

RESEARCH REPORT

The Importance of Being “Me”: The Relation Between Authentic Identity Expression and Transgender Employees’ Work-Related Attitudes and Experiences

Larry R. Martinez
Portland State University

Katina B. Sawyer and Christian N. Thoroughgood
Villanova University

Enrica N. Ruggs
University of North Carolina at Charlotte

Nicholas A. Smith
Portland State University

The present research examined the relation between authentic identity expression and transgender employees’ work-related attitudes and experiences. Drawing on Kernis’ (2003) theoretical conceptualization of authenticity and expanding on current workplace identity management research, we predicted that employees who had taken steps to reduce the discrepancy between their inner gender identities and their outward manifestations of gender would report more positive job attitudes and workplace experiences, in part because the reduction of this discrepancy is related to greater feelings of authenticity. In Study 1, we found that the extent to which one has transitioned was related to higher job satisfaction and perceived person-organization (P-O) fit and lower perceived discrimination. In Study 2, we replicate and extend these results by showing that the extent to which employees felt that others at work perceived them in a manner consistent with how they perceived themselves (relational authenticity) mediated the relations between extent of transition and all 3 of these outcomes. However, perceptions of alignment between one’s felt and expressed identity (action authenticity) only mediated this link for job satisfaction. We discuss the theoretical and practical implications of our results, as well as avenues for future research on authenticity in the workplace.

Keywords: authenticity, transgender, gender identity, job attitudes, LGBT

“The privilege of a lifetime is to become who you truly are.”
—Carl Jung

Social identities represent how we define ourselves, in part, by categorical difference criteria. That is, a person’s identity can be grouped with those who are similar and distinguished from those who are different (Brewer, 1991; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). Social identities are important in the workplace, given that they represent how we perceive ourselves both as employees and

in relation to others with whom we spend a great deal of time (Bergami & Bagozzi, 2000). Some employees possess stigmatized identities, and thus are often the targets of discrimination at work (Badgett, Lau, Sears, & Ho, 2007). The decision to express or suppress a stigmatized identity at work, especially for those with invisible (e.g., sexual orientation) or dynamic stigmas (i.e., those that become more visible or serious over time, including pregnancy or chronic illness), is often made with trepidation over fear of negative repercussions (Ragins, Singh, & Cornwell, 2007).

Despite these fears, many individuals with stigmatized identities decide to express their identities openly in the workplace (Clair, Beatty, & MacLean, 2005). Identity expression through acknowledgment of a stigmatized identity has been found to decrease perceptions of interpersonal discrimination (Singletary & Hebl, 2009), and disclosure of one’s stigma has been found to be positively related to job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Law, Martinez, Ruggs, Hebl, & Akers, 2011). Researchers studying nonstigmatized populations have further argued that identity expression tends to result in other positive outcomes, including greater psychological well-being and life satisfaction (e.g., Goldman & Kernis, 2002; Ryan, LaGuardia, & Rawsthorne, 2005; Sheldon, Ryan, Rawsthorne, & Ilardi, 1997),

This article was published Online First October 27, 2016.

Larry R. Martinez, Department of Psychology, Portland State University; Katina B. Sawyer and Christian N. Thoroughgood, Department of Psychology, Villanova University; Enrica N. Ruggs, Department of Psychology, University of North Carolina at Charlotte; Nicholas A. Smith, Department of Psychology, Portland State University.

Portions of these data were presented at the 29th and 31st Annual Conferences for the Society of Industrial & Organizational Psychology. We thank Derek R. Avery and Alicia Grandey for early feedback and Todd Bodner for statistical consultation on this article.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Larry R. Martinez, Department of Psychology, Portland State University, PO Box 751, Portland, OR 97201. E-mail: larry.martinez@pdx.edu

given that one is able to achieve an authentic sense of self at work (Griffin, 1992). Yet, the psychological mechanisms responsible for these outcomes are not well understood. That is, although prior studies have demonstrated positive outcomes of identity expression for individuals with and without stigmatized identities across various domains, little empirical research has explicitly focused on why positive outcomes occur. Understanding *why* identity expression may be related to positive outcomes for individuals with stigmatized identities is vital, given that such knowledge may lead to more targeted research on identity management and more effective organizational policies that recognize and promote healthy forms of identity expression.

As such, the goals of the present study are to examine the relations between identity expression and employee job outcomes and to explore the psychological mechanisms that serve to explain these relations. We focus on job outcomes that previous research has shown to be related to expressions of one's identity in the workplace in order to extend such work. To test our hypotheses, we use three samples of transgender employees, given that this is a social identity group that historically has been stigmatized across various social and organizational contexts (Badgett et al., 2007; Irwin, 2002) and a group for which authenticity is an increasingly important issue in the workplace (e.g., Budge, Tebbe, & Howard, 2010; Connell, 2010; Sawyer, Thoroughgood, & Webster, 2016; Schilt & Connell, 2007).

We contribute to the literature in two important ways. First, we advance the identity management literature by lending insight into the psychological mechanisms by which identity expression may be related to employee outcomes. In particular, we examine the roles of two forms of authenticity—(a) feeling that one's outward expression of identity matches one's internal identity (action authenticity), and (b) feeling that others recognize one's identity in a manner consistent with one's self-concept (relational authenticity)—in mediating the relations between identity expression and employee outcomes. We suggest that striving for authenticity is an important underlying psychological mechanism that explains why people engage in identity management strategies, such as disclosing hidden characteristics (e.g., sexual orientation, chronic illness; Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Martinez, White, Shapiro, & Hebl, 2016) and acknowledging visible characteristics (e.g., wheelchair use, obesity; Hebl & Kleck, 2002; Lyons et al., 2016). Traditionally, disclosure is purported to ease *intrapersonal* tension related to identity expression, whereas acknowledgment is thought to ease *interpersonal* discomfort among others who may feel uneasy around those with stigmatized traits. Yet, we propose that identity management of any form allows one to achieve an authentic sense of self at work, which, in turn, is related to positive job attitudes and experiences. Thus, authenticity acts as a superordinate psychological mechanism that can manifest in a wide array of identity management behaviors.

Second, we contribute to a growing body of research on transgender employees in the workplace by drawing on the unique work-related experiences of this greatly understudied population (Sawyer et al., 2016). In so doing, we address calls for greater attention to the work experiences of understudied and marginalized populations (Casper & Swanberg, 2011; Paetzold, Dipboye, & Elsbach, 2008) and, specifically, employees with concealable and dynamic identities (Jones & King, 2014; Ruggs et al., 2013). Such research is important because it contributes greater understanding

regarding the extent to which existing theories align with the experiences of an increasingly diverse workforce.

Theoretical Background and Hypotheses

Authenticity is defined as “the unobstructed operation of one's true, or core, self in one's daily enterprise” (Kernis, 2003, p. 13). Workplace authenticity has been linked to improved physical and psychological well-being, including lower anxiety, depression, and negative affect, and greater life satisfaction (Goldman & Kernis, 2002; Ryan et al., 2005; Sheldon et al., 1997). Authenticity comprises four related, yet distinct, elements: awareness, unbiased processing, action authenticity, and relational authenticity (Kernis, 2003). Awareness and unbiased processing refer to being cognizant of and honest about self-relevant cognitions, respectively. Action authenticity involves feeling as though one's actions are consistent with one's inner, or true, self, as opposed to feeling that one is conforming to external pressures. Relational authenticity refers to achieving a sense of self among others that aligns with one's self-concept, or the extent to which one is perceived or characterized by others in a way that is consistent with how one defines themselves. We focus on the latter two dimensions, given that the former two are related to identity formation and coherence, which are intrapersonal phenomena, rather than behaviors and relationships that manifest at work.

