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Inclusion of sexual and gender diversity: organizational, interpersonal, and individual dynamics involved.

Doctoral dissertation

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"To have good and a bad experience in a field is going to depend on whether you like it or not, whether it fits you as a person and whether people are going to accept you.

Because if people are not going to accept you, it doesn't matter what kind of job you do."

(Irma, 25 years old, participant)

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Abstract

Organizations have increased their efforts to manage sexual and gender diversity in recent years. However, sexual and gender diversity continues to face situations of discrimination and to feel excluded at work. To address this challenge, this doctoral dissertation aims to understand the dynamics involved - barriers and facilitators - in the inclusion of sexual and gender diversity in organizations. To this end, three studies were conducted. The first study analyzes the existing literature on how heteronormativity is manifested in organizations, understanding heteronormativity as a root of the barriers to the inclusion of this population. The second study examines the cultural factors that play a role in the process of disclosure of lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) people at work. The third study explores how trans young adults develop their vocational identities. Together, these three studies contribute to the knowledge base on inclusion in organizations. This contribution draws on information from different levels (cultural, organizational, interpersonal, and individual), from the perspective of different groups (sexual diversity vs. gender diversity), and at different points in their career development. Finally, this dissertation discusses the implications of the results of the studies and suggests best practices for improving organizational structures, policies, and interpersonal dynamics to foster an inclusive environment for sexual and gender diversity.

Introduction

The inclusion of diversity in organizations has gained attention in recent years as a response to an increasingly diverse workforce (Mor Barak, 2022; Roberson, 2019; Shore et al., 2018). One of the risks of not managing diversity and not fostering a climate of inclusion is that it can create spaces of exclusion and discrimination against people who do not belong to hegemonic groups (Mor Barak, 2022; Roberson, 2019; Shore et al., 2018). The latest Eurobarometer data shows that this consequence of diversity mismanagement is widespread, with 34% of respondents having felt discriminated against at work or when looking for a job because of their personal characteristics (European Commission, 2019). If we focus on sexual and gender diversity, which is the group addressed in this dissertation, the data show that 20% of lesbian, gay, and bisexual people (LGB) have felt discriminated against in the past 12 months at work, a percentage that rises to 40% in the case of trans people (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2020). These data suggest that despite legislative progress, sexual and gender diversity still does not feel included in the workplace (Dupreelle et al., 2020; Maji et al., 2023; Novacek et al., 2023; Williams et al., 2009).

In line with perceptions of LGBT people, the scientific literature also points out that although an increasing number of organizations are attempting to be supportive of sexual and gender diversity, there are still structural conditions that complicate their efforts (e.g., Kelly et al., 2021; Köllen, 2021; Maji et al., 2023; Williams et al., 2009). Gender binary space configuration (Heyes et al., 2016; Mattheis et al., 2019; Rich et al., 2012), gendered dress-code policies (Compton & Dougherty, 2017; Entwistle & Mears, 2013; Resnick & Galupo, 2019), benefits only available to married heterosexual couples (Bendl et al., 2009; Compton & Dougherty, 2017; Lewis, 2009;) or suggestions by leaders that limit the authentic expression of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans (LGBT) people (Compton & Dougherty, 2017; Mizzi, 2014; Priola et al., 2018; Wickens & Sandlin, 2010) are some examples of how organizations limit inclusion.

The inclusion of sexual and gender diversity in organizations is important because a poor management has negative consequences for LGBT people and for cisgender heterosexual people too (Dupreelle et al., 2020; Fletcher et al., 2022; Holman et al., 2021; Webster et al., 2018). Research shows that; indeed, a lack of inclusion negatively affects the authenticity, well-being and performance of LGBT people

(Dupreelle et al., 2020; Fletcher et al, 2022; Holman et al., 2021; Maji et al., 2023: Webster et al. 2018) and is linked to discrimination at work (Holman et al., 2021; Maji et al., 2023; Webster et al. 2018). Employees who witness discrimination are also affected by it; they feel angrier, see their performance reduced and are more likely to leave their organization (Novacek et al., 2023; Porath & Pearson, 2010). Conversely, when LGBT people are in an inclusive environment they experience greater psychological safety, feel more empowered, and are more creative (Dupreelle et al., 2020; Fletcher et al, 2022; Webster et al. 2018). In addition, compared to previous generations, people under 35 who are heterosexual are more inclusive, being three times more likely to value LGBT colleagues who are open about their sexual identity and 3.6 times more likely to participate in ally programs (Dupreelle et al., 2020) which may mean that hegemonic groups more often frown upon environments that are hostile to LGBT people.

Given the existing situation of LGBT people in organizations and the potential benefits of their inclusion in organizations, an understanding of the barriers that hinder the inclusion of sexual and gender diversity, as well as the factors that can facilitate it, seems essential. This dissertation, in the form of a compendium of articles, aims to address this objective, and is organized as follows. First, the theoretical framework underlying the dissertation is presented. Second, the specific objectives of the dissertation are described and introduced by the corresponding theoretical framework. Third, we present a description of the methodology used to respond to the objectives of the thesis. Fourth, the results are reported, which consist of the three published articles that have their own introduction, method, results, and discussion. Finally, a general discussion of the results of the thesis with their practical implications is provided and the final conclusions are outlined. The following table summarizes the specific objectives, the research questions, and their corresponding article.

Table 1Specific objectives, research questions and articles of the doctoral dissertation

Specific Objective	Research Question	Article
1. Understand how	-How does	Manifestations and
heteronormativity	heteronormativity manifest	Reinforcement of
manifests itself and is	and how is it reinforced in	Heteronormativity in the
	the workplace?	Workplace: A Systematic

reinforced in the workplace		Scoping Review (Journal of Homosexuality)
2. Explore the cultural factors that can impact the disclosure experiences of LGB employees	-What disclosure strategies do LGB employees use in Spain and Ecuador? -What are the individual and organizational consequences of adopting the different disclosure strategies?	'Coming out' across cultures: Examining the experiences of Ecuadorian and Spanish LGB employees (Current Psychology)
	-What is the role of cultural factors in the process of disclosure?	
3. Examine how trans young adults negotiate their vocational identity	- How do trans young adults negotiate their vocational identity?	"I only wanted one thing and that was to be who I am now": Being a trans young adult and (re) negotiating vocational identity (Gender, Work, and Organization)

Theoretical Background

Diversity and Inclusion in Organizations

Diversity in organizations is undoubtedly on the rise (Mor Barak, 2022; Roberson, 2019; Shore et al., 2018). Globalization, demographic trends, access to information, and recognition of rights of minoritized groups have indeed contributed to greater workforce diversity (Mor Barak, 2022; Roberson, 2019; Shore et al., 2018). Workforce diversity, as defined by Mor Barak (2005), is the division of people at work into social categories that are based on common perceptions in a given cultural context and have potential positive or negative effects on employment outcomes. Because of this increase in diversity, and the fact that heterogeneity in social categories can be the basis for intergroup hostility and discrimination (Dovidio et al., 2017; Mor Barak, 2022), many organizations have correspondingly improved their efforts to manage such diversity (Mor Barak, 2022; Roberson, 2019).

