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To conceal or reveal: Identity-conscious diversity ideologies facilitate sexual minority identity disclosure

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Abstract

Sexual minorities continue to face workplace discrimination, which leads to them experiencing concerns about disclosing their own sexual identities. Despite the benefits of disclosure, relatively little research has examined what organizational factors can work together to foster disclosure of a sexual minority identity. Across five experiments ($N = 1662$), we examined two main factors: diversity ideologies and information about diversity climate. Sexual minorities were more willing to disclose in organizations with diversity messages conveying that they value group differences (an identity-conscious ideology) relative to those that downplay differences (an identity-blind ideology). Identity-conscious ideologies also increased belonging, perceptions of fair treatment and perceptions of LGBTQ+ representation. Despite expectations that contradictory evidence demonstrating a negative diversity climate might create mistrust and impede disclosure, the benefits of an identity-conscious ideology persisted in the face of a negative diversity climate. These findings point to the complexities of facilitating visible sexual minority representation in many workplace environments.

KEYWORDS
prejudice/stereotyping, self/identity, sexual identity, stigma, workplace

1 | INTRODUCTION

People with concealable stigmatized identities, like many sexual minorities, face a unique dilemma in workplaces—they can choose to conceal or reveal their sexual identity. Revealing their sexual identity may expose them to prejudice and discrimination but concealing it can reduce feelings of authenticity and harm social interactions (Barreto et al., 2006; Clair et al., 2005; Ellemers & Barreto et al., 2006; Newheiser & Barreto et al., 2014; Newheiser et al., 2017). Indeed, people are motivated to pursue authenticity (in Western societies; Schmader & Sedikides et al., 2018), so sexual minorities (e.g., gay, lesbian, bisexual and pansexual people) may search for environmental cues suggesting that their authentic selves will be safe and valued.

An organization's *diversity ideology*, which expresses how an organization manages diversity and difference, is one common cue to ascertain information about identity safety. Indeed, these ideologies can send messages about how to navigate one's social identity in the workplace (Kang et al., 2016; Kirby & Kaiser et al., 2020). Although highlighting social identities can make minoritized groups feel welcome and safe in workplace environments (e.g., Plaut et al., 2009), highlighting identities is not always beneficial (Crosby et al., 2014; Sekaquaptewa & Thompson et al., 2003; Sekaquaptewa et al., 2007; Zou & Cheryan et al., 2015). Decisions to conceal or reveal their identity are crucial for sexual minority visibility, so we examine how diversity ideologies that highlight or downplay social identities affect identity safety and comfort disclosing a concealable stigmatized

identity. We also examine how sexual minorities respond when the expressed diversity ideology does not match the reality of the organizational climate (a safety cue mismatch, or a mismatch between the stated ideology and safety/threat cues). Understanding identity disclosure is particularly important to help facilitate sexual minority visibility and foster positive diversity climates in workplaces.

1.1 | Identity safety cues for the sexual minorities

Minoritized groups often face concerns about negative treatment and belonging in work contexts (Shapiro & Neuberg et al., 2007; Sinclair & Kunda et al., 1999; Steele et al., 2002) and look to environmental cues to determine whether they will be valued and how to present themselves in that environment. For example, recruitment brochures that celebrate diversity (Gündemir et al., 2016; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; also see Kirby & Kaiser et al., 2020; Kirby et al., 2020), spaces dedicated to marginalized groups (Chaney & Sanchez et al., 2018; Kirby, Rego et al., 2020), identity-relevant academic curricula (Brannon et al., 2015) and the presence of allies or similar others (Derricks et al., 2023; Hildebrand et al., 2020; Johnson & Pietri et al., 2020; Murphy et al., 2007; Pietri et al., 2019) can all signal belonging and identity safety to stigmatized groups. Evidence for these processes has so far stemmed mainly from research with women and minoritized racial groups, largely in the United States.

Sexual minorities face unique issues in the workplace compared to those faced by women and racial minorities. For example, sexual identity is often less apparent from one's appearance than race or sex—in other words, it is a concealable stigmatized identity that people can sometimes choose to disclose (similar to other stigmas that can be concealed, such as mental health; Crocker et al., 1998; Goffman et al., 1963; Le Forestier et al., 2022). Despite the unique concerns created by concealability, identity safety cues for sexual minorities have been studied less extensively in the experimental social psychological literature.

Literature on the workplace climate, however, suggests that a range of cues are associated with greater identity safety and better workplace outcomes for sexual minorities (and the LGBTQ+ community more broadly). In particular, three primary cues are associated with creating safe environments that facilitate identity disclosure: (a) the presence of similar others who have disclosed their identity, (b) institutional support and (c) supportive ally relationships (Ragins, 2008). For example, a national sample of sexual minority employees in the United States reported less fear and more workplace disclosure when they had a more supportive co-worker environment and when they reported a higher proportion of other sexual minorities in their workplace (Ragins et al., 2007; also see Cipollina & Sanchez et al., 2022).

Social support from similar others is not possible in work contexts that do not already have sufficient numbers of visible sexual minorities, so institutional support may be key as a first step to facilitating disclosure. For example, the organization can provide symbolic support in the form of diversity messages, festivals, or other cues expressing that they

value one's group (Kang et al., 2016; Ragins et al., 2007). Indeed, the presence of LGBTQ+ anti-discrimination policies and positive diversity climates is associated with sexual identity disclosure (Driscoll et al., 1996; Griffith & Hebl et al., 2002; Rostosky & Riggle et al., 2002; Yoder et al., 2016). The inclusion of personal pronouns describing one's gender identity has also been shown to signal identity safety to both sexual and gender minority employees in the United States through increased perceptions of fairness in the organization (Johnson et al., 2021).

1.1.1 | Diversity ideologies and concealable stigmatized identities

Relatively subtle symbolic cues can send messages about the safety of an organization (Kirby et al., 2020) and affect sexual identity disclosure (Cipollina & Sanchez et al., 2022; Kirby et al., 2023). Diversity statements are one example of these symbolic cues. Diversity statements are often displayed prominently on organizations' websites and repeated in brochures and other documentation. Although these statements usually express support for a diverse workforce (Kirby et al., 2023), the expressed cultural beliefs about how diversity and difference should be managed (i.e., a *diversity ideology*) can differ. These cultural beliefs can shape the experience of minoritized groups (Plaut et al., 2009). For example, some organizations hold an identity-conscious diversity ideology, which focuses on celebrating diversity and difference, but others opt for an identity-blind ideology that instead focuses on similarities.[1] When organizations express an identity-conscious as opposed to an identity-blind diversity ideology, people of color in the United States feel more workplace engagement and trust the organization to treat them more fairly (Plaut et al., 2009; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). They are also more likely to reveal information in their resume that could signal their racial identity (Kang et al., 2016).

Relatively little is known about how sexual minorities process diversity ideologies and whether they serve as cues to identity safety or threat. The unique issues sexual minorities (and others with concealable stigmatized identities) face in the workplace mean that it is unclear whether or how past research on diversity ideologies with other social identities would generalize to sexual minorities. In addition to having concealable identities, sexual minority employees often face specific workplace challenges such as lack of recognition of their marital status, assumptions of greater capacity (due to not having children), difficulties accessing benefits, and denial of discrimination (Bettinsoli et al., 2022; Fassinger et al., 2008). They also chronically contend with heteronormativity, or the default assumption that everyone is heterosexual and should behave in line with heterosexual values (van der Toorn et al., 2020; also see Herek et al., 1990). Sexual minorities may therefore not have the same needs as other minoritized employees.

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[1] Identity-blind ideologies have been defined in a range of ways (see Gündemir et al., 2019; Hahn et al., 2015), including a focus on equality and on assimilation to the dominant group. In the present research, we define identity-blind ideology as a focus on similarities (in line with Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008) to create a clean contrast with the focus on difference in the identity-conscious condition.

In fact, past research has already shown that women and minoritized racial groups can hold diverging perceptions of diversity ideologies, due to differences in their workplace needs and experiences (Koenig & Richeson et al., 2010; Martin & Phillips et al., 2017). As such, it is crucial to examine the effect of workplace cues specifically for sexual minorities.

1.1.2 | Diversity ideologies and psychological mechanisms

In addition to being a potential cue to treatment, diversity ideologies express norms about how to navigate one's social identities (Gutiérrez & Unzueta et al., 2010; Kang et al., 2016; Kirby & Kaiser et al., 2020; Kirby, Rego et al., 2020)—which might be especially impactful to people with concealable stigmas because they engage in constant identity management. Whereas an identity-conscious ideology might suggest that one's sexual identity should be celebrated and expressed openly, an identity-blind ideology might instead suggest that sexual identity should be downplayed to focus on treating people the same regardless of their identity. These conflicting messages directly address the internal dilemma that sexual minorities chronically face: whether to conceal or disclose their sexual identity. Due to uncertainty about whether disclosing their identity will expose them to discrimination, negative social interactions, or other mistreatment (see Pachankis et al., 2007), they often conceal their sexual identity (Newheiser & Barreto et al., 2014). This can be done in different ways, such as opting to 'pass', which involves actively giving people the impression that they are heterosexual, or to 'cover' their sexual orientation by intentionally omitting any information that would hint about their identity. Indeed, when imagining an interaction with a straight person, half of sexual minorities predict that they will conceal their sexual identity from their interaction partner because they believe it will protect them from discrimination (Goh et al., 2019).

These identity management strategies often do not map onto the experience of people with visible stigmatized identities. For example, people with visible stigmas can draw on similar others for social support but people with concealable stigmas cannot do so if they have not disclosed their identity in their workplace, or if they have not been able to identify others who have (Camacho et al., 2020; Crocker & Major et al., 1989). Thus, decisions about disclosure are not only stressors in themselves but also have further implications for sexual minorities' ability to manage other workplace stressors they face. Disclosure decisions are also a chronic, ongoing process—sexual minorities repeatedly choose whether or not to disclose across a range of different situations and to different people. They may disclose in some personal contexts but not at work or other contexts, or they might disclose to some co-workers but not to clients. This might also depend on how sexual minorities regard their sexual orientation. For example, some sexual minorities see their sexual orientation as a behavioural pattern rather than a social identity (Cox & Gallois et al., 1996), which may lead them to blend in with the dominant heteronormative culture and see their sexual orientation as irrelevant to the workplace. If the work context

is seen as a less appropriate context to disclose sexual identity, then an identity-blind ideology might feel like a better fit to the values of sexual minorities (i.e., a focus on them as individuals, rather than their identity as a sexual minority)—perhaps especially for those who are weakly identified with their sexual identity (Kirby & Kaiser et al., 2020; Kirby, Rego et al., 2020).