Within the context of gender identity, action authenticity involves enacting gender-relevant behaviors that are consistent with one's inner conceptualization of their gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987). For most people, their gender identity is consistent with the one assigned to them at birth based on biological characteristics. Yet, for transgender individuals, this is often not the case, given that many feel that their physical attributes do not align with their internal gender identities. Strong societal norms related to being male or female (Bem, 1983; Eagly, 1987) partly shape the extent to which individuals experience congruity between their inner self-concepts and outward expressions of gender, as well as the outcomes of these “fit” assessments. When one's inner gender identity and outward expressions of gender are misaligned at work, dissonance, or the possession of conflicting attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors (Festinger, 1962), may result. Reducing this felt dissonance is believed to promote action authenticity.

Relational authenticity occurs when a person's inner conceptualization of their gender aligns with others' perceptions of their gender. When self- and other-perceptions are misaligned, individuals will often engage in activities to align others' perceptions with their self-views (e.g., self-presentation, body modification; Swann, 1983). One activity that is particularly relevant for transgender employees involves displaying “identity cues” that signal the identity by which they wish to be defined (Swann, 1983). Authentically displaying one's true gender identity at work may be particularly important to transgender employees, given that individuals obtain personal meaning and information about their identities at work via their interpretations of others' responses to them (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Pratt, 1998). Feeling that others recognize one's gender in a manner that is consistent with one's own identity enhances relational authenticity.

Transgender employees who seek to align their inner gender identities with their outward appearances should feel greater freedom from the inner conflicts between their gender identities and

their outward expressions of gender (action authenticity). That is, physically transitioning should be positively related to feelings of action authenticity. The transition process may also help align self and others' perceptions of one's gender identity (relational authenticity). It is important to note that although action and relational authenticity may seem conceptually similar to extent of physical transition, there are important distinctions. Extent of transition represents a behavior and authenticity reflects an attitude that may or may not result from extent of transition. Prior research has demonstrated that individuals may have fully transitioned in order to "pass," but not felt that their outward gender expression was completely consistent with how they felt inside (Schilt, 2006). Further, many transgender individuals report that they prefer to craft their own conceptualizations of gender after transitioning instead of aligning with societal gender norms (Schilt & Connell, 2007). Thus, action authenticity is not guaranteed as one transitions. Individuals may also engage in subtle non-gender-conforming behaviors at work before formally transitioning as a means of anticipating others' reactions (Budge et al., 2010). Such actions can result in greater feelings of relational authenticity from others in the absence of a formal transition. These findings suggest that both forms of authenticity are meaningful and independent throughout the gender transition process.

By examining the roles of action and relational authenticity in explaining why authentic expressions of identity relate to workplace attitudes and experiences, we build on prior research that has shown that disclosure of a transgender identity is related to positive employee outcomes. Specifically, Law et al. (2011) found that disclosure was related to more positive reactions from coworkers, which, in turn, was related to positive job attitudes. Further, Ruggs, Martinez, Hebl, and Law (2015) later found that positive reactions of coworkers were more negatively related to perceived discrimination than the presence of organizational policies or degree of disclosure. These studies allude to, but do not directly test, the possibility that transgender employees may achieve authenticity by displaying aspects of their identities at work and that felt authenticity may be one reason why identity expression is related to more positive attitudes.

Based on this past research, we posit that extent of transition should be related to work outcomes including job satisfaction, perceived P-O fit, and perceived discrimination. We propose that the relations between extent of transition and outcomes should be mediated by both action and relational authenticity because individuals may feel less restricted and more comfortable being who they truly are at work and believe that others see them as their true selves. Furthermore, to the extent that the transition process allows one to achieve a consistent sense of self at work and promotes others' awareness and recognition of one's true self, transitioning should foster perceptions of congruence between oneself and the work environment, or greater perceived P-O fit. Under such conditions, individuals who have transitioned to a greater extent may also perceive less workplace discrimination. Indeed, Davis (2009) described how transitioning reduced her fears of prejudice at work, a sentiment echoed in other accounts of those who transitioned (Budge et al., 2010). Thus, we propose the following:

Hypothesis 1 (Studies 1 and 2): Extent of transition will be positively related to (a) job satisfaction and (b) perceived P-O fit, and (c) negatively related to perceived discrimination.

Hypothesis 2 (Study 2): Action authenticity will mediate the relations between extent of transition and (a) job satisfaction, (b) perceived P-O fit, and (c) perceived discrimination.

Hypothesis 3 (Study 2): Relational authenticity will mediate the relations between extent of transition and (a) job satisfaction, (b) perceived P-O fit, and (c) perceived discrimination.

Pilot Study

Prior to testing our hypotheses, we conducted interviews with transgender employees to determine the importance of and motives behind transitioning, as well as to better understand the process of transitioning at work. Two of the authors conducted semistructured interviews with 17 transgender employees, focusing on their motives for transitioning, the effect of transitioning on their work attitudes, and the influence of coworkers/supervisors in the transition process. We recruited participants via personal contacts, social media, and snowball sampling. Interviews were by telephone, Skype, or Google Hangouts and lasted between 11 and 32 minutes. A team of research assistants and one of the authors transcribed the interviews, and two of the authors analyzed the transcriptions for common themes. Participants represented various industries (e.g., public health, education, engineering, law enforcement) and had been employed between one and 28 years at their current organizations. Nine individuals identified as male-to-female (MTF) transgender, six identified as female-to-male transgender (FTM), and two did not identify along the gender binary. Ages ranged from 23 to 62 years old.

Interview Findings

One of the most consistent themes that emerged from the interviews was the importance of transitioning. All participants indicated that they would have transitioned at work regardless of whether their coworkers, supervisors, or the organization were supportive. One person stated, "It got harder to be fake. I had to finish transitioning. I would've transitioned regardless of whether my employer supported it" (MTF, logging). Another stated, "Before I started transitioning, [it] really affected my ability to function at work. [Transitioning] was an absolute necessity" (FTM, education). Thus, participants often saw their transitions as critical to their professional lives. In terms of individuals' motives for transitioning, we found evidence for both action and relational authenticity, as well as the potential positive effects of these forms of authenticity on their work-related attitudes (Table 1). Overall, these findings offer some context for testing our hypotheses by suggesting that identity expression is related to more positive workplace outcomes (Study 1) and that authenticity may function as an explanatory mechanism in these relations (Study 2).

Study 1

Method

Participants and procedure. We recruited 173 individuals at a large conference for transgender health issues in the northeastern United States. Two of the authors obtained a booth and invited attendees to participate in a survey about their workplace experiences. Five people were removed from the analyses due to sub-

Table 1

Example Quotes Regarding Authenticity and Improved Job Attitudes From Interviews

Action authenticity

- “I felt that I was always living a lie. Outwardly, I was not consistent with who I really believed I was inside—who I felt I was. I really needed to do it [transition] because I was not who I was really supposed to have been. And so, it was important for me to do this” (MTF, office administration).
- “I’m just tired of not being authentic. I dealt with that with every faculty member who walked in my door. Thinking, ‘I’m a liar. I’m a fraud.’ I’m not a fraud. And that means I have to make some more changes [by transitioning]” (MTF, higher education).
- “It’s a conflict between the way you feel inside and the physical body that you have and changing the way you present yourself; like, you don’t want to be a guy in a dress” (MTF, finance).
- “Right now, I’m thirteen, almost fourteen months [since transitioning] at work . . . my internal/external is very consistent. I love it. I don’t have any problems” (MTF, education).

