrectly remembered the sexual orientation were excluded from the analysis.

To determine whether participants were aware of how Henry Green's sexual orientation was disclosed (either actively or passively), we looked at participants' responses to the second manipulation check item. In both passive disclosure conditions, 50 out of 63 participants (79%) correctly answered the manipulation check item. In both active disclosure conditions, 35 out of 61 participants (57%) correctly answered the manipulation check item. Therefore, 86 out of 124 (69%) of participants correctly identified how Henry Green's sexual orientation was disclosed. Participants who incorrectly remembered the method of disclosure were excluded from the analysis. After removing participants who failed one or both manipulation checks, we were left with a final sample of 77 participants.

Trust. To assess the ability to trust the other party during the negotiation, we conducted a 2 (sexual orientation: gay, straight) X 2 (disclosure: passive, active) ANOVA with trust as the dependent variable. The results showed no significant interaction or significant main effects of sexual orientation and disclosure (all ps > .21).

Resistance. To assess how strong of a negotiator the participants thought Henry Green would be, we conducted a 2 (sexual orientation: gay, straight) X 2 (disclosure: passive, active) ANOVA with resistance as the dependent variable. The results showed no significant main effects of sexual orientation and disclosure, but a significant interaction emerged $F(1, 77) = 7.32$, $p < .01$. Follow up independent samples t-test results showed that for participants who believed Henry Green was gay, they perceived Henry Green as a tougher negotiator when he actively disclosed his sexual orientation

($M = 4.83$, $SD = .86$) compared to when they learned of his sexual orientation passively ($M = 3.90$, $SD = .91$), $t(36) = 3.24$, $p < .01$. On the other hand, for participants who believed Henry Green was straight, there was no significant difference in how tough of a negotiator participants thought he would be in the active disclosure condition ($M = 3.85$, $SD = 1.21$) and the passive disclosure condition ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 1.22$), $t(37) = -1.02$, $p = .31$.

Friendly. To assess how friendly participants expected Henry to be during the negotiation, we conducted a 2 (sexual orientation: gay, straight) X 2 (disclosure: passive, active) ANOVA with friendly as the dependent variable. The results showed no significant interaction or significant main effects of sexual orientation and disclosure (all ps > .19).

Anticipated results. To assess whether participants thought Henry Green would achieve a good result in the negotiation, we conducted a 2 (sexual orientation: gay, straight) X 2 (disclosure: passive, active) ANOVA with trust as the dependent variable. The results showed no significant interaction or significant main effects of sexual orientation and disclosure (all ps > .61).

Discussion

The aim of the questionnaire was to determine whether active or passive disclosure of sexual orientation would have an impact on how the participant would engage in the negotiation and what strategies they would adopt.

We predicted that participants would want to achieve more than their opponent if they discovered the latter's gay identity indirectly, but the results do not support this prediction. Very little difference was found between those who actively versus passively disclosed their sexual orientation. Therefore, we reject the null hypothesis H_1. While the literature supports heteronormativity as the dominant paradigm and

negotiation is very much associated with being male and what it means to win. This

does not always mean that they are perceived to be tougher, as the results will confirm

We asked participants if they thought the other party would be a tougher

negotiator, and the results showed that when individuals actively disclosed their gay

identity, they were identified as being a tougher negotiator compared with passive

disclosure of gay identity and active/passive disclosure of straight identity. What this

result might indicate is that when individuals make their gay identity known

immediately, potentially a learned coping mechanism (Ragins, 2008), demonstrates

self-confidence, which might influence their approach in a negotiation (Derks, van Laar,

Ellemers, 2006). The results might also indicate that when it is assumed that a

negotiating partner does not conform to the same prototypical heteronormative

behaviours that this could be disarming and cause discomfort (Kiguwa, 2017), and the

individual with the gay identity could use this to their advantage and thus be seen as a

tougher negotiator.

We also tested the results of the negotiation, and again there was very little

difference. From the results, it would appear that the active or passive disclosure of

sexual orientation does not have an impact; however, this finding is based on a

conscious response to these questions. Further, in order to see whether the finding is

supported, it would be necessary to continue with the exercise and engage in the

negotiation, as suggested by Hasson (2010).

We predicted that the participant would trust a negotiation partner if there was

active disclosure of their sexual orientation, and we, therefore, must reject the null

hypothesis H_2, as the results do not show a significant difference between straight or

gay active and passive disclosure of sexual orientation. It is assumed that when an

individual discloses their sexual orientation, a foundation for trust is developed as the

individual becomes vulnerable – the underlying requirement to build trust (Williams, 2005). Again, however, this finding is based on a conscious response to this question and does not necessarily test for the unconscious responses and bias that might be present. Also, they might have reported what they thought in a politically correct manner, rather than revealing their true thoughts (Pitts, 2017).

Limitations

The participants ($n = 124$) were recruited through an open site on which many studies not specific to any particular field of study or background are posted. It would be interesting to see whether different industry groups would respond in the same or a similar manner. In addition, the age of the participants and gender (M = 38) would impact on the generalisability of the results. While there were a fairly large number of respondents (compared to the other three studies), 48% of the participants were between 30–39 years old, and this age group had a major influence on the results. If there were larger (equal) numbers in other age groups, a comparison across groups could have been made to see what, if any, impact this would have. Individuals are also aware of what is socially acceptable, and while the participant pool is larger than the first study and pools from a larger population group than Study 3, individuals self-selected engage in this study for a fee.

The manipulation check did not work as originally designed, as it excluded more participants that was originally anticipated. Perhaps the information about Henry Green might have been too subtle or not made in a way that could be easily identified, as we had to remove 39% of the participants because they failed one or both of the manipulation checks. Perhaps the fact that the testing for gay and straight disclosure and how this was disclosed, some individuals might have made assumptions about the method of disclosure of the identity of Henry Green.

A huge limitation of this study is the need to anticipate what the participant would do in response to an unknown individual, with a limited fact pattern, agreeing on internal resources for an unknown company. In negotiation, stakeholders, company culture, organisational fit, and team and intrapersonal dynamics can all exert a huge and mediating influence, and all of these were absent in the experiment. The unconscious bias of the participant cannot be tested, because many people are not aware of the impact that this has on the other person and how this might influence the overall results. Individual responses and reactions to invisible or concealable social stigma are based on actual or perceived experience. The additional pressure of being male and keeping the heteronormative status intact also has an additional influence that again has not been tested, and what could have been included is some type of measurement. However, as with any self-reporting instrument, there are inherent limitations.

Chapter Eight – Results and Discussion

The purpose of this research project was to examine the outcome of a negotiated workplace negotiation, whether this could be influenced by gay male identity, and whether the disclosure of gay identity can have an impact on the outcome of the agreement. The research is meant to answer the research questions identified earlier as:

    i.   Does gay identity have an influence on interpersonal relationships in the workplace?

    ii.   Does disclosure of gay identity have an impact on workplace negotiated agreements?

    iii.   Does the disclosure of gay identity have an impact on who will achieve a better result in a negotiation?

    iv.   Does the method of disclosure of gay identity influence the results of a negotiated agreement?

Study 1

The data from the surveys were analysed using thematic network analysis, with the following themes emerging:
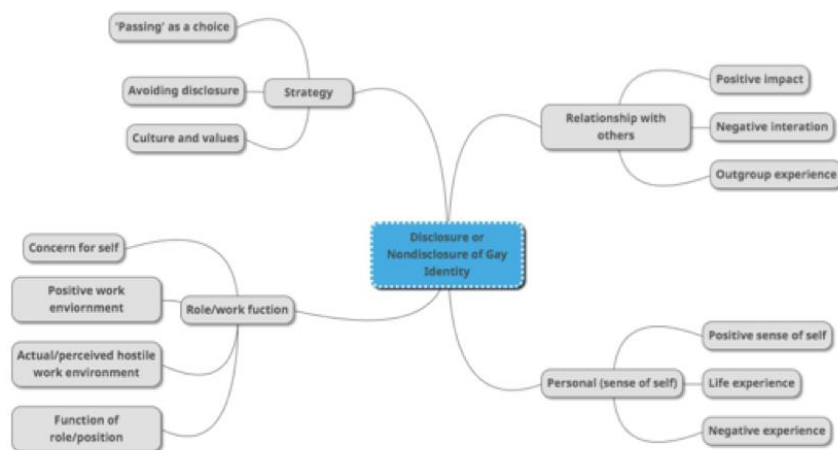
Figure 23 – Study 1

Participants reflected on the context of the interaction and, when considering disclosure, stated that this was situational. Others, however, were comfortable disclosing their sexual orientation as part of their claim of identity, while others stated that life experience was a factor and that, as they progressed in their career, they felt that they were more inclined to disclose. There was a fear of disclosure, and this was supported by several respondents, who were concerned regarding the stigma and all of the negative attributes associated with it. The results of this study confirmed that disclosure of gay identity could have an influence on interpersonal relationships in the workplace.

Study 2

The data was analysed using a grounded theory approach, and the themes that emerged were grouped into three axes:
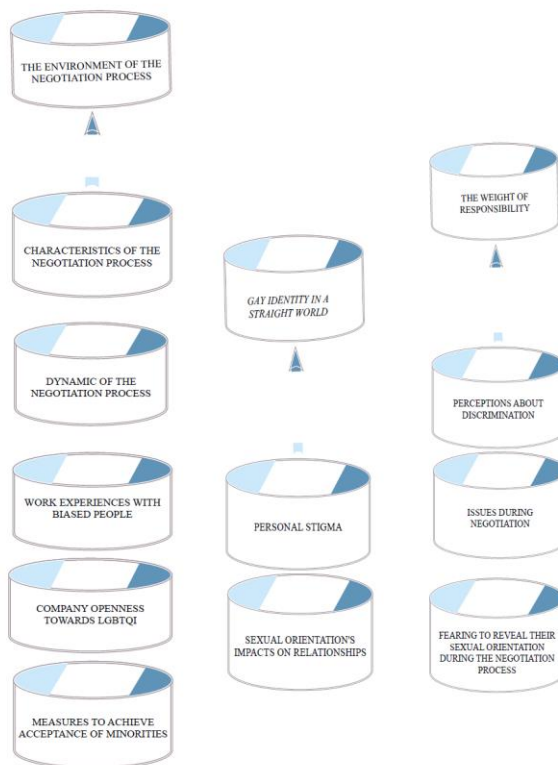
Figure 24 – Study 2

By exploring the data using this axial codification structure, it was possible to identify the three main themes that emerged: the environment of the negotiation process, gay identity in a straight world, and the weight of responsibility. A tremendous amount of data was analysed using this process and out of this emerged confirmation that from the perspectives of those who hold a gay identity, disclosure of gay identity can have an impact on the outcome of a negotiated agreement in the workplace. I found that some individuals were comfortable with their environment, so they were able to disclose their gay identity; however, this finding was not consistent, and some wanted to understand more about the environment, before disclosing.

Studies Three and Four looked at the disclosure from the recipient of this information about the individual with the gay identity and what impact that this would have on the outcome of a workplace negotiation.

Study 3

This study was designed to examine the impact of the disclosure from the straight participants' perspective. The results supported the claim, and the null hypothesis H_1 was accepted: straight participants spend less time with the gay negotiating partners. The distributive nature of the negotiation can lead to a competitive or combative approach, which would be more aggressive and which are consistent with preconceived notions of straightness and negotiation. The reduced amount of time spent negotiating with the gay negotiating partner might have been because of the lack of a 'straight' reference and perceived commonality. Participants did not report a higher level of discomfort when negotiating with the gay negotiating partner. Yet, the study confirmed that disclosure did have an impact on the negotiation (time) and agreement (outcome). The results did not support H_2, and the null hypothesis was rejected:

participants who negotiated with a gay confederate did not do better than when they negotiated with a straight confederate.

Study 4

A second quantitative study was conducted to provide additional confirmatory data. In this study, the active or passive disclosure of gay or straight identity was tested to determine if disclosure would have an impact on an anticipated internal resource negotiation. The straight participants reported that they would be comfortable negotiating with a gay counterpart and that their levels of anxiety and trust did not differ. The null hypotheses H_1 and H_2 were rejected: the results showed that there was no difference in the conditions of straight or gay, or passive or active, disclosure.

The results of all the studies are supported by the literature that disclosure or non-disclosure of sexual orientation does have an impact, and this project further claims that this also an impact on the outcome of a negotiation and, ultimately, the results achieved.

The results of Studies 1 and 2 confirmed that respondents had felt the impact of direct and indirect discrimination. This is often motivated by an unconscious response to what is presented and has had an impact on how gay respondents interacted with straight counterparts, all informed by previous history and experience. Unconscious thinking is informed by life experience, and these patterns of thinking are reaffirmed, which has a direct influence on behaviour. The results showed that while straight men claim that active or passive disclosure should not affect the results of negotiation, the experiment demonstrated that unconscious factors drive action and agreement. This was further supported by the themes that emerged from participant responses in Studies 1 and 2. While I found no results for Study 4 that measured people's explicit attitudes, I

did find results in Study 3 that suggest people's implicit biases and attitudes do shape the process and outcome of negotiations. This is supported by earlier interview studies.

Overall, the studies presented in this dissertation supported the claim that disclosure of gay identity can have an impact on the outcome of a workplace negotiation. In the following section, I discuss how I was able to draw conclusions from the results of the studies. I also identify some of the limitations I found while conducting the research and what implications this has on future research in this area.

Invisible Social Identity - Management

The four studies explored and examined social identity and the management of a stigmatised invisible social identity. Using the workplace context, I wanted to see what impact disclosure would have on the outcome of a negotiated agreement. One participant stated 'We are ingrained with things planted in our head that makes us think or that make us jump to a conclusion' [E25].[27] Another noted, 'When you have a bit of information about somebody, whether it is how they speak, or how they look…you jump to conclusions' [E7]. These statements confirm how individuals make assumptions with minimal information about the individual. Thus, individuals respond to the messages and images of this identity and assumed characteristics rather than with the person claiming the identity (Rumens & Broomfield, 2012). However, I would suggest that those ingrained 'social construct'[28] messages have a more substantial immediate influence (Ragins, 2008; Clair et al., 2015) because individuals often lack the awareness, even by the individual possessing these stored messages.