However, we believe this is unlikely because people generally prefer to feel actively accepted and embraced rather than being merely tolerated (see Adelman et al., 2023 for findings for US and Dutch participants). Despite valid reasons for concealing one's sexual identity, concealment—especially active concealment (Jackson & Mohr et al., 2016; Quinn et al., 2017)—can have negative consequences for sexual minorities, even if the concealment only happens in work contexts (Croteau et al., 2008). In particular, concealing a stigmatized identity can reduce feelings of authenticity and increase self-directed guilt and shame (Clair et al., 2005; Ellemers & Barreto et al., 2006; Newheiser et al., 2017). Suppressing a stigmatized identity is also effortful and can lead to cognitive depletion (Madera et al., 2010; Smart & Wegner et al., 1999). These processes together can deter genuine connections with others and decrease feelings of acceptance (Newheiser & Barreto et al., 2014). Disclosing, on the other hand, can lead to higher performance-related self-confidence (Barreto et al., 2006) and job satisfaction (Griffith & Hebl et al., 2002), suggesting clear benefits.

The positive benefits of disclosure in combination with evidence that celebrating one's identity increases identity safety (Gündemir et al., 2016) suggests that an identity-conscious ideology might create identity safety and foster identity disclosure among sexual minorities relative to an identity-blind ideology. Past research on identity safety suggests that the benefits of safety cues can stem from anticipating fairer treatment among both minoritized racial groups (Plaut et al., 2009; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008) and sexual minorities (Johnson et al., 2021), as well as an increased sense of belonging among minoritized racial groups (Gündemir et al., 2017). Thus, perceptions of belonging, fair treatment, or both, could drive any positive effects of an identity-conscious ideology among sexual minorities. However, none of these past studies have examined sexual identity disclosure in particular, so other psychological mechanisms might be possible. Given the importance of similar others for organizational disclosure decisions (Ragins et al., 2007) and that identity safety cues can signal higher LGBTQ+ representation (Johnson et al., 2021), perceptions of representation of other LGBTQ+ people might also play a role in any effect of an identity-conscious ideology on disclosure.

1.2 | Consistency of safety cues

In addition to diversity ideologies, which are often expressed in diversity statements and serve as symbolic cues (or 'expressed cues'; see Wilton et al., 2020) about diversity climate, sexual minorities also have to interpret other aspects of the climate in organizations. Diversity ideologies may express prescriptive norms about identity management and impact sexual minorities' decision to disclose or conceal, so it may

be especially important that these norms match the reality of the climate that employees witness or experience. If a diversity ideology affirms their identity, but the organization in fact has a threatening environment (e.g., unaccepting colleagues, discriminatory managers), it may be seen as a *safety cue mismatch* and serve as an especially strong deterrent to disclosure. Consistent with this, among people of color, inconsistent cues suggesting high social acceptance of minority groups, but low minority representation, elicit particularly negative assessments of the diversity climate in an organization (Chen & Hamilton et al., 2015). Similarly, women experience particularly strong identity threat when they learn inconsistent information about gender representation at an organization (Kroeper et al., 2020). As sexual minorities are hypervigilant, or chronically alert to cues about identity-related threats in the environment (Rostosky et al., 2021), they may be particularly likely to react to inconsistent cues and penalize organizations that send inaccurate or disingenuous signals (see Mckay & Avery et al., 2005).

However, the literature suggests competing hypotheses about the consistency of safety cues. When considering research on expressed cues (Brady et al., 2015; Kirby et al., 2015; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008), minoritized groups sometimes see diversity statements as a valid safety cue even in the face of conflicting information about the actual climate (i.e., 'evidence-based cues'; see Wilton et al., 2020; also Cipollina & Sanchez et al., 2022). For example, Latine Americans view the presence of organizational diversity rhetoric as an indicator of fair treatment, even in the face of a discrimination lawsuit (Dover et al., 2014). Similarly, Black Americans experience more identity safety in the presence of an identity-conscious relative to an identity-blind statement, even when minority group representation is low (but see Ciftci et al., 2020; Wilton et al., 2020 suggesting that evidence-based cues are more influential than expressed cues). Given these inconsistent findings and the unique stigma-related experiences of sexual minorities, particularly their experiences of hypervigilance (Rostosky et al., 2021), it is crucial to understand their responses to conflicting cues as well.

1.3 | Present research

We investigated two primary research questions across five experiments. First, we investigated the effect of organizational diversity ideologies on sexual minorities' identity disclosure in the workplace (Studies 1–5). We hypothesized that an identity-conscious ideology would facilitate sexual identity disclosure relative to an identity-blind ideology or a control condition (Hypothesis 1). We also investigated whether perceptions of fair treatment, feelings of belonging, or anticipated LGBTQ+ representation were more plausible psychological mechanisms for the benefits of an identity-conscious ideology (Studies 1–2), as relatively little research has attempted to disentangle multiple mechanisms driving benefits (but see Cipollina & Sanchez et al., 2022; Gündemir et al., 2017). Our examination of potential psychological mechanisms was more exploratory, so we did not have concrete hypotheses about

which of these mechanisms, if any, would mediate the hypothesized effects.

Second, we investigated how sexual minorities would respond to conflicting information about a company's diversity ideology versus its actual diversity climate (i.e., a safety cue mismatch; Studies 2–5). Specifically, we included information about (lack of) ally support (Studies 2–3) or negative organizational treatment (Studies 3–4), in addition to an expression of the organization's diversity ideology and measured willingness to disclose identity. Although it was possible that a safety cue mismatch would make sexual minorities especially mistrustful and unlikely to disclose (competing Hypothesis 2a), other research suggests that the benefits of diversity ideologies might persist in the face of other relevant information (competing Hypothesis 2b) and that multiple cues might all provide identity safety benefits (i.e., a *'more-the-merrier' effect*). Thus, we pre-registered competing hypotheses for the effects of the mismatch (see pre-registrations for Studies 3–4).

As a final exploratory goal, we investigated the effect of LGBTQ+ identification on sexual minorities' responses to diversity ideologies. Indeed, minoritized racial groups sometimes show divergent reactions to diversity ideologies depending on their level of racial identification (Kirby & Kaiser et al., 2020; Kirby, Rego et al., 2020). Concretely, if weakly identified sexual minorities prefer to downplay their sexual identity in the workplace, identity-blindness may serve as a key safety cue for them. However, strongly identified sexual minorities may prefer the reverse, with identity-consciousness highlighting safety and freeing them up to express their identity authentically.

1.4 | Data transparency and ethics

Data sets and full methodological details for all studies are available at https://osf.io/jx7qa/. We pre-registered the study design, planned sample size and/or stopping rule, inclusion/exclusion criteria and planned primary analyses for Studies 1, 3, 4 and 5 (links included within each Participants section). Study 2 was not pre-registered because it was more exploratory. There were no deviations from the pre-registration plans other than those explicitly stated,[2] and all sample sizes were determined before data analysis. Finally, all measures, manipulations and exclusions in the studies have been reported and the manuscript adheres to the relevant national and APA ethical guidelines. All studies were approved by the University of Exeter Psychology Ethics Committee, and all participants gave informed consent before participating.

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[2] For samples collected through Prolific (Studies 3–5), sample sizes are sometimes larger than those that were pre-registered due to participants timing out. For example, we pre-registered and designated 450 participants for collection in Study 3 but some participants were not initially counted by Prolific because they did not enter their participation code before timing out—this led to a sample of 468 in our data file, but an appearance of only 450 participants through the Prolific system. We had no way to avoid these discrepancies, but the additional statistical power should not pose any issues.

2 | STUDY 1

In Study 1, we examined how sexual minorities would interpret organizational diversity ideologies (expressed through diversity statements) as cues to identity safety or threat. Specifically, we examined how an identity-conscious and identity-blind relative to a control statement would affect sexual identity disclosure and whether any relationships would be mediated by anticipated belonging, fair treatment, or LGBTQ+ representation. We also tested a model where the identity-conscious ideology leads to higher perceptions of LGBTQ+ representation and then higher belonging or fair treatment and then more comfort disclosing. As a further exploratory analysis, we examined whether sexual minorities' reactions would depend on their level of LGBTQ+ identification (see Kirby & Kaiser et al., 2020).

2.1 | Method

2.1.1 | Participants and design

We recruited sexual minority participants through social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter, as well as university LGBTQ listservs in the United States and the United Kingdom. Recruitment included direct messages through social media to people in the researchers' own social networks. Of the 249 voluntary participants who started the study, 21 were excluded because they identified as straight. We excluded another 60 participants because they did not complete the study,[3] leaving a final sample of 168 participants (101 gay, 33 bisexual, 24 lesbian, six pansexual, three queer, and one asexual participant). Participants had a mean age of 24.21 ($SD = 6.94$) and 121 were male, 39 were female and eight were non-binary, gender-queer, or unspecified. They represented a range of nationalities, but were predominantly British (40%), American (26%), Indian (10%) and Swiss (8%). In terms of racial/ethnic background, they identified predominantly as white (72%), South Asian (10%) and multiracial (9%).

As pre-registered (https://osf.io/atge6/?view_only=29a73319733540c0be0259e21852efe1), we used a 3-level (Diversity Ideology: identity-conscious, identity blind and a control condition) between-participants design and determined our goal sample size with G*power 3.1 (Faul et al., 2009). To detect a medium effect size of $f = .25$ ($\eta^2 = .06$) for a between-participants ANOVA with 80% power and an α level of .05, we required 159 participants. This was a student project with time restrictions so we planned to collect as many participants as possible until a set date in the middle of the second academic term. Given our obtained sample size, a sensitivity analysis using GPower 3.1 suggested we could detect an effect size as small as $\eta^2 = .05$ with 80% statistical power at an α level of .05.