Relational authenticity

- “There was a point where people started seeing me as just one of the guys. And I think that at that point I started feeling like I fit in a lot better . . . it’s the individuals [specific coworkers] who make that possible. So, in terms of fitting in, it’s actually more about the people that are there than about my exact gender presentation” (FTM, museum curator). (This quote also highlights the distinct natures of action and relational authenticity).
- “I have no problem living full time as a woman because I’m pretty much accepted as one. And I think acceptance is also related to self-acceptance . . . A lot of your feelings of being complete and who you are as a person comes from the responses of others. You can’t help but feel good about yourself when people respond in a positive manner rather than a negative manner” (MTF, office administration).
- “Nothing makes you happier during and after your transition than people calling you by your proper pronoun and assuming that you are who you present to be . . . that’s what you want” (MTF, finance).
- “[I didn’t feel authentic at work] because of not being reassured from other people. I think that did play a part in not feeling like myself. When I was affirmed in a different setting, then I was happier about it, but yeah, there [his former job], I wasn’t [supported]” (FTM, retail).

Improved job attitudes after transitioning

- “I was happier at work because I was happier being myself. I was happier presenting myself, even if it weirded people out” (MTF, finance).
- “I feel more included. I feel like I’m living as an authentic person. When I wasn’t me, I was miserable. It created work-related conflicts. Pre-transition conflicts are not an issue now . . . I feel like I fit better with the faculty I work with, with everyone” (MTF, education).
- “Before, she [a coworker] said I was unapproachable, untalkative, seemingly upset, and now I’m smiling, enjoying myself, enjoying others’ company and doing work better and reacting to others in a more positive way” (MTF, education).
- “I was not involved at all [at work], and then once I started [with my transition] I definitely felt more included, more involved, and a lot more comfortable [at work]” (FTM, retail).

Note. MTF = male-to-female transgender; FTM = female-to-male transgender.

stantial missing data, four were removed because they were cisgender,¹ and 28 were removed because they were not employed (final $n = 136$). Demographic data are presented in Table 2.

Measures. Participants’ *extent of gender transition* was assessed with one item: “Which of the following best describes your

status?” Individuals selected one of five options: “Not begun transitioning,” “Considering transitioning,” “Preparing to transition,” “In the process of transitioning,” and “Fully transitioned.” Nine items ($\alpha = .94$) from the Job Descriptive Index Job in General Scale (Kinicki, McKee-Ryan, Schriesheim, & Carson, 2002) were used to assess *job satisfaction* (e.g., “My job is . . .” “pleasant,” “great”). Three items ($\alpha = .91$) from Cable and Judge (1996) were used to assess *perceptions of P-O fit* (e.g., “My values match those of current employees in the organization”). Six items ($\alpha = .87$) adapted from Griffith and Hebl (2002) assessed *perceived discrimination* (e.g., “I feel I have experienced job discrimination in my company”). All outcomes were assessed on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale.

Results and Discussion

Means, standard deviations, reliabilities, and correlations are presented in Table 3. We include a consideration of potential control variables for Studies 1 and 2 in the Appendix.² To examine the proposed relations, we used structural equation modeling (SEM), following a two-step approach in which we first tested the

¹ “Cisgender” refers to individuals whose conceptualizations of their gender match their biological indicators of sex and therefore are not “transgender” (see Schilt & Westbrook, 2009).

² Including theoretically relevant control variables did not substantively change the pattern of results. However, we provide them for interested readers in the Appendix, in line with contemporary recommendations (Spector & Brannick, 2011).

Table 2

Demographic Data for Participants in Study 1

Age _{Average}	37.15 years ($SD = 13.40$)
Gender representation	MTF transgender ^a (33%) FTM transgender ^b (39%) Gender queer ^c (20%) Neither male nor female (4%) Other (4%)
Work experience _{Average}	15.10 years ($SD = 12.38$)
Race	White (84%) Black (4%) Hispanic (4%) Asian (2%) Pacific Islander (1%) Other (5%)
Industry representation	Healthcare (21%) Business (13%) Education (13%) Government (7%) Information (5%) Other (41%)

^a Indicates male-to-female (MTF) transgender participants. ^b Indicates female-to-male (FTM) transgender participants. ^c Individuals who identify as gender queer reject the notion of “male” and “female” altogether.

Table 3
Zero-Order Correlations, Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliability Coefficients for all Study 1 Variables

Construct	M	SD	1	2	3	4
1. Extent of transition	3.86	1.42				
2. Job satisfaction	5.35	1.29	.15	(.94)		
3. Perceived P-O fit	4.58	1.62	.19*	.53**	(.91)	
4. Perceived discrimination	2.57	1.34	-.23*	-.35**	-.37**	(.87)

Note. Extent of transition was coded such that 1 = not begun transitioning, 2 = considering transitioning, 3 = preparing to transition, 4 = in the process of transitioning, and 5 = fully transitioned. P-O = person-organization.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

measurement model followed by the structural model (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988). A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) indicated better fit to the data when the items were modeled onto their four respective latent factors, $\chi^2(147) = 238.22, p < .001$, comparative fit index (CFI) = .95, Tucker-Lewis index (TLI) = .94, root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .07, Akaike information criterion (AIC) = 7,753.99, compared with an alternative model that specified a single common factor, $\chi^2(152) = 757.78, p < .001$, CFI = .65, TLI = .60, RMSEA = .17, AIC = 8,263.55; $\Delta\chi^2(5) = 519.56, p < .001$, lending support for the four-factor model (extent of transition, job satisfaction, perceived P-O fit, perceived discrimination).

H_1 stated that extent of transition at work would be related to higher job satisfaction and perceived P-O fit and lower perceived discrimination. This model displayed adequate fit to the data, $\chi^2(147) = 238.22, p < .001$, CFI = .95, TLI = .94, RMSEA = .07, AIC = 7,753.99. The path coefficients each support H_1 (Figure 1), although the coefficient for job satisfaction did not reach conventional levels of statistical significance.

The results of Study 1 suggest that extent of transition was related to more positive work-related outcomes, providing further support for the benefits of identity expression at work. In Study 2

we assess the roles of action and relational authenticity in explaining why extent of transition may be related to job satisfaction, perceived P-O fit, and perceived discrimination.

Study 2

Method

Participants and procedure. We collected data from 96 individuals at the same transgender health conference the following year using the same procedures outlined in Study 1. Furthermore, we obtained 205 responses by recruiting through websites and support groups dedicated to transgender issues. Eighty-one people were excluded due to missing data, two were removed because they were cisgender, and 19 were excluded because they were not currently employed (final $n = 199$). Demographic data are presented in Table 4.

Measures. Job satisfaction, perceived P-O fit, and perceived discrimination were assessed with the same items as in Study 1. Reliabilities were all $> .89$. Action authenticity ($\alpha = .94$) and relational authenticity ($\alpha = .92$) were assessed using three and four items, respectively, which were written for the present study (Table 5). Before administering the items, we consulted with several experts who have conducted authenticity research and incorporated their feedback. Next, we asked participants from the pilot study to complete a card sort task to assess how well the measures reflected their respective constructs. We followed Anderson and Gerbing's (1991) procedure for establishing whether items adequately represent the constructs they are designed to measure. This was important because no previous measures capture authenticity related to expressing gender identity at work. We used our pilot study participants for the card sort task because they were similar to, but not included in, our focal studies and thus could provide reliable responses from the perspective of transgender employees who have transitioned at work. These individuals read a description of action and relational authenticity from Kernis and Goldman (2006), then indicated whether each of the items