While social categories of race, gender and age have traditionally been addressed in the literature (Roberson, 2019), the study of other minoritized such as LGBT people has attracted attention in more recent years (Köllen, 2021; Maji et al., 2023; McFadden, 2015). This recent literature shows that, indeed, LGBT people are object of said hostility and discrimination in organizations (Connolly & Lynch, 2016; Kerrigan & O'Brien, 2020; Maji et al., 2023; O'Brien & Kerrigan, 2020). In this context, there have been important advances in their living conditions, with many Western countries enacting legislation to recognize and protect LGBT people in recent years (Maji et al., 2023; Mendos et al., 2020; Mor Barak, 2022) and organizations increasing their efforts to create more LGBT-friendly environments (Kelly et al., 2021; Moser et al., 2021). Despite these improvements, it is important to note that the political atmosphere is currently volatile, and the legitimacy of diversity management is experiencing a backlash (Köllen, 2021; Moser et al., 2021). In addition, some authors suggest that some of the efforts being made to include LGBT people in organizations are not sufficient (Kelly et al., 2021; Maji et al., 2023; Williams et al., 2009). They argue that while protecting LGBT people in organizations is a necessary action, LGBT people are still perceived and conceptualized as outside the norm in the context of work, which limits the capacity for true inclusion (Kelly et al., 2021; Williams et al., 2009).

In the following sections, we will introduce the terms sexual and gender diversity. Then, we will examine diversity management, inclusion, and exclusion in organizations. Next, we will discuss the barriers that the literature has found to inclusion through diversity management. Finally, we will differentiate between the experiences of LGB and trans people at work and emphasize the importance of studying them separately.

Sexual Diversity, Gender Diversity and Related Concepts

Sexual diversity and gender diversity are two different concepts (American Psychological Association [APA], 2015; Meyer, 2010). The term sexual diversity is closely related to that of sexual orientation and sexual identity (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine [NASEM], 2020). Sexual orientation refers to patterns of affective and sexual attraction that people have towards other people based on gender (i.e., men or women) (APA, 2015; NASEM, 2020). Sexual identity is how people describe their sexual orientation and how they label themselves in relation to it (NASEM, 2020). Among other labels, when people are identified on the grounds of

these attraction patterns, they are identified as homosexual (lesbian or gay) in the case of same-gender attraction, heterosexual when there is attraction to people of a different gender, and bisexual in the case of attraction to both men and women (APA, 2015; Meyer, 2010; NASEM, 2020). The term 'queer' is another label -usually used by younger generations- that refers to people who identify as 'non-heterosexual' (NASEM, 2020), although we will not use it throughout this dissertation because the participants in our studies did not identify themselves as such.

In contrast to sexual diversity, gender diversity is closely linked to the terms gender identity and gender expression (APA, 2015; Meyer, 2010; Rubin et al., 2020). On the one hand, gender expression refers to the way in which individuals physically present themselves (e.g., clothing, appearance) that communicates conformity o nonconformity to gender roles or norms (APA, 2015). On the other hand, gender identity is an internal sense of feeling a man, a woman or other gender outside the man-woman binary (e.g., genderqueer, gender non-conforming) (APA, 2015; Rubin et al., 2020). When we use the term gender diversity, we are referring to people whose gender identity or expression does not align with their sex assigned at birth (male or female) (APA, 2015; Rubin et al., 2020). For instance, transgender or trans people are those whose gender identity does not align with the sex they were assigned at birth (APA, 2015; Rubin et al., 2020). Some trans people undergo gender transition. Gender transition consists of different social, legal, and/or medical steps that trans people can take to match their gender identity with their gender expression (Sangganjanavanich & Headley, 2013). Cisgender or cis people are those whose gender identity and sex assigned at birth do align (APA, 2015; NASEM, 2020).

The acronym LGBT is an umbrella term that is widely used to refer to both sexual diversity and gender diversity (NASEM, 2020). However, in the context of scientific research, the experiences of its subgroups must be analyzed separately (McFadden, 2015). Indeed, some studies use the acronym LGBT in their titles without analyzing the experience of trans people separately, or even without including them in their samples (Beauregard et al., 2016; McFadden, 2015; McFadden & Crowley-Henry, 2016). While there is historical, political, and social significance to the grouping of LGBT people, and they may share some experiences (e.g., experiences of oppression, disclosure), trans and LGB people have unique experiences that they do not share (McFadden & Crowley-Henry, 2015). An individualized analysis of their experiences

is, therefore, essential to gain a more accurate understanding of their reality (Beauregard et al., 2016; McFadden & Crowley-Henry, 2015)

In addition, although we will refer to LGBT people as sexual and gender diversity throughout this dissertation, we acknowledge that the use of these terms is evolving (APA, 2015; Rubin et al., 2020). The term diversity has traditionally been used for those who do not conform to what is considered the standard norm, namely cisgender and heterosexual people (NASEM, 2020). However, the terms sexual and gender diversity are increasingly being used to refer to the full spectrum of human diversity in terms of gender and sexuality, including the cisheterosexual norm (APA, 2015).

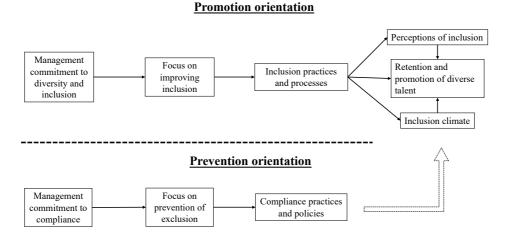
Diversity Management and Inclusion of Diversity

As previously mentioned, many organizations are advancing their efforts to manage sexual and gender diversity, and to ensure the inclusion of LGBT people in organizations of the West and other developing economies (Kelly et al., 2021; Köllen, 2021; Maji et al., 2023; Moser et al., 2021). Diversity management is a facet of Human Resource Management (Arenas et al., 2017; Köllen, 2021) and, according to Mor Barak (2015), it consists of a two-stage process. The first stage is reactive and involves increasing the representation of diversity in organizations though recruitment, retention and promotion programs (Mor Barak et al., 2016). Applied to sexual and gender diversity this would entail recruiting a greater number of LGBT people, for example, through diversity-related employer branding (Köllen 2021). However, this increase in diversity does not necessarily lead to inclusion (Arenas et al., 2017; Köllen, 2021; Mor Barak, 2015). In fact, institutional bias and the heterogeneity of social groups with different levels of power can create an environment of exclusion (Mor Barak, 2015; Mor Barak, 2022; Mor Barak et al., 2016). For example, if a predominantly white company has not addressed its racial biases and it introduces racial and ethnic diversity, it may give rise to situations of racism. In order to avoid such situations, a second stage of diversity management which is proactive in nature, is also required (Mor Barak, 2015). This stage would involve removing significant obstacles while creating institutional mechanisms to facilitate inclusion, for instance, diversity training, mentoring programs, and affinity groups (Arenas et al., 2017; Köllen, 2021; Moser et al., 2021).

Inclusion can be defined as "employee perceptions that their unique contribution to the organization is appreciated and their full participation is encouraged" (Mor Barak, 2015; p. 85). Thus, an inclusive place of work would be one that respects and values human differences, is responsible for its surrounding community, cares for disadvantaged groups, and collaborates beyond its national borders (Mor Barak, 2022). Shore et al. (2018) conducted a review of the literature and proposed an integrative framework as a model of inclusive organizations. According to this model, two types of processes can work together to contribute to organizational inclusion: a prevention orientation and a promotion orientation. When managers adopt a prevention orientation, they focus on the safety of employees and avoidance of exclusion using compliance practices such as antidiscrimination policies and micromanagement of subtle discriminatory actions. When they adopt a promotion orientation, managers are committed to improving diversity and inclusion through the representation of minoritized groups at all organizational levels. The promotion of inclusion would imply that: (1) people feel safe to share their differences, (2) feel like insiders, (3) are respected and valued in their diversity, (4) are able to impact on important decisionmaking, (5) can be transparent about who they are, and (6) diversity is recognized and honored in the organization. The commitment of top management to both orientations, in turn, can improve individual-level perceptions of inclusion, promote collective efforts toward integrating diversity, and allow the retention and promotion of diverse talent (Shore et al., 2018). Figure 1 illustrates this model below.