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[3] Participants who completed the study did not differ significantly in age, $t(81.60) = 1.52$, $p = .132$, or gender, χ^2 ($N = 220$) = 0.36, $p = .548$, from those who did not complete the study. They also did not differ in terms of the experimental condition assigned, $\chi^2(N = 228) = 0.42$, $p = .812$.

2.1.2 | Procedure

We invited volunteer participants to complete an online study about their perception of the workplace. First, participants answered a standard demographic questionnaire that included sexual orientation—any participants who identified as 'straight' were redirected to the debriefing form and told that they were not eligible for the study. Eligible participants were randomly assigned to one of three diversity ideology conditions described below. After reading an organizational brochure containing the manipulation, they completed the dependent measures, an exploratory moderator and manipulation checks described below.

2.1.3 | Materials

Diversity ideology manipulation
Participants read a trifold brochure that described the background, philosophy and mission of an ostensibly real engineering consultancy named CCX. A statement entitled 'Our Staff Philosophy' either described the organization's diversity ideology (identity-conscious or identity-blind) or offered a neutral statement that did not discuss diversity—all other information was identical across the three brochures. The diversity statements focused on training their diverse workforce either to embrace their differences and foster an inclusive environment (identity-conscious), or to embrace their similarities and foster an environment focused on commonality (identity-blind; see online Supplement). The control statement discussed the organization's focus on their staff, without reference to diversity and ensuring they have access to success. The brochures were adapted from Kirby and Kaiser's (2020) brochures (originally adapted from Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008) to be appropriate for an engineering consulting company and to explicitly mention sexual orientation in addition to other demographic groups.

Comfort disclosing sexual identity
We measured sexual identity disclosure with five items adapted from Schnitzer and Fang's (2015) climate survey: 'I would feel comfortable expressing my sexual orientation to one or more of my co-workers'; 'I would feel comfortable expressing my sexual orientation to my employer'; 'I would be afraid of expressing my sexual orientation in the workplace' (reverse scored); 'I believe expressing my sexual orientation would impact how I would be perceived in this workplace' (reverse scored); 'I believe expressing my sexual orientation would change my job prospects' (reverse scored). Participants responded on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale. After reverse scoring the appropriate items, we averaged all items to form a measure where higher values corresponded to more comfort disclosing sexual identity. The measure demonstrated excellent internal reliability ($\alpha = .83$).

Fair treatment
We measured perceptions of fair treatment in the workplace (a subset of items from Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008) with 2 items ('I think

I would be treated fairly by my supervisor'; 'I think I would trust the management to treat me fairly.') using a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale. We averaged the items to form a measure where higher values corresponded to fairer treatment. Internal reliability was very good ($\rho = .90$).[4]

Belonging

We measured belonging with Walton and Cohen's (2007) social fit questionnaire. Participants responded to four items (e.g., 'I would feel like I belong at CCX') using a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale. We averaged all items to form a measure where higher values corresponded to more belonging. Internal reliability was very good ($\alpha = .96$).

Perceptions of LGBTQ+ representation

We measured perceptions of LGBTQ+ representation with a single item ('What percentage of CCX employees would you expect to be sexual minorities?') on a 1 (*much less than other companies*) to 7 (*much more than other companies*) scale. Although we did not originally pre-register an analysis for this measure, we decided in retrospect that it might provide further information about psychological mechanisms.

LGBTQ+ identification

As an exploratory moderator, we measured ingroup identification using the identity centrality subscale (Leach et al., 2008). Participants responded to three items (e.g., 'Being part of the LGBTQ community is an important part of how I see myself') using a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale. We averaged all items to form a measure where higher values corresponded to higher identification. Internal reliability (Cronbach's α) was very good ($\alpha = .93$).

Manipulation check

Participants responded to 'CCX values group differences' on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale.

2.2 | Results

We ran separate one-way ANOVAs to examine the effect of diversity ideology on the manipulation check and all dependent measures. We followed this with post-hoc comparisons across the three conditions using Tukey's honestly significant difference (HSD) correction.

Although not pre-registered, we explored the mediating mechanisms by conducting parallel and serial mediation analyses. First, we tested whether anticipated fair treatment, belonging, or LGBTQ+ representation were more plausible mediators of any effect of diversity ideology on identity disclosure. Second, we tested a serial model where the identity-conscious ideology leads to higher perceptions of LGBTQ+ representation and then higher belonging or fair treatment and then more comfort disclosing. We examined the indirect effects using the

PROCESS macro version 3.2 (Hayes et al., 2013) with 10,000 boot-strapped samples. In the regression, we used the identity-conscious condition as the reference group in the regression—in other words, one variable compared the identity-conscious condition (always coded as 0) with the identity blind condition (coded as 1) and another variable compared identity-conscious with the control condition (coded as 1).

2.2.1 | Preliminary analyses

Manipulation check

The manipulation check confirmed that the diversity ideology affected participants' ratings of how much the organization valued group differences, $F(2, 161) = 43.14$, $p < .001$, in the intended way: participants reported that the identity-conscious organization ($M = 6.15$, $SD = 1.00$) valued group differences more than the control organization ($M = 4.63$, $SD = 1.29$), $p < .001$, $d = 1.31$, which valued group differences more than the identity-blind organization ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 2.09$), $p < .001$, $d = .69$.

Factor analysis of mediators

Although we pre-registered that we would analyse the full 11-item trust and comfort measure (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008), we determined in retrospect that the measure tapped into several different theoretical constructs (e.g., desire to work at the organization and fair treatment). We opted to focus on anticipated fair treatment more narrowly to provide more theoretical and conceptual clarity. We first ran a factor analysis using maximum likelihood estimation and promax rotation, an oblique method that allows the items to be correlated. In line with recommendations (Costello & Osborne et al., 2019), we ran multiple factor analyses based on the results of the scree plot and on our predetermined number of factors. We thought that at least three distinct factors might be possible and the scree plot suggested one or two factors, so we ran analyses forcing between two and four factors. The three-factor solution was most interpretable, with one factor capturing organizational attractiveness (six items; e.g., 'I think I would like to work at a place like CCX'), one capturing motivation to exert oneself for the company (two items; e.g., 'I think I would be willing to put in extra effort if my supervisor asked me to') and one capturing anticipated fair treatment (two items; e.g., 'I think I would be treated fairly by my supervisor'). To ensure clear distinctions between our constructs, we only retained items with a 0.5 or higher loading (Costello & Osborne et al., 2019).[5] To further ensure clarity of our mediators of interest, fair treatment and belonging, we ran an additional factor analysis with only these six items. The four belonging items clearly loaded onto a single factor and the two fair treatment items clearly loaded onto a separate factor, with no cross-loadings greater than 0.283.

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[4] We used the Spearman–Brown formula as the index of reliability because this measure only had two items (see Eisinga et al., 2013).

[5] Organizational attractiveness and motivation were not a central focus of the present research, so we do not focus on them here. However, organizational attractiveness showed a main effect that was parallel to other measures, $F(2, 165) = 10.32$, $p < .001$, but motivation did not, $F(2, 165) = 2.18$, $p = .116$. As pre-registered, in the online supplement, we report findings for the full trust and comfort measure, which was also parallel to the other results reported in Study 1 (on anticipated belonging, fair treatment and comfort disclosing).

TABLE 1 Study 1 ANOVA results.

Measure	Means (SDs)			Post-hoc p-values (Cohen's d)		
	IC	IB	Control	IC-IB	IC-control	IB-control
Comfort Disclosing	4.87 (1.32)	4.18 (1.48)	4.21 (1.24)	.021 (0.49)	.026 (0.52)	.991 (0.02)
Fair Treatment	5.72 (1.22)	4.75 (1.53)	4.97 (1.13)	<.001 (0.70)	.007 (0.64)	.634 (0.16)
Belonging	5.38 (1.21)	4.25 (1.78)	4.50 (1.15)	<.001 (0.75)	.003 (0.75)	.625 (0.17)
LGBTQ+ Representation	5.09 (1.00)	4.13 (1.48)	4.04 (1.03)	<.001 (0.76)	<.001 (1.03)	.676 (−0.07)

Note: IB = Identity-Blind. IC = Identity-Conscious. Post hoc comparisons use Tukey's HSD correction.
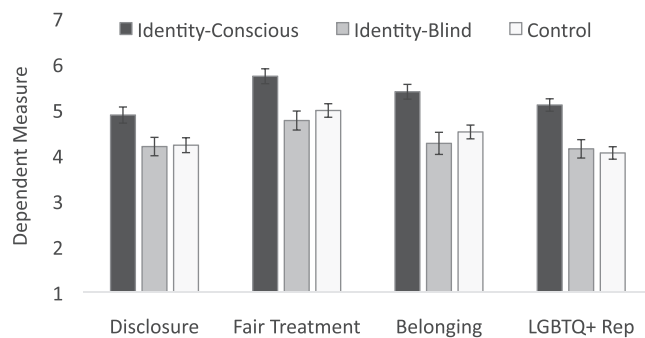

FIGURE 1 Mean disclosure, fair treatment, belonging, and LGBTQ+ representation by diversity ideology. *Note*: All measures were on a 1–7 scale. Error bars show a ± 1 standard error of the mean.