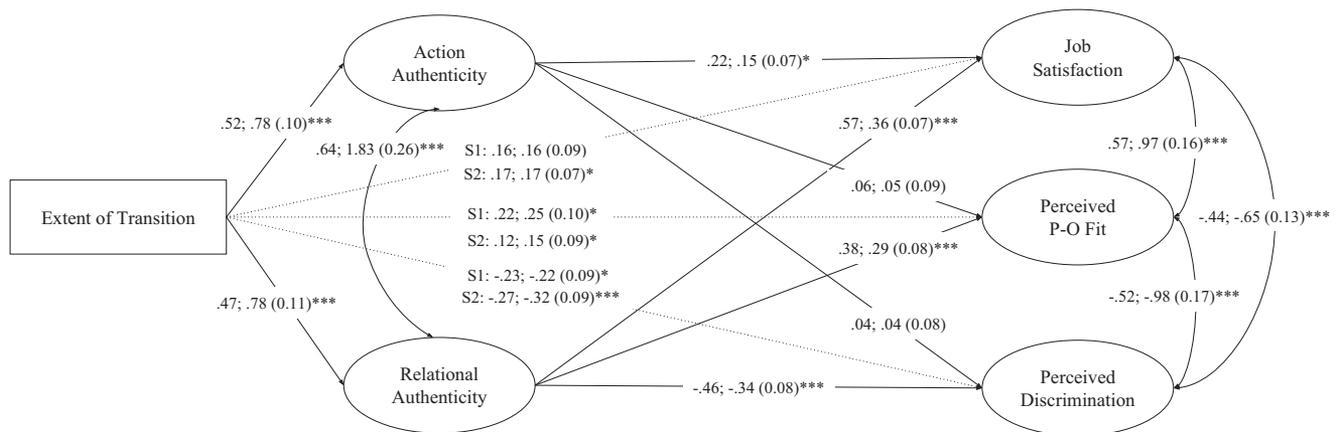


Figure 1. Structural equation model for all relations tested in Studies 1 and 2. Double-headed arrows indicate correlated error terms for the two mediators and the three outcomes. Total effects for Studies 1 (S1) and 2 (S2) are presented as dotted lines and indirect effects for Study 2 are presented as solid lines. All path coefficients and covariances listed first are standardized and those listed second are unstandardized. Standard errors appear in parentheses. * $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 4
Demographic Data for Participants in Study 2

Age ^a Average	42.27 years (<i>SD</i> = 13.27)
Gender representation	MTF transgender (48%) FTM transgender (37%) Gender queer (9%) Neither male nor female (3%) Other (3%)
Work experience ^a Average	20.97 years (<i>SD</i> = 12.97)
Race	White (77%) Black (7%) Hispanic (7%) Asian (3%) Pacific Islander (1%) Other (5%)
Industry representation	Education (17%) Healthcare (16%) Business (14%) Government (41%) Other (41%)

^a Indicates male-to-female (MTF) transgender participants. ^b Indicates female-to-male (FTM) transgender participants. ^c Individuals who identify as gender queer reject the notion of "male" and "female" altogether.

reflected action authenticity, relational authenticity, or neither. All action authenticity items were classified as such at least 70% of the time and relational authenticity items were classified as such at least 82% of the time, suggesting items are representative of their respective constructs (Anderson & Gerbing, 1991).

Results

Means, standard deviations, reliabilities, and correlations are presented in Table 6. As in Study 1, we followed a two-step SEM approach to examine the hypothesized relations (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988). A CFA indicated a better fit to the data when the items were modeled onto their six respective factors, $\chi^2(285) = 545.68$, $p < .001$, CFI = .94, TLI = .93, RMSEA = .07, AIC = 16,321.27, than on a single common factor, $\chi^2(299) = 2502.31$, $p < .001$, CFI = .49, TLI = .44, RMSEA = .19, AIC = 18,249.89; $\Delta\chi^2(14) = 1,956.63$, $p < .001$, lending support for the six-factor model (extent of transition, action and relational authenticity, job satisfaction, perceived P-O fit, perceived discrimination).

Tests of hypotheses. H_1 stated that the extent of transition would be positively related to job satisfaction and perceived P-O fit and negatively related to perceived discrimination. A structural model provided adequate fit to the data, $\chi^2(147) = 327.32$, $p < .001$, CFI = .93, TLI = .92, RMSEA = .08, AIC = 11,641.73 (see Figure 1). H_2 and H_3 stated that action and relational authenticity would mediate the links between extent of transition and our three outcomes. A structural model testing these relations also fit the data well, $\chi^2(288) = 546.84$, $p < .001$, CFI = .94, TLI = .93, RMSEA = .07, AIC = 16,316.43 (see Figure 1). We then tested the significance of the indirect effects with the bias-corrected bootstrapping method outlined by MacKinnon, Lockwood, and Williams (2004). The effect of extent of transition through action authenticity was significant for job satisfaction, but not for perceived P-O fit or perceptions of discrimination. The effects of extent of transition on all three outcomes through relational au-

thenticity were significant (Table 7). Overall, H_1 and H_3 were fully supported and H_2 was partially supported.³

Discussion

Although research suggests that identity expression is associated with positive outcomes for individuals (e.g., Goldman & Kernis, 2002; Ménard & Brunet, 2011; Sheldon et al., 1997), including those with stigmatized identities (Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Law et al., 2011; Singletary & Hebl, 2009), the psychological mechanisms that explain these links are not well understood. Drawing on the authenticity literature, the present study illuminates some of the reasons why expressing one's true identity, in this case gender identity, may be related to positive outcomes at work. Our results revealed that extent of transition was related to greater congruence between one's inner experience and outward expression of gender (action authenticity), which, in turn, was related to increased job satisfaction but not to perceptions of P-O fit or discrimination. Extent of transition was also related to the feeling that one's own conceptualization of their gender identity and others' perceptions of their gender were in alignment (relational authenticity), which, in turn, was related to all three outcomes.

Prior research may lend insight into why relational, but not action, authenticity mediated the relations between extent of transition and employees' perceptions of P-O fit and discrimination. Although the quality of one's relationships with their coworkers is inherently related to perceptions of organizational fit (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005) and discrimination (Brewster, Velez, De Blaere, & Moradi, 2012; Nye, Brummel, & Drasgow, 2009), global job satisfaction is more strongly related to satisfaction with the actual work than satisfaction with coworkers (Ironson, Smith, Brannick, Gibson, & Paul, 1989). Thus, achieving higher levels of congruence between one's inner self-concept and outward expression of their identity (action authenticity) may allow one to focus and enjoy their work more, but it may not impact the extent to which they feel that they fit within their organizations or experience discrimination. However, receiving feedback from coworkers that conveys that they recognize one's gender in a way that is consistent with one's own gender identity (relational authenticity) likely represents a signal that one is accepted as their true self. These findings highlight the importance of others' reactions to one's expression of their true gender identity at work in predicting outcomes that may be more relational in nature.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

From a theoretical standpoint, the present study contributes to research on identity management in organizations. It has been argued that the act of disclosing an invisible stigma leads to positive outcomes, given that one is able to relieve the strain associated with leading a double life and achieve a sense of

³ A reviewer pointed out that these results may differ for individuals who do not remain at the same organization for the duration of their transition. To examine this possibility, we collected follow-up data from Study 2 participants 1 year later and tested our model using a subset of respondents ($n = 43$) who experienced their entire transition at the same organization. We used Hayes' (2013) PROCESS Model 4 due to a sample size that is untenable for SEM. These results completely replicated those reported in Study 2.

