DOI: 10.1002/hrm.21912

WILEY

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Task interdependence and the discrimination of gay men and lesbians in the workplace

Angeline Cuifang Lim[1] | Raymond Nam Cam Trau[2] | Maw-Der Foo[3]

[1]Chua Thian Poh Community Leadership Centre, National University of Singapore, Singapore

[2]School of Management, RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia

[3]Department of Industrial Systems Engineering and Management, Faculty of Engineering, National University of Singapore, Singapore

Correspondence
Angeline Cuifang Lim, Chua Thian Poh Community Leadership Centre, National University of Singapore, 1 Create Way, CREATE Tower (Town Plaza), #02-05, Singapore 138602
Email: angeline@nus.edu.sg

Research on occupational segregation has found that gay men and lesbians concentrate in occupations with high task independence. This research proposed that gay men and lesbians self-select into such occupations, as it may be easier to manage their sexual orientation if they do not interact closely with others. We provide a complementary explanation that the high concentration of gay men and lesbians in high-task-independent jobs may be due to bias during the selection stage. We conducted two studies to examine (a) whether discrimination at the point of hiring limits gay men and lesbians' access to high-task-interdependent occupations, and (b) whether gay men and lesbians in task-interdependent jobs are less likely to be invited to socialize by coworkers. We found that gay men and lesbians are discriminated against for task-interdependent occupations by hiring personnel, but notably are more likely to be invited to socialize outside of work by coworkers if they are in task-interdependent jobs. We discuss the implications of these findings for research and practice of occupational segregation of gay men and lesbians specifically and for other minority or stigmatized groups in general.

KEYWORDS

discrimination, gay and lesbian, occupational segregation, sexual orientation, stigma

1 | INTRODUCTION

Gay men and lesbians are found in higher proportions in certain occupations (e.g., Baumle, Compton, & Poston, 2009; Ellis, 1897; Tilcsik, Anteby, & Knight, 2015). That is, they are occupationally segregated, which is defined as the distribution of people across jobs based on demographic characteristics, such as gender, race, and sexual orientation (Tilcsik et al., 2015). Occupational segregation has societal and economic costs (Singh et al., 2013). At the societal level, occupational segregation limits the opportunities that are available to members of the target demographic group, in terms of their social and economic prospects (England, Chassie, & McCormack, 1982; Mandel, 2013; Reskin, 1993). At the economic level, occupational segregation reduces the pool of talent from which organizations may draw, which may lead to a lack of diversity within the organization (Barbulescu & Bidwell, 2013; Bidwell, Briscoe, Fernandez-Mateo, & Sterling, 2013; Dobbin, Sutton, Meyer, & Scott, 1993; Kalev, Dobbin, & Kelly, 2006).

Research has found that the discrimination of gay men and lesbians results in a number of economic and psychological costs for the marginalized group. For example, gay men and lesbians who are unable to obtain desired employment in Indonesia often have to turn to informal employment such as sex work, begging, salons, creative arts and entertainment, or self-employment (Badgett, Hasenbush, & Luhur, 2017; International Labour Office, 2016). Gay men have also been found to earn 11% less than heterosexual men across countries such as Australia, France, Greece, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States (Klawitter, 2014). Further, discriminated gay and lesbian employees experience higher levels of anxiety, negative attitudes, and internalized homophobia, as well as lower levels of life satisfaction (Emir, 2014; Lau & Stotzer, 2010). At the organizational level, discrimination of gay and lesbian employees is also associated with higher costs (due to increased health insurance and discrimination-related litigation fees) and lower revenues (due to loss of sales from potential customers, drop in stock prices, and lower productivity; Badgett, Durso, Kastanis, & Mallory, 2013). At the country level, gay and lesbian discrimination also adversely impacts economic output and economic growth. Research across 39 countries has found a correlation between higher levels of LGBT inclusion and economic growth (Badgett, Nezhad, Waaldijk, & van der Meulen Rodgers, 2014). In Australia, it has been estimated that the financial

benefits associated with encouraging closeted workers to come out could lead to as much as $285 million in savings per year nationally, including an increase of 11% in staff retention and 30% in the productivity of closeted workers (Johnson & Cooper, 2015). In India, a World Bank study on the impact of stigma and exclusion on the Indian economy found that LGBT exclusion can amount to $32 billion worth of lost economic output (Radcliffe, 2016). Taken together, this suggests the importance of developing a deeper understanding of the discrimination toward gay men and lesbians at the workplace.