2.2.2 | Main analyses

The organizational diversity ideology affected participants' comfort disclosing their sexual identity, $F(2, 165) = 4.72$, $p = .010$, perceptions of fair treatment, $F(2, 165) = 8.53$, $p < .001$, anticipated belonging, $F(2, 165) = 9.89$, $p < .001$ and perceptions of LGBTQ+ representation, $F(2, 162) = 13.26$, $p < .001$ (see Figure 1 and Table 1 for full statistics). Consistent with Hypothesis 1, in the identity-conscious condition, participants anticipated more fair treatment, comfort disclosing, belonging and LGBTQ+ representation perceptions than participants in the identity-blind and control conditions. Participants did not differ across the identity-blind and control conditions. In an additional exploratory analysis, participants' LGBTQ+ identification did not moderate the effect of condition for any measures, $p > .247$.[6]

Mediation tests

Our statistical test of the indirect effect showed tentative support for both parallel and serial mediation models, but it was more consistent for the serial mediation model. For parallel mediation, fairness, belonging and perceptions of LGBTQ+ representation, all accounted for a significant portion of variance for the identity-conscious relative to identity-blind comparison, but not consistently for the identity-blind relative to control comparison; see Table 2 for statistics). This suggests

potential support for a model in which an identity-conscious ideology leads to perceptions of fair treatment and belonging, which is then associated with more identity disclosure.

However, we also found support for a model in which an identity-conscious ideology leads to higher perceptions of LGBTQ+ representation, which is then associated with fairer treatment and more belonging and then more comfort disclosing identity. This serial mediation pathway was significant for both the identity-conscious relative to identity-blind and control comparisons, suggesting slightly more consistent evidence for the serial mediation than the parallel mediation pathway.[7] These mediation tests provide useful insights but these cross-sectional analyses cannot rule out the possibility of other models involving variables we had not measured (see Fiedler et al., 2018 for a discussion of limitations of mediation analysis).

2.3 | Discussion

As expected, an identity-conscious ideology made sexual minorities more comfortable disclosing their sexual identity relative to an identity-blind and control ideology. Although an identity-blind ideology did not facilitate disclosure, it also did not deter it when compared with a statement containing no diversity ideology. One reason for this may be that the identity-conscious and identity-blind statements were as parallel as possible other than their focus on differences as opposed to similarities—unlike some other operationalizations of identity-blindness, the identity-blind ideology used in this study did not explicitly devalue diversity (see Hahn et al., 2015 for a discussion of valence confounds). Finally, in terms of mechanisms, we found strongest support for a model in which an identity-conscious ideology leads to higher perceptions of LGBTQ+ representation, which is then associated with expectations of fairer treatment and stronger sense of belonging and then with more comfort disclosing identity.

3 | STUDY 2

In Study 2, we examined how sexual minorities would respond to diversity ideologies in the face of additional information about a negative

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[6] In Studies 2–3 (not 4–5), we also measured LGBTQ+ identification as a possible moderator. It did not moderate the effects in any of these studies—the statistics are reported in the online supplement.

[7] In an additional analysis, neither the parallel or serial mediation pathways showed significant indirect effects for the identity-blind relative to control comparison.

TABLE 2 Indirect effects from parallel and serial mediation models in Study 1.

Parallel mediation (Ideology → Mediators → Disclosure)				Serial mediation (Ideology → LGBTQ+ Representation → Additional Mediator → Disclosure)			
Mediator	b	SE	95% CI	Mediator	b	SE	95% CI
Fair Treatment				Fair Treatment			
IB (vs IC)	−0.24	0.11	[−0.47, −0.03]	IB (vs IC)	−0.16	0.07	[−0.32, −0.05]
Control (vs IC)	−0.13	0.10	[−0.34, 0.08]	Control (vs IC)	−0.17	0.07	[−0.32, −0.07]
Belonging				Belonging			
IB (vs IC)	−0.21	0.10	[−0.42, −0.01]	IB (vs IC)	−0.24	0.10	[−0.46, −0.08]
Control (vs IC)	−0.08	0.09	[−0.25, 0.11]	Control (vs IC)	−0.26	0.09	[−0.47, −0.11]
LGBTQ+ Representation (with Fair Treatment)							
IB (vs IC)	−0.19	0.10	[−0.41, −0.01]	–	–	–	–
Control (vs IC)	−0.20	0.10	[−0.41, −0.01]	–	–	–	–
LGBTQ+ Representation (with Belonging)							
IB (vs IC)	−0.10	0.11	[−0.33, 0.10]	–	–	–	–
Control (vs IC)	−0.11	0.11	[−0.34, 0.11]	–	–	–	–

Note: The Identity-Conscious condition is the reference group in the mediation models. IB = Identity-Blind. IC = Identity-Conscious. The serial mediation analysis in the PROCESS macro tests evidence for both parallel mediation models (e.g., Belonging and LGBTQ+ Representation in parallel), as well as serial mediation. The analyses reported above include all of these tests—for example, the statistics below 'Belonging' represent the indirect effect of belonging in the parallel mediation model. The statistics next to 'Serial' reflect the test for the full serial model noted in the top row (e.g., Ideology → LGBTQ+ Representation → Belonging → Disclosure). Significant indirect effects are bolded in the table.

diversity climate. Because allies (or lack thereof) who support and affirm sexual minorities' identities can affect their disclosure decisions (Johnson & Pietri et al., 2020; Ragins et al., 2007), we used negative or neutral information about co-worker support to manipulate diversity climate information. Sexual minorities are hypervigilant, or chronically alert to cues about identity-related threats in the environment (Rostosky et al., 2021), so they may react to inconsistent cues that send inaccurate or disingenuous signals (see Mckay & Avery et al., 2005) by being especially unwilling to disclose their sexual identity (i.e., a safety cue mismatch effect). Alternatively, the benefits of diversity ideologies might persist in the face of inconsistent information, showing a more-the-merrier effect, with both cues independently providing identity safety benefits.

3.1 | Method

3.1.1 | Participants and design

We recruited sexual minority participants using the same strategy as in Study 1. Of the 526 voluntary participants who started the study, 134 were excluded because they identified as straight. Another 177 participants did not fully complete the study,[8] leaving a final sample of 215 participants (88 bisexual, 60 gay, 31 lesbian, 18 pansexual, six asexual/aromantic, four queer, four unspecified, three demisexual, and one bi-curious participant). Participants had a mean age of 23.75

(SD = 7.79) and 77 were men, 122 were women and 16 were non-binary, gender-queer, or another gender. They represented a range of nationalities, but were predominantly British (72%), Finnish (9%), and other European nationalities (12%). In terms of racial/ethnic background, they identified predominantly as white (89%) and multiracial (6%).

We used a 2 (Diversity Ideology: Identity-conscious vs Identity-blind) × 2 (Co-Worker Environment: Interpersonal Prejudice vs No Prejudice) between-participants design. We did not have a good basis for anticipating the effect size in this new design and this was a student project with time restrictions, so we planned to collect as many participants as possible until a set date in the middle of the second academic term. Given the size of the sample that we obtained, a sensitivity analysis using GPower 3.1 suggested that we could detect an effect size as small as $\eta^2 = .03$ ($d = 0.22$) with 80% statistical power at an α level of .05.

3.1.2 | Procedure

We used the same general procedure as in Study 1. After reading one of two organizational brochures from Study 1, participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions giving information about the co-worker environment. They read a scenario where they were asked to imagine having lunch with a group of colleagues (adapted from Newheiser & Barreto et al., 2014). In the no-prejudice condition, participants read about one colleague who mentioned her cousin, who is gay. In the prejudice condition, an additional sentence was added before the final sentence: 'One co-worker says "I'm fine with gay people as long as they don't flaunt it in front of me."'

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[8] Participants with missing data did not differ significantly in age, $t(284) = −0.18$, $p = .855$, or gender, $\chi^2(N = 260) = 1.14$, $p = .285$, from those who completed the study fully. They also did not differ in terms of diversity condition, $\chi^2(N = 286) < .001$, $p = .999$. However, those in the prejudice condition (80%) were more likely to complete the study than those in the no prejudice condition (70%), $\chi^2(N = 286) = 3.94$, $p = .047$.

Next, they completed the same measures from Study 1, including anticipated comfort disclosing sexual identity ($\alpha = .90$), fair treatment ($\rho = .92$), belonging ($\alpha = .97$), LGBTQ+ representation and manipulation checks. We adapted comfort disclosing to assess comfort expressing identity to these specific co-workers, to their employer and in the workplace in general (e.g., 'I would feel comfortable [be afraid of] expressing my sexual orientation to these co-workers'). We also removed the three reverse-scored items from the previous measure because the meaning of the items was more ambiguous. Participants also completed the additional measures outlined below.

3.1.3 | Additional measures

Sexual identity disclosure

We more directly assessed sexual identity disclosure with two items adapted from Newheiser and Barreto (2014): 'How likely would you be to disclose your sexual orientation to these co-workers?'; 'How likely would you be to disclose your sexual orientation to your employer?' Participants responded on a 1 (*extremely unlikely*) to 7 (*extremely likely*) scale and we averaged the items to form a measure where higher values corresponded to higher likelihood of disclosing sexual identity. Internal reliability (Spearman-Brown) was very good ($\rho = .79$).[9]

Co-worker environment manipulation check
To assess understanding of the co-worker environment manipulation, participants responded to 'I think the co-workers at this company were biased against people with my sexual orientation' on a 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly Agree*) scale.

3.2 | Results

We ran 2×2 ANOVAs to examine the effect of diversity ideology, co-worker environment and their interaction on all measures.

3.2.1 | Manipulation checks

Diversity ideology manipulation check
Participants reported that the identity-conscious organization valued group differences more than the identity-blind organization, $F(1, 204) = 153.68$, $p < .001$, confirming the efficacy of the diversity ideology manipulation. However, this effect was moderated by co-worker environment, $F(1, 204) = 7.07$, $p = .008$. The identity-conscious ideology increased perceptions of valuing group differences more when there was no information about prejudice, $F(1, 204) = 105.25$, $p < .001$, than when there was evidence of prejudice, $F(1, 204) = 51.35$, $p < .001$.

Co-worker environment manipulation check
Confirming the efficacy of the co-worker environment manipulation, participants reported more prejudice in the prejudice condition than in the condition with no information about prejudice, $F(1, 204) = 86.39$, $p < .001$. This effect was not moderated by diversity ideology, $F(1, 204) = 0.84$, $p = .360$.