Table 5
Action and Relational Authenticity Items Used in Study 2

Action authenticity	
At work, how often do you feel like . . .	
• . . . your perceptions of your gender identity are inconsistent with your outer appearance? (R)	
• . . . your inner gender identity does not match your outward appearance? (R)	
• . . . your external gender identity does not align with the ways in which you perceive your gender identity inside? (R)	
Relational authenticity	
• People at work perceive my gender identity in the same way that I do.	
• My coworkers' perceptions of my gender identity match my own perception of my gender identity.	
• People at work refer to me using gender pronouns that match those I use for myself.	
• There's a lack of alignment between the ways in which people at work view my gender identity and the ways in which I view my gender identity. (R)	

Note. All action authenticity items were assessed on a 1 (*never*) to 7 (*all the time*) scale. All relational authenticity items were measured on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale. (R) = reverse-coded items.

psychological wholeness (Griffin, 1992; Ragins, 2008; Reynolds & Hanjorgiris, 2000). Yet, empirical findings have been mixed, with disclosure yielding positive, negative, and nonsignificant relations with employee job attitudes and psychological well-being (Ragins, 2008; Ragins et al., 2007). For example, although Griffith and Hebl (2002) and Law et al. (2011) found that disclosure of a gay and transgender identity, respectively, was positively related to job satisfaction and negatively related to job anxiety, Driscoll, Kelley, and Fassinger (1996) and Day and Schoenrade (2000) found no significant relations between disclosure of a gay identity and job satisfaction or stress. Tejada (2006) even found that disclosure of a gay identity was positively related to turnover intentions. These findings suggest that certain moderators may influence the relations between disclosure and employee outcomes. Our results suggest that although authentic identity expression may allow one to achieve greater coherence between their private and public selves (Ellis & Riggle, 1996), the reactions of others at work likely play a critical moderating role in determining when authenticity leads to positive employee outcomes. Moreover, the reactions of certain individuals may be more important than others. Few relationships are as important at work as one's relationship with their supervisor (Scandura & Graen, 1984; Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989), and, as some researchers point out (e.g., Tejada, 2006), disclosure of a stigmatized identity to supervisors can lead to significant work-related consequences, given the hierarchical nature of these relationships. Thus, the degree of support and acceptance that supervisors display in response to employees' authentic identity expressions may be critical in determining such

individuals' subsequent job attitudes and well-being. Thus, future research might explore the extent to which responses from supervisors and other relevant stakeholders (i.e., coworkers, customers, upper managers) potentially impact these relations.

In the current research we focused on the misalignment between one's inner gender identity and outward manifestations of gender; however, the theoretical underpinnings of our findings may hold for other identity-based incongruities at work as well. Feeling free to express one's true identity in authentic ways at work—regardless of the nature of the identity or how it is expressed—should, generally speaking, contribute to more positive workplace attitudes and experiences under the right circumstances. Further, although research has supported the benefits of identity expression more generally across nonstigmatized populations (e.g., Goldman & Kernis, 2002; Ménard & Brunet, 2011), our findings help to understand why individuals—regardless of the nature of their identities—possess some need to express their true selves to others. When individuals are able to achieve a sense of authenticity, this may increase their happiness, feelings of positive self-regard, and well-being in and outside of work.

More broadly, given that coworkers and supervisors play a key role in enhancing perceptions of organizational support, it is important to examine the role that perceived organizational support may play in predicting authentic employee behavior. For example, it may be that more supportive work environments promote authentic identity expression among members of all groups, regardless of identity. It may also be the case that authenticity is enhanced only when group-specific support is demonstrated (e.g.,

Table 6
Zero-Order Correlations, Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliabilities for all Study 2 Variables

Construct	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Extent of transition	3.92	1.26						
2. Action authenticity	4.84	2.05	.51**	(.94)				
3. Relational authenticity	4.49	1.97	.48**	.72**	(.92)			
4. Job satisfaction	5.52	1.23	.18*	.19**	.42**	(.94)		
5. Perceived P-O fit	5.08	1.53	.11	.20**	.34**	.60**	(.92)	
6. Perceived discrimination	2.57	1.37	-.26**	-.35**	-.50**	-.51**	-.52**	(.88)

Note. Extent of transition was coded such that 1 = not begun transitioning, 2 = considering transitioning, 3 = preparing to transition, 4 = in the process of transitioning, and 5 = fully transitioned. P-O = person-organization.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 7
Mediation Analyses for the Effect of Extent of Transition on Workplace Outcomes Through Action and Relational Authenticity

Mediators grouped by outcome	Standardized indirect effects	Unstandardized indirect effects	Standard errors	95% CI	
				Lower	Upper
Job satisfaction					
Action authenticity	.11*	.12*	.07	.01	.52
Relational authenticity	.27***	.28***	.08	.28	.86
Perceived P-O fit					
Action authenticity	.03	.04	.09	-.24	.47
Relational authenticity	.18*	.22*	.10	.11	.82
Perceived discrimination					
Action authenticity	-.02	-.03	.08	-.27	.31
Relational authenticity	-.22***	-.26***	.08	-.82	-.28

Note. P-O = person-organization; CI = confidence interval.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

support specific to gender expression). In fact, the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) literature has demonstrated that supervisor and coworker support (Ragins et al., 2007), as well as organizational policies and practices (Badgett et al., 2002; Law et al., 2011; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001; Rostosky & Riggle, 2002; Tejeda, 2006) play a role in predicting disclosure behaviors. Thus, we encourage future research that focuses on (a) the psychological experience of achieving authenticity regardless of whether this is achieved through disclosing hidden, or acknowledging visible, characteristics; (b) the role of coworkers and managers in helping stigmatized employees achieve greater authenticity at work; and (c) the impact of organizational support on authenticity in the workplace.

From a practical standpoint, our results have implications for organizations that seek to foster smooth gender transitions for employees who wish to begin this process. This is especially timely, given recent controversial city and state legislation ensuring or removing protection from workplace discrimination based on gender identity (e.g., denying access to bathrooms that match transgender employees' gender identities). To improve employees' work-related attitudes and experiences, organizations might implement training programs that encourage individuals to be their true selves at work and simultaneously create work environments that promote greater acceptance of employees from different identity categories through awareness and inclusion initiatives. Indeed, a number of our participants highlighted the importance of organizational leaders' explicit support and efforts to educate and prepare coworkers to ensure smoother transitions for transgender employees.

Some employers already implement such initiatives. For example, Zappos, an online shoe retail company, places a heavy emphasis on employees being themselves, and also focuses on cultivating an organizational culture that celebrates and embraces the diversity of each employee (Tolley-Stokes, 2009). At Johnson and Johnson, policies and programs have been implemented that not only assist transitioning employees (e.g., by providing medical coverage, information about the transition process, and coaching), but also educate managers and coworkers to promote increased awareness and acceptance (Smith, 2013). Other large firms, such as Boeing, Google, and Chevron, have acknowledged the importance of addressing issues related to gender realignment for trans-

gender employees (Smith, 2013), however, there is little systematic research to inform existing policies and interventions. Our results provide support to such companies by highlighting the potential work-related benefits of gender transitions for transgender employees, as well as the need for organizations to create work environments that support these processes. By successfully implementing and enforcing inclusive policies that foster smooth transitions for transgender employees, organizations can act as models for larger societal changes and legislative actions (Martinez, Ruggs, Sabat, Hebl, & Binggeli, 2013).

Although the current study highlights some benefits of authenticity at work, it is important to note that revealing one's stigmatized identity is not always related to positive outcomes. The effects of transitioning for transgender employees may be similar to those of other dynamic stigmas. There are within-person variations in how people with dynamic stigmas express their identities across time and situations based on whether the motivation to feel authentic outweighs the motivation to protect oneself against potential stigmatization (King & Botsford, 2009; Ragins, 2008). As with other dynamic stigmas, openly transitioning may not be advisable due to psychological and physical safety concerns. Indeed, as prior research has shown, authentic identity expression can lead to negative health symptoms (Jones, Peddie, Gilrane, King, & Gray, 2013) and increased prejudice (Mizock & Mueser, 2014) and discrimination (Budge et al., 2010; Schilt, 2006). In some cases, transgender employees receive pressure to conform to gender roles, even from supportive coworkers who attempt to teach them how to behave as a new member of their gender (e.g., providing an MTF coworker with makeup tips; Schilt & Connell, 2007). In our own pilot study interviews, some participants reported negative consequences related to transitioning, including lack of effectiveness of established diversity policies and initial confusion or hostility among coworkers. Although we focus on the relations between the transition process, feelings of authenticity, and job attitudes, we acknowledge that negative outcomes related to transitioning at work can and do occur.