Figure 1

Promotion and prevention orientations in the inclusive organizations model



Note. Figure adapted from the model of inclusive organizations in Shore et al (2018).

Prevention and promotion may therefore be significant orientations to include sexual and gender diversity in organizations (Shore et al., 2018). In this sense, it is not enough to only adopt anti-discrimination legislation and organizational policies to prevent blatant acts of discrimination in the workplace (Cortina, 2008; Di Marco et al., 2018; Mor Barak, 2022). Such policies, for instance, are not able to eradicate uncivil acts selectively directed to unprivileged groups that are subtle and ambiguous in their intentions, also known and modern discrimination (Cortina, 2008; Di Marco et al., 2018), nor they address the roots of said discrimination. This orientation alone leaves intact organizational structures and processes that may function as mechanisms of exclusion of LGBT people (Kelly et al., 2021; Williams et al., 2009). Therefore, it is critical to identify the organizational barriers that function to exclude LGBT people in organizations to limit them and implement mechanisms to promote inclusion.

Exclusion and Discrimination

Organizations that fail to manage diversity in a way that makes their diverse employees feel like insiders and that their uniqueness is valued run the risk of creating social exclusion (Shore et al., 2011; Shore et al., 2018). Although social exclusion in organizations is a universal phenomenon, the distinction between one group and another based on demographics and their corresponding hierarchization is culture dependent (Lau & Murnighan, 2005; Mor Barak, 2022). Therefore, who is to be considered 'diverse' and who is to be considered 'normal' is socially built upon cultural norms in a specific context and legitimized through laws, policies, and informal norms (Bendl et al., 2008; 2009; Ndzwayiba & Steyn, 2019). Western societies and their organizations have traditionally seen male (vs. female), cisgender (vs. transgender), and heterosexual (vs. non-heterosexual) people as the norm and have, respectively, privileged these groups through their policies and practices (Compton & Dougherty, 2017; Ndzwayiba & Steyn, 2019; Williams et al., 2009). Accordingly, LGBT people have long been subject to exclusion from the labor market and discriminated against at work (Connolly & Lynch, 2016; Kerrigan & O'Brien, 2020; O'Brien & Kerrigan, 2020; Maji et al., 2023). Although the ways in which discrimination is perpetrated against LGBT people in organizations may vary, this discrimination continues to take place and affects the well-being and performance of LGBT people (Collins & Rocco, 2018; Maji et al., 2023; Neary, 2017; Priola et al., 2018).

Indeed, one of the main problems associated to a poor management of diversity is discrimination (Mor Barak, 2022; Mor Barak et al., 2016; Shore et al., 2011).

Research on employment discrimination against sexual and gender diversity shows that LGBT people face discrimination when looking for a job (Aksoy et al., 2022; Carpenter et al., 2022; Drydakis, 2022a; Drydakis, 2022b; Flage, 2020; Maji et al., 2023; Shannon, 2022; Weichselbaumer, 2022). In this sense, LGBT people are more likely to be excluded from hiring decisions than their cisheterosexual counterparts (Carpenter et al., 2022; Drydakis, 2022b; Flage, 2020; Shannon, 2022). This is especially true for trans people, who have lower labor market support than LGB people (Aksoy et al., 2022), as well as lower employment rates and economic outcomes when compared to cisgender people (Carpenter et al., 2022; Shannon, 2022). These constraints have detrimental consequences for LGBT people, not only limiting their access to the labor market, but also their career opportunities and earnings (Drydakis, 2022a; Maji et al., 2023; Weichselbaumer, 2022).

Once in the workplace, LGBT people continue to experience violence and unfair treatment, from overt forms such as verbal abuse, property damage, or physical violence (Brewster et al. 2014; Collins & Rocco, 2018; Maji et al., 2023), to more insidious acts, such as receiving inappropriate comments, being treated as a joke, or being excluded from social events (Baggio, 2017; Maji et al., 2023; Riach et al., 2014; Soinio et al., 2019; Zurbrügg & Miner, 2016). In the case of trans employees, they face unique discriminatory actions such as being intentionally referred to by the wrong pronouns or by their birth name, also known as "deadnaming" (McFadden & Crowley-Henry, 2016; Schilt et al., 2007). In the case of LGB employees, they are sometimes discouraged from engaging in conversations that may reveal their non-heterosexual identity (Compton & Dougherty, 2017; Priola et al., 2018; Wickens & Sandlin, 2010). Indeed, emotional resources are invested in their disclosure process in order to assess whether it is appropriate for them to talk about their personal life in relation to their sexual orientation at work (Clair et al., 2005; Di Marco et al., 2018; Griffith et al., 2002). These experiences have adverse effects on LGBT individuals' health (e.g., well-being, stress) and work-related outcomes (e.g., job satisfaction, performance) (Collins & Rocco, 2018; Neary, 2017; Priola et al., 2018; Rumens, 2013).

Barriers to the Inclusion of Sexual and Gender Diversity in Organizations

Inclusion in organizations is created by removing the barriers that generate exclusion and promoting practices that celebrate diversity (Mor Barak, 2016; Shore et al., 2018). In the case of sexual and gender diversity, authors are growingly pointing to heteronormativity and its manifestations as a key driver of exclusionary organizational practices and interpersonal dynamics (e.g., Amstutz et al., 2020; Kitzinger, 2005; Ozturk & Rumens, 2014; Rumens, 2015; Tolley & Ranzijn, 2006; Ueno et al., 2020; Williams et al., 2009). Heteronormativity is a belief system that assumes that there are only two sexes (male/female) that correspond to two genders (male and female), who express themselves in a masculine or feminine way and are naturally attracted to each other (Kitzinger, 2005; West & Zimmerman, 1987). This belief system is manifested in institutions, organizations, and daily practices (Ward & Schneider, 2009), it privileges people who meet heteronormative characteristics and limits the inclusion of those who do not comply with said alignment, for instance, LGBT people.

Heteronormativity can manifest itself in organizations in specific ways, according to the particularities of the occupational sector to which the organization belongs (Rumens, 2016). For example, while in the healthcare sector heteronormativity can manifest by assuming that a patient is heterosexual and then prescribing birth control (Soinio et al., 2019), in the education sector it can be a matter of silencing nonheterosexuality in order not to influence youngsters into non-heteronormative thinking (Gray, 2013; Neary, 2016). Furthermore, the presence of heteronormativity in organizations rests on the culture and legal framework in which the organization is located (Compton, 2019; Connolly & Lynch, 2016; Kelly et al., 2020; Skidmore, 2004). Organizations in cultures that hold respect for traditional customs and norms as a core value may reward commitment to hegemonic traditions (Jones et al., 2013) and may find it more difficult to accept unconventional forms of gender expression and family arrangements among their employees. The culture of a country is also translated into its laws. Thus, in a legal context that protects sexual and gender diversity against violence, recognizes same-sex marriage and parenthood, and facilitates and supports gender transition, organizations are called to adopt policies and practices that reflect the society in which they are embedded (Köllen, 2021; Mor Barak, 2022; Scott, 2013). On the contrary, if this protective legislation is not present or if non-heteronormative ways of being are even sanctioned, organizations may accordingly enforce heteronormativity

(Kelly et al., 2021; Skidmore, 2004). The presence of heteronormativity should therefore be analyzed within the framework of a country with laws that promote or limit its manifestations and consequences in organizations (Amstutz et al., 2020; Mor Barak, 2022).