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[27] E or [E] refers to participants from Study 2.

[28] A social construct is a set of ideas or identities that are recognised and that individuals have accepted (Valocchi, 1999).

Personal attributes form impressions, and these ingrained messages are powerful and have an impact on how people perceive social identity, especially those who experience discrimination based on their identity. As mentioned earlier, E1 gave examples of some of the negative attributes associated with both visible and invisible stigmatised social identities, such as: 'Black people are going to shoot you', and 'Gay people are going to rape your children.' While these are graphic and extreme examples, they represent the images that have been portrayed about these identities. Sartore and Cunningham's (2009) research confirmed that a majority of parents tested in their study would not be willing to have a gay male coach in their child's team, primarily because of concerns about their safety, further supporting the comment by E1. I found that individuals do engage in identity management strategies, with a respondent stating, 'Yes, in some settings, it is not appropriate to be gay' (R1).[29] R26 also reported, 'Yes, I was in a room with numerous heterosexual men and didn't feel disclosing would do me any favours.' This identity management strategy further reinforces the role of heterosexual male identity as being the dominant and preferred identity and also reveals the unconscious bias against those who have a gay male identity (Platt & Lenzen, 2013).

As discussed earlier, identity management is something that is an ongoing choice for many and can have a psychological impact that will interfere with ongoing relationships. So, while organisations recognise that there is a need to have a policy of non-discrimination, I concur that this alone will not provide an environment in which individuals feel comfortable disclosing about their invisible stigmatised social identity (King, Mohr & Jones, 2015).

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[29] R or (R) refers to respondents from Study 1.

Gay Identity - Management

Invisible social identities are those characteristics of a group that are not immediately recognisable that cause a group to be labelled and stigmatised (Beatty & Kirby, 2006; Sabat et al., 2014). The invisible stigmatised social identity I explored in my research was gay identity, and I looked at the impact that disclosure of this identity had on the outcome of a workplace negotiation. Gay identity is personal and unique, and individuals will go through a process of creating distinctiveness, even within this social group (Whitman, 2015). Each will have their own belief and understanding of what it means to be gay and how to manage their gay identity (Trau & Hartel, 2004). This has been influenced by culture, society, family, personal experience, and class. Although, as discussed by Barrett and Pollack (2005, p. 451), it has been "frequently stated" that gay men are middle-class, this could be because they are more willing to be visible and more readily self-identify as gay than working-class men (Heaphy, 2011).

King et al. (2014) noted that individuals with an invisible stigma have to decide whether to disclose their gay identity or engage in some other identity management strategy, with one respondent in Study 1 stating, 'Most of the time I felt I needed to conceal my sexual orientation, because in a previous job I was discriminated against' (R12). This need to conceal would have an impact on all parts of an individual's life, potentially leading to a reduced sense of satisfaction at work. This was further reinforced by Brower (2004), who found that even when there are laws to protect individuals from discrimination, there is often a reluctance by the individual suffering the harm to report these behaviours and enforce their rights. As mentioned before, Madera (2012) found that those who were able to bring their gay identity to work had greater job satisfaction, as noted by many in the studies. However, this is contextual and

could easily change, depending on those they interacted with and the requirement of the role or organisational function.

Gay Identity Management – Impact of Stigmatised Identity

I tried to identify how an individual felt about themselves and how they felt about the impact of their stigmatised social identity. I found that participants often found the workplace challenging and had chosen a profession not because they found it welcoming or offered a presumed level of personal comfort, but instead because of the status and role. Cornell (2015) found that gay men were engaged in identity management strategies, often acting as a 'straight' gay person. This means that individuals with a gay identity will be 'superficially' accepted as long as they do not engage in prototypical 'gay' behaviours, and this confirmed the need to project something that is recognised as 'normal' and acceptable (Cornell, 2015).

Individuals with a gay identity strive for acceptance in and outside of the workplace. However, due to the stigma associated with gay identity, some feel that they do not have the competency for a particular position within an organisation and are concerned that their cultural or religious belief systems would clash with others (Capell, 2018). In addition, individuals with a gay identity have to manage the projected image of what it means to be gay and what has been said about them. As E7 admitted, 'The image of homosexuality is very colourful and coloured by the gay men who are very vocal and visible, and it comes with a lot of assumptions.' This seems to present a series of contradictions, which is also consistent with what I found in the literature. While Roberts (2005) acknowledged that it is important to be authentic in the workplace and maximise opportunities, disclosure of gay identity, however, comes with risk and uncertainty, and can only occur in certain situations. An individual with a gay identity can choose to 'pass' as a person with a straight identity, recognising that is not who they

really are (DeJordy, 2008), and thus fail to be authentic (Roberts, 2005). There was an acknowledgement that to reveal something personal about your identity – to reveal one's gay identity – will certainly allow individuals to increase the level of trust (Bowring & Brewes, 2015). This ability to disclose a gay identity with co-workers is certainly something that can build trust. As Buck & Plant (2011) confirmed, the challenge is to know the timing and context, and the individual should also be prepared to be accepted or rejected. One participant noted that once their gay identity was known, they could not go back and 'un-disclose' their gay identity. While there might be a misconception of what it means to be gay (Barrett & Pollock, 2005) there is an awareness that gay identity in the workplace this was an under-researched population and, as such, there are potential misunderstandings of their needs (Ragins, 2008). This ability to research and engage with this population is a challenge. Further, as mentioned earlier, even when disclosure of gay identity can provide evidence for greater acceptance, many still do not want to reveal their gay identity in the workplace (Anteby & Anderson, 2014).

The results of the interviews also demonstrated the psychological impact that the management of multiple identities can have. Individuals are, however, prepared to suffer because disclosure would have known consequences. Hence, individuals create and fabricate, to the extent that they have learned to live with this experience, because of the labels and assumptions that are associated with being gay. Reid (2009) found that heterosexual men have negative attitudes towards those with a gay identity. While Reid's research was conducted over ten years ago, individuals still feel a concern for any retaliation that disclosure may engender. A recent example of this concern was on July 10th, 2020, when a Professional Footballer disclosed that he was gay.[30] However,

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[30] *The Sun* newspaper's open letter from a gay footballer who is "afraid to come out" https://www.thesun.co.uk/sport/12091549/gay-footballer-premier-league-letter/.

he did not want to reveal his identity because of the impact that this disclosure would have on his ability to function within the workplace (Professional English Football League). This lack of acceptance within sport has been researched (Cunningham, 2012; Merlton & Cunningham, 2014; Sartore & Cunningham, 2009), and while there is some recognition that progress has been made, this recent example confirms that there are still professions that are openly hostile to men with an openly gay identity. These individuals are not able to disclose their gay identity until they retire. So, current players who are gay face emotional and psychological impacts. The English Football League has tried to educate and inform players and supporters about the need to be accepting of diversity.[31] Despite this, it will take time and require commitment throughout the profession. This cannot be changed by inclusive legislation or workplace, but rather a whole process of societal change and this is an additional area for research and further inquiry.

Gay Identity Management – Disclosure

The act and process of gay identity disclosure is a personal choice, and, as already mentioned, can improve well-being, build relationships with others, and help to build and maintain trust (Chaudoir, 2010). However, building trust requires individuals to show vulnerability (Bohet, 2006). Therefore, individuals must decide whether to hide or reveal their stigmatised social identity. Clair et al. (2015) observed that this is a strategic coping mechanism, but it does have an ongoing impact. Individuals reported that they have learned over time to disclose when necessary and to conceal where appropriate, with one respondent stating, 'Unless it will the help the discussion – for example, if it is a diversity meeting or if the topic of the meeting is appropriate – [I will

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[31] The English Football League diversity pledge is contained in the Equality Code of Practice (https://www.efl.com/siteassets/efl-documents/tfl-code_of_practice-low-res.pdf).

not disclose]' (R4). As a participant acknowledged, individuals with a gay identity have certain coping mechanisms. E1 confirmed this, stating: '[. . .] it's just kind of general assessment I do of the room and people and their personalities.' Many of those interviewed confirmed, what DeJordy (2008) confirmed, that this was very much based on environmental factors and that they would observe, scan, and survey what sort of approach would be appropriate, and then accordingly reveal or conceal as necessary.

The ability to convey a positive sense of self can be challenging for many with a gay identity. Baretto, Ellmers and Banal (2006) found that although individuals can 'pass', this will have an impact on their own self-confidence and will further have an impact on performance, as stated by E11: 'I'll never imply that I'm gay. I'll never say anything.' E19 confirmed this mode of thinking: 'I'll probably go out of my way, just skirt around it.' As such, others in these situations are not given an opportunity to support, acknowledge, or accept the individual's gay identity because this is never revealed. Participants also stated that there is a presumption of rejection, as confirmed by King Mohr and Jones (2015), and this comes from personal or observed experience. Therefore, individuals will not disclose their gay identity because of presumed reaction. However, they will not know if this response would be consistent. So, one challenge is whether to assume that individuals will be rejected if they disclose their gay identity. One respondent noted, 'I don't like the labels being projected on me.' E7. Whereas others are reluctant to reveal their gay identity and be rejected and suffer the consequences. Individuals do have negative feelings and judged themselves, 'I feel like a bad gay person. I'd rather get the outcome that I wanted, and I don't want to impact the deal by revealing that I'm gay' E3. This confirms what Ellmers and Barreto (2006) found that individuals make a strategic choice about the impact that disclosure can have,

or will have, and will often create a diversion in order not to engage in a discussion or be creative in deflecting and distracting others.

Participants also identified that building trust was a mutual concession and that it happened over time, and that the more the individuals trusted each other, the more there was an opportunity to identify opportunities to compromise and build agreement (Camén et al., 2011). However, this building of trust is based on the information that is available, and when individuals select to 'pass' as other regarding their identity – either through deflection, omission, or fabrication – does the question that has been raised in the literature then become a lie (Ellemers & Barreto, 2006)? If a relationship is based on something that is false, then can trust truly be established and does this make individuals dishonest, or can it be excused as merely an identity management strategy? This is a fascinating area, and one which I believe should be explored further but was unfortunately beyond the scope of my enquiry.

What I also explored further was whether the manner (DeJordy, 2008) and timing (King, Reilly & Hebl, 2006) of the disclosure of gay identity would have an impact. There was some discussion about whether disclosure of gay identity should be shared at the beginning of a relationship, or if this can be shared further along in the relationship. Buck and Plant (2011) found that those individuals who disclosed their gay identity later had less influence on the results than those who disclosed earlier in the encounter. This decision about timing is particularly important in an on-going workplace relationship, with one respondent stating, 'I refused to be in the closet' (R18) and 'I am openly gay. Therefore, my sexual orientation is known to everyone beforehand' (R28). There was discussion about context and whether it would emerge through casual conversation, through discussions about what people were doing over the weekend, or discussions about their partners and their social activities. Although, as

Benozzo et al. (2015) found, the challenge when engaging in these 'coming out' conversations is to 'what' and whether this is yet a manifestation of a creating another presentation of identity.

As has been discussed earlier, context is important, and this also influences passive disclosure of gay identity (Capell, Tzafrir & Dolan, 2016). Moore (2017) found that some individuals did not feel that it was necessary to make a public statement about their gay identity but were open about their same-sex partner. In some cases, participants did not have to have a 'coming out' conversation because they were a member of workplace LGBTQ groups, active members of the gay alliance planning committee, had actively disclosed that they supported gay professional groups, or, in some cases, might have even started the groups within their organisation. This association also comes with certain assumptions about the individual who is a member of this recognisable 'minority' group. This can also be especially challenging when individuals are straight allies of a gay workplace group, and they are be presumed to be gay, merely by engaging in this sort of support.

What was confirmed in the interviews by almost all of the participants with a gay identity was that there was always some thought about whether an individual should disclose their gay identity (when, where, and how). The manner of disclosure was not consistent, and this was based on the type of organisation or the type of environment. However, almost everyone stated that it was something that they would think about – whether they would actively disclose their gay identity, and whether it had the potential to cause harm and have professional and emotional consequences.

Gay Identity in the Workplace

An important part of this project was to understand how individuals operated and functioned within a workplace environment. In the interviews, the experiments and

surveys I asked tested the impact of gay identity disclosure on interpersonal

relationships, and, in some cases, the relationships within the workplace. I speculated

that long-term exposure might help. As R11 stated, 'Relationships between co-workers

are stronger and healthier when orientation is known.' Of course, this is contextual and

only possible if located within a supportive organisation, with a respondent stating, 'My

sexual orientation was once a requirement . . . they wanted to hire a gay man [. . .] [It]

would provide them with some protection' (R12). These hiring criteria were further

investigated by Everly, Unzueta and Shih (2016): they found that in some contexts

where women make hiring decisions, having a gay male identity can be a benefit in the

hiring process.

Gay Identity in the Workplace – Interpersonal Relationships

There was an acknowledgement that a person's gay identity can have an impact

on their interpersonal relationships within the workplace, especially if they do not feel

that they are accepted (Tejeda, 2006), with one participant stating, 'Absolutely, of

course, it does. The same in the workplace, as well as social situations' (E12). Another

participant confirmed that 'Sexual orientation could have an impact on project

assignments' (E11). When asked about the impact that it could have on negotiation

outcomes, E2 stated, 'I think it could, yes. I think it's unfortunate. It shouldn't matter.'

As Tilscik (2015) noted, this conflict or lack of acceptance is particularly challenging in

a straight, male-dominated environment, especially the consequences of retaliation, as a

result of disclosure. Knowledge and the behaviours following disclosure of gay identity

is something that individuals fear. One participant acknowledged 'that there was a lot of

psychological bullying' (E12). Because of the nature of the interview, I was not able to

probe for more details to understand the scale of these behaviours. However, Resnick

(2016) found that individuals with a gay identity will often experience bullying through micro-aggressions and subtle verbal cues, which will often go unnoticed by others.