3.2.2 | Main analyses

Consistent with Hypotheses 1, in the identity-conscious condition, participants experienced more anticipated fairness, $F(1, 211) = 7.73$, $p = .006$, $d = 0.36$, comfort disclosing, $F(1, 211) = 21.20$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.60$, belonging, $F(1, 211) = 23.18$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.62$, LGBTQ+ representation, $F(1, 204) = 38.21$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.86$ and were more likely to disclose their sexual identity[10] compared to participants in the identity-blind condition, $F(1, 211) = 12.67$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.48$ (see Table 3 for descriptive statistics). They also experienced less anticipated comfort disclosing their sexual identity, $F(1, 211) = 17.17$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.54$, fairness, $F(1, 211) = 7.36$, $p = .007$, $d = 0.36$, belonging, $F(1, 211) = 12.00$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.44$ and disclosure intentions, $F(1, 211) = 4.72$, $p = .031$, $d = 0.28$, in the face of prejudice than when there was no information about prejudice. However, there was no difference in anticipated LGBTQ+ representation when learning about prejudice compared to receiving no information about prejudice, $F(1, 204) = 1.31$, $p = .254$, $d = 0.15$. Consistent with Hypothesis 2b (and inconsistent with Hypothesis 2a), there were no interactions between diversity ideology and co-worker environment condition on any measure, $F < 2.27$, $p > .132$.

Mediation tests
Although not pre-registered, we explored mediating mechanisms by conducting serial mediation analyses to test anticipated fair treatment, belonging and LGBTQ+ representation as potential mediators of the effect of diversity ideology on identity disclosure. Using the same strategy as in Study 1, the series of mediation analyses demonstrated the most consistent support for a serial mediation model where the identity-conscious ideology led to higher perceptions of LGBTQ+ representation and then higher belonging and fair treatment and then more comfort disclosing. There was no support for anticipated belonging and fair treatment as mediators, except when preceded by LGBTQ+ representation in the model (and very limited support for LGBTQ+ representation alone). Full statistics for all models are reported in Table 4.

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[9] We also included an advocacy-focused disclosure measure, which was not affected by diversity ideology. For the sake of brevity, we describe this measure in the online supplement for this and subsequent studies.

[10] Despite asking participants about their willingness to disclose to multiple parties (e.g., managers and co-workers), the findings were the same for all individual items, with an identity-conscious ideology leading people to disclose to all parties more than an identity-blind ideology, $p < .001$.

TABLE 3 Means (SD) by condition for Study 2.

Dependent variable	Diversity ideology	Climate condition		
		No prejudice	**Prejudice**	**Both**
Identity Disclosure	Identity-Blind	3.72 (1.69)	3.32 (1.74)	3.50 (1.72)
	Identity-Conscious	4.73 (1.58)	4.06 (2.07)	4.36 (1.89)
	Both	4.2 (1.71)	3.69 (1.94)	3.93 (1.85)
Comfort Disclosing	Identity-Blind	4.10 (1.28)	3.52 (1.39)	3.79 (1.36)
	Identity-Conscious	5.16 (1.25)	4.19 (1.51)	4.63 (1.47)
	Both	4.62 (1.36)	3.85 (1.48)	4.20 (1.48)
Fair Treatment	Identity-Blind	4.66 (1.48)	4.30 (1.47)	4.46 (1.48)
	Identity-Conscious	5.33 (1.00)	4.67 (1.46)	4.97 (1.31)
	Both	4.99 (1.31)	4.48 (1.47)	4.71 (1.42)
Belonging	Identity-Blind	3.83 (1.62)	3.43 (1.50)	3.61 (1.56)
	Identity-Conscious	5.11 (1.09)	4.10 (1.62)	4.56 (1.49)
	Both	4.45 (1.52)	3.76 (1.59)	4.08 (1.59)
LGBTQ+ Representation	Identity-blind	3.69 (1.50)	3.59 (1.20)	3.63 (1.34)
	Identity-conscious	4.87 (1.06)	4.57 (1.25)	4.71 (1.17)
	Both	4.28 (1.43)	4.08 (1.32)	4.17 (1.37)

TABLE 4 Study 2 parallel and serial mediation results.

Model 1 (Ideology → LGBTQ+ Representation → Belonging → Disclosure)				Model 2 (Ideology → LGBTQ+ Representation → Fair Treatment → Disclosure)			
Mediator	**b**	**SE**	**95% CI**	**Mediator**	**b**	**SE**	**95% CI**
Comfort Disclosing				Comfort Disclosing			
Belonging	0.09	0.08	[−0.05, 0.27]	Fairness	−0.01	0.08	[−0.16, 0.14]
LGBTQ+ Representation	0.15	0.08	[−0.01, 0.31]	**LGBTQ+ Representation**	**0.23**	**0.08**	**[0.06, 0.39]**
Serial	**0.30**	**0.07**	**[0.17, 0.46]**	**Serial**	**0.22**	**0.07**	**[0.11, 0.37]**
Disclosure Intentions				Disclosure Intentions			
Belonging	0.07	0.07	[−0.03, 0.23]	Fairness	−0.01	0.06	[−0.15, 0.11]
LGBTQ+ Representation	0.16	0.13	[−0.10, 0.41]	LGBTQ+ Representation	0.20	0.12	[−0.04, 0.44]
Serial	**0.22**	**0.09**	**[0.06, 0.40]**	**Serial**	**0.17**	**0.08**	**[0.05, 0.35]**

Note: The Identity-Conscious condition is coded as 1 and the Identity-Blind condition is coded as 0. The serial mediation analysis in the PROCESS macro tests evidence for both parallel mediation models (e.g., Belonging and LGBTQ+ Representation in parallel), as well as serial mediation. The analyses reported above include all of these tests—for example, the statistics next to 'Belonging' represent the indirect effect of belonging in the parallel mediation model. The statistics next to 'Serial' reflect the test for the full serial model noted in the top row (e.g., Ideology → LGBTQ+ Representation → Belonging → Disclosure). Significant indirect effects are bolded in the table.

3.3 | Discussion

An identity-conscious ideology increased participants' willingness to disclose their sexual identity relative to an identity-blind ideology, replicating the effect of Study 1. Contrary to the possibility that sexual minorities would be especially mistrustful in the face of conflicting cues (safety-cue-mismatch perspective), the benefits of an identity-conscious ideology remained regardless of information about co-worker environment. Instead, the findings supported a more-the-merrier perspective, whereby diversity ideology and co-worker environmental cues independently contributed to identity safety and willingness to disclose.

4 | STUDY 3

Because co-worker environment did not moderate diversity ideology in Study 2, we examined whether making the co-worker manipulation more self-relevant for all sexual minorities would make it more powerful. Specifically, we tailored the information about co-worker environment to mention a person of the participants' own specific sexual orientation, rather than a gay person (who is a sexual minority but does not represent all sexual minorities). We also included more evidence that the prejudice information reflected a broader climate, so that participants could not easily discount the prejudice information as an exception to the broader environment.

4.1 | Method

4.1.1 | Participants and design

We recruited sexual minority participants through Prolific, an online participant recruitment platform. As pre-registered (https://osf.io/fq6mk/?view_only=b309ce543f5841b7b7f5387ae39a4386), we aimed to collect 100 participants per cell for a 2 (Diversity Ideology: Identity-Conscious vs Identity-Blind) × 2 (Co-Worker Environment: Interpersonal prejudice vs No prejudice) between-participants design. Of the 468 participants who started the study, 34 were excluded from analyses because they identified as straight or did not specify. Another four participants did not complete the study, leaving a final sample of 430 participants (193 lesbian, 217 gay, 12 queer, six bisexual, and two pansexual participants). Participants had a mean age of 32.97 ($SD = 11.07$) and 219 were men, 210 were women and one was non-binary. They were predominantly British (52%) and US American (45%) in terms of nationality, as well as country of residence. In terms of racial/ethnic background, they identified predominantly as white (84%), Black (5%) and multiracial (5%). Given the size of the sample that we obtained, a sensitivity analysis using GPower 3.1 suggested we could detect an effect size as small as $\eta^2 = .02$ ($d = 0.16$) with 80% statistical power at an α level of .05

4.1.2 | Procedure

We invited participants to complete an online study about their perception of the workplace using the same procedure as in Study 2 other than the modifications below.

4.1.3 | Materials

Co-worker environment manipulation
Participants read the same scenario as in Study 2, but the statement was tailored to discuss someone of the same sexual orientation as each participant. We also added an extra sentence to the prejudice condition: 'Everyone nods in agreement and one person adds, "Yeah, I wouldn't vote for a presidential candidate who was openly LGBTQ either."'

Dependent measures
We measured sexual identity disclosure ($\rho = .89$), comfort disclosing ($\alpha = .95$), anticipated fair treatment ($\alpha = .93$) and LGBTQ+ representation with the same measures as in Study 2.[11] Finally, participants responded to the same manipulation checks as in Study 2.

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[11] We did not include anticipated belonging in this study (mediation was not originally a central focus in Studies 3–5), so we were not able to run a mediation analysis that was fully parallel to Studies 1–2. However, results of the mediation analyses otherwise replicated the conclusions we have drawn so far. For the sake of brevity, the statistics are only reported in the online supplement for this and subsequent studies. No mediation analysis is reported for Study 5 because we did not measure perceptions of fair treatment or belonging.

4.2 | Results and discussion

We used the same analytic strategy as in Study 2.

4.2.1 | Manipulation checks

Diversity ideology manipulation check
Participants reported that the identity-conscious organization valued group differences more than the identity-blind organization, $F(1, 423) = 281.19$, $p < .001$, confirming the efficacy of the diversity ideology manipulation. This effect was not moderated by the co-worker environment, $F(1, 423) = 0.52$, $p = .471$.

Co-worker environment manipulation check
Confirming the efficacy of the co-worker environment manipulation, participants reported more prejudice in the prejudice condition than in the condition with no information about prejudice, $F(1, 423) = 615.17$, $p < .001$. This effect was not moderated by diversity ideology, $F(1, 423) = 1.55$, $p = .213$.