When heteronormativity becomes embedded in organizational processes, these processes can hinder the inclusion of LGBT people in the workplace (Priola et al., 2018; Sharek et al., 2015; Williams et al., 2009). Moreover, LGBT people experience and perceive these barriers even before they enter the workforce. Educational institutions are contexts where children and youth begin to gain an understanding of what it means to be a professional from significant role models (Cruess et al., 2019; Jarvis-Selinger et al., 2012) and begin to develop their vocational identity (Flum & Kaplan, 2012). However, research shows that LGBT children and youth are often subjected to mockery, slurs, and harassment because of their sexual and/or gender identity during these formative years (Austin, 2016; Bower-Brown et al., 2021). In addition, LGBT youth sometimes find themselves in educational contexts that silence their realities and those of others who could serve as positive role models, such as LGBT teachers and school leaders (Austin, 2016; Courtney, 2014: Neary, 2016). These experiences can create a hostile environment for LGBT youth who are just beginning to make career choices that will shape their future. In this sense, several studies have shown that LGBT people perceive their career opportunities as limited and avoid organizations that they perceive as hostile to sexual and gender diversity to avoid stigmatization (Austin, 2016; Brewster et al., 2014; Budge et al., 2010; Kaplan, 2014; Ng et al., 2012; Schneider & Dimito, 2010). Against this backdrop of barriers, organizations have a responsibility to create inclusive environments and make this inclusivity visible on their websites to attract and retain young LGBT talent (Beauregard et al., 2018; Moser et al., 2021).

LGBT people have long been excluded from recruitment and selection processes based on their sexual orientation and trans gender identity (Carpenter et al., 2022; Drydakis, 2022b; Flage, 2020; Maji et al., 2023; Shannon, 2022) even in countries with the most progressive LGBT laws and policies (Aksoy et al., 2022; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2020; Shannon, 2022). Once employed, LGBT people may face both overt disrespect and covert discriminatory actions (Cortina, 2008; Di Marco et al., 2018; Maji et al., 2023). LGBT people also find it difficult to be promoted to positions of high responsibility (Kerrigan & O'Brien, 2020; Tindall & Waters, 2012;

Wright, 2009). This results in a lack of representation of non-heteronormative people in positions of power, which may further contribute to their limited career access and advancement (Courtney, 2014; Mizzi & Star, 2019; Mungaray & Curtin, 2021; Tindall & Waters, 2012).

Another barrier to the inclusion of LGBT people in organizations is the existence of silence around the topic of sexual and gender diversity (Compton & Dougherty, 2017; Priola et al., 2014; Wickens & Sandlin, 2010). Heteronormativity positions non-heteronormative people as outside of what is acceptable in a professional environment, also known as 'heteroprofessionalism' (Mizzi, 2013; Rumens, 2008; Rumens & Kerfoot, 2009). As such, sexual and gender diversity is sometimes excluded from employee training programs (Mizzi, 2013; 2014), is overlooked or superficially addressed in inclusion policies (Bendl et al., 2008; 2009; Mizzi, 2014; Ndzwayiba & Steyn, 2019), or is even silenced in conversations where same-sex relationships are mentioned (Compton & Dougherty, 2017; Di Marco et al., 2022; O'Brien & Kerrigan, 2020; Wickens & Sandlin, 2010). This silence carries over to the disclosure decisions of non-heterosexual and trans people, who must assess to what extent it is safe and acceptable to be authentic about their identity at work (Gray, 2013; Mattheis et al., 2020; Yasser et al., 2021), for instance, by talking about their partner or about issues related to their trans history.

Differences in the Experience of LGBT People in Organizations

As previously mentioned, the experiences of LGB and trans people at work differ. One experience that is unique to trans people, and not to LGB cisgender people, is that of gender transition (APA, 2015; NASEM, 2020). Organizations and their members can certainly play a role in each of the steps that trans people may take to align their gender identity and gender expression while at work (Brewster et al., 2014; Budge et al., 2010; Dispenza et al., 2010; Jones, 2013; Martinez et al., 2017; Schilt & Connell, 2007; Van de Cauter et al., 2021). First, in terms of social transition, colleagues and supervisors may not use the preferred name and pronouns of trans people (Brewster et al., 2014; Budge et al., 2010; Martinez et al., 2017; Schilt & Connell, 2007). The organization may also interfere in the decision of the employee to wear a dress code that corresponds to their gender identity (Jones, 2013; Schilt & Westbrook, 2009) or limit their access to corresponding bathrooms and lockers (Budge et al., 2010; Dispenza et al., 2010; Martinez et al., 2017). Second, trans people who

undergo sex reassignment surgery may not be granted paid medical leave and may not have the necessary job accommodations when they return to work (Budge et al., 2010; Van de Cauter et al., 2021). Third, beyond the possibility to change the name in legal documents due to existing legislation, organizations may not facilitate this change in internal documents (e.g., e-mail, employer tags) or may handle this procedure unsystematically and with lack of confidentiality (Budge et al., 2010; Dispenza et al., 2010; Sangganjanavanich & Headley, 2013; Van de Cauter et al., 2021). All the above are some of the experiences that employees may face because of their stigmatized trans gender identity rather than their sexual identity.

The experience of disclosure of sexual identity and that of gender identity is also different for LGBT people (Salter & Sasso, 2022). Indeed, the disclosure experiences of both trans and LGB employees are similar in terms of the dilemma they may face when their stigmatized identity is invisible, and the heteronormative systems they are confronted with (Salte & Sasso, 2022). However, gender transition and the extent to which gender expression matches gender identity for trans people adds visibility to their stigmatized identity, whereas the sexual identity of LGB people is invisible (Salte & Sasso, 2022). The invisible nature of sexual identity confers LGB people some control over the concealability of their identity at work (Jones & King, 2013; Sabat et al., 2020), which makes the experience of sexual identity disclosure and that of gender identity disclosure potentially different.

In this sense, several models have emerged to understand the strategies that LGB employees employ to reveal or conceal their sexual identity in the workplace (e.g., Clair et al., 2005; Griffin, 1992; Ragins, 2008). These models conceptualize sexual identity disclosure as a set of behaviors that are influenced by organizational (e.g., inclusion climate, heteronormative culture), interpersonal (e.g., characteristics of coworkers) and individual (e.g., previous experience of stigmatization) factors (Clair et al., 2005; Griffin, 1992; Ragins, 2008). There may also be differences in the disclosure process of LGB people (i.e., within-group differences), especially between homosexual and bisexual employees, who are often perceived in a different way (Arena & Jones, 2017; Compton & Dougherty, 2017; Rumens, 2012). In line with these factors, LGB employees balance the benefits and potential risks of coming out at work and, accordingly, display behaviors to preserve the invisibility of their sexual identity or that

otherwise make it visible (Clair et al., 2005; Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Ragins, 2008 Thuillier et al., 2022).

It is important to note that the control of LGB people over their own disclosure is also somehow limited (Di Marco et al., 2022). In this regard, although LGB people may use different disclosure strategies to gratify their disclosure preferences, the behavior of supervisors, co-workers, and clients (i.e., the audience) also plays an important role (Di Marco et al., 2022). For instance, LGB people may sometimes want to talk about their personal life related to their sexual identity and the audience may not ask questions nor show further interest (Di Marco et al., 2022). Similarly, LGB people may not want to reveal their sexual identity but may be outed by the audience, for example, through gossip (Di Marco et al., 2022). This model suggests that the response of the audience should be taken into account when analyzing disclosure experiences (Di Marco et al., 2022).