There were some who identified that they were comfortable disclosing their gay identity within their organisation and, as McFadden (2018) found, this was possible where there are established and supported LGBT networks. There was, however, a difference between those who have experienced active company incorporation of diversity and inclusion policies and those who have experienced passive company incorporation of these policies. This level of engagement was either because of the type of organisation or the type of team and the environment, or the sector and their role or function within an organisation. Those with active company incorporation stated that 'Allies were formed throughout the firm' (E5). Where there was passive incorporation, a participant stated that 'There was nothing done proactively' (E27) and 'There needs to be more explicit acceptance' (E2). There was a desire for companies to have more active diversity policies, and there was also an identified need for greater visibility. Discont (2016) and McFadeen (2015) found that individuals with a gay identity are often invisible in the workplace or may only selectively disclose, and there needs to be a coordinated effort between organisations and individuals in order for great acceptance. Participants recognised that individuals with a gay identity could seek more active recognition, and stated, they could make 'a bit more of a public statement' (E7). There was also a recognition that it was the responsibility of the gay individual to 'talk about their identity' (E4), with another stating that, 'LGBT staff need to raise their voice, need to be true to themselves' (E5). Another declared, 'We need to support and mentor each other' (E25). Further, another stated, 'I'd like to give a training' (E6). So, while there is an understanding of the need for individuals with a gay identity to be visible and become role models and engage with others, there is still a hesitation for individuals

who could perform these roles to come forward, and it takes organisation, support, and commitment. Adams and Thoroughgood (2018) found that where there is active company support, this can also create an environment where individuals feel supported. I would suggest that individuals are more likely to become positive role models, and feel comfortable being vocal, visible, and willing to engage.

Gay Identity in the Workplace – Negative Experience. The openness and acceptance of gay identity is not always welcome in the workplace, and participants in the interviews shared their experience of hostility in the workplace, teams, and organisations. One respondent stated, 'I've learned that people have negative opinions about gay people' (R12). This has a lasting impact on the individual with their gay identity and ability to make connections with others. Rocco et al. (2009) discussed that those organisations with a hostile environment should recognise that individuals with a gay identity exist and provide an environment where they are recognised and supported and how they should have active engagement to reduce open hostility. Individuals reported that there was an increase in biased based behaviour, with one respondent noting the following: 'Yes . . . in some settings it is not appropriate or permitted to be gay' (R1). They might even have experienced hostile behaviour, with one respondent saying that they had "[. . .] been fired due to one of my co-workers disclosing that I was gay" (R10). In the interviews, there was some recognition that there had been a greater societal acceptance of gay identity. However, while this has gone some way to make it more comfortable for individuals to reveal their gay identity, there is still a lot of work that needs to be done, to ensure complete inclusivity.

While social identity theory is not limited to grouping individuals by their characteristics, in many ways, that is what occurs. Participants reported that there was a fear of labelling, which they believed would have an adverse impact on the perception

of how they would interact and the sorts of relationships they would have with other individuals. I observed that a lot of behaviour was often anticipated and was meant to protect and preserve control over their identity. Individuals became distant because there is an assumption of certain behaviour by individuals – that there is a perception of discrimination by others (Pinnell & Bosson, 2013). This actual or imagined experience was echoed by Newheiser and Barretto (2017), who found that individuals who revealed their gay identity had a negative experience. Many of the participants had examples of either witnessing or experiencing these behaviours. For example, E2 stated, 'People smirked and laughed because of who I am.' When a colleague was referring to E27, he asked, 'Is she in the office today?' Further, E4 stated that his boss suggested that he look for a role in fashion, even though he had no interest in fashion or anything to do with creative arts, as he was a technical specialist. The challenge is to understand the cause and effect (action/reaction) of these behaviours towards individuals who reveal their gay identity. However, when individuals choose to fabricate an identity, they are not bringing their true self to their organisation, the negotiation, or into the workplace. It is very hard to understand whether they would be accepted because there is already a sense of disconnection.

Participants had the experience of disclosing their gay identity and witnessed other individuals being discriminated against, or there was retaliation based on this activity, with one respondent stating that 'some people were visibly uncomfortable when I discuss[ed] my sexuality' (R24). As Williamson et al. (2017) noted, this strategic choice of whether to disclose can have an impact on workplace functioning, flexibility, and commitment and further has an impact on their relationships outside of the workplace. Others reported that there was a difference between a public persona and their private persona. There is a belief that the public persona or their work-life persona

had to fit within certain roles and set certain stereotypes, and, as previously mentioned, a fear that there would be a negative response if they disclosed who they were to their colleagues.

Some participants reported that they would not feel comfortable disclosing their gay identity if they managed a project or team due to negative perceptions, specific concerns about their capability and capacity to lead and how the company would see that individual, or also how the team members might see them as leaders. For gay people, certain types of roles – particularly if they were leading a team to negotiate a particular set of long-term agreements – might not be consistent with the image of what it takes to be a tough negotiator, which is somebody that is tough, competitive, and masculine. This, once again, conforms to the stereotype of what it is to be a negotiator and what sorts of stereotypes are associated with having a stigmatised identity (Huang & Low, 2018). One participant stated, 'I was in a room with numerous heterosexual men and didn't feel disclosing would do me any favours' (R26). Moreover, there was some discomfort about revealing identity, for it might have an impact on how others would view their ability. Adams & Webster (2017) looked at the disclosure of a stigmatised identity and found that it did have an impact and that this is related to the manner of disclosure and timing. They suggested that when individuals are considering disclosing their gay identity, they find ways to normalise this and reduce the perceived difference.

Individuals with a gay identity in the workplace have advanced in their careers, without the benefit of role models in business to connect with and follow their example. Discont et al. (2016) acknowledged the invisibility of gay identity in the workplace – even where organisations try to foster an inclusive environment, and there are still inherent challenges (Priola, 2015). One individual stated that individuals within the

professions should provide mentoring and support and model this sort of behaviour for younger professionals. As discussed earlier, while participants mentioned that senior leaders who have a gay identity should be visible and mentor and provide support, this comes with inherent challenges, even for the most senior of executive, as Benozzo, Pizzorno, and Bell (2015) confirmed when reviewing the experience of Lord Browne, former CEO of BP, a gay man who did not disclose his gay identity. Individuals would prefer to hide their identity rather than disclose, and even occupations that were more accepting of gay individuals had some hesitation.

Individuals reported that they definitely had a split persona – within work and outside – which is something that Barretto, Ellemers and Banal (2006) recognised as the ability to 'pass' as an identity management strategy. Participants echoed what Clair et al. (2015) explored when they deflected the conversation when they did not feel comfortable discussing what they had done outside of work. Participants mentioned this discomfort at the beginning of a meeting or negotiation where there would be a period of 'icebreaking' conversation that, in many cases, would require individuals to engage in a series of coping mechanisms to manage these interactions (Collins & Callahan, 2012). What is 'normal' for this type of conversation is for people to look for commonality and a shared social identity, and participants would discuss their partners, wives, husbands, or their children. So, there was a real sense that gay people were being excluded. As a result, they would shut down the conversation fairly quickly, thus causing discomfort/distance and consequently reducing the opportunity to build trust. This behaviour was also confirmed by Newhesier (2017), who noted that individuals who attempted to develop interpersonal relationships recognised that their gay identity would not be accepted, so they would often go through a series of deflecting behaviours, or when asked about certain activities would shut down or learn to build

barriers, because they would prefer not to reveal anything that might cause some discomfort between the individuals. I suggest that this contradictory behaviour does not provide the desired result and instead builds barriers and an opportunity for interpersonal conflict and misunderstanding. This, too, is another area that needs further research.

    Gay Identity in the Workplace – Bias and Prejudice. In the literature, I presented the role of unconscious decision-making – the brain's way of making a shortcut, and how this can lead to biased-based behaviours (Bargh & Morsela, 2008). These shortcuts are useful: they help us make sense of the world and allow individuals to function, providing them with a predetermined set of responses, based on these stimuli (Blair, 2011). I asked participants about this and E12 acknowledged an unconscious bias: 'I guess it's that somebody is biased towards you, [and] has an opinion towards you, without really realising it.' Individuals reported that they had experienced the impact of the unconscious bias-based behaviours of others. I suggest that even in an accepting environment, individuals still operate based on life experience, which included biases that they have amassed over a period of time. Some reported that when people knew that an individual was gay or their gay identity was revealed, they did not engage in conversation because of this information alone. Further, they did not make eye contact and were openly hostile once they heard remarks made by others. This behaviour was found to be true in Einastoditrr's (2015) enquiry into discrimination in the British workplace, specifically that when behaviour is tolerated, or statements that seem to be ambiguous are made, this can harmful on the individual. Participants remarked that even their managers made comments about them and posted certain remarks on either websites or emails, therefore evidencing their open hostility. This is

behaviour that Broomfield (2015) found to be common, and further reinforced the need for gay people to manage their identity in order to suit the environment.

There was also some recognition of the challenge of being aware of these unconscious biases, with E10 stating, 'You may think that you are a tolerant liberal, but, in other ways, you are not.' This statement highlighted the possibility that someone could be 'consciously' accepting of a person and their identity, but their 'unconscious' thought and reaction could, potentially, contradict this, and thus any biased-based behaviour could go unnoticed if they are subtle or only recognisable by those sensitive to these signals, such as microaggressions (Galupo & Resnick, 2016).

Workplace Negotiation

One of the aims of this research project is to identify whether disclosure of gay identity has an impact on the outcome of a workplace negotiation. Therefore, it was essential that a negotiation was tested, and this was achieved by engaging in a series of negotiations in the experiment. The outcome of a negotiation was also tested in the last study, an anticipated negotiation in which individuals were asked questions based on the information in the scenario.

Workplace Negotiation – Environment

In Study 2, I asked about the environment of the negotiation process and focused on participants' response to questions about their work environment. They stated that there are some environments in which they avoid contact or do not engage in conversation, or it is difficult to discuss something that would reveal personal information. One respondent noted, 'I mostly have consciously steered conversations, discussions, and interactions away from my personal life' (R12). As stated earlier, identity management strategies can be tiring for individuals to maintain. They allow other people to make assumptions, thus presenting a false identity, which is a coping

mechanism that individuals with lower status have learned to adopt (Marrs & Staton, 2016; Reid, 2015).

What emerged was that participants actively feared revealing their gay identity in a negotiation, with one stating, 'I worry that my sexual orientation will play into the kind of clients I get' (E6), while another said '[…] that there would be certain assumptions – if you're a gay man, you would be then seen as a pussycat' (E7). Individuals noted that they had experienced repercussions, with one stating, 'It has caused difficulties in the past.' In addition, another said, 'I think it would likely have an impact.' However, one participant reported, 'I don't think it's relevant' (R15). I could not ask the participant who stated that he did not think it was relevant, because that would have influenced the results of the next series of questions. I suggest that it was relevant, for, in that one response, he mentioned that it was not relevant and used the word 'never' on several occasions. This perhaps could be engaging in some form of identity management strategy, or there is a decision that their work and home persona should remain separate. Individuals often believe that they have the ability to segment their world between work and home. Sedlovskaya (2013) referred to this as schematisation. Research has shown that this is not possible for emotions from one domain will have an impact on others (Bell et al., 2012). The challenge with this approach is that it has an impact on developing and maintaining relationships.

In any negotiation, the goal is to reach an agreement, and individuals will adopt a range of strategic decisions that are based on prior negotiation experience. I have already identified the impact of unconscious bias and the identity management strategies that individuals need to consider, all while trying to engage with another person or group, in order to reach a decision. The literature has identified how a collaborative approach produces the best result; however, this is when individuals are

able to build a relationship and maximise opportunities (Malhotra, D. and Bazerman, 2008). Therefore, individuals have to consider whether to disclose their gay identity as part of building a relationship, in order to generate a collaborative environment. Or, like the conditions introduced in the experiment, disclose their gay identity but offer little opportunity for engagement and to establish commonality – something which is a social identity strategy to heighten similarities and reduce differences.

Participants stated that in a negotiation they would try and minimise the impact of their gay identity disclosure, and, by doing this, they would try and assess whether it was appropriate, how it would be revealed, and in what manner. Some said that it could be revealed in a casual conversation rather than part of the formal negotiation process. However, as was discovered from the results of Study 4, this active disclosure could have an impact on perception. What the results from Study 4 might suggest is that disclosure at the beginning of the negotiation process might indicate an individual who is assertive and has self-confidence, and while this might be a learned coping mechanism (Derks, van Laar & Ellemers, 2006), the perception is that they could be a tougher negotiator, which would influence their negotiation opponent's strategy (Mnookin, 1993).

There were, within the negotiation context, some individuals who said they would avoid disclosing altogether because there would be a presumption of rejection and they were concerned about repercussions within the negotiation, but also within their role and function within the organisation. As mentioned earlier, participants had seen other individuals within the workplace environment suffer as a result of the disclosure. This had a negative reaction, as individuals within that negotiation process were hostile and dismissive, having learnt from the experience of others (Resnick & Galupo, 2019; Rumens, 2016).

I found that participants were concerned that if they did reveal their gay identity (in some situations), they would be seen as not being competent or lacking the temperament or ability to focus on being a tough negotiator. While this might be a preferred coping mechanism, it produces a strain on the relationship and this constant controlling and monitoring of behaviour can cause barriers and have a counter-productive impact on workplace relationships.

Workplace Negotiation – Results of an Agreement

The split between acceptance and not having an impact, and the underlying unconscious message of the characteristics of being a gay man versus a straight man, was also confirmed by the results of the experiment. In the experiment, participants were asked if they would be anxious negotiating with a partner who had a gay identity. These questions were asked of participants when the Confederate disclosed their gay identity or their straight identity. The results showed that there was very little difference in the level of anxiety in whether the Confederate disclosed that they were gay or whether they were straight. This supports the research about early disclosure and imagined contact: that it can increase acceptance (Lehmiller et al., 2010). Therefore, the time spent negotiating should be similar because of the stated comfort with a Confederate. As stated by (National Defense Research Institute, 2010), the ability to share personal information and build a relationship is important. The results of the questionnaire given before and after each experiment, which included imagined contact and actual experience, as mentioned, were similar. It was not until all of the results were analysed did I realise that, in every negotiation, the time spent negotiating was consistent, except there was a difference between those with a gay and straight identity. The participants spent half as much time negotiating with the Confederate with a gay identity than they did with a straight Confederate. So, while participants stated in the

questionnaire that they were comfortable negotiating with a participant who had a gay

identity, their actions did not support this statement.