4.3 | Main analyses

Consistent with Hypothesis 1, in the identity-conscious condition, participants reported more anticipated fair treatment, $F(1, 426) = 19.40$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.39$, comfort disclosing, $F(1, 426) = 9.83$, $p = .002$, $d = 0.28$, LGBTQ+ representation, $F(1, 423) = 57.67$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.70$, and likelihood of disclosing their sexual identity, $F(1, 426) = 7.03$, $p = .008$, $d = 0.26$, compared to participants in the identity-blind condition (see Table 5 for descriptive statistics). They also reported less anticipated fair treatment, $F(1, 426) = 57.48$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.72$, comfort disclosing, $F(1, 426) = 48.78$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.66$, LGBTQ+ representation, $F(1, 423) = 41.87$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.58$, and likelihood of disclosing their sexual identity, $F(1, 426) = 3.95$, $p = .048$, $d = 0.19$, in the face of prejudice than when there was no information about prejudice. However, consistent with Hypothesis 2b (inconsistent with Hypothesis 2a), there were no interactions between diversity ideology and co-worker environment condition on fair treatment, $F(1, 426) = 2.19$, $p = .140$, comfort disclosing, $F(1, 426) = 0.03$, $p = .859$, LGBTQ+ representation, $F(1, 423) = 0.12$, $p = .724$, or identity disclosure $F(1, 426) = 0.01$, $p = .910$.

4.4 | Discussion

An identity-conscious ideology again increased participants' willingness to disclose their sexual identity relative to an identity-blind ideology. A non-prejudiced co-worker environment also increased willingness to disclose relative to a prejudiced environment, again suggesting support for a more-the-merrier effect rather than a safety-cue-mismatch effect.

TABLE 5 Means (SDs) by condition for Study 3.

Dependent variable	Diversity ideology	Climate condition		
		No prejudice	Prejudice	Both
Identity Disclosure	Identity-Blind	3.57 (1.50)	3.28 (1.82)	3.42 (1.67)
	Identity-Conscious	4.00 (1.46)	3.67 (1.58)	3.83 (1.53)
	Both	3.78 (1.50)	3.47 (1.71)	3.62 (1.61)
Comfort Disclosing	Identity-Blind	4.45 (1.61)	3.28 (1.91)	3.86 (1.86)
	Identity-Conscious	4.93 (1.50)	3.82 (1.71)	4.36 (1.70)
	Both	4.68 (1.57)	3.55 (1.83)	4.11 (1.80)
Fair Treatment	Identity-Blind	5.12 (1.28)	3.90 (1.62)	4.51 (1.58)
	Identity-Conscious	5.52 (1.18)	4.69 (1.48)	5.10 (1.40)
	Both	5.32 (1.24)	4.29 (1.60)	4.80 (1.52)
LGBTQ+ Representation	Identity-Blind	4.07 (1.21)	3.33 (1.28)	3.70 (1.30)
	Identity-Conscious	4.87 (0.81)	4.20 (1.15)	4.53 (1.05)
	Both	4.46 (1.11)	3.76 (1.29)	4.11 (1.25)

5 | STUDY 4

The previous studies used a diversity climate manipulation that gave information about allyship, or how colleagues might treat sexual minorities at the organization. In Study 4, we instead manipulated diversity climate through information about how management treats sexual minorities, which may be more important in participants' decisions to disclose their sexual identity. Indeed, the presence of instrumental institutional support (or lack thereof), such as management-implemented anti-discrimination strategies and positive diversity climates, is associated with sexual identity disclosure (Driscoll et al., 1996; Griffith & Hebl et al., 2002; Rostosky & Riggle et al., 2002; Yoder et al., 2016).

5.1 | Method

5.1.1 | Participants and design

We recruited sexual minority participants through Prolific, an online participant recruitment platform, only advertising to participants who had not participated in Study 3. As pre-registered (https://osf. io/fw69b/?view_only=67efaa57178143279307d6580c7d6463), we aimed to collect 75 participants per cell for a 2 (Diversity Ideology: Identity-Conscious vs Identity-Blind) × 2 (Managerial Treatment: Negative vs Control) between-participants design, to balance statistical power needs and resource constraints. Of the 394 participants who started the study, 31 were excluded from the analyses because they identified as straight or did not specify. We excluded another six participants due to missing data, leaving a final sample of 357 participants (157 lesbian, 179 gay, 11 queer, nine bisexual, and one asexual participant). Participants had a mean age of 31.55 ($SD = 11.50$) and 171 were men, 181 were women and five were non-binary. They were predominantly British (52%) and US American (40%) in terms of

nationality, as well as country of residence. In terms of racial/ethnic background, they identified predominantly as white (82%) and multiracial (6%). Given our obtained sample size, a sensitivity analysis using GPower 3.1 suggested we could detect an effect size as small as $\eta^2 = .02$ ($d = 0.17$) with 80% statistical power at an α level of .05

5.1.2 | Procedure

We invited participants to complete an online study about their perception of the workplace using the same procedure as in Study 3 other than the modifications below.

5.1.3 | Materials

Managerial treatment manipulation
In the negative managerial treatment condition, participants read a testimonial from a previous employee of the company discussing their negative treatment from management (adapted from Wilton et al., 2020 to be relevant to sexual minorities; see online Supplement). In the control condition, they read a testimonial that instead discussed lack of trust between clients and the company but with no information about managerial treatment.

Dependent measures
We measured anticipated sexual identity disclosure ($\rho = .92$), comfort disclosing ($\alpha = .95$), fair treatment ($\rho = .92$) and LGBTQ+ representation with the same items used in Study 3. Finally, participants responded to the same diversity ideology manipulation check as in Study 3. To determine the success of the managerial treatment manipulation, they also responded to 'Based on the testimonial … CCX management values the LGBTQ+ community' on a 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree) scale.

TABLE 6 Means (SDs) by condition for Study 4.

Dependent variable	Diversity ideology	Climate condition		
		Control	Negative	Both
Identity Disclosure	Identity-Blind	3.32 (1.49)	2.62 (1.63)	2.99 (1.59)
	Identity-Conscious	3.48 (1.62)	2.47 (1.49)	2.95 (1.63)
	Both	3.40 (1.55)	2.54 (1.56)	2.97 (1.61)
Comfort Disclosing	Identity-Blind	3.85 (1.62)	2.80 (1.78)	3.35 (1.77)
	Identity-Conscious	4.14 (1.70)	2.54 (1.31)	3.30 (1.70)
	Both	3.98 (1.66)	2.66 (1.55)	3.33 (1.74)
Fair Treatment	Identity-Blind	3.64 (1.52)	2.44 (1.40)	3.07 (1.58)
	Identity-Conscious	3.79 (1.54)	2.70 (1.40)	3.22 (1.56)
	Both	3.71 (1.52)	2.57 (1.40)	3.15 (1.57)
LGBTQ+ Representation	Identity-Blind	3.19 (1.36)	2.02 (1.20)	2.64 (1.41)
	Identity-Conscious	4.02 (1.11)	2.12 (1.37)	3.03 (1.57)
	Both	3.58 (1.31)	2.07 (1.29)	2.83 (1.50)

5.2 | Results

We used the same analytic strategy as in Study 3.

5.2.1 | Manipulation checks

Diversity ideology manipulation check
Participants reported that the identity-conscious organization valued group differences more than the identity-blind organization, $F(1, 350) = 313.40$, $p < .001$, confirming the efficacy of the diversity ideology manipulation. This effect was not moderated by co-worker environment, $F(1, 350) = 0.28$, $p = .600$.

Co-worker environment manipulation check
Confirming the efficacy of the co-worker environment manipulation, participants reported more prejudice in the prejudice condition than in the condition with no information about prejudice, $F(1, 350) = 228.35$, $p < .001$. This effect was not moderated by diversity ideology, $F(1, 350) = 1.86$, $p = .174$.

5.2.2 | Main analyses

Contrary to previous studies and Hypothesis 1, participants did not report different levels of disclosure, $F(1, 352) = 0.002$, $p = .961$, $d = 0.02$, comfort disclosing, $F(1, 352) = 0.01$, $p = .926$, $d = 0.03$, or anticipated fair treatment, $F(1, 352) = 1.79$, $p = .182$, $d = 0.10$, in the identity-conscious relative to the identity-blind condition (see Table 6 for descriptive statistics). However, in the identity-conscious condition, participants anticipated more LGBTQ+ representation, $F(1, 350) = 11.84$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.26$, compared to participants in the identity-blind condition.

Participants also reported lower anticipations of disclosure, $F(1, 352) = 26.93$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.55$, comfort disclosing, $F(1, 352) = 60.39$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.82$, fair treatment, $F(1, 352) = 47.01$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.78$ and LGBTQ+ representation, $F(1, 350) = 129.17$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.16$, when learning about negative managerial treatment in comparison with receiving no information about managerial treatment. Consistent with Hypothesis 2b, there was no interaction between diversity ideology and managerial treatment condition on disclosure, $F(1, 352) = 0.86$, $p = .355$, comfort disclosing, $F(1, 352) = 2.58$, $p = .109$, or fair treatment, $F(1, 352) = 0.03$, $p = .873$.

However, there was an unexpected interaction (inconsistent with previous studies) between diversity ideology and managerial treatment condition on LGBTQ+ representation, $F(1, 350) = 7.40$, $p = .007$. When breaking the interaction down by diversity climate condition, there was an effect of diversity ideology in the control condition, $F(1, 350) = 19.07$, $p < .001$, but not in the negative diversity climate condition, $F(1, 350) = 0.26$, $p = .612$. Specifically, participants in the identity-conscious condition anticipated more LGBTQ+ representation compared to participants in the identity-blind condition, but only in the control climate condition.

5.3 | Discussion

Contrary to all previous studies, diversity ideology did not affect participants' willingness to disclose. Instead, only information about managerial treatment mattered in this study—negative information about management's treatment of sexual minorities reduced willingness to disclose relative to negative information about client trust in the company. These findings are consistent with research with people of color, showing that they are more attuned to information about racial/ethnic diversity and diversity climate (evidence-based cues) than to organizational statements (expressed cues; Wilton et al., 2020).