Having described the theoretical framework underpinning this doctoral dissertation, I will present below the objectives, their relationship with the existing literature and how they contribute to a better understanding of the barriers and facilitators for the inclusion of sexual and gender diversity in organizations.

Objectives

This doctoral dissertation has the general objective of deepening the knowledge about the barriers and facilitators for the inclusion of sexual and gender diversity in organizations. This general objective intends to be met through three specific objectives. The first is to know how heteronormativity manifests itself in organizations, since heteronormativity has been identified as a root of the barriers faced by LGBT people (Kelly et al., 2021; Rumens & Broomfield, 2014; Williams et al., 2009). The second is to explore cultural factors that facilitate or hinder the process of disclosure at work environment, both the process itself and its consequences. The third is to know how trans youth develop their vocational aspirations in order to understand which experiences are barriers and which ease their incorporation into the labor market and to improve their work experiences in organizations. Through these three objectives, inclusion in organizations is approached at different levels (i.e., cultural, organizational, interpersonal, and individual), from different perspectives (i.e., LGB people and trans

people) and at different points in career development (i.e., pre-career experiences and on-the-job experiences).

Study 1. Manifestation of Heteronormativity in the Workplace

Organizations have risen their efforts to create more inclusive environments for sexual and gender diversity, yet research shows that LGBT people continue to occupy spaces of exclusion (Cottingham & Taylor, 2016; Kelly et al., 2021; Priola et al., 2018; Rumens & Broomfield, 2014; Williams et al., 2009). Some authors (e.g., Kelly et al., 2021; Rumens & Broomfield, 2014; Williams et al., 2009) argue that this exclusion still occurs due to the existence of policies and practices that are heteronormative in nature (i.e., they privilege heterosexuality, heterosexual lifestyles, and gender binary conceptions) and represent significant barriers to inclusion. Although there is some agreement that heteronormativity has negative outcomes for individuals who do not conform to heteronormative norms (e.g., Collins & Rocco, 2018; Drydakis, 2015; Soinio et al., 2019), it is not yet clear how heteronormativity manifests itself in organizations (Rumens, 2016). Some studies have focused on analyzing its manifestation in specific sectors (e.g., Collins & Rocco, 2018; Ueno et al., 2020), organizations (e.g., Bendl et al., 2008; 2009) or according to the individual experience of managers, employees, and clients (e.g., Meer & Müller, 2017; Neary, 2017). These studies have shed light on particular manifestations of heteronormativity and, in some cases, offered ways of addressing them (Woodruffe-Burton & Bairstow, 2013; Worst & O'Shea, 2020). However, the identified manifestations are limited to the scope of the studies.

A first step in addressing heteronormativity and limiting its impact in organizations can be to identify its manifestations. In a context of a lack of definition of what a heteronormative organization is (Rumens, 2016) and in the understanding that its manifestations have implications for non-heteronormative individuals, an effort to integrate the extant literature is deemed necessary. Thus, **Objective 1** of this thesis is to: *Understand how heteronormativity manifests itself and is reinforced in the workplace*. Study 1 consists of a systematic scoping review of the literature to obtain a comprehensive understanding of how heteronormativity manifests itself in organizations and to contribute to its definition.

Study 2. Disclosure Strategies at Work and the Role of Culture

Experiences related to the disclosure of sexual identity in the workplace are significant for LGB people (Follmer et al., 2020; Moser et al., 2021; Ragins 2008). If an LGB person is willing to share their life outside work with their co-workers, they will be faced with the dilemma of whether or not to disclose their sexual identity (Clair et al., 2005; Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Maji et al., 2023; Thuillier et al., 2022). One of the main antecedents influencing the preference for the disclosure or concealment of sexual identity at work is the expected outcomes of disclosure (e.g., discrimination, support) (Clair et al., 2005; Follmer et al., 2020; Ragins et al., 2007). Research on sexual identity disclosure outcomes at work shows that, on the one hand, LGB people who disclose their sexual identity may benefit from higher levels of social support (Wax et al., 2018) and well-being (Fletcher et al., 2021; Follmer et al., 2020; Lindsey et al., 2020), but may also be exposed to discrimination (Riggle et al., 2017; Wax et al., 2018). If, on the other hand, they conceal their sexual identity, they may protect themselves from discrimination (Holman et al., 2021; Ozbilgin et al., 2022) but may see their mental health adversely affected (Holman et al., 2021; Riggle et al., 2017).

Recent literature reviews examining the correlates of sexual identity disclosure in organizations have shown that organizational support factors are closely related to disclosure behaviors (Follmer et al., 2020; Wax et al., 2018; Webster et al., 2018). Specifically, the climate of inclusion, social support, and anti-discrimination policies, by order, are the strongest determinants of sexual identity disclosure at work (Wax et al., 2018; Webster et al., 2018). In addition, these organizational factors that make the disclosure of sexual identity a safe possibility are shaped by the legal and cultural context in which organizations are embedded (Fletcher & Beauregard, 2022; Mor Barak, 2022; Scott, 2013). For instance, the extent to which heteronormativity is rooted in the culture of a country can influence the implementation of anti-discrimination policies and the subsequent behaviors that are expected and admissible to be targeted towards LGBT people at work (Connolly & Lynch, 2016; Meer & Müller, 2017; Ndzwayiba & Steyn, 2019; Neary, 2016). A culture that has traditional norms around partner configuration and gender expression can also create an environment that silences LGB people in organizations (Compton & Dougherty, 2017; Priola et al., 2014; Rich et al., 2012). The process of disclosure of sexual identity must therefore be understood in the cultural context in which it is performed.

Although many studies highlight the importance of the legal and/or cultural context in which the disclosure process is analyzed (e.g., Clair et al., 2005; Collins & Rocco, 2018; Di Marco et al., 2022; Fletcher & Everly, 2021; Köllen, 2013; Lindsey et al., 2020; Ragins, 2008; Seiler-Ramadas et al., 2021), little is known about which cultural factors indeed play a role in disclosure strategies and their outcomes. For this reason, **Objective 2** of this thesis is to: *Explore the cultural factors that can impact the disclosure experiences of LGB employees*. Through a qualitative study, we contribute to the extant literature by presenting particular cultural factors from Spain and Ecuador that play a role in the process of disclosure of LGB employees and in its consequences.

Study 3. The Development of Trans Young Adults' Vocational Identity

The development of vocational identity or finding out who one wants to be as a professional is a developmental task that is especially salient during young adulthood (Arnett, 2000; Skorikov & Vondracek, 2007). This developmental task is complex and requires building self-awareness and an understanding of the environment (Lent et al., 1994), efforts that can be further complicated by personal and contextual factors such as privilege or personal lived experiences with oppression (Karam & Afiouni, 2021; Schmidt et al., 2011). This added burden of complexity is what trans people may experience during their young adulthood, as they must grapple with the duty of exploring their vocational identity at the same time as they are developing their gender identity and potentially facing experiences of discrimination (Goldberg et al., 2021; Schmidt et al., 2011; Scott et al., 2011).

Many studies have shown that trans people face numerous barriers well before they enter the labor market, whilst attempting to gain employment, and in the context of work. Indeed, trans people report being discriminated against at school (Butler et al., 2019; Pizmony-Levy, 2018; Wilkinson et al., 2018), as well as later in higher education (Goldberg et al., 2021; Knutson et al., 2021). As noted above, trans people also find it more difficult to gain employment (Alksoy et al., 2022; Drydakis, 2022a) and, once in the workplace, they may again be subject to microaggressions and harassment (Brewster et al., 2014; Budge et al., 2010; Dispenza et al., 2012; McFadden, 2020). Given that individuals learn about what it means to be a professional in career-related contexts, experienced exclusion in school and work environments can have a negative impact on the self-concept of trans people and on their vocational identity (Flum & Kaplan, 2012; Jarvis-Selinger et al., 2012). Therefore, continued exposure to discriminatory situations

can lead to the perception of being unwelcome and unsafe in the professional world, especially in heteronormative organizations that are less inclusive of sexual and gender diversity (Budge et al., 2010; Goldberg et al., 2021; Kaplan, 2014; Levitt & Ippolito, 2013; Ng et al., 2012; Schneider & Dimito, 2010).