The difference between conscious thought and unconscious action could explain

something that emerged in the results of the experiment, where a participant did not

state that they felt uncomfortable negotiating with a confederate who revealed their gay

identity. However, the results were significantly different compared to the individuals

who revealed a straight identity. As discussed earlier, the results showed that

participants in the *gay opponent* (*n = 13*) condition achieved a significantly *higher* final

price (*M* agreed amount = 7534.62, *SD* = 1017.10) than participants in the *straight opponent*

(*n = 12*) condition (*M* minutes = 7066.67, *SD* = 1242.67). This raises the question of

conscious stated belief and whether there is a difference between this and unconscious

action. This is, again, another area that needs further research. It would be interesting to

see an fMRI imaging as the experiment took place, especially noting if there were

different regions in the brain that would be engaged when individuals were negotiating

with a straight person versus a person who revealed a gay identity.

I did not assess additional factors, such as preference, proxemics, or nonverbal

communication. However, this would be an interesting area to explore. What this might

suggest is the ability to make statements that are socially acceptable or might even

consciously agree with the statements. As we are dealing with invisible social identity,

much of this is about perception, labelling, experience, and unconscious decision-

making, therefore suggesting that it might be possible to do something, to say that you

agree with a particular cause of action, and do something that could contradict or

compromise the state of belief (Bargh & Morsella, n.d.). This is consistent with

observations by participants in Study 2, the influence of unconscious decision-making

(Pitts et al., n.d.), and societal heteronormativity (Habarth, 2015).

In this project, I used the broader definition of negotiation as provided earlier, specifically for ease of understanding and participation. In the experiment, I tested a distributive negotiation, and I was not able to include elements which would have created value, perhaps improving collaboration and the interpersonal relationship. The definition of negotiation was also meant to conclude those negotiations which may go unnoticed in a workplace environment, as they are subtle, but have all of the elements of a negotiation. Individuals in the workplace engage in a series of ongoing transactions, with one or more individuals who need to reach an agreement but might have divergent interests or underlying needs. These will often go unnoticed as negotiations because of the frame of reference. However, there is a need to maintain a relationship. Also, when there is conflict in these workplace interactions, this is where there is tension and can lead to a breakdown in communication. This needs further investigation and, while I was able to explore the impact of disclosure of gay identity in the workplace, I was not able to test the differences, which would not only demonstrate the business need but also provide financial and structural implications.

The purpose of this research was to identify whether the disclosure of gay identity had an impact on the outcome of a workplace negotiation. Having explored and examined the results of the four studies, together with a discussion of the literature, I can confirm that the results make a significant contribution to the body of knowledge, and found that *'Disclosure of gay identity does have an impact on the outcome of workplace negotiation'*.

Chapter Nine – Limitations and Future Direction

Participants in the Studies

One of the limitations of the project was the inability to work with a broader population. The interviews were limited to a group of individuals who shared many of the same characteristics (similar profession, education, and social class), although this provided some useful information to establish themes. However, I was not able to engage with individuals who shared a wider demographic, such as those whose first language is not English (opening the opportunity to engage with immigrants and first-generation citizens, who may live in a more insular community), who was from a different social class and did not readily identify as being gay (based on the definition provided earlier). I mentioned social class as being relevant to gay identity because the prototypical gay man is often thought of as a working professional from a middle- to upper-class background. The interview sample from this dissertation conforms to this stereotype of gay men. It is possible that the results could have been very different if I had access to a sample of gay men from working-class backgrounds, from rural areas, or gay men who were not as comfortable with their gay identities.

With regard to difference, while I was fortunate enough to interact with a fairly broad range of ages (21 to 72), I was unable to focus on whether there was a grouping of attitudes based on age and gay identity. It would also have been of interest to look at what differences age has on perception and self-identity, and how these age groups interacted within the age group and between age groups.

In order to classify participants and their responses, this dissertation tends to adopt a more simplistic categorisation of 'gay' and 'straight' that ignores the complexities of queer identity and gender fluidity. While there was some opportunity to

explore the influence of heteronormativity on gay persona, this is certainly one topic for further discussion in future research.

My research was focused on invisible, stigmatised social identity. However, I recognised that visible stigmatised social identity could have a huge impact on interacting with others. Another limitation was the lack of ethnic diversity. So, while I was engaging with participants that the majority would consider 'diverse' (not straight), within this group, there was a limited range/diversity. Further, while the studies produced evidence to support my claim, this population was not so diverse that these could be applied generally to the gay male population. For something that is more generalisable to a broader population with a gay identity, it would require a project with a broader scope and more significant resources. There might have been some very interesting comparisons between a gay man with a white identity and a gay man with a black identity, to see what has the greatest impact and what characteristic causes the greatest difference with regard to social identity and the ability to be socially mobile. I also engaged with a male population but did not have the opportunity to engage with individuals who identified as being female.

Structure of Studies

I noted that the first study had a limited response rate, even though it had been distributed to a large number of potential participants (1,000+). In reviewing the response rate data produced by Qualtrics, I saw that over 100 people started the questionnaire, yet only 26 completed the instrument. I observed from the information available that individuals seemed to be dissuaded from completing the qualitative portion of the questionnaire, which was the first section, and never moved onto the quantitative portion (see Appendix A). The qualitative portion asked individuals to recall a negotiation and then asked about their gay identity and the impact that this had

on their negotiation with others. This requirement to reflect so soon in completing the instrument acted as a deterrent. Therefore, if I were to repeat the study, I would include this section at the end, easing individuals into answering the questions and helping them to reflect, so they would proceed to answer the qualitative portion of the questionnaire.

Negotiation Experiment

It was essential that I would be able to test the difference between negotiation outcomes between those with a gay identity and a straight identity, which was included in the experiment (Study 3). However, I was unable to compare the negotiation styles of distributive (dividing value) and integrative (creating value) negotiation. In a distributive negotiation, there is little opportunity to create value, which reduces the opportunity to encourage creativity, build relationships, and stimulate communication. If I had the opportunity for participants to engage in an integrative negotiation, where individuals could add value to the negotiation, this would encourage communication, an understanding about what is important to each party, and opportunities to identify underlying interests and opportunities for flexibility and concession. I also used a very broad definition of negotiation, and there could have been different results if the context or scope of the negotiation had been more prescriptive, such as an industry-focused, deal-making negotiation or a fixed-term employment contract.

Maintaining Neutrality

In the introduction, I mentioned that as a gay male professional who has had to manage his invisible stigmatised identity for strategic reasons, many of the participants' personal narratives relayed during the interviews resonated with me. While much of what was being said reflected my own experience, I had to be aware of not overly empathising with the individuals, and not to share my own views and experiences. Upon reflection, I realised that my interview style was quite measured to ensure

consistency. As I was listening to the responses to the questions, I noticed the damage that gay identity management has on interpersonal relationships and career expectations.

It has taken me several years to realise that a limitation of this project will not provide a solution or answer to all of the questions about gay identity and acceptance. It will also not put right all of the perceived 'wrongs' that have been inflicted by straight men and the dominant heteronormative society. Even now, when I have evidence to support my claim, it is limited in scope, and it will still take time, effort, and energy to translate these results into something that the business community might consider important. These limitations are my own and the reality of what can be achieved with one PhD project. I believe that a project like this is worthwhile and should continue to be studied.

Future Direction

In the limitations section, I gave an indication of some of the areas that would benefit from further research. There are some additional areas that could be explored, such as how neuroscience could inform our knowledge. What is known is that hormone levels and synaptic responses provide an indication of how we process information. The experiment conducted in Study 3 might be repeated while reviewing participants' brain activity using an fMRI. Another possible direction of future research is to examine generational interactions and identify at what point 'maleness' becomes the dominant unconscious driver.

The challenge of conducting research is the limitations imposed by the conditions in which studies are conducted, because of either timing or access to participants. Another area that should be considered is to recreate some of these studies in the context of a far larger population and thus generate significant results. This could be done in conjunction with organisations, such as Stonewall or The Human Rights

Campaign, both of which have conducted attitude surveys. The results might then lead to further rethinking of the way in which diversity and inclusion in the workplace are approached.

Now the question is, *Do individuals negotiating with somebody who reveals an identity which is not the same as their own feel a sense of being uncomfortable? Is there a lack of connection? Is there a lack of interpersonal dialogue that can happen as part of the negotiation process?* All of this is, of course, something that can be investigated in future research. What we do we know from the results, is that when thinking about what sort of negotiation approach straight individuals would have, and how comfortable they would negotiating, with a straight person as opposed to a gay person, there were no stated underlying concerns. However, what the results do show is that there was a significant difference in the end results.

The results of the studies should provide further evidence that, while organisations and society have been effective in protecting gay men in the workplace – both through proactive HR policies and by interpreting local and national regulations – the intended results might not be realised in practice. Further work must be conducted by examining the role of unconscious and conscious decision-making and hegemonic masculinity. Indeed, while it appears that active or passive disclosure of gay identity appears not to influence behaviour, further work must be conducted to understand what does.

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Appendix

APPENDIX

Contents

Ranse Howell is the Director of International Operations at JAMS, the largest private dispute resolution provider in the world and works between London and Washington, DC. He leads a global team whose primary responsibility is to support JAMS' efforts to promote a solution based approach to commercial conflict.

Ranse is an expert in negotiation and dispute resolution and was a consultant for CEDR and also provided enhanced negotiation, leadership and influencing skills to numerous in-house clients, who seek to improve inter and intra-team functioning, these have included Siemens, Tetrapak, Deloitte's, Allen & Overy, numerous Lloyd's syndicates, Intel, BBC, MTR, IHG, KBC Bank, Deutsche Bank, Commerzbank. Ranse has also worked with numerous international organisations providing mediation and dispute resolution training and these include EIB, EBRD, UNHCR, IFC and ILO. He was project lead on a multi-year initiative to introduce mediation services into the court systems in Moldova and worked extensively with the Ministry of Justice on adoption and integration of the Mediation Law. In addition, Ranse has written extensively on negotiation and pro-active dispute resolution methods and he assisted in the development of CEDR's Mastering Negotiation book, which was published in September 2015.

Consultancy and Business Development

Ranse has been instrumental in the development of a range of conflict management, leadership and negotiation skills, products and services. He has taken the lead on many key business development projects, to include sector specific growth and targeted marketing (banking, insurance and public sector) and was also the head of the CEDR Ireland office (2013-2015). In one year alone

For example, Ranse has acted as Lead Consultant for a three-year multi-stage project ADR transformation project in Moldova with the objectives of promoting and facilitating the use of commercial mediation and arbitration; and to enhance the practice of enforcing foreign arbitral awards. This work has included arbitration and mediation skills training; reviewing and assisting in the development of mediation and arbitration legislation; undertaking a legal and institutional assessment of existing mediation and arbitration frameworks; development of recommendations on mediation guidelines; designing and implementing 3 court mediation pilots including one in the Chisinau Court of Appeal; as well as capacity building an ADR centre based within the Moldovan Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Mediation

Ranse originally trained and worked as a mediator in New York, then California and mediated a variety of cases ranging from family, special education and commercial cases. He then received CEDR accreditation in 2006 and is currently a member of the CEDR mediation panel and regularly mediates a broad range of commercial disputes (real estate, banking, construction, personal injury, banking and finance).

APPENDIX B – Study 1

Study 1 - Questionnaire

Whatever your position/role, you will be engaged in some form of mutual exchange or interpersonal communication, some of which are explicitly recognised as a negotiation, whereas in other cases, this will be more discrete. **Negotiation** is a dialogue between two or more people intending to reach an agreed beneficial outcome.

Section One - Individual impression

1   Think of a recent negotiation (where you were either a participant or lead) and write a few sentences to describe the negotiation

2   Thinking about the negotiation example you mentioned, did you disclose your sexual orientation during that negotiation and how did the other party know?

3   Do you think the disclosure or nondisclosure of your sexual orientation may have had an impact on the interaction and outcome?

4   Reflecting on this negotiation what (if anything) would you now do differently as a result of this experience and why?

5   Were you able to talk to others about this experience and what impressions did they/you have as a result?

6   Within this negotiation did you feel that your sexuality had an impact on your interpersonal relationship with others, please describe how.

Section Two – Disclosure: Making something known in negotiations

Indicate your opinion to the following questions using the scale provided below each question
1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

1 Do you think other people in negotiations are aware of your sexual orientation?

2 To what extent do you think that your sexual orientation plays a role when you negotiate?

3 Have you ever disclosed your sexual orientation in a negotiation?

4 Has your sexual orientation EVER played a role in a negotiation?

- If yes please elaborate

Section Three – Working with others

Indicate your opinion to the following statements using the scale provided below each question

1 My colleagues/management are comfortable with my sexual orientation

2 I have felt comfortable disclosing my sexual orientation to colleagues

3 I felt comfortable disclosing my sexual orientation to external business partners

4 I am a member of the LGBTQI or gay/straight alliance group at work

5 I have experienced bias by others because of my sexual orientation

6 I have a separate in work and out of work persona

7 I have experienced conflict as a result of the disclosure of my sexual orientation

8 It is important for me to trust individuals I work with

9 Straight men respond differently towards gay men than straight women, in a negotiation

10 Straight women respond differently towards lesbians than straight men, in a negotiation

11 I could jeopardise relationships with clients if I disclose my sexual orientation

12 I have experienced rejection in the workplace, when I have disclosed my sexual orientation

13 I feel comfortable with being myself at work

14 My cultural background has had an impact on my ability to disclose my sexual orientation

15 I have experienced institutional discrimination based on my sexual orientation

16 My chances of promotion are limited if I disclose my sexual orientation

Section Four – Negotiation experience

Indicate your opinion to the following statements using the scale provided below each question

1 I have had formal negotiation training

2 I regularly negotiate as part of my role

3 The outcome of a negotiation is important to me

4 I regularly mentor/assist others in negotiation

5 I regularly engage in reflection or review lessons learned at the end of a negotiation

Section Four - Demographic information

1 Age (please fill in)

_____

2 Gender

Male

Female

Transgender

_____

3 Sexuality

Gay

Lesbian

Heterosexual

Trans

Bisexual

Queer

Intersexual

_____

4 Ethnic origin/nationality

White

Hispanic or Latino

Black or African American

Native American or American Indian

Asian / Pacific Islander

Other

5 Education (level)

Secondary school (GCSE)

Sixth form college (A level)

Some college credit, no degree

Trade/technical/vocational training

Bachelor's degree

Master's degree

Professional degree

Doctorate degree

6 Job role/type

Employed – Administrator

Employed – Manager

Employed – Snr Manager/Executive

Self-employed

Out of work and looking for work

Out of work but not currently looking for work

A homemaker

A student

Military

Retired

Unable to work

_____

This forms part of a larger research project and if you would be willing to participate in a confidential and fully anonymised interview, with the researcher, please contact me on the following email address: r.howell@sussex.ac.uk

Study One - Coding

Negotiation Description

Leading a negotiating to implement a long-term business relationship

Salary negotiations. Negotiating for additional support.