More importantly for the purposes of this research, these findings suggest that any negative information about the trustworthiness of the company may turn off the benefits of an identity-conscious diversity ideology. In other words, minoritized groups may make inferences about diversity climate even from information that is not directly about diversity climate.

However, it is also noteworthy that the magnitude of the effect of diversity ideology decreased substantially between Studies 1–2, where we recruited from company and LGBTQ+ listservs, compared with Studies 3–4, where we recruited from a participant recruitment platform (also with an older sample). For example, the disclosure measures in Studies 1 and 2 averaged $d = 0.55$, but averaged $d = 0.27$ in Study 3. One reason for our failure to replicate may be differences in the samples. However, another possibility is that the failure to replicate is merely a reflection of the smaller effect sizes—indeed, multi-study projects with low effect sizes are unlikely to demonstrate statistically significant results in every study without very large sample sizes (Schimmack et al., 2012). For example, to achieve 80% power to detect $d = 0.55$ (in an independent-samples t-test), we would only require 106 participants. To detect $d = 0.27$, we would require 434 participants (based on an a priori power analysis)—more than the 357 collected in this study.

Finally, one other deviation from previous studies was the presence of an interaction between diversity ideology and managerial treatment on perceptions of LGBTQ+ representation. This interaction pattern was in line with a safety mismatch effect because an identity-conscious ideology no longer increased perceptions of representation when there was conflicting information suggesting poor treatment from managers (i.e., information about negative managerial treatment might have elicited hypervigilance and made participants less trustful of the identity-conscious ideology). This interaction effect did not emerge for other dependent measures and has not emerged on this measure in any other studies, so it should be interpreted cautiously before further replication.

6 | STUDY 5

The previous study showed that negative information about managerial treatment removed the effect of the diversity ideology (on most measures). One possible reason for this is that the testimonials might have given stronger evidence of a broader workplace problem (and therefore a negative climate) than the individual co-worker climate information. In other words, the co-worker climate information might have been more ambiguous. It is possible that diversity messaging becomes a more important cue when people have no other clear information about how they will be treated at that organization. For example, diversity messaging does not affect minoritized racial groups in the United States when there is already information suggesting a positive diversity climate (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). In Study 5, we examined the effect of diversity ideologies in the context of negative, ambiguous, or positive information about managerial treatment to test this possibility.

6.1 | Method

6.1.1 | Participants and design

We recruited sexual minority participants through Prolific, an online participant recruitment platform, only advertising to participants who had not participated in Studies 3 and 4. As pre-registered (https://osf. io/5ugfm/?view_only=ecf0289de74342c29c0541eafbe15588), we aimed to collect at least 75 participants per cell for a 2 (Diversity Ideology: Identity-conscious vs Identity-blind) × 3 (Managerial Treatment: Negative vs Ambiguous vs Positive) between-participants design, so we requested 500 participants to account for exclusions. Of the 535 participants who started the study, 36 were excluded from analyses because they identified as straight or did not specify sexual orientation. We excluded another seven participants due to missing data, leaving a final sample of 492 participants (229 gay, 199 lesbian, 37 queer, 21 bisexual, four pansexual, and two asexual participants). Participants had a mean age of 29.94 ($SD = 10.51$) and 233 were women, 225 were men and 34 were non-binary. They were predominantly British (51%) and US American (42%) in terms of nationality, as well as country of residence. In terms of racial/ethnic background, they identified predominantly as white (81%), multiracial (6%), Black (5%), East Asian (3%), Latine/Hispanic (3%) and South Asian (2%). Given our obtained sample size, a sensitivity analysis using GPower 3.1 suggested we could detect an effect size as small as $\eta^2 = .02$ ($d = 0.16$) with 80% statistical power at an α level of .05.

6.1.2 | Procedure

We invited participants to complete an online study about their perception of the workplace using the same procedure as in Study 4 other than the modifications below.

6.1.3 | Materials

Managerial treatment manipulation
In the negative managerial treatment e condition, participants read a testimonial from a previous employee of the company discussing how supervisors mistreat LGBTQ+ people (adapted from Wilton et al., 2020)—it was nearly identical to Study 4, but with minor tweaks (e.g., a rating of one out of five stars, instead of two out of five stars). In the ambiguous treatment condition, the testimonial discussed similar points, but displayed more uncertainty about the treatment of LGBTQ+ members of the organization (e.g., 'Uncertain how my supervisors felt about me'). In the positive treatment condition, they stated

that LGBTQ+ people were valued at the organization (see online Supplement).

Dependent measures

We measured sexual identity disclosure ($\rho = .94$), comfort disclosing ($\alpha = .95$) and LGBTQ+ representation with the same items used in Study 4. Participants then responded to the same diversity ideology manipulation check as in Study 4. They also responded to 3 items on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) scale assessing the success of the managerial treatment manipulation: 'CCX management values the LGBTQ+ community'; 'I would face discrimination at CCX' (reverse scored); 'Supervisors are biased at CCG' (reverse scored; $\alpha = .92$). Finally, to ensure that the ambiguous treatment was viewed as the most ambiguous, they responded to three further items: 'It is unclear whether CCX management values the LGBTQ+ community'; 'I am uncertain how I would be treated at CCX'; 'The level of LGBTQ+ bias is ambiguous' ($\alpha = .86$).

6.2 | Results

We used 2×3 ANOVAs for analyses of the manipulation checks and dependent measures.[12]

6.2.1 | Manipulation checks

Diversity ideology manipulation check

Participants reported that the identity-conscious organization ($M = 5.35, SD = 1.59$) valued group differences more than the identity-blind organization ($M = 3.50, SD = 2.20$), $F(2, 484) = 141.26, p < .001$, confirming the efficacy of the diversity ideology manipulation. This effect was not moderated by managerial treatment, $F(2, 484) = 0.83$, $p = .438$.

Managerial treatment manipulation check

Confirming the efficacy of the managerial treatment manipulation, participants expected more bias in the negative managerial treatment condition ($M = 2.37, SD = 0.96$) than the ambiguous ($M = 3.99$, $SD = 0.95$), $p < .001, d = 1.70$, or positive treatment conditions ($M = 5.77, SD = 1.04$), $p < .001, d = 3.39, F(2, 484) = 511.08, p < .001$. They were also less likely to expect bias in the positive treatment than the ambiguous treatment condition, $p < .001, d = 1.78$. This effect was not moderated by diversity ideology, $F(2, 484) = 0.61$, $p < .543$.

Further confirming the efficacy of the managerial treatment manipulation, participants reported more ambiguity about treatment in the ambiguous condition ($M = 5.27, SD = 1.16$) than in the positive

($M = 2.37, SD = 1.27$), $p < .001, d = 2.38$ and negative treatment conditions ($M = 4.10, SD = 1.62$), $F(2, 484) = 195.57, p < .001$, $d = .83$.[13]

6.2.2 | Main analyses

Consistent with Hypothesis 1, in the identity-conscious condition, participants were more likely to disclose, $F(1, 485) = 15.31, p < .001$, $d = 0.17$, were more comfortable disclosing, $F(1, 485) = 8.01$, $p = .005, d = 0.08$ and anticipated higher LGBTQ+ representation, $F(1, 484) = 19.27, p < .001, d = 0.18$, than participants in the identity-blind condition (see Table 7 for descriptive statistics). There was also a main effect of managerial treatment on disclosure, $F(2, 485) = 136.35, p < .001$, comfort disclosing, $F(2, 485) = 173.37$, $p < .001$ and LGBTQ+ representation, $F(2, 484) = 167.92, p < .001$. Specifically, participants were less likely to disclose, $p < .001, d = .79$, less comfortable disclosing, $p < .001, d = .98$ and anticipated lower LGBTQ+ representation, $p < .001, d = .56$ when learning about negative treatment compared with the ambiguous or positive treatment, $p < .001, d = 1.81; p < .001, d = 2.13; p < .001, d = 2.01$, respectively. They were also more likely to disclose their sexual identity, $p < .001, d = .95$, were more comfortable disclosing, $p < .001$, $d = .99$ and anticipated higher LGBTQ+ representation, $p < .001$, $d = 1.37$, when learning about positive compared to ambiguous treatment.

Consistent with Hypothesis 2b, there were no interactions between diversity ideology and managerial treatment on disclosure, $F(2, 485) = 0.55, p = .579$, comfort disclosing, $F(2, 485) = 0.07, p = .930$, or LGBTQ+ representation, $F(2, 484) = 1.22, p = .296$.

6.3 | Discussion

An identity-conscious ideology increased participants' willingness to disclose their sexual identity relative to an identity-blind ideology, replicating the effects of Studies 1–3. Contrary to a safety cue mismatch perspective, this was the case regardless of information about managerial treatment—instead, it again supported a more-the-merrier effect.

The safety-cue-mismatch interaction effect on perceptions of LGBTQ+ representation in Study 4 did not replicate in Study 5—because the interaction did not replicate in any other studies, it does not appear to be a robust effect. Study 5 and the body of studies as a whole appear to provide the most consistent support for a more-the-merrier effect.

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[12] For the diversity ideology manipulation, we mistakenly pre-registered a one-way ANOVA instead of the 2×3 ANOVA that we pre-registered for the managerial treatment manipulation check—for consistency, we use a 2×3 ANOVA for both.

[13] This main effect was moderated by diversity ideology, $F(2, 484) = 10.19, p < .001$. In the negative managerial treatment condition, an identity-conscious ideology increased ambiguity relative to the identity-blind ideology, $p = .001$, but it decreased ambiguity in a positive climate, $p = .010$. The diversity ideology did not affect ambiguity in an ambiguous climate, $p = .108$.

TABLE 7 Means (SDs) by condition for Study 5.