Thus, transgender employees should assess their work environments for potential support when making decisions related to authentic identity expression. The decision to be truly authentic at work is often highly personal and should be made with consideration of potential work-related consequences—especially for in-

dividuals with stigmatized identities. Organizations can help to mitigate some of the negative consequences by creating environments in which discrimination is not tolerated and respect and inclusion are highly promoted, thus encouraging relational authenticity. Further, organizations can actively create safe spaces for individuals to talk about identity issues and seek guidance about managing their identities at work. As our findings suggest, in environments where authenticity can be realized, transgender workers may experience positive job-related outcomes.

Limitations

The present study is not without limitations. Our research design does not allow us to rule out the possibility that transgender individuals may self-select into organizations that are more accepting of gender transitions. Thus, they may have been more likely to report increased job satisfaction and perceptions of P-O fit and lower perceived discrimination as a result of transitioning in such settings. Relatedly, we did not limit our study to participants who remained in the same organization for the entirety of their transition. The fact that some individuals may not have remained in the same organization throughout their transition could represent a confound, given that individuals' perceptions of relational authenticity may differ if they complete the transition among different coworkers than when they began the transition. Although we attempted to address these issues by collecting more data (see Footnote 3) and even though our interview data suggest that the decision to transition at work was not highly dependent on workplace characteristics, these are not perfect solutions to remedy this confound. Future research should more rigorously account for the possible effects of organizational membership throughout the transition process. Specifically, we recommend measuring attitudes before, during, and after changes in transition status within the same workplace or experience sampling methodologies to more rigorously capture the dynamic nature of transitioning at work.

The cross-sectional nature of our data does not allow us to rule out alternative causal orderings of our predicted relations. It might be argued that transgender individuals who report higher job satisfaction and perceived P-O fit and lower perceived discrimination may feel more authentic at work, increasing their likelihood of transitioning. However, these assertions do not make sense theoretically. Additionally, the causal ordering of our predictions are supported by our qualitative data, in which participants overwhelmingly suggested that their decisions to transition outweighed their professional concerns and that their attitudes improved as a result of transitioning at work. Indeed, none of our respondents suggested that their work situations or attitudes impacted their decisions to transition.

Finally, the correlation between action and relational authenticity was high, potentially calling into question these constructs' distinctiveness. Despite being related, previous theoretical discussions have characterized these forms of authenticity as separate elements in the daily operation of one's true self (Kernis & Goldman, 2006). Further, evidence for their distinctiveness was found in our interviews and CFA results. Finally, action and relational authenticity displayed differential effects on our focal outcomes, suggesting they are distinct constructs.

Conclusion

The results of the present study underscore the importance of achieving an authentic sense of self at work, especially for transgender employees. Although individuals vary in their needs for authenticity across life domains, including at work, the need for action authenticity and, in particular, relational authenticity appear to be important explanatory mechanisms by which identity expression influences job attitudes and experiences. As such, we would add to Jung's opening quote the importance of not only becoming who one truly is but also being recognized by others for being one's true self.

References

- Anderson, J. C., & Gerbing, D. W. (1988). Structural equation modeling in practice: A review and recommended two-step approach. *Psychological Bulletin, 103*, 411–423. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.103.3.411>
- Anderson, J. C., & Gerbing, D. W. (1991). Predicting the performance of measures in a confirmatory factor analysis with a pretest assessment of their substantive validities. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 76*, 732–740. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.76.5.732>
- Ashforth, B. E., & Mael, F. (1989). Social identity theory and the organization. *The Academy of Management Review, 14*, 20–39.
- Badgett, M. V., Lau, H., Sears, B., & Ho, D. (2007). *Bias in the workplace: Consistent evidence of sexual orientation and gender identity discrimination*. Los Angeles, CA: The Williams Institute, University of California.
- Becker, T. E., Atinc, G., Breaugh, J. A., Carlson, K. D., Edwards, J. R., & Spector, P. E. (2016). Statistical control in correlational studies: 10 essential recommendations for organizational researchers. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 37*, 157–167. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/job.2053>
- Bem, S. L. (1983). Gender schema theory and its implications for child development: Raising gender-aschematic children in a gender-schematic society. *Signs, 8*, 598–616. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173685>
- Bergami, M., & Bagozzi, R. P. (2000). Self-categorization, affective commitment and group self-esteem as distinct aspects of social identity in the organization. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 39*, 555–577. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1348/014466600164633>
- Bernerth, J. B., & Aguinis, H. (2016). A critical review and best-practice recommendations for control variable usage. *Personnel Psychology, 69*, 229–283.
- Brewer, M. B. (1991). The social self: On being the same and different at the same time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 17*, 475–482. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167291175001>
- Brewster, M. E., Velez, B., DeBlaere, C., & Moradi, B. (2012). Transgender individuals' workplace experiences: The applicability of sexual minority measures and models. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 59*, 60–70. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0025206>
- Brown, T. A. (2006). *Confirmatory factor analysis for applied research*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Budge, S. L., Tebbe, E. N., & Howard, K. A. S. (2010). The work experiences of transgender individuals: Negotiating the transition and career decision-making processes. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 57*, 377–393. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0020472>
- Cable, D. M., & Judge, T. A. (1996). Person-organization fit, job choice decisions, and organizational entry. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 67*, 294–311. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1006/obhd.1996.0081>
- Carlson, K. D., & Wu, J. (2012). The illusion of statistical control: Control variable practice in management research. *Organizational Research Methods, 15*, 413–435.