The development of trans people's vocational identity may therefore be influenced by factors that are unique to their experiences. However, there is little empirical research on the career development of trans people (McFadden & Crowley-Henry, 2016), particularly in the early stages of their careers (see Goldberg et al., 2021 for exceptions). Therefore, **Objective 3** of this thesis is to: *Examine how trans young adults negotiate their vocational identity*. This objective is addressed via a qualitative study of semi-structured interviews to understand what factors are key to the development of trans young adults' vocational identity and to recommend best practices from an organizational perspective.

Method

The methodology used in the studies of this dissertation is described below and its suitability to meet the objectives is discussed. The objective of Study 1 was addressed by means of a scoping review. Scoping reviews are a type of systematic review that attempts to answer broad questions on emerging research topics, using a transparent and standardized procedure (Peters et al., 2020). A scoping review rather than a systematic review or meta-analysis was preferred because of the current state of research in this area. In this sense, research on heteronormativity at work is still scarce and qualitative in nature, which does not allow for a quantitative analysis (Corlett et al., 2022; Peters et al., 2020). Furthermore, this analysis of the available literature allowed the construction of theories on how heteronormativity works in organizations (Pratt & Bonaccio, 2016). The procedure for this study included the development of key search terms and article selection criteria, the search of relevant databases, and the thematic analysis of the content of the articles identified, as detailed in the Results section.

The objectives of Studies 2 and 3 were addressed employing a qualitative methodology with an inductive approach. Qualitative research is a set of methods that generate knowledge from interpreting the meanings, rather than the frequency, of phenomena that occur in a social world (Pratt & Bonaccio, 2016; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Van Maanen, 1979). When qualitative methodology is inductive, phenomena are

understood and theories are constructed from empirical evidence (Pratt & Bonaccio, 2016), and it is about understanding how and why phenomena occur rather than quantifying their presence in a particular context or proving a particular theory (Pratt & Bonaccio, 2016; Van Maanen, 1979). Another feature of inductive qualitative research is that it allows understanding how context can influence people's behavior and how people perceive their own reality (Pratt & Bonaccio, 2016).

Qualitative methodologies have been widely used in stigmatized populations (Stutterheim & Radcliffe, 2021), understanding these as populations that are labeled as different, devalued, and at risk of discrimination (Pescolido & Martin, 2015). This has also been the case in research in the work context with LGBT people, a population that is stigmatized (McFadden, 2015; Follmer et al., 2020; Wax et al., 2018). Stutterheim & Radcliffe (2021) argue that there are 4 main reasons to use qualitative methodology when doing research among stigmatized populations. First, stigma is complex and requires an in-depth examination of the experiences of those who are stigmatized, as told by themselves, in order to understand it in all its complexity and nuance. Second, qualitative methodology offers stigmatized populations the opportunity to participate and engage in the construction of their own story, which can enhance their empowerment and agency. Third, qualitative methods can contribute to the reduction of stigma. The authors argue that the information provided by qualitative studies, which capture nuance and allow for contextualization, can inform the development, implementation, and evaluation of interventions to reduce stigma. Fourth, it allows for the development of scientific research that is based on the actual experiences of people who are stigmatized, rather than on assumptions, sometimes inaccurate, made by researchers who are not part of that population.

In line with these reasons, the objectives of Studies 2 and 3 were therefore addressed using an inductive analysis approach based on information provided by the target population (i.e., trans and LGB people), and information was collected through semi-structured interviews. This methodology was employed to understand the participants' nuanced lived experiences of stigma, anticipated stigma, and discrimination. In addition, these studies were conducted in four different countries: Spain, Ecuador, Belgium, and the Netherlands. A qualitative methodology allowed us to ask the participants about the influence of their culture on their lived experiences in order to contextualize them (Pratt & Bonaccio, 2016; Stutterheim & Radcliffe, 2021).

The procedure for collecting this information in each of the studies is detailed in the Results section, within the corresponding articles.

The results of the three studies of this dissertation are presented below. Each of them is introduced by a literature review and theoretical justification of the study, followed by a description of the methodologies adopted, the results and subsequent discussions.

Results

Objective 1

<u>Title</u>: Manifestations and Reinforcement of Heteronormativity in the Workplace: A Systematic Scoping Review

Authors: Sara Corlett, Donatella Di Marco, Lourdes Munduate & Alicia Arenas

Journal: Journal of Homosexuality

Year: 2022

DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2022.2074334

Quality indicators:

SJR – Impact factor 0.997 (13/190: Q1 in Gender Studies)

JCR – Impact factor 2.496 (73/147: Q2 in Psychology, Multidisciplinary).

Abstract: This scoping review systematizes the evidence available to date on the manifestations of heteronormativity in the workplace. The reviewed literature shows that, at an organizational level, heteronormativity is reproduced in the configuration of space, organizational policies, and the monitoring of their accomplishment by leaders. At an interpersonal level, employees interact with others based on heterosexual presumptions, they reward what is aligned with heteronormativity, and censor what is not. Finally, individuals acting of their own volition may perform their gender in ways that strengthen the presumption of heterosexuality and communicate heteronormativity alignment. This review offers suggestions for future research in the field of heteronormativity in the workplace and includes theoretical and practical implications for the creation of inclusive organizations.

Objective 2

<u>Title:</u> 'Coming out' across cultures: Examining the experiences of Ecuadorian and Spanish LGB employees

Authors: Sara Corlett, Donatella Di Marco & Alicia Arenas

Journal: Current Psychology

Year: 2019

DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-019-00463-y

Quality indicators:

SJR – Impact factor 0.506 (98/204: Q2 in General Psychology).

JCR – Impact factor 2.051 (46/138: Q2 in Psychology, Multidisciplinary).

Abstract: Lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) employees use the invisible character of their sexual identity to adopt strategies that reveal or hide their sexual orientation at work. Previous research has focused on environmental and individual factors that play a role in the disclosure process of LGB employees, yet cultural factors that may also impact this process have remained practically ignored in the literature. In this study, we analyze the disclosure process of 15 Spanish and 15 Ecuadorian LGB individuals through in-depth semi-structured interviews. The results suggest that some cultural elements in each country, such as religion and gender role norms, make the experiences of the participants dissimilar. The consequences of adopting different disclosure strategies have been found for both the individual (e.g., relationship with colleagues, well-being) and organizations (e.g., performance). This study highlights the need for research to find effective measures to include LGB people in organizations and encourages researchers to adopt a cultural approach when studying the process of disclosure at work.

Objective 3

<u>Title:</u> "I only wanted one thing and that was to be who I am now": Being a trans young adult and (re) negotiating vocational identity

Authors: Sara Corlett, Sarah Stutterheim & Lilith Whiley

Journal: Gender Work and Organization

Year: 2023

DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12976

Quality indicators:

Award for the best scientific publication in Psychology (first quarter 2023)

SJR – Impact factor 2.237 (3/190: Q1 in Gender Studies).

JCR – Impact factor 5.428 (2/44: Q1 in Womens Studies).