Out of cycle pay increase to bring me in line with the market on salary. Discussion with HR on a new hire coming into my role the new hire was coming from was much lower than our base salary. Delivering a project for a work group and had the scope and feasibility to deliver expected trainings in a short time frame. As a manager every year I need to discuss and agree associates stack rank against the members in other teams for the department. Was representing my department within a to negotiate what role we would play in the remediation efforts for clients and how we could execute on that which also completion.

Appraisal

Business Discussion

LGBT meeting

Director of nursing …through head hunter. Also clinical coordinator wanted director of nusing

My recent job interview.

Getting the company to adopt a new methodology for solving a regulatory issue

Getting the company buy in to use technological solutions

Discussing an annual leave arrangement with a line manager.

1. supervising people 2. discussion of a possible grant, 3. lecturing fellows

Buying and selling homes, dealing with contactors

Task assignment; workload distribution;

I took on additional responsibilities after discovering a superior in my office committed fraud. I negotiated a new title and promoted & given lending authority. In another case, I wanted advancement at my job & was turned down in favor of so years with the company, but less experience doing the job I wanted. I interviewed elsewhere & negotiated a different pr them I had an offer elsewhere, but would stay if I could advance. They chose to keep me & I was promoted. I applied for a work experience with a government agency, but with very applicable personal experience & was turned down. Future re departmentsome were given to longer term employees based on years employed instead of experience.

Time off

Negoitating for sarlary increase

Negotiations related to practice in health care management that involve both legal and ethical issues.

Negotiations related between patients and their families and health care providers

1. Who will cover which job duties during the maternity/vacation/sick leave of a coworker.

2. Establishing responsibilities of tasks during a project and the deadlines.

Job tiltle and responsibilities

During a mandatory meeting of all medical center staff, the human resources director was telling what all of the benefits facility changed corporations. I stood up and asked, "Of course, all these benefits are applicable to Gay couples, right?" CORPORATION GOES BY THE LAW. YOU'RE PARTNER IS NOT ELIGIBLE FOR BENEFITS. (This was well before marriage equali reason for denying my benefits to my partner was, of course, HOMOPHOBIA!)

I was due for a 90 day review and had to negotiate what type of pay increase I was expecting.

Negotiations over salary and workload would be the most typical. But also performance appraisals.

I frequently meet with my manager to discuss how work is going and I usually speak with them regarding making my wor efficient. Sometimes this can include speaking to my manager about something that they do which is bothering me sligh from working so effectively.

Arrangements for induction of new staff with members of me team.   Discussions about tasks related to accreditations for upcoming staff training event and what needs to happen, by when and by whom.

Getting a promotion at work
Getting a job
Finding people to work with me
Ability to acquire new business

Interview for current role

I spend a significant amount of my work time on negotiations of one sort of another. Either upwards with members of tl
PVCs, HoS, HoD, head of group, sideways (academic colleagues, members of professional services teams, other Universit
externally (key partners)

Discussing workload with the team

Discussing annual leave

Discussing budgets

Negotiations over pay. Negotiations over property sale completion dates.

I often need to negotiate around working resource and moving around resource to focus on different work processes.

Negotiating the money owed to us by a provider who had made accounting errors in their dealings with us.

Negotiating how many tender panels I was going to support a colleague with.

we were meeting with the Division of GP to discuss a new service

I organised the meeting
I brought a man from the organisation that would deliver the service
the GPs deferred to the other clearly hero man
wouldn't look at me
when i spoke they asked questions to the other man
who then had to look at me and ask me to answer
Buying a house

Mean = 44

In work	Outside of work	Age
x		50
x		38
x		36
x		55
x		46
x		48
x		47
x		54
	x	41
x		57
x		53
x		21
x		29
x		43
x		48
x		24
x		72
x		37
x		48
x		23
x		51

x
x   37

x   55

x   32
x   29
x   53

x   32

x   51
                    x   53

Does sexual orientation ever play a role in negotiation

I think that is sometimes hard to suppress who you are...even if you try

as previously stated, I do think being open and candid about my reason for moving to the UK and seeking a position and job opportunity that fit my background and skills helped me in that situation. Because I was likeable and it was a good feeling on those who were looking to hire me in region to be part of bringing me over for my relationship, it played a direct role in their willingness to sponsor me and give me a chance despite changing lines of business and moving regions.

When trying to move the D&I agenda at work or when having appraisal discussion with my peers, managers or staff

not sure how-its not always conscious

It had a negative impact 1 time in my life

Need for time to care for spouses parents, discussions about no work life

My sexual orientation was once a requirement, which I was unaware of until after I started working. It was a small company with 99% female employees who wanted to hire a gay man because they felt a gay man would provide some protection, as they were in a bad neighborhood & having a gay man would be good because the girls would get along better with a gay man instead of a straight man, plus gay men don't have kids, so they can work late & overtime without families to support or take time away from working.

When trying to connect at a LGBTQ family level while keeping the relationship professional, as long as there was relevance.

Again it differs in different countries but it has affected my approach to the negotiations in hostile environments and I would not confirm my sexual orientation in such locations.

See comments in previous page.

I think the fact I was very open helped gain trust.

sometimes mild flirting with someone of the same sexual orientation can play a role

i feel the example i gave where 2 older male GPs blatantly ignored me in the room where we discussed how to integrate a new service. It was difficult to get anywhere and they asked me more questions via the other person than any other GPs had done.

Not sure

Yes = Green
No = Red
Maybe = Yellow

Positive	Negative	Neutal	Relationship with others
x			
x			as previously stated, I do think being open and candid about my reason for moving to the UK When trying to move the D&I agenda at work or when having appraisal discussion with my peers, managers or staff
	x		
	x		
x			My sexual orientation was once a requirement
x			When trying to connect at a LGBTQ family level
			approach to the negotiations in hostile environments and I would not confirm my sexual orientation in such locations.
x			I think the fact I was very open helped gain trust.
x			sometimes mild flirting with someone of the same sexual orientation can play a role
	x		

Sense of self

I think that is sometimes hard to suppress who you are.

not sure how-its not always conscious

impact 1 time in my life

Have you disclosed your sexual orientation prior to negotiating?

Not really. Through casual conversation they might have suspected

Yes. I worked for the Bank in Boston, Massachusetts, USA and was looking to transfer with the bank to London. As part o
opportunity in the EMEA region was because my long term boyfriend if from London and after two years of long distance
driver for me looking for a move, that I would cover relocation expenses and have no expectation on the Bank in London

If it is appropriate or if there are some chit-chat beforehand, I will always be honest about my partner or what I have don

Knew party worked in paat for 5years

no

No

no

Because I work so closely with people and run a program for gay men people know I am gay.

No

Yes; casual conversation about home or office space decor

Yes. It was disclosed on the application n detail and how this would be beneficial to the position.

no

no

None

Yes, more in the manner. As I am actively involved with the campus LGBTQ student orgs and the involvement comes up f

No

I made sure that it was common knowledge throughout the medical center that I'm Gay. I also let everyone know that m

Yes. My HR supervisor added me on Facebook. He then told many people at work that I was gay.

No

Again, My colleagues are aware of my sexual orientation so I've not made a specific disclosure of my sexuality.

No

No or implicitly

No

No, I can't see the relevance

Yes, disclosed within the work place

No

never

As this was a colleague in my office/team it probably came up while discussing plans for the weekend with â€˜my partne

no

no

Yes = Green
No = Red
Maybe = Yellow

Yes = Green
No = Red
Maybe = Yellow

Positive	Negative	Relationship with others	Sense of self
			casual conversation
x		Buidling relationship Personal connection	
		work closely	
x		casual conversation	
x			
x			Active involve
x			Made sure common knowledge
x		Facebook	
x		colleagues are aware	
	x		can't see the relevance
x			disclosed in the workplace
	x		
x			

Have you concealed your sexual orientation?

Yes...in some settings it is not appropriate or permitted to be gay

Yes, because I used the fact that I was not looking for relocation expenses and had a place to live with my boyfriend when
for gaining the banks support in transferring me to the UK. Working for a large international bank I had the confidence a
thrives on diversity and being inclusive, so did not fear that this would inhibit my chances.

No unless it will help the discussion for example if it is a diversity inclusion meeting or if the topic of the meeting is appr
No

My sexual orientation was never part of any negotiation or questions during the interview process.
No
no
no

Yes, I worked for Mcfain and ass. Private research firm. They fired me due to one of my co workers disclosing that I was ga

Yes; early in my career out of fear of rejection.
Yes. Most of the time I felt I needed to conceal my sexual orientation because in previous job experiencesearch I was disc
attempted to fire me because he was prejudiced. I always worried that knowledge of my sexual orientation might cause
yes
yes

Multiple times. My attitude is that unless it is something that directly ties in with my orientation. Otherwise sexual orie

Yes, always. I feel uncomfortable about the disclosure and I evaluate how the disclosure s relevant to the job at hand. Wh

I would because that doesnâ€™t come up in conversation

ABSOLUTELY NOT ! ! ! !
Yes. At my current job they asked about my "husband". I skirted their questions because I was afraid they wouldn't look a
not hire me. I live and work in a small rural town. It's not very accepted here.
I may have concealed my sexual orientation but probably not directly related to the negotiations at hand.
No.
No, but there was no relevance between such work discussions and my orientation.
No

Yes. When I was younger I would hide my sexuality in interviews and new jobs.
Not for many years, in my work environment in the 80s I would often deflect questions about my personal life at work
Yes, I was in a room with numerous heterosexual men and didnâ€™t feel disclosing would do me any favours

I was dealing with a client, who was a very big client of the firm and one who I wanted to keep happy. He was a devout ca
'traditional values' and I felt he was a lot more on board with me assuming that I was straight
never
I donâ€™t think so no. In situation 1 itâ€™s quite a formal contractual situation in which my personal life doesnâ€™t re

i simply don't mention anything about my life
avoid discussing my partner
stay neutral

in the situation i described they all spoke of their families
i stayed quiet
yes always

Yes = Green
No = Red
Maybe = Yellow

Yes	No	Neutral	Negative impact	Life experience	Relationship
x			in some settings it is not appropriate or permitted to be gay		
x					if it is a diversity inclusion meeting or if the topic of the meeting is appropriate
	x				
	x				
				My sexual orientation was never part of any negotiation or questions during the interview process.	
	x				
	x				
	x				
	x				
x				They fired me due to one of my co workers disclosing that I was gay	
x					
x					
x					
x					
x				My attitude is that unless it is something that directly ties in with my orientatio	

x

how the disclosure s relevant to the job at hand. What is the relevance to disclose?

I would because that doesnâ€™t come up in conversation

x

ABSOLUTELY NOT ! ! ! !

x

When I was younger I would hide my sexuality in interviews and new jobs.

x

x

x

x

x

i simply don't mention anything about my life

x
x

Sense of self

Yes; early in my career out of fear of rejection.

I feel uncomfortable about the disclosure

assuming that I was straight

Would other party knowing about your sexual orientation have an impact (negative)?

Not really...although am not sure

Not in a negative way. Not sure it had a positive outcome either. I mostly just felt comfortable disclosing my sexuality a work somewhere that is not inclusive anyway.

Potentially if the topic we were discussing was targetted to gay or sexual orientation. Otherwise i don't think it is relevar

No

I had no impact.

No I suspect not but never tested the theory

no

I am sure it might. I really am not sure how it might impact the relationship but I am sure its a factor.

Yes I was fired

Yes; better consideration of external needs

Yes, I've learned that people have negative opinions about gay people, and even those ok with gay people fear that gay pe be hired.

yes

yes

The one time i revealed my orientation to a patient they realized they were not alone in the situation

Not necessarily, but I am still uncomfortable disclosing.

Idk

Hell yes! The corporation used the law to prevent my partner from getting benefits that he would have gotten if only he

It might have had a negative impact. I'm unsure. Sometimes I think the perceived discrimination is all in my head.

I have worked in a number of different countries and my response would differ according to the environment present in If you are asking this within the UK and within my current employment, the answer would be no. But I have worked in c would have been very awkward and could have affected the negotiations.

Not at all.

No, I think this is unlikely.

Perhaps, live in a state where diversity matters. Also might suggest I have the ability to work a lot (donâ€™t have kids)

Yes. I think I've been turned down for roles because of sexuality. Some people were visibly uncomfortable when idisvusse

Anyone who knows me, knows my sexual orientation, for people who I am negotiating with who do not know me, they v orientation and thus I can't see how it could affect the outcome

Thereâ€™s no evidence either way to know if that would have been the case

No

i am openly gay, therefore my sexual orientation is known to everyone beforehand
No

i have outlined how i was excluded from a round table discussion of 4 men. the 2 x older GPs simply ignored me. It was b
not sure

Yes = Green
No = Red
Maybe = Yellow

Postive	Negative	Relationship with others	Life experience
x		I mostly just felt comfortable disclosing my sexuality	
		Potentially if the topic we were discussing was targetted to gay or sexual orientation.	
x			
x			
x			
x			
	x		
	x		Yes I was fired
	x		
			I've learned that people have negative opinions about gay people
	x		
	x		
	x		
x		The one time i revealed my orientation to a patient they realized they were not alone in the situation	
			Hell yes! The corporation used the law to prevent my partner from getting benefits that he would have gotten if only he had a vagina!
	x		
			I have worked in a number of different countries and my response would differ according to the environment present in each of those countries.
x			
x			
			Yes. I think I've been turned down for roles because of sexuality. Some people were visibly uncomfortable when idisvussecir.
	x		
x		Anyone who knows me, knows my sexual orientation	
x			
x			

x		i am openly gay, therefore my sexual orientation is known to everyone beforehand
	x	i was excluded from a round table discussion of 4 men. the 2 x older GPs simply ignored me.

sense of self

sense of self
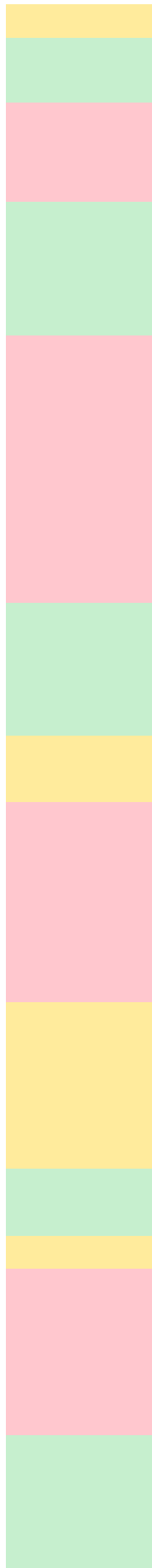
Does disclosure of gay identity make an impact (negative) on negotiation?