Dependent variable	Diversity ideology	Climate condition			
		Negative	Ambiguous	Positive	All
Identity Disclosure	Identity-Blind	2.09 (1.40)	3.44 (1.46)	4.64 (1.32)	3.49 (1.74)
	Identity-Conscious	2.70 (1.53)	3.74 (1.49)	5.18 (0.93)	3.79 (1.69)
	Both	2.43 (1.50)	3.60 (1.48)	4.88 (1.19)	3.64 (1.72)
Comfort Disclosing	Identity-Blind	2.38 (1.40)	3.87 (1.51)	5.38 (1.41)	4.00 (1.90)
	Identity-Conscious	2.81 (1.28)	4.23 (1.64)	5.69 (1.31)	4.14 (1.83)
	Both	2.62 (1.35)	4.06 (1.58)	5.52 (1.37)	4.07 (1.86)
LGBTQ+ Representation	Identity-Blind	2.16 (1.23)	2.95 (1.40)	4.86 (1.10)	3.44 (1.69)
	Identity-Conscious	2.78 (1.48)	3.59 (1.34)	5.11 (0.91)	3.74 (1.59)
	Both	2.51 (1.40)	3.29 (1.40)	4.97 (1.02)	3.59 (1.65)

7 | GENERAL DISCUSSION

Across five studies, organizational diversity cues shaped identity safety for sexual minorities, affecting their willingness to disclose their sexual identity in the workplace, the comfort they would feel when doing so and their feelings about the organization (i.e., perceptions of fair treatment and belonging). Specifically, Studies 1–3 showed that identity-conscious diversity messages elicited more disclosure, comfort, perceived fairness and anticipated belonging in the workplace among sexual minority employees than did identity-blind diversity messages. Interestingly, although an identity-blind ideology did not facilitate disclosure, it also did not deter it when compared with a statement containing no diversity ideology.

Regarding psychological mechanisms, we explored both parallel and serial mediations involving expected LGBTQ+ representation, fair treatment and feelings of belonging (Studies 1 and 2). The evidence consistently pointed to identity-conscious ideologies leading to greater expected representation of LGBTQ+ employees in the organization, which was associated with expected fairness and belonging and then greater intentions to disclose. Although these analyses shed light on some of the experiences of sexual minority employees, we cannot rule out alternative models that include variables we have not measured in these studies (see Fiedler et al., 2018). For example, it is possible that identity-conscious ideologies encourage greater trust in the employer. Indeed, research has shown that stigmatization is associated with less trust in others as well as in institutions (e.g., Zhang et al., 2020). Although expected fairness is an aspect of trust, future research could focus on other aspects of organizational trust.

In Studies 2 and 3, the benefits of an identity-conscious ideology persisted even in the face of information about a negative co-worker environment in the organization, as evidenced by expressions of bias by work colleagues. Indeed, organizational policies and messages exist to set prescriptive norms and regulate employee behaviour, so they might reassure employees that prejudice from colleagues will be addressed when it happens. These findings have a parallel in research demonstrating that structural stigma against sexual minorities at the country level impacts them over and above the effects of interpersonal experiences

with stigma (Doyle et al., 2023; also see Doyle & Molix et al., 2015). Taken together, this may indicate that messages or behaviours seen to represent an organization can be just as important for the outcomes of sexual minorities as specific incidents of bias experienced. However, concrete information about how management treats sexual minorities had particularly strong effects in Studies 4–5, suggesting that variation in who enacts any negative behaviours may also play an important role. These possibilities should be tested more directly in future research with methodologies that capture real-world experiences.

Despite our tentative expectation that inconsistent cues would make sexual minorities especially mistrustful and unlikely to disclose, diversity messages did not interact with diversity climate (co-worker environment or managerial treatment) in these studies. This finding dovetails with other research suggesting that minoritized racial groups in the United States are responsive to diversity cues individually rather than holistically (Dover et al., 2014; Wilton et al., 2020). Yet the finding contrasts with research showing that people are especially unlikely to trust an organization with conflicting information about women's workplace representation (Kroeper et al., 2020). However, the latter research demonstrated deliberate misrepresentation by the organization, in contrast with the more ambiguous cues about the diversity climate in the present research. Unlike concrete statistics about representation, diversity messages can have a range of interpretations. They can represent descriptive statements about the nature of the organization, but they can also be aspirational statements about the climate it wants to achieve—this may in itself be valuable even when reality has not (yet) caught up with this ideal.

Taken together, this research makes several contributions to the literature. Our primary contribution is to extend existing knowledge about the impact of diversity ideologies to sexual minorities. This work demonstrates that diversity ideologies impact how sexual minorities manage their identity in the workplace, often in the face of conflicting cues about identity safety or threat. Despite the fact that sexual minorities chronically worry about discrimination—and downplaying identity might be expected to alleviate discrimination concerns—identity-blind ideologies showed no benefits for identity disclosure in these studies. Instead, an identity-conscious ideology facilitated identity disclosure

through perceptions of higher LGBTQ+ representation, belonging and fair treatment. This dovetails with other scholarship showing that identity-conscious ideologies increase perceptions of fair treatment among minoritized racial groups (Gündemir & Galinsky et al., 2018; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008), which can also translate into more disclosure of cues to their racial identity (Kang et al., 2016). It also dovetails with findings showing that trust in an organization can be a key facilitator of the disclosure of sexual identity (Capell et al., 2018).

This work contributes both to an improved understanding of the challenges sexual minorities face in the workplace and to a more complete understanding of the impact of diversity ideologies. More generally, we extend the literature on diversity ideologies to concealable stigmatized identities for the first time, although it is possible that other concealable identities (e.g., mental health status, neurodiversity) might be accompanied by very different workplace experiences and needs—therefore implying different responses to diversity ideologies.

Finally, the research contributes a better understanding of how identity safety (and threat) cues may or may not interact to impact sexual minorities' experiences. Despite sexual minorities' workplace hypervigilance (Rostosky et al., 2021), mismatched safety cues did not make them especially mistrustful, which was counter to our safety mismatch perspective. Instead, they demonstrated a more-the-merrier interpretation of the findings, where multiple cues can work together to increase (or hurt) safety. Indeed, a holistic approach to making organizations safe for the sexual minority community may be required—targeting a single level of an organization does not provide a 'magic bullet'.

7.1 | Limitations and future directions

An important limitation of this work is that one of the five studies reported in this paper did not replicate the effect of diversity ideologies found in the remaining four studies. Statistical power is the probability of correctly rejecting a false null hypothesis (Howell et al., 2012), so studies aiming for 80% statistical power will sometimes have one or more null effects in a series of studies (20%; also see Schimmack et al., 2012). However, there may be other reasons why Study 4 revealed a different pattern of results. Having examined closely the differences between all studies conducted, we could not find any specific factor that was unique to this study. For example, the sample in Study 4 had an older average age than in Studies 1 and 2 but it had a similar average age to Studies 3 and 5. Study 4 was also conducted through Prolific, as were Studies 3 and 5. The distribution of gender and sexual orientation varied across studies but it was comparable in Studies 4 and 5, which both also used similar testimonials as stimuli for the managerial treatment manipulation. Our inclination is to regard the null result obtained in Study 4 as a 'standard anomaly' in the research process but future scholarship may be able to identify a theoretical reason for the deviation, as well as a better understanding of additional factors that shape how sexual minorities manage their identities at work.

In future research, it will be important to develop nuanced theorizing about how different identities in the LGBTQ+ community shape reactions to diversity initiatives. For example, bisexual people have lower identification with the LGBTQ+ community and also have more concerns about essentializing sexual orientation relative to other sexual minorities (Morgenroth et al., 2021). Additionally, along with transgender people (Morgenroth et al., 2023; Olson et al., 2015), bisexual people face more issues related to the visibility and believability of their identity (Kirby, Merritt et al., 2020) than cisgender gay or lesbian individuals. A combination of identities such as sexual orientation, gender and race, may also intersect to shape responses to diversity ideologies (see Lei & Rhodes et al., 2021; Petsko et al., 2022; Rosette et al., 2018; Wong et al., 2022).

Another limitation of the present research is that participants were judging hypothetical workplace contexts, rather than reflecting on their own employers' diversity cues. Although this afforded experimental control over the factors of interest—and our samples included employed participants who could relate to the situations they imagined—future research could complement this analysis with a less controlled but more realistic embedding in real employment contexts. The organizational context was also restricted to a relatively masculine domain (engineering consultancy)—the perceived femininity or masculinity of work environments may have a role to play in sexual minorities' willingness to disclose their sexual orientation, although how they would interact with diversity ideologies is as yet unclear.

Our samples were also somewhat culturally homogeneous and largely limited to two countries—identity disclosure may not be as easily influenced in cultural contexts where sexual minorities are at significant risk. Indeed, it is important to note that by focusing on identity disclosure we are not taking a normative approach to this choice or neglecting the costs of disclosing, which can be substantial. However, although disclosing makes members of socially stigmatized groups vulnerable to prejudice, discrimination and even violence, one must not underestimate the individual and collective benefits disclosing can have, such as improved physical and mental health (Pachankis et al., 2007), social relationships (Newheiser & Barreto et al., 2014) and job attitudes (Griffith & Hebl et al., 2002). It is also crucial to facilitate visible representation, which can help address stereotypes, provide role models and enable social support and collective action. That said, future research should examine these processes in different cultural contexts to provide a more complete understanding of the challenges sexual minorities face at work.

Finally, in Study 2, participants in the prejudice condition (80%) were more likely to complete the study than those in the no prejudice condition (70%). In addition to concerns about internal validity, this suggests potential concerns about exposing minoritized participants to threatening information about prejudice in experimental research. In future research, it is worth considering whether online methodologies—where we are unable to help alleviate any distress experienced by participants—are always appropriate for prejudice research.

7.2 | Conclusion

In sum, our results show a 'the more the merrier' effect of diversity cues, in that both types of cues examined facilitated identity disclosure among sexual minorities. Empowering people to disclose a minority identity gives them the power to address the stigma associated with their identity. In this sense, organizations have a role to play in enabling employees to be themselves at work, perform to their potential and contribute to supporting others to do the same. Crucially, no individual should feel pressure to disclose their identity or advocate for their community in an environment that is unsafe—but creating truly safe environments and signaling that safety will allow people to stand up, be visible and contribute to the visibility of their co-workers.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

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