- Casper, W. J., & Swanberg, J. E. (2011). Career and work concerns of diverse and understudied workers. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 79*, 611–612. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2011.05.006>
- Clair, J. A., Beatty, J. E., & MacLean, T. L. (2005). Out of sight but not out of mind: Managing invisible social identities in the workplace. *The Academy of Management Review, 30*, 78–95. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/AMR.2005.15281431>
- Connell, C. (2010). Doing, undoing, or redoing gender? Learning from the workplace experiences of transpeople. *Gender & Society, 24*, 31–55. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0891243209356429>
- Cross, W. E. (1991). *Shades of black: Diversity in African-American identity*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Davis, D. (2009). Transgender issues in the workplace: HRD's newest challenge/opportunity. *Advances in Developing Human Resources, 11*, 109–120. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1523422308329189>
- Day, N. E., & Schoenrade, P. (2000). The relationship among reported disclosure of sexual orientation, anti-discrimination policies, top management support and work attitudes of gay and lesbian employees. *Personnel Review, 29*, 346–363. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/00483480010324706>
- Driscoll, J. M., Kelley, F. A., & Fassinger, R. E. (1996). Lesbian identity and disclosure in the workplace: Relation to occupational stress and satisfaction. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 48*, 229–242. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1006/jvbe.1996.0020>
- Eagly, A. H. (1987). *Sex differences in social behavior: A social-role interpretation*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Ellis, A. L., & Riggle, E. D. B. (1996). The relation of job satisfaction and degree of openness about one's sexual orientation for lesbians and gay men. *Journal of Homosexuality, 30*, 75–85. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J082v30n02_04
- Festinger, L. (1962). *A theory of cognitive dissonance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Goldman, B. M., & Kernis, M. (2002). The role of authenticity in healthy psychological functioning and subjective well-being. *Annals of the American Psychotherapy Association, 5*, 18–20. Retrieved from <http://www.biomedsearch.com/article/role-authenticity-in-healthy-psychological/95844662.html>
- Griffin, P. (1992). From hiding out to coming out: Empowering lesbian and gay educators. *Journal of Homosexuality, 22*, 167–196. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J082v22n03_07
- Griffith, K. H., & Hebl, M. R. (2002). The disclosure dilemma for gay men and lesbians: "Coming out" at work. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 87*, 1191–1199. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.87.6.1191>
- Hayduk, L. A., & Littvay, L. (2012). Should researchers use single indicators, best indicators, or multiple indicators in structural equation models? *BMC Medical Research Methodology, 12*, 159. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1186/1471-2288-12-159>
- Hayes, A. F. (2013). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Hebl, M. R., & Kleck, R. E. (2002). Acknowledging one's stigma in the interview setting: Effective strategy or liability? *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 32*, 223–249. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2002.tb00214.x>
- Ironson, G. H., Smith, P. C., Brannick, M. T., Gibson, W. M., & Paul, K. B. (1989). Construction of a Job in General scale: A comparison of global, composite, and specific measures. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 74*, 193–200. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.74.2.193>
- Irwin, J. (2002). Discrimination against gay men, lesbians, and transgender people working in education. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services, 14*, 65–77. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J041v14n02_06
- Jones, K. P., & King, E. B. (2014). Managing concealable stigmas at work: A review and multilevel model. *Journal of Management, 40*, 1466–1494. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0149206313515518>
- Jones, K. P., Peddie, C. I., Gilrane, V. L., King, E. B., & Gray, A. L. (2016). Not so subtle: A meta-analytic investigation of the correlates of subtle and overt discrimination. *Journal of Management, 42*, 1588–1613.
- Kernis, M. H. (2003). Toward a conceptualization of optimal self-esteem. *Psychological Inquiry, 14*, 1–26. http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/S15327965PLI1401_01
- Kernis, M. H., & Goldman, B. M. (2006). A multicomponent conceptualization of authenticity: Theory and research. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 38*, 283–357. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601\(06\)38006-9](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(06)38006-9)
- King, E. B., & Botsford, W. E. (2009). Managing pregnancy disclosures: Understanding and overcoming the challenges of expectant motherhood at work. *Human Resource Management Review, 19*, 314–323. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.hrmr.2009.03.003>
- Kinicki, A. J., McKee-Ryan, F. M., Schriesheim, C. A., & Carson, K. P. (2002). Assessing the construct validity of the job descriptive index: A review and meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 87*, 14–32. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.87.1.14>
- Kristof-Brown, A. L., Zimmerman, R. D., & Johnson, E. C. (2005). Consequences of individuals' fit at work: A meta-analysis of person-job, person-organization, person-group, and person-supervisor fit. *Personnel Psychology, 58*, 281–342. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.2005.00672.x>
- Law, C. L., Martinez, L. R., Ruggs, E. N., Hebl, M. R., & Akers, E. (2011). Trans-parency in the workplace: How the experiences of transsexual employees can be improved. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 79*, 710–723. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2011.03.018>
- Lyons, B. J., Martinez, L. R., Ruggs, E. N., Hebl, M. R., Ryan, A. M., O'Brien, K. R., & Roebuck, A. (2016). To say or not to say: Different strategies of acknowledging a visible disability. *Journal of Management*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0149206316638160>
- MacKinnon, D. P., Lockwood, C. M., & Williams, J. (2004). Confidence limits for the indirect effect: Distribution of the product and resampling methods. *Multivariate Behavioral Research, 39*, 99–128. http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15327906mbr3901_4
- Martinez, L. R., Ruggs, E. N., Sabat, I. E., Hebl, M. R., & Binggeli, S. (2013). The role of organizational leaders in sexual orientation equality at organizational and federal levels. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 28*, 455–466. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10869-013-9293-x>
- Martinez, L. R., White, C. D., Shapiro, J. R., & Hebl, M. R. (2016). Selection BIAS: Stereotypes and discrimination related to having a history of cancer. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 101*, 122–128. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/apl0000036>
- Ménard, J., & Brunet, L. (2011). Authenticity and well-being in the workplace: A mediation model. *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 26*, 331–346. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/02683941111124854>
- Mizock, L., & Mueser, K. T. (2014). Employment, mental health, internalized stigma, and coping with transphobia among transgender individuals. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity, 1*, 146–158. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000029>
- Neblett, E. W., Shelton, J. N., & Sellers, R. M. (2004). The role of racial identity in managing daily racial hassles. In G. Philogene (Ed.), *Race and identity: The legacy of Kenneth Clark* (pp. 77–90). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/10812-005>
- Nye, C. D., Brummel, B. J., & Drasgow, F. (2009). Differentiating gender discrimination and sexist behavior: An examination of antecedents and outcomes. *Military Psychology, 21*, 299–314. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0895600902914388>
- Paetold, R. L., Dipboye, R. L., & Elsbach, K. D. (2008). A new look at stigmatization in and of organizations. *The Academy of Management Review, 33*, 186–193. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/AMR.2008.27752576>

- Pratt, M. G. (1998). Central questions in organizational identification. In D. A. Whetten & P. C. Godfrey (Eds.), *Identity in organizations: Building theory through conversations* (pp. 171–208). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781452231495.n6>
- Ragins, B. R. (2008). Disclosure disconnects: Antecedents and consequences of disclosing invisible stigmas across life domains. *The Academy of Management Review*, 33, 194–215. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/AMR.2008.27752724>
- Ragins, B. R., & Cornwell, J. M. (2001). Pink triangles: Antecedents and consequences of perceived workplace discrimination against gay and lesbian employees. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86, 1244–1261. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.86.6.1244>
- Ragins, B. R., Singh, R., & Cornwell, J. M. (2007). Making the invisible visible: Fear and disclosure of sexual orientation at work. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92, 1103–1118. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.92.4.1103>
- Reynolds, A. L., & Hanjorgiris, W. F. (2000). Coming out: Lesbian, gay, and bisexual identity development. In R. M. Perez, K. A. DeBord, & K. J. Bieschke (Eds.), *Handbook of counseling and psychotherapy with lesbian, gay, and bisexual clients* (pp. 35–55). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/10339-002>
- Rostovsky, S. S., & Riggle, E. D. B. (2002). “Out” at work: The relation of actor and partner workplace policy and internalized homophobia to disclosure status. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 49, 411–419. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.49.4.411>
- Ruggs, E. N., Law, C., Cox, C. B., Roehling, M. V., Wiener, R. L., Hebl, M. R., & Barron, L. (2013). Gone fishing: I/O psychologists’ missed opportunities to understand marginalized employees’ experiences with discrimination. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology: Perspectives on Science and Practice*, 6, 39–60. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/iops.12007>
- Ruggs, E. N., Martinez, L. R., Hebl, M. R., & Law, C. L. (2015). Workplace trans-actions: How organizations, coworkers, and individual openness influence perceived gender identity discrimination. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, 2, 404–412. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000112>
- Ryan, R. M., LaGuardia, J. G., & Rawsthorne, L. J. (2005). Self-complexity and the authenticity of self-aspects: Effects on well-being and resilience to stressful events. *North American Journal of Psychology*, 7, 431–448. Retrieved from http://sdtheory.s3.amazonaws.com/SDT/documents/2005_RyanLaGuardiaRawsthorne_NAJP.pdf
- Sawyer, K., Thoroughgood, C., & Webster, J. (2016). Queering the gender binary: Understanding transgender workplace experiences. In T. Köllen (Ed.), *Sexual orientation and transgender issues in organizations* (pp. 21–42). Switzerland: Springer International. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-29623-4_2
- Scandura, T. A., & Graen, G. B. (1984). Moderating effects of initial leader–member exchange status on the effects of a leadership intervention. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 69, 428–436. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.69.3.428>
- Schilt, K. (2006). Just one of the guys? How transmen make gender visible at work. *Gender & Society*, 20, 465–490. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0891243206288077>
- Schilt, K., & Connell, C. (2007). Do workplace gender transitions make gender trouble? *Gender, Work and Organization*, 14, 596–618. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2007.00373.x>
- Schilt, K., & Westbrook, L. (2009). Doing gender, doing heteronormativity: ‘Gender normals,’ transgender people, and the social maintenance of heterosexuality. *Gender & Society*, 23, 440–464. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0891243209340034>
- Sellers, R. M., Caldwell, C. H., Schmeelk-Cone, K., & Zimmerman, M. A. (2003). Racial identity, racial discrimination, perceived stress, and psychological distress among African American young adults. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 44, 302–317. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1519781>
- Sellers, R. M., & Shelton, J. N. (2003). The role of racial identity in perceived racial discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84, 1079–1092. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.84.5.1079>
- Sheldon, K. M., Ryan, R. M., Rawsthorne, L. J., & Ilardi, B. (1997). Trait self and true self: Cross-role variation in the big five personality traits and its relations with psychological authenticity and subjective well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73, 1380–1393. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.73.6.1380>
- Shelton, J. N., & Sellers, R. M. (2000). Situational stability and variability in African American racial identity. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 26, 27–50. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0095798400026001002>
- Singletary, S. L., & Hebl, M. R. (2009). Compensatory strategies for reducing interpersonal discrimination: The effectiveness of acknowledgments, increased positivity, and individuating information. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 94, 797–805. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0014185>
- Smith, R. (2013). *Visible, ongoing management support vital when employee undergoes gender transition*. Retrieved from <http://outandequal.wordpress.com/2013/03/14/visible-ongoing-management-support-vital-when-employee-undergoes-gender-transition/>
- Spector, P. E., & Brannick, M. T. (2011). Methodological urban legends: The misuse of statistical control variables. *Organizational Research Methods*, 14, 287–305. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1094428110369842>
- Swann, W. B. (1983). Self-verification: Bringing social reality into harmony with the self. *Psychological Perspectives on the Self*, 2, 33–66. Retrieved from <http://homepage.psy.utexas.edu/HomePage/Faculty/Swann/docu/swBSRHS83.pdf>
- Tajfel, H., Billig, M. G., Bundy, R. P., & Flament, C. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 1, 149–178. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420010202>
- Tejeda, M. J. (2006). Nondiscrimination policies and sexual identity disclosure: Do they make a difference in employee outcomes? *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, 18, 45–59. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10672-005-9004-5>
- Tolley-Stokes, R. (2009). Try on a new pair of sensible shoes: What libraries can learn from Zappos about customer service and organizational culture. *College & Research Libraries News*, 70, 288–291. Retrieved from <http://crln.acrl.org/content/70/5/288.full.pdf>
- Tsui, A. S., & O’Reilly, C. A. (1989). Beyond simple demographic effects: The importance of relational demography in superior-subordinate dyads. *Academy of Management Journal*, 32, 402–423. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/256368>
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society*, 1, 125–151. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0891243287001002002>