Yes…especially is they have preconceptions about what it is to be straight/gay. Also my own assumptions about what they must be thinking

I believe it could. It really depends on who you are negotiating with and the company culture. I work for a large international bank so have more confidence that I can be out and come to work as my true authentic self. That doesn't exclude me from the possibility though of negative outcomes as a result of being out or having my sexual orientation openly known as unconscious bias exists. People may have beliefs culturally or historically that they are not aware are shaping their thoughts and views. This could potentially cause someone to discriminate against me or not respond favourable to my position, views or needs. In some companies I am sure this is a big issue and isn't necessarily unconscious bias but openly biased. It could impact someone's view of your credibility or reputation, but in my case I have not knowingly experienced this.

Personally I think it is a case by case approach. As business people, we need to be able to ascertain when to disclose things. Being gay does not define me as a business person, it enhances me but at times it is not relevant.

I dont think so …nusing has many gay men

I would like to think my sexual orientation would not be part of any negotiations, nor should have any impact on any such negotiations. If it were, I would not be interested in continuing any connection where it would.

No I donâ€™t believe so

Yes

Yes. I think that staff in the past had issues about being supervised/managed by a gay man. This may happen especially with heterosexual men

Yes and no, I think of it to be a need to know basis! After a few meetings or negotiation I can usually fill the situation out

Relationships between coworkers are stronger and more healthy when orientation is known

Yes, I know other people prefer not to hire gay people based on their own religious beliefs, preconceived notions of how gay people behave, or their expectations of how a gay person will fit in with their existing staff.

Not sure

Maybe

In most situations my orientation is irrelevant, unless i am dealing with individuals from another region of the United States that consider any deviation in what is considered "normal" then i modify my behavior.

No. I don't believe there is any impact but I maybe completely wrong in that assumption.

It depends who it is

It most definitely did. I was "out." I was shut out of corporate benefits. I worked as much as hetros but got less because of my sexual orientation.

I just don't know for sure. Sometimes I think it definitely changes how others see me.

Again my response would be that it depends upon the context within that particular country and business environment. In my current employment, I do not think it would affect the negotiations.

I don't believe so.

Yes. At work I have mostly, conciously steered conversations, discussions and interactions, away from my personal life in order to avoid the issue. This typically means that I choose my words and actions very carefully, but I believe that this approach stems more from my own upbringing and background than an assessment of my work environment. I also think that the degree to which I influence and steer negotiations away from this area, depends on the person and their status, with whom I am negotiating.

Yes, I think living in an extremely liberal city that it is helpful. In a smaller city or southern city, I might feel less comfortable sharing or it might harm my chances.

Generally not.

I doubt it, I have not had to negotiate in an area where this would affect the area under negotiation

Yes, I think Iâ€™m heterosexual environment it â€˜can beâ€™ difficult to participate as an equal. Depending on the people

I think it would very depend of who I was negotiating with

In instances where I am negotiating with someone of the same sexual orientation, a small amount of 'flirting' may be used as leverage

Not massively, although it may take me out of any macho â€˜dick swingingâ€™ sort of competition in negotiating with straight men, allowing us to negotiate more calmly

i worry about bias or unconscious bias
i feel it can be handy when working with woman who seem to let their guard down when i disclose and engage in fun chat to build a relationship using my male gay life as a chance to chat with some fun
Yes - althoyugh depends on context

Yes = Green
No = Red
Maybe = Yellow

| Yes	No	Negative interaction	Relationship with others
x		Yes...especially is they have preconceptions about what it is to be straight/gay.	I work for a large international bank so have more confidence that I can be out and come to work as my true authentic self. That doesn't exclude me from the possibility though of negative outcomes as a result
x			
	x		I would like to think my sexual orientation would not be part of any negotiations, nor should have any impact on any such negotiations
	x		
	x		
	x		
	x		Relationships between coworkers are stronger and more healthy when orientation is known
x			

In most situations my orientation is irrelevant, unless i am dealing with individuals from another region of the United States t

x

x

Again my response would be that it depends upon the context within that particular country and business environment

x

At work I have mostly, conciously steered conversations, discussions and interactions, away from my personal life in order to avoid the issue. This typically means that I choose my words and actions very carefully, but I believe that this approach stems more from my own upbringing and background than an assessment of my work environment. I also think that the degree to which I influence and steer negotiations away from this area,

x

x

x

In instances where I am negotiating with someone of the same sexual orientation, a small amount of 'flirting' may be used as leverage

x

x
x

i worry about bias or unconscious bias

Study 2 - Interview

Negotiation is a dialogue between two or more people intending to reach an agreed beneficial outcome. Negotiations are NOT just limited to things like formal contracts. For the purpose of this study, a negotiation would also include examples like agreeing on work responsibilities with a supervisor or subordinate, debating the course of action for addressing a problem, or negotiating things like pay and promotions.

Interview

1. Using the definition of negotiation that has been supplied describe your negotiation experience
   a. Type of negotiation
   b. Parties/structure/purpose/outcome

2. How has your experience/understanding of negotiation changed over the years

   a. Can you think of some specific examples?
   b. What is the main reason for your change in approach/style?

3. Within these negotiations did you feel that your sexual orientation had an impact on your interpersonal relationship with others, please describe how.

4. Do you think the disclosure or nondisclosure of your sexual orientation may have had an impact on your interaction with others with in a negotiation?
   a. What about outcome?
   b. Did you reflect on this and how did this make you feel?

5. Reflecting on your experience in negotiation, would you change/amend your approach?
   a. How
   b. Why?

6. Have you ever disclosed your sexual orientation to other parties within a negotiation?
   a. Intentionally
   b. Implied
7. Have you ever intentionally withheld your sexual orientation to other parties within a negotiation?
   a. Why?
   b. What was the impact?
   c. How did this make you feel?

8. What are some of your concerns if you disclose your sexual orientation?

9. Do you think that your sexual orientation has had an impact on your interpersonal relationships with those contracting partners?

Unconscious bias definition -

10. What does unconscious/implicit bias mean to you?
11. What is your experience of interacting with others which was been motivated by their unconscious bias?
    a. How was this displayed?

12. What do you believe are the main challenges for unconscious bias not having an impact on the outcome of a negotiation?

13. Within your organization (place of work/business/university) do you feel that it is supportive of the LGBTQI community
    a. Do you feel comfortable within your organization?
    b. Why?

14. What needs to happen within your organizations to make it better?
    a. In society?

15. Anything else you would like to add?

Demographic information

1 Age_____ 2 Gender_____ 3 Sexuality_____

4 Ethnic origin/nationality_____ 5 Education (level)_____

6 Job role/type_____

Interviews

Nodes

Node	Description		
assessing people before disclosing so	The code refers to the actions undertaken to evaluate the people and their possible reactions, if you decide to disclose your SO One action described: make fun of the self	22	29
avoiding to disclose the SO being	This code refers to the techniques employed to non-disclose their SO: language management and skipping the genre titles	11	18
discriminated by their SO concerns	This code refers to the direct experiences that participants have experienced in their lives.	18	19
to disclose SO conditions to	This code refers to the concerns that participants have regarding the people's reaction when knowing their SO	8	15
disclose SO	This code refers to the assesses conditions that might allow to disclose the SO. For instance, a right vibe with someone with who the participant would like to establish and finish a negotiation process.	10	13
disclosing SO intentionally	This code refers to the statements related to the different reasons that lead participants to intentionally disclose the SO. The final objective could be to be transparent during the negotiation process. It should be noted that the management and control of the language is used to disclose (as well as non-disclose) the SO	9	15
experiences with biased people	This code refers to the lived experiences with biased people against homosexuality	8	13
experiences with LGBTQ community	This code refers to the direct experiences that participants have lived while being in contact with the LGBTQ community.	6	10
feeling provoked by the impact of SO on their relationships	Frustration, therapy, questioning, realizing, and presuming are dimensions of this property. This code (or property) refers to the personal feelings provoked by the impact that participants could observe in their relationships. Other properties (maybe):	8	22

Characteristics of the impacts or/and Consequences of the impact.

Characteristic	Description		
feelings provoking to withheld SO	This code refers to the participants' feelings related to the envisaged people's reactions and judgments after knowing their SO. He is convinced that he does not need to disclose any personal information	5	6
gay conversations vs straight conversations	This code refers to the participants' reactions when confronting a conversation which topic is not applicable to them. Example: children and what to do with them at the weekend.	2	2
meaning of unconscious or implicit bias	This code refers to the participants' ideas regarding their understanding of 'unconscious bias' What does this term mean for them?	8	8
measures to achieve acceptance of Minorities	This concept refers to the participants' statements reporting what are the main or most urgent measures that need to be taken in a social and private environments, to really promote and improve the acceptation of the LGBTQ community	6	14
actions to achieve acceptance in the workplace		4	9
awareness of own bias		5	6
companies public reinforcement of the acceptance of LGBTQI's community		4	6
developing a self-voice leading people to acceptance	It refers to the actions or attitudes that allow to lead people into the acceptance of minorities, especially LGBTQI community	2	2
making known the particularities of the LGBTQI community	it refers to the actions undertaken to improve the general knowledge about the LGBTQI community members.	1	1
medical chart modifications	It refers to the changes that are needed to incorporate in order to show the inclusion and the acceptance of the LGBTQIU community members	1	1
self-supporting		1	2
social measures to achieve acceptance		3	5

Code	Description		
awareness about LGBTQI's needs		1	1
creating more strong legislations		2	2
progress to accept LGBTQI community		1	1
people's reaction to the SO	This code refers to the reaction lived by the participants (experienced by them, not supposed to occur)	6	9
possible consequences of disclosing SO	This code refers to the people's reactions after know the SO. Examples: less eyes contact less talks	8	10
self-stigma	This code refers to the past experiences lived by the participants. This code may be part of a larger category treating the background of this person. With what type of beliefs and values does this person grow up?		
self-stigma during negotiation	This code refers to How the self stigma acts during a process of negotiation. Fear, responsibility, and culpability are the feelings during the negotiation's process.	12	15
strategies (actions and decisions) to achieve a non-impacted negotiation process	This code refers to the actions, techniques or strategies followed by the participants in order to disclose their SO and achieve a good negotiation process. a0 allow time to reflect about his/her prejudiced; b) Be able to give some room to let the other think and experienced what is negotiating with gay people. This code leads to a denser category that may be named: challenges	8	12
suggestions to openly disclose SO	This code refers to the participants' words regarding the suggestions they could make to others to openly disclose the SO without worries about the reactions of others	5	9
The negotiation process	This category or concept can be defined by the interviewees' statement regarding the different aspect that compose a negotiation, i.e. elements, exchanges, people involved, etc...	8	43
elements of the negotiation process	This code refers to the elements mentioned by the participants as elements involved in a negotiation process. This code can be a denser category named Structure of the Negotiation Process	33	39
employees' labour unions		5	9
employer		23	25

individual employees	4	6
lawyers	14	16
supervisor	11	13
evolution of negotiation	27	24

This code refers to the statements mentioning the evolution the participants have done regarding their conception about 'negotiation'

types of negotiations processes	27	34
process and goal of negotiation	15	15

This code refers to the many types of situations in which participants experienced the negotiation process.

buy a home	5	10
contract restructuration	11	16
discrepancies in issues	5	11
employment contracts	6	21
financial issues	13	31
home issues labour	11	15
contracts landlord	6	7
lease contracts litigation's	16	19
settlements salary	13	21
increases services	5	9
provider supervisor	8	15
suppliers	6	7
teams	13	15
worker business	5	11
	2	4

Study 3 - Script

Materials:

- One laptop set up for experimenter to use (Ben or Ranse)
- Envelope that contains the following study materials:
  - Consent Form
  - Negotiation study – section 1 (negotiation experience)
  - Negotiation study – section 2 (reservation/aspiration)
  - Negotiation study – section 3 (post-experiment)
  - Debriefing Form
  - Blank Information Sheet (for participant to complete)
  - Completed Information Sheet (to be shown to participant)
  - Negotiation instructions
  - Blank results sheet

Script:

[Before participant arrives, Experimenter should grab an envelope that has study materials inside. The experimenter will only use the materials one envelope per participant. All completed materials should be placed back in the envelope when finished. Experimenter should take note of the number on the envelope. This will serve as the subjects' ID number and will also be used for the pre and post questionnaires.]

[When participant arrives, greet participant and have the participant fill out the consent form and pre-experiment questionnaires in the room]

Experimenter: Hi, my name is {Fill in name}. Thanks for coming. Before we start, we need you to fill out a consent form."

[Hand participant the consent form and inform them about the voluntary nature of the study. Participants who provide informed consent will be moved into the next phase of the study. Those who choose not to participate can leave at this point.]

[The experimenter takes both forms from the participant]

Experimenter: Before you and your partner start the negotiation, we'd like you to both have some basic information about the other person. You should use this information to form a first impression of your partner before you both work on the upcoming tasks.

[switch the information sheet]

Experimenter: Now read the information sheet and on the back can you write your first impression about your negotiating partner and how do you think they will negotiate style/approach]

Experimenter: We'd like you to fill out this pre-experiment questionnaire.