Abstract: Developing vocational identity as a young adult is a complex feat and may be even more so for transgender people, who have to navigate their professional selves in a largely cisgender and heteronormative world that minoritizes them. This qualitative study explores how transgender youths develop a vocational identity. Through 10 indepth interviews in the Netherlands and Belgium, we found that participants had to negotiate favoring education (at the expense of gender transition) or sensemaking their gender identity (at the expense of schooling), while seeking to avoid discrimination. In addition, we observed that transitioning was also an enabling process, facilitating the development of trans young adults' vocational identity. We also found that trans young adults see the (un)attainability of career paths related to anticipated stigmatization and other expectations related to their trans identities. In particular, they mentioned occupations where hegemonic masculinity and gender binarism are praised, while those involving interaction with children and teenagers are not attainable. Organizations celebrating their trans identity and career paths in which the living conditions of other minoritized people are improved were perceived as attainable and desirable. The insights presented here show that even in countries that are considered "progressive" in terms of LGBTQ+ rights, the vocational identity of trans youth is nevertheless influenced by (and at times constrained by) their gender identity. The need for career counselors, educational institutions, and organizations to work on facilitating the future career development of trans individuals and their access to inclusive spaces is discussed.

General Discussion

This dissertation responds to the general objective of understanding the barriers and facilitators for the inclusion of sexual and gender diversity in organizations. To this end, three studies have been carried out, with results that contribute to an expanded knowledge of inclusion of LGBT people in organizations from a cultural,

organizational, interpersonal, and individual perspective. The main results are summarized below, followed by their own theoretical implications. Then, general theoretical and practical implications that derive from the results of this thesis are discussed as well as the final conclusions.

Study 1 aimed to understand how heteronormativity is manifested and reinforced in the workplace. The results of this study showed that heteronormativity is manifested at three levels: organizational, interpersonal, and individual. Thus, organizations reinforce heteronormativity through the configuration of their spaces and the implementation of formal and informal norms that are monitored by the leaders of the organization. At the interpersonal level, people in organizations manifest heteronormativity through the presumption of heterosexuality, othering or discriminating against those who are not heteronormative, and through the heteronormative relationships that workers establish with each other. At the individual level, people may disclose their sexual identity at work by endorsing dominant discourses of normality/non-normality and by adopting aesthetics and body language that conform to heteronormativity. This study contributes to theory in at least two ways. First, it brings coherence to the study of heteronormativity in organizations and helps to distinguish it from other related concepts. Second, it expands knowledge about heteronormativity in organizations by systematizing all the manifestations that have been identified in the literature to date. Furthermore, this study discusses that organizations play an active role in reinforcing heteronormativity (Amstutz et al., 2020; Ward & Schneider, 2009), which is institutionalized through three pillars: the regulative, the normative, and the cultural-cognitive (Scott, 2013). As the manifestation of heteronormativity results in barriers to the inclusion of LGBT people, changes in these three pillars should be promoted to bring about institutional change (Amstutz et al., 2020; Scott, 2013).

Study 2 aimed to explore how culture plays a role in the disclosure process of LGB people and in its consequences in the workplace. This study found that culture impacts on both the strategies of disclosure and on the consequences of coming out or concealing for LGB employees. More specifically, the culture-related factors associated with disclosure in this study were: the level of societal acceptance of LGB people, political correctness, rigidity in terms of compliance with gender norms, and religion. The study further shows that these factors contribute to making discrimination against

LGB people more overt or more subtle in nature. In addition, it is in this context of potential negative consequences that LGB people use one disclosure strategy or another, depending on what is culturally appropriate and psychologically safe for them. This study, therefore, contributes to knowledge about cultural factors that regulate the experiences of LGB people at work, with the added contribution of including the experience of people in Ecuador, an under-studied country in research on LGBT people (Di Marco et al., 2020). It also discusses the need to integrate a cultural perspective into the study of sexual and gender diversity to understand these experiences in context.

Study 3 examined how trans young adults develop their vocational identities. There were three main findings from this study. First, that gender transition is important to the development of vocational identity in the sense that it can either facilitate or hinder it. Second, that vocational identity and the experience of being a trans person are interrelated in such a way that some trans young adults want to pursue careers that are consistent with their experience but are afraid of being rejected in certain sectors because of their trans identity. In this regard, the third main finding shows that trans young adults prefer organizations with inclusive environments and avoid environments they perceive as hostile, such as those that praise gender binaries and/or hegemonic masculinity. In addition, the study highlights the role of the cultural context of Belgium and the Netherlands, which is perceived as progressive and greatly facilitates their transition and career development process. This study discusses the role of different agents in facilitating the development of trans young adults' vocational identity and, ultimately, their career development. First, it argues that psychologists and counselors are instrumental in preparing trans individuals to explore their vocational aspirations (Wada et al., 2019). Second, it notes that organizations in the education sector have a responsibility to provide youth with accessible role models and to promote positive experiences for trans children and adolescents (Austin, 2016; Goldberg et al., 2021). Third, it highlights the need for organizations to increase their efforts to foster inclusive environments, as these are where people's vocational aspirations are projected.

These studies contribute to the general goal of this doctoral dissertation in a number of ways. First, from a macro-framework perspective, the studies inform that different factors related to the culture and laws of the countries in which the participants are located pose both barriers and facilitators to their inclusion. Thus, the degree to which heteronormativity is part of the culture of the country contributes to its

manifestation in organizations (Amstutz et al., 2020; Ndzwayiba & Steyn, 2019) and, therefore, poses obstacles to inclusion. This presence of heteronormativity, as well as other factors such as religion, also negatively affect the disclosure experiences of LGB people in organizations. On the contrary, the presence of laws, government services and a generally supportive environment removes barriers in the process of gender transition and, thereby, enhances the vocational development of trans people. The relevance of cultural context for inclusion has been stressed in previous research (e.g., Amstutz et al., 2020; Compton, 2019; Connolly & Lynch, 2016; Di Marco et al., 2022; Fletcher & Everly, 2021; Kelly et al., 2020; Köllen, 2021; Mor Barak, 2022; Skidmore, 2004), and this dissertation contributes to extant information on cultural factors in Spain, Ecuador, the Netherlands and Belgium that are involved in the inclusion of LGBT people.

Second, the studies show that organizations have structures, policies, and processes that play a relevant role in the inclusion of sexual and gender diversity. The first study highlights that, in addition to organizational structures and policies, leaders, who embody the culture of the organization, hold a pivotal responsibility in both obstructing and promoting inclusion. The second study also points in this direction, showing how some leaders silence LGB people at work by pointing out that LGB people do not belong because they are not heterosexual. The third study shows the importance of having leaders who function as role models for trans people and who serve as a signal that the organization is a safe place for them. These results are consistent with previous studies on the impact of leadership and management of sexual and gender diversity (e.g., Courtney, 2014; Mizzi & Star, 2019; Mungaray & Curtin, 2021; Schneider et al., 2017; Ueno et al., 2020; Wright, 2009). In this sense, leaders have the power not only to tackle situations of heterosexism and transphobia (Courtney, 2014; Schneider et al., 2017), but can also serve as symbols of safety and support for sexual and gender diversity (Mizzi & Star, 2019; Ueno et al., 2020) and as a model to be followed (Courtney, 2014; Mungaray & Curtin, 2021; Wright, 2009). In addition, this thesis shows that occupational sectors are relevant, indicating that the educational sector, masculinized sectors, or sectors where gender binarism is strongly prevalent are especially hostile to sexual and gender diversity. The challenges that LGBT people face in contexts where minors are involved are well documented in the literature (e.g., Courtney, 2014; Gray, 2013; Mizzi & Star, 2019; Neary, 2016). As for masculinized and gender-binary contexts, the literature also points in this direction, showing that

these are contexts that limit the authentic expression of LGBT people and are perceived as unsafe for their physical and psychological integrity (e.g., Collins & Rocco, 2018; Lewis, 2009; Rumens, 2013; Schilt & Westbrook, 2009).