(Appendix follows)

Appendix

Consideration of Control Variables

Consideration of Control Variables in Study 1

Consistent with prior studies of LGBT populations, we considered a range of potential control variables, including age, race, and gender identity (e.g., MTF vs. FTM). Although each of these may be related to extent of transition, job satisfaction, perceived P-O fit, and/or perceived discrimination for a variety of reasons, contemporary recommendations caution against including controls simply because past research has done so, because controls are believed to be related to focal constructs, or due to an assumption that doing so will “purify” the relations (Becker et al., 2016; Bernerth & Aguinis, 2016; Carlson & Wu, 2012; Spector & Brannick, 2011). As there is no reason to believe that these characteristics could contaminate the measurement of or cause spurious relations between our focal variables (Spector & Brannick, 2011), we follow current recommendations and omit these characteristics as control variables (Carlson & Wu, 2012).

Consideration of Control Variables in Study 2

Consistent with Study 1, we do not include demographic controls. However, although we did not consider doing this in our Study 1 data collection, in line with research that highlights the influence of organizational and individual phenomena on transgender employees’ workplace experiences (e.g., Law et al., 2011; Ruggs et al., 2015), we included organizational supportive policies and transgender identity centrality as potential controls in this second data collection. Employees who work in organizations with more supportive policies for gender identity diversity may feel more comfortable undergoing the transition process and also report higher job satisfaction and perceived P-O fit and lower perceived discrimination. Indeed, research suggests that organizational policies regarding LGBT equality are related to job satisfaction, commitment, and turnover intentions (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). Thus, the relations between extent of transition and our outcomes could be simply due to the presence of these policies. Further, identity centrality refers to the extent to which individuals feel that their transgender identities are important components of their self-concepts. Individuals who feel stronger centrality may be more likely to undergo the transition process, to value action and relational authenticity, and to perceive discrimination. For example, identity centrality has been found to predict stronger interpretations of daily events that have an impact on one’s identity (Cross, 1991), to interpret ambiguous events as discriminatory (Shelton & Sellers, 2000), and to experience discrimination (Neblett, Shelton, & Sellers, 2004; Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). On the contrary, identity centrality has also been found to buffer against the effects of discrimination (Sellers et al., 2003). Due to these alternative explanations, we include supportive policies and identity centrality as control variables in the current analyses.

Supportive policies ($\alpha = .83$) was measured using five items from Ragins and Cornwell’s (2001) scale of organizational supportive policies for sexual orientation diversity. We altered the items so they referred to gender identity instead of sexual orientation, and one item was removed because it only applied to sexual orientation (i.e., “Welcoming same-sex partners at company social events”). Participants indicated the presence (coded as 1) or absence (coded as 0) of each policy and an overall score was calculated by taking the sum across items. Responses of “I don’t know” were coded as missing values. Identity centrality ($\alpha = .70$) was measured using five items from Law et al. (2011; e.g., “My identity as a transgender individual is extremely central to my self-concept.”). Items were rated on a 1 (*Not at all agree*) and 7 (*Very strongly agree*) scale.

A CFA indicated better fit to the data when the items were modeled onto their respective factors $\chi^2(325) = 598.97, p < .001$, CFI = .94, TLI = .93, RMSEA = .07, AIC = 17,684.58, than when they were modeled on a single common factor, $\chi^2(350) = 2,577.62, p < .001$, CFI = .49, TLI = .45, RMSEA = .18, AIC = 19,613.23; $\Delta\chi^2(25) = 1,978.65, p < .001$, thus providing support for an eight-factor solution (extent of transition, action and relational authenticity, job satisfaction, perceived P-O fit, discrimination, organizational policies, identity centrality). In all cases, we entered our control variables as single items (Hayduk & Littvay, 2012) and calculated and fixed their error variances in the model in line with recommendations (Brown, 2006) and to preserve degrees of freedom.

A structural model that replicates Study 2, H_1 , but which included the control variables, provided adequate fit to the data, $\chi^2(177) = 360.63, p < .001$, CFI = .93, TLI = .92, RMSEA = .07, AIC = 12,998.90. The structural model that replicates Study 2, H_2 and H_3 , but with control variables added also provided adequate fit to the data, $\chi^2(328) = 600.64, p < .001$, CFI = .94, TLI = .93, RMSEA = .07, AIC = 17,680.25.

With respect to H_1 , all of the relations match those reported in the manuscript with the exception of the relation between extent of transition and perceived P-O fit, which is no longer significant by conventional standards ($\beta = .09_{\text{std.}}, b = .11_{\text{unstd.}}, p = .19$). With respect to H_2 and H_3 , the pattern of relations match those reported in the body of the manuscript such that all the significant paths reported maintain their levels of significance by conventional standards. In addition, no differences were found with respect to the indirect effects when control variables were added.

Given that including these theoretically relevant control variables did not substantially alter the pattern of results presented in the manuscript, we only include them here for interested readers, in line with contemporary recommendations (Spector & Brannick, 2011).

Received September 18, 2014

Revision received August 24, 2016

Accepted August 26, 2016 ■