[Experimenter gives participant a questionnaire to complete and then completes – section 1]

Experimenter: Thank you. As part of the study today, you will be asked to participate in a negotiation. I will give you the instructions and some information about your role, please read all of the instructions. You do need to have any specialist knowledge to engage in this exercise, just an interest in negotiating with another person. The goal of the exercise is to reach agreement with the other participant, within 15 minutes. You will also be given a sheet where you should record the offers that you have made to the other party. It is also useful for you to record what is the Aspiration (what you would like to received) and Reservation (bottom line amount), as this will give you a negotiation range.

[Experimenter hands participant role play papers – once they have read them hand them section 2 to complete]

Experimenter: {Name of participant}, this is your partner for the upcoming negotiation.

[Confederate reaches to shake hands with the participant]

Confederate: Hi, nice to meet you. How are you?

{Participant answers}

Experimenter: You read the information and based of this I would like to you to come to an agreement (negotiate). You have 15 minutes to complete this task and don't forget to make a note of the various offers that have been made and the overall agreed result. You do not have

to rush, there is plenty of time to find out what is important to each party and what is necessary to reach an agreement.

[Experimenter steps away and allows the participants to begin the negotiation and will keep time. The experimenter will give a five minute warning reminding participants to keep track of their offers and final result. The experimenter will call time]

Experimenter: Okay, now we need you to fill out a couple of survey questions (section 3). We are almost done with the study.

[Experimenter hands the participant section 3. When the participant finishes the survey questions, give him the debriefing form and tell him the study is over. Explain to him that the confederate is not a participant in the study, but rather a member of the research team. Let the confederate know that it might take a couple weeks to process the payment of the study. Ask the participant if he has any remaining questions.]

Study 3 – Negotiation study – Section 1

1. Before you started the negotiation, I thought my partner was going to be a good negotiator.

   ○ Strongly Disagree (1)

   ○ Disagree (2)

   ○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

   ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

   ○ Somewhat Agree (5)

   ○ Agree (6)

   ○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

2. I was comfortable with meeting my partner after I read his information sheet.

   ○ Strongly Disagree (1)

   ○ Disagree (2)

   ○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

   ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

   ○ Somewhat Agree (5)

   ○ Agree (6)

   ○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

3. I am more oriented towards preventing losses than I am toward achieving gains.

   ○ Not At All True of Me (1)

   ○ Not True of Me (2)

   ○ Somewhat Not True of Me (3)

○ Unsure (4)

○ Somewhat True of Me (5)

○ True of Me (6)

○ Very True of Me (7)

---

4. How skilled are you at negotiating?

○ 1. Not At All Skilled (1)

○ 2. (2)

○ 3. (3)

○ 4. (4)

○ 5. (5)

○ 6. (6)

○ 7. Very Skilled (7)

Study 3 – Negotiation study – section 2

Please identify the following:

1   What is your target (aspiration) value – what amount would like to achieve?
_____

2   What is your reservation (bottom line) value – what is least amount you would like to achieve?

_____

3   Will you to reach agreement given the amount of time given?

Yes   No   Unsure

Study 3 – Negotiation study – Section 3

1. I was motivated to do well so that my overall deal would best the best that it could be.

   ○ Strongly Disagree (1)

   ○ Disagree (2)

   ○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

   ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

   ○ Somewhat Agree (5)

   ○ Agree (6)

   ○ Strongly Agree (7)

2. I tried harder at the negotiation to make up for my partner's performance.

   ○ Strongly Disagree (1)

   ○ Disagree (2)

   ○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

   ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

   ○ Somewhat Agree (5)

   ○ Agree (6)

   ○ Strongly Agree (7)

3. I really wanted to get a better deal than my partner.

   ○ Strongly Disagree (1)

   ○ Disagree (2)

   ○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

   ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

4. I thought my partner was going to perform poorly in the negotiation.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

5. I think my partner performed well in the negotiation.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

Please answer the following questions about negotiation.

6. Have you engaged in this type of negotiation before?

○ Never (1)

○ Not Very Often (2)

○ Sometimes (3)

○ Yes, A Lot (4)

---

7. Did you have previous experience negotiating for this type of deal before?

○ None (1)

○ Not Very Much (2)

○ Some (3)

○ Yes, A Lot (4)

Please answer the following questions with your honest feedback.

8. I did not feel nervous at all while doing this study.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

9. I was very relaxed in doing this study.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

10. I felt pressure while doing this study.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

11. I think the interaction with my partner went smoothly.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

12. I am confident that I knew the right things to say during the interaction with my partner.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

13. I knew what to do to make a good impression during the interaction with my partner.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

14. I knew how to respond during the interaction with my partner.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7

15. Overall, I am more oriented towards achieving success than preventing failure.

○ Not At All True of Me (1)

○ Not True of Me (2)

○ Somewhat Not True of Me (3)

○ Unsure (4)

○ Somewhat True of Me (5)

○ True of Me (6)

○ Very True of Me (7)

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following questions.

16. I was anxious about meeting my partner after I read his information sheet.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

17. After reading the information sheet about my partner, I was unsure about my partner's sexual orientation.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

18. After reading the information sheet about my partner, I thought that he might be gay.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

19. was concerned that my partner in this study was going to flirt with me.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

Please indicate the extent to which you were certain of the following statements.

20. How certain were you after reading your partner's information sheet that he was 'straight'?

○ Not at all Certain (1)

○ Uncertain (2)

○ Somewhat Uncertain (3)

○ Unsure (4)

○ Somewhat Certain (5)

○ Certain (6)

○ Very Certain (7)

---

21. In today's society, it is important that one not be perceived as prejudiced in any manner.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

22. I always express my thoughts and feelings, regardless of how controversial they might be.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

23. I get angry with myself when I have a thought or feeling that might be considered biased.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

24. If I were participating in a class discussion and a gay student expressed an opinion with which I disagreed, I would be hesitant to express my own viewpoint.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

25. It's important to me that other people not think I'm biased.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

26. I feel it's important to behave according to society's standards.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

27. I'm careful not to offend my friends, but I don't worry about offending people I don't know or don't like.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

28. I think that it is important to speak one's mind rather than to worry about offending someone.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

29. It's never acceptable to express one's biases.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

30. I feel guilty when I have a negative thought or feeling about a gay person.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

31. When speaking to a gay person, it's important to me that he or she not think I'm biased.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

32. I would never tell jokes that might offend others.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

33. I'm not afraid to tell others what I think, even when I know they disagree with me.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

34. If someone who made me uncomfortable sat next to me on a bus, I would not hesitate to move to another seat.

○ Strongly Disagree (1)

○ Disagree (2)

○ Somewhat Disagree (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

○ Somewhat Agree (5)

○ Agree (6)

○ Strongly Agree (7)

---

35. What do you think is the purpose of this study?

_____

36. Do you have any questions or comments about the study to this point?

_____

37. Has anything struck you as odd or unusual about this study so far? If so, what?

_____

Finally, please answer the following questions so we can pay you for your participation.

38. **Age**

_____

39. **Gender**

○ Male (1)

○ Unspecified (2)

40. What is your sexual orientation?

○ Heterosexual (1)

○ Homosexual (2)

○ Bisexual (3)

○ Other (4)

○ Prefer not to say (5)

---

41. **Were you born in the United Kingdom?**

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

---

42. **Were your parents born in the United Kingdom?**

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

---

43. **How would you describe your ethnicity and/or race (choose as many as apply)?**

○ White or White British (1)

○ Gypsy/Traveller/Irish Traveller (2)

○ Asian or Asian British (3)

○ Black or Black British (4)

○ Mixed (5)

○ Other (6)

44. Was your partner in this study gay?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

○ Unsure (3)

Study 3 – Negotiation study – Scenario Information

Drury Lane is staging a modern production of Romeo and Juliet and has <u>not</u> announced the name of the actor who will play Romeo because the actor they had originally signed up (Peter Peterson – a well known TV actor starring in Dr. What) has since developed a chronic throat ailment. Every other actor contacted has been unavailable, at such short notice, for the dates of the performances. You are now desperate and rehearsals are to begin on Monday (four weeks of rehearsals to be followed by 12 weeks of performances)

Although Lampert is a bit old, his reputation is good and he could probably just pass off as a younger man, particularly with a dimmer footlights setting. Lampert does have a following and 10 years ago was a very successful soap opera actor but has not worked consistently for the past several years.

Because of time pressures you have to make some very quick decisions and have decided that ideally you want offer the part to Lampert, but have not shared that with his agent.

You will negotiate with Jo's Agent Ade over the performance fees (including the rehearsal month). You are looking at a 3-month run of performances.

You know that you are in a difficult position but you also know that Ade only gets paid if Jo is working – something that he hasn't done for a while! So you know a good deal can be done.

You have a contract with Drury Lane for the full run and this is in excess of £100,000 (you do not have all the figures because you are not willing to cancel the show unless you have no other option – you have spoken to your lawyers about the insurance policy for the show and you cannot cancel the entire production because there are alternative actors available).

You have approached another up and coming actor, Andrew Rogers, and you know he will take the part for £5,000 per week. However he has only been on a few episodes of a late night drama series and therefore does not have the pulling power of Lampert. You really need someone with a name because the Juliet you hired is a complete unknown – a fabulous find, very cheap but will not help to draw a crowd. Therefore you would much rather secure a deal with Lampert.

You were going to pay Peter Peterson £12,000 per week for the 3 months run, however you have no intention of paying Jo that much.

You think that at best Jo is only worth £7,000 per week, beyond this price you think it would be better to take a risk with Andrew Rogers.

Ideally you would like to save as much money as possible on costs and increase profit, because your contract says that you get bonuses if you do. There is also the possibility that if Lampert is a disaster the show will have to be cancelled, with even greater costs. You therefore want to drive a hard bargain. For all you know Lampert might take a much lower fee just to get such a prestigious role.

Study 3 – Negotiation study – Scenario Information

Drury Lane is staging a modern production of Romeo and Juliet and has <u>not</u> announced the name of the actor who will play Romeo because the actor they had originally signed up (Peter Peterson – a well-known TV actor starring in Dr. What) has since developed a chronic throat ailment. You have been approached by the producer who is considering hiring Jo for the role of Romeo - rehearsals are to begin on Monday (four weeks of rehearsals to be followed by 12 weeks of performances).

Jo is available and although he is a bit old, his reputation is good and he could probably just pass off as a younger man, particularly with a dimmer footlights setting. Lampert does have a following and 10 years ago was a very successful soap opera actor but has not worked consistently for the past several years and you have often thought of removing him from your books but he is an old friend so he remains a client.

You are going to represent Jo in this negotiation for his performance and rehearsal fees.

You know that this is a good chance for you to get some money back from the years of representation with very little commission from Jo (you want to collect 15% for this project) and you want to maximise on this opportunity.

You know that you are in a good position because the production needs a Romeo but you also know that you only get paid if Jo is working – something that he hasn't done for a while! So you know a deal has to be done.

You have spoken to a contact at Peter Peterson's agency and know that he was being offered £12,000 per week for performances. You know that Jo will not be able to ask for the same fee as Peter but Jo is not a total unknown and the producers could be able to capitalise on his former success, so he does have some value – something they need to recognise! You therefore want to drive as hard a bargain as possible.

You know that the producers have a contract with Drury Lane for the full run and they really need someone with a name because the Juliet that was hired is a complete unknown – as one insider said to you "darling… that Juliet, she's a fabulous find, very pretty and very, very cheap but will not help to draw a crowd!"

It seems the fact that Jo is being considered for this role, has increased interest in him and you have also been approached by a classical theatre group in Waterloo, interested in Jo appearing in their production. They have offered 3,000 per week for a 3-month run.

Jo however really wants the part of Romeo at Drury Lane, and is prepared to do it for nothing to re-launch his career. If pushed you might offer him free for the month of rehearsals.

Study 3 – Negotiation study – Scoring Sheet

Agent					Theatre				
Offer 1	2	3	4	5	5	4	3	2	Offer 1

Who made first bid? (tick)

Agent	
Theatre	

Negotiation Strategy

Name   _____

Reservation price -   _____

Aspiration price -   _____

Study 3 – Negotiation study – Debriefing

Thank you for your participation in our research study. We would like to share more details with you about this study.

As you may know, scientific methods sometimes require that subjects in research studies not be given complete information about the research until after the experiment is completed. Although we cannot always tell you everything before you begin your participation, we want to tell you as much as possible after the experiment is over.

Before we tell you about all the goals of this study, however, we want to explain why it is necessary in some kinds of studies to not tell people all about the purpose of the study before they begin.

Discovering how people would naturally react is what we are really trying to find out in psychology experiments. We don't always tell people everything at the beginning of a study because we do not want to influence your responses. If we tell people what the purpose of the experiment is and what we predict about how they will react, then their reactions would not be a good indication of how they would react in everyday situations.

Next, we would like to explain what we were trying to study in this investigation. We are interested in whether the disclosure or non-disclosure participants sexuality has an impact on the outcome of a negotiated agreement.

In the study, you have just participated in, you were told that you would be interacting with another person whose profile information you were given and that this person was also a participant in the study. However, this was not true because the person you interacted with was actually not a participant in the study, he was a student who was hired by the researchers to play the part of a participant in the study. We needed to hire this person to play the role of your partner in the study because we needed to control certain variables in our experiment that could only be controlled by hiring a confederate.

The profile information you were given was created by the researchers to have you believe that you were either going to interact with a gay partner or someone who may or may not be gay. Because we wanted to measure your real and honest opinions, we needed you to believe that you were actually interacting with a gay student, a student who you suspected might be gay or a student who you thought was straight. Now that you know the purpose of the study, you have the right to withdraw from this study immediately and any and all data will be removed and destroyed. If you have any questions about the partial deception of this research project, please feel free to contact the Principal Investigators of this project, Ranse Howell (r.howell@sussex.ac.uk) or Benjamin Everly (benjamin.everly@gmail.com).

If other people knew the true nature of the experiment, it would affect how they behave if they also participate in the study, so we ask that you not share any of the information we just provided.

We hope you enjoyed your experience and that you learned some things today. If you have any questions later please feel free to contact Ranse Howell (r.howell@sussex.ac.uk) or Benjamin Everly at benjamin.everly@gmail.com. Thank you for your participation.