Third, the studies show that interpersonal dynamics and individual choices must also be considered in understanding the dynamics involved in the inclusion of LGBT people. In the case of the first study, it shows that coworkers can exclude and discriminate against non-heteronormative people through their behavior and discourses. In addition, it shows that even non-cisheterosexual people can assimilate heteronormativity, which contributes to reinforcing its presence in the organization. The second study shows that interpersonal dynamics such as behaviors of coworkers and supervisors shape the strategies used to manage sexual identity disclosure as well as it impacts both the well-being and performance of LGB people. The third study also shows that interpersonal lived experiences of stigma and support shape trans people's vocational identity and, as a result, their individual decisions regarding what career or type of organization to choose. These results contribute to the wide literature on how positive and negative interpersonal dynamics impact LGBT people at work (e.g., Brewster et al., 2014; Collins & Rocco, 2018; Fletcher & Everly, 2021; Mizzi & Star, 2019), but also how these dynamics interact with individual behaviors that also contribute to their inclusion or exclusion (Benozzo et al., 2015; Kelly et al., 2020; Ozbilgin et al., 2022; Worst & O'Shea, 2020). Therefore, both interpersonal experiences and individual decisions and how these interact need to be understood to comprehend how they contribute to the inclusion of sexual and gender diversity in organizations.

The theoretical implications described above point to the need for action to be taken by the organizations to achieve inclusion. In this sense, this thesis has a series of practical implications. As previously mentioned, to promote inclusion, it is necessary both to remove barriers and to implement inclusive policies (Arenas et al., 2017; Mor Barak, 2016; Shore et al., 2018). In this line, research has identified a number of ways in which managing sexual and gender diversity can lead to greater inclusion in organizations (e.g., Bendl et al., 2009; Bell et al., 2011; Kelly et al., 2020; Moser et al., 2021; Ueno et al., 2020), which can be applied to our findings. The implications or areas for improvement can be directed, therefore, to both the organizational structures and policies and to the management of interpersonal dynamics, which may improve lived experiences of sexual and gender diversity in organizations.

Organizations can design their structures and procedures to avoid discrimination and exclusion and to promote inclusion (Kelly et al., 2020). As this thesis points out in Study 1, challenging heteronormativity manifestations may lead the way to do so. In this regard, organizations can organize their physical space in a gender non-binary way, ensuring gender-neutral bathrooms/lockers and using images that do not only represent heteronormativity but human diversity (Bendl et al., 2009; Ueno et al., 2020). Inclusive organizations may also use images and symbols that represent gender diversity in their documents and pamphlets (Bendl et al., 2009). In terms of their Human Resources procedures, training and awareness programs on sexual and gender diversity can contribute to reduce bias and prejudice (Di Marco, 2017; Ozturk & Tatli, 2016; Tolley & Ranzijn, 2006), which may be crucial in the recruitment and selection of LGBT individuals (Di Marco, 2017) to facilitate equal access to the labor market. Organizations can go further and demonstrate that they value diversity to attract LGBT talent, for example, through cues on their websites and job posts (Beauregard et al., 2018; Moser et al., 2021). By addressing these areas, the organization can communicate that it is sensitive to sexual and gender diversity and enable LGBT people to not only feel welcome, but to have positive and affirming experiences.

Moreover, it is important to build awareness of the issue among managers and leaders, as supervisors are likely to serve as inclusive role models for members of the organization and are key in interpersonal dynamics (Courtney, 2014; Di Marco, 2017; Mizzi & Star, 2019; Tindall & Waters, 2012). In this sense, anti-discrimination policies are a necessary ingredient as a means of limiting overt discrimination (Cortina, 2008; Di Marco et al., 2018; Kelly et al., 2020), but leaders can also micromanage everyday interactions to promote inclusion. For instance, leaders can use their language in an inclusive manner by adopting gender-neutral terms and avoiding gender binaries (e.g., he/her, Mr./Mrs., men/women) (Bendl et al. 2009; Soinio et al., 2019) and promoting respect for the pronouns used by members of the organization (Kelly et al., 2020; Schilt & Westbrook, 2009; Worst & O'Shea, 2020). In relation to easing the process of sexual identity disclosure described in study 2, leaders are pivotal and have the power to address discriminatory behaviors and to generate a safe climate in which LGB people can feel free to share information about their sexual orientation (Fletcher & Everly, 2021). Another way to improve interpersonal dynamics is to encourage connection with people in the LGBT community who belong to the organization. As suggested by Moser et al. (2021), the creation of employee networks, which are groups created based on individual characteristics such as demographics or lifestyles, can also improve perceptions of inclusion. LGBT networks can also provide connections to other organizational members outside of the team and increase employee voice, factors that contribute to their empowerment and positive affect toward their organizations (Bell et al., 2011; Köllen, 2021; McFadden & Crowley-Henry, 2018; Moser et al., 2021).

As this thesis shows, these inclusion policies and actions are especially necessary in educational institutions, where there is still a great silence around sexual and gender diversity (Austin, 2016; Courtney, 2014: Neary, 2016). This silence, moreover, is often accompanied by situations of discrimination against LGBT children and youth, turning educational contexts into hostile environments for non-heteronormative people (Bower-Brown et al., 2021; Butler et al., 2019). A combination of actions aimed to improve the experiences of LGBT students (Austin, 2016) and practices of inclusion for LGBT teachers (e.g., Gray, 2013; Gray et al., 2016) could be implemented to address this situation at educational institutions. These combined actions could improve the conditions in which LGBT teachers and leaders work (Courtney, 2014; Wickens & Sandlin, 2010), promote the visibility of positive role models for LGBT youth (Courtney, 2014; Neary, 2016) and minimize obstacles to their development as individuals and future professionals.

Conclusions

The main conclusions that can be drawn from the studies of this doctoral dissertation are several. First, the phenomenon of inclusion in organizations should be studied from a macro framework in order to understand the experiences of LGBT people, because these are affected by the culture in which they are immersed. Studying inclusion from a multilevel perspective thus helps to better understand the barriers that limit inclusion as well as how it is experienced by individuals. Second, the occupational sector in which organizations operate is important, for instance, masculinized sectors and the educational sector are especially challenging for LGBT people. Human Resource Managers in these sectors are therefore called to pay special attention to the safeguarding and inclusion of sexual and gender diversity. Third, heteronormativity in organizations has an impact on the lived experiences of LGB and trans people; their disclosure strategies, well-being, authenticity and career development. Organizations are active agents in the reinforcement of heteronormativity and as such should limit its

manifestations in order to lead the change towards effective inclusion of sexual and gender diversity. Fourth, for each barrier identified, there is also an opportunity for inclusion. Although we have focused primarily on the barriers to sexual and gender diversity in organizations, the participants in this doctoral dissertation also point to factors that make them feel included at work. Thus, in the face of the reinforcement of heteronormativity at various levels, there is an alternative that offers an opening for building healthier and more socially just organizations: the support and recognition of non-heteronormative people. In essence, the inclusion of sexual and gender diversity in organizations is a complex issue that calls for adjustments at various levels in order to be granted. As such, it requires the active contribution of the different actors involved, including legislators, human resource managers and employees, as well as positive role models who should be visible and accessible from an early age.

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