Study 4 – Questionnaire - Consent/Research Info Sheet

Research Information Sheet University of Sussex, Falmer RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Ranse Howell and colleagues from the Department of Business, Management and Economics at the University of Sussex, Falmer. Your participation in this research study is voluntary.

Why is this study being done?

We are conducting this study to learn more about how people prepare and strategize before completing negotiations. For scientific reasons, this information sheet does not include complete information about the study hypotheses, but you will be debriefed following your participation in the study.

What will happen if I take part in this research study?

If you volunteer to participate in this study, the researcher will ask you to do the following:

Provide your consent to participate.

Read a negotiation scenario.

Answer some questions about the negotiation scenario.

How long will I be in the research study?

Participation in the study today will take a total of about 15 minutes.

Am I eligible to participate in this study?

You must be 18 years of age or older to participate in this research study.

Are there any potential risks or discomforts that I can expect from this study?

There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts. Your decision whether or not to participate in this study will not affect your ability to sign up for other studies.

Are there any potential benefits if I participate?

You will be compensated for participation in this study in line with the advertised rate on MTurk.

Alternatives to participation

You can choose whether or not to participate in this stu dy. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time.

Will information about me and my participation be kept confidential?

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can identify you will remain confidential. It will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Only the investigators will have access to your data during and after the study concludes. These data will remain stored in a secure computer for a minimum of five years. It will remain unavailable to others (who are not the principal investigator or co- investigators for this project) until 5 years after any findings are published, at which time they will be destroyed . These procedures are used so as to ensure full confidentiality of the information you disclose on the questionnaires. I understand that such

information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

What are my rights if I take part in this study?

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty or loss of benefits to which you were otherwise entitled.

You can choose whether or not you want to be in this study. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may leave the study at any time without consequences of any kind. You are not waiving any of your legal rights if you choose to be in this research study. You may refuse to answer any questions that you do not want to answer and still remain in the study.

Who can answer questions I might have about this study?

If you have any questions, comments or concerns about the research, you can talk to the one of the researchers. Please contact Ranse Howell at 07766 468466 or Benjamin Everly at 01273 678141, both located at BMEc, Jubilee Building. University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton, BN1 9RH.

CONSENT OF RESEARCH SUBJECT:

Proceeding to the next screen indicates that I have read and understood the information provided above, and that I willingly agree to participate in this research study.

Study 4 - Questionnaire

Instructions

This study is about how people strategize and prepare before entering into a negotiation.

We want to learn more about what ideas people come up with before the negotiation actually begins so that they will achieve a good result.

Please read the scenario below and put yourself into the scenario as much as possible.

After reading the scenario, please answer the questions about how you would prepare for this negotiation.

Gay/Active Disclosure

BACKGROUND

Imagine you work for an engineering firm called Strathmore Inc. You have worked with the company for six years and you are a team leader, responsible for managing a large project that includes 6 engineers whom you supervise.

You get along well with the colleagues in your team and you have earned their trust and respect. Most of them are around your age, although most have worked for the company for less than you have. You hang out together outside of work frequently, whether it's playing golf or having a drink. Despite stressful deadlines that pop up on occasion, your team performs well and people generally get along with each other.

This week, however, you received a troubling email from the CEO of Strathmore, Bill Wilson. Bill's email was sent to all of the company's team leaders and indicated the company would need to immediately reduce its budget for what's left of the current financial year. This is bad news for your team because you have just started working on a new project that will last for several months. Taking a cut to your budget means weeks of working hard to cover the shortfall.

Bill outlined a general cost reduction plan that outlined which budgets would be cut to make up the budget shortfall. In his plan, Bill specified that a combined $50,000 would need to be cut from your project and a project belonging to Henry Green and his team. Bill has asked you and Henry to meet and decide how you will cut $50,000 in total from your two projects.

You have met Henry before, but haven't worked with him closely. You know that Henry started working at Strathmore around the same time as you and is around the same age. He occasionally plays golf with you and your team when you need a fourth person to play. After you golfed the last time, Henry shared with you that he likes to go to the movies with his husband, Jeff. This was a surprise because you didn't know he was gay. You also overheard a co-worker saying that he likes to go for walks in the park with his pet beagle named Barney.

When it comes to Henry's project, you know that his project is similar to yours and also has a team of 6 engineers. Your first thought is that you and Henry should each cut

$25,000 from your budgets so that you share the cost reduction evenly. However, you can think of several reasons why it's more reasonable for Henry's project to get a larger funding cut than your own.

Next week, you have scheduled a meeting with Henry Green during which you will negotiate how to come up with the $50,000 in budget cuts from your two projects.

Gay/Passive Disclosure

BACKGROUND

Imagine you work for an engineering firm called Strathmore Inc. You have worked with the company for six years and you are a team leader, responsible for managing a large project that includes 6 engineers whom you supervise.

You get along well with the colleagues in your team and you have earned their trust and respect. Most of them are around your age, although most have worked for the company for less than you have. You hang out together outside of work frequently, whether it's playing golf or having a drink. Despite stressful deadlines that pop up on occasion, your team performs well and people generally get along with each other.

This week, however, you received a troubling email from the CEO of Strathmore, Bill Wilson. Bill's email was sent to all of the company's team leaders and indicated the company would need to immediately reduce its budget for what's left of the current financial year. This is bad news for your team because you have just started working on a new project that will last for several months. Taking a cut to your budget means weeks of working hard to cover the shortfall.

Bill outlined a general cost reduction plan that outlined which budgets would be cut to make up the budget shortfall. In his plan, Bill specified that a combined $50,000 would need to be cut from your project and a project belonging to Henry Green and his team. Bill has asked you and Henry to meet and decide how you will cut $50,000 in total from your two projects.

You have met Henry before, but haven't worked with him closely. You know that Henry started working at Strathmore around the same time as you and is around the same age. He occasionally plays golf with you and your team when you need a fourth person to play. After you golfed the last time, Henry shared with you that he likes to go for walks in the park with his pet beagle named Barney. You also overheard a co-worker saying that he

likes to go to the movies with his husband, Jeff. This was a surprise because you didn't know he was gay.

When it comes to Henry's project, you know that his project is similar to yours and also has a team of 6 engineers. Your first thought is that you and Henry should each cut

$25,000 from your budgets so that you share the cost reduction evenly. However, you can think of several reasons why it's more reasonable for Henry's project to get a larger funding cut than your own.

Next week, you have scheduled a meeting with Henry Green during which you will negotiate how to come up with the $50,000 in budget cuts from your two projects.

Straight/Active Disclosure

BACKGROUND

Imagine you work for an engineering firm called Strathmore Inc. You have worked with the company for six years and you are a team leader, responsible for managing a large project that includes 6 engineers whom you supervise.

You get along well with the colleagues in your team and you have earned their trust and respect. Most of them are around your age, although most have worked for the company for less than you have. You hang out together outside of work frequently, whether it's playing golf or having a drink. Despite stressful deadlines that pop up on occasion, your team performs well and people generally get along with each other.

This week, however, you received a troubling email from the CEO of Strathmore, Bill Wilson. Bill's email was sent to all of the company's team leaders and indicated the company would need to immediately reduce its budget for what's left of the current financial year. This is bad news for your team because you have just started working on a new project that will last for several months. Taking a cut to your budget means weeks of working hard to cover the shortfall.

Bill outlined a general cost reduction plan that outlined which budgets would be cut to make up the budget shortfall. In his plan, Bill specified that a combined $50,000 would need to be cut from your project and a project belonging to Henry Green and his team. Bill has asked you and Henry to meet and decide how you will cut $50,000 in total from your two projects.

You have met Henry before, but haven't worked with him closely. You know that Henry started working at Strathmore around the same time as you and is around the same age. He occasionally plays golf with you and your team when you need a fourth person to play. After you golfed the last time, Henry shared with you that he likes to go to the movies with his wife, Emma. This was a surprise because you didn't know he had a wife. You also overheard a co-worker saying that he likes to go for walks in the park with his pet beagle named Barney.

When it comes to Henry's project, you know that his project is similar to yours and also has a team of 6 engineers. Your first thought is that you and Henry should each cut

$25,000 from your budgets so that you share the cost reduction evenly. However, you can think of several reasons why it's more reasonable for Henry's project to get a larger funding cut than your own.

Next week, you have scheduled a meeting with Henry Green during which you will negotiate how to come up with the $50,000 in budget cuts from your two projects.

Straight/Passive Disclosure

BACKGROUND

Imagine you work for an engineering firm called Strathmore Inc. You have worked with the company for six years and you are a team leader, responsible for managing a large project that includes 6 engineers whom you supervise.

You get along well with the colleagues in your team and you have earned their trust and respect. Most of them are around your age, although most have worked for the company for less than you have. You hang out together outside of work frequently, whether, it's playing golf or having a drink. Despite stressful deadlines that pop up on occasion, your team performs well and people generally get along with each other.

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You have met Henry before, but haven't worked with him closely. You know that Henry started working at Strathmore around the same time as you and is around the same age. He occasionally plays golf with you and your team when you need a fourth person to play. After you golfed the last time, Henry shared with you that he likes to go for walks in the park with his pet beagle named Barney. You also overheard a co-worker saying that he likes to go to the movies with his wife, Emma. This was a surprise because you didn't know he had a wife.

When it comes to Henry's project, you know that his project is similar to yours and also has a team of 6 engineers. Your first thought is that you and Henry should each cut

$25,000 from your budgets so that you share the cost reduction evenly. However, you can think of several reasons why it's more reasonable for Henry's project to get a larger funding cut than your own.

Next week, you have scheduled a meeting with Henry Green during which you will negotiate how to come up with the $50,000 in budget cuts from your two projects.

DVs

In your negotiation with Henry Green, what strategies would you use to try and achieve the best possible result?

Please provide an assessment of Henry Green as a negotiator

I can trust Henry Green in the negotiation

Strongly Disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Somewhat Disagree (3)

Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

Somewhat Agree (5)

Agree (6)

Strongly Agree (7)

Henry Green with be a tough negotiator

Strongly Disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Somewhat Disagree (3)

Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

Somewhat Agree (5)

Agree (6)

Strongly Agree (7)

Henry Green will try his hardest to achieve a strong result

Strongly Disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Somewhat Disagree (3)

Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

Somewhat Agree (5)

Agree (6)

Strongly Agree (7)

I think Henry Green will be friendly

Strongly Disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Somewhat Disagree (3)

Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

Somewhat Agree (5)

Agree (6)

Strongly Agree (7)

Henry Green will be well prepared for our negotiation

Strongly Disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Somewhat Disagree (3)

Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

Somewhat Agree (5)

Agree (6)

Strongly Agree (7)

Strongly Disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Somewhat Disagree (3)

Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

Somewhat Agree (5)

Agree (6)

Strongly Agree (7)

Henry will achieve a good result in the negotiation

Strongly Disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Somewhat Disagree (3)

Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

Somewhat Agree (5)

Agree (6)

Strongly Agree (7)

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements

I am confident I would achieve a good result negotiating with Henry Green

Strongly Disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Somewhat Disagree (3)

Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

Somewhat Agree (5)

Agree (6)

Strongly Agree (7)

I would spend a good amount of time preparing for the negotiation with Henry Green

Strongly Disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Somewhat Disagree (3)

Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

Somewhat Agree (5)

Agree (6)

Strongly Agree (7)

I would be nervous negotiating with Henry Green

Strongly Disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Somewhat Disagree (3)

Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

Somewhat Agree (5)

Agree (6)

Strongly Agree (7)

The negotiation with Henry Green would take a long time

Strongly Disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Somewhat Disagree (3)

Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

Somewhat Agree (5)

Agree (6)

Strongly Agree (7)

The negotiation with Henry Green would be tough

Strongly Disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Somewhat Disagree (3)

Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

Somewhat Agree (5)

Agree (6)

Strongly Agree (7)

I am confident I would know the right things to say to Henry during our negotiation

Strongly Disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Somewhat Disagree (3)

Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

Somewhat Agree (5)

Agree (6)

Strongly Agree (7)

I would be able to make a good impression on Henry during our negotiation

Strongly Disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Somewhat Disagree (3)

Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

Somewhat Agree (5)

Agree (6)

Strongly Agree (7)

Please indicate your opinion to the following statements using the scale provided

I have had formal negotiation training

Strongly Disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Somewhat Disagree (3)

Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

Somewhat Agree (5)

Agree (6)

Strongly Agree (7)

I regularly negotiate as part of my role

Strongly Disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Somewhat Disagree (3)

Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

Somewhat Agree (5)

Agree (6)

Strongly Agree (7)

I am confident in my negotiating ability

Strongly Disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Somewhat Disagree (3)

Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)

Somewhat Agree (5)

Agree (6)

Strongly Agree (7)

Demographic information

Age

_____

Gender

Male (1)

Female (2)

Transgender (3)

Unspecified (2)

What is your sexual orientation?

Heterosexual (1)

Homosexual (2)

Bisexual (3)

Other (4)

Prefer not to say (5)

Highest level of education?

High School (1)

Some University (2)

Undergraduate Degree

Graduate Degree

Doctoral Degree

Employment status?

Unemployed

Student – full time

Student – part time

Employed – full time

Employed – part time

Retired

Other

How would you describe your ethnicity and/or race (choose as many as apply)?

White (1)

Black or African American (2)

American or Alaskan Native (3)

Asian(4)

Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (5)

Hispanic, Latino or Spanish (6)

In the background story, what was Henry Green's marital status?

Single

Married to his husband Jeff

Married to his wife Emma

Don't Remember

In the background story, how did you learn about Henry Green's sexual orientation?

Henry told you directly

You overheard from a co-worker

Don't Remember

Debriefing

The code to enter in MTurk to show you've completed the survey

is: 82286

Thank you for participating as a research participant in this study.

This study was about whether people might approach negotiations differently depending on whether their negotiating partner is gay or straight.

Some participants are randomly assigned to a scenario where Henry Green is straight and some people are randomly assigned to the same scenario, except Henry Green is gay.

If you have any questions regarding this study, please feel freeto ask Ranse Howell (researcher) at r.howell@sussex.ac.uk or Dr.

Benjamin Everly (supervisor) at benjamin.everly@gmail.com

Thank you again for your participation.