Gay men and lesbians work in a wide range of industries, in blue-collar jobs, service jobs, and white-collar jobs. However, there are specific jobs in which they tend to concentrate, for example, psychologists, hairdressers, home appliance repairers, and producers and directors, among others (Tilcsik et al., 2015). One common feature of these jobs is that they are highly task independent (Tilcsik et al., 2015). Drawing on Goffman's (1963) classic theories of stigma management, the prevailing view is that gay men and lesbians are drawn to occupations with higher levels of task independence (Tilcsik et al., 2015). The reasoning is that high-task-independent occupations require fewer interactions with coworkers, making it easier for groups with an invisible stigma to better manage the visibility of their stigma. In this case, gay men and lesbians may choose to be in occupations that require less interaction with coworkers so that they can conceal or selectively reveal the stigma of their sexual orientation (Theodorakopoulos & Budhwar, 2015; Tilcsik et al., 2015).

Tilcsik et al.'s (2015) seminal study has provided us with a deeper understanding of why gay men and lesbians are occupationally segregated. However, they provided a supply-side (e.g., worker preferences, human capital/skills deficit) explanation that overlooks demand-side (e.g., economic and organizational structure constraints, stereotyping and queuing processes) reasons for occupational segregation. Addressing this omission, we present a complementary demand-side explanation for the occupational segregation of gay men and lesbians. We draw from evidence of workplace discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation to propose an alternative explanation for this phenomenon—gay men and lesbians end up in high-task-independent occupations because they have limited access to high-task-interdependent occupations due to discrimination. Given that many jobs require a high degree of task interdependence (e.g., teams), limited access to such jobs can have adverse effects on the career paths of gay men and lesbians.

Gay men and lesbians still face discrimination in the workplace (e.g., Bell, Özbilgin, Beauregard, & Surgevil, 2011; Drydakis, 2015; Theodorakopoulos & Budhwar, 2015). This is because they possess characteristics that are frowned upon or disapproved by society—a social stigma. Gay men and lesbians are often excluded and discriminated in society, as they are deemed to have deviated from sexual norms. Despite the homosexual stigma being invisible (i.e., it is not obvious or apparent to the observer), there is evidence that gay men and lesbians face discrimination in various forms at work (e.g., Croteau, 1996; Crow, Fok, & Hartman, 1995; Drydakis, 2015; Hebl, Foster, Mannix, & Dovidio, 2002; Ozturk, 2011; Ragins, Singh, & Cornwell, 2007). Research on stigmas has found that observers tend to feel anxious, threatened, or uncomfortable in social interactions with individuals who possess a stigma (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Goffman, 1963). When faced with stigmatized individuals, observers tend to experience negative emotions such as fear and threat (Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter, Lickel, & Kowai-Bell, 2001; Ragins et al., 2007; Roberson, Deitch, Brief, & Block, 2002; Stangor & Crandall, 2000). These threats are often associated with aversive heterosexism (i.e., unconscious homophobia resulting in heterosexist behaviors; Pichler, 2007; Pichler, Varma, & Bruce, 2010; Winegarden, 1994) and courtesy stigmas (i.e., stigmas received by associating with stigmatized groups; Goffman, 1963). To the extent that hiring personnel may feel threatened, they may expect that their coworkers would feel that way, too. As such, we propose that hiring personnel are less likely to perceive a fit between a gay or lesbian job applicant and a high-task-interdependent job due to their stigmatized identity.

We theorize that such fears are unfounded and argue that coworkers are less—not more—likely to exclude gay men and lesbians in high-task-interdependent jobs. We base our reasoning on the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), which states that interpersonal contact between majority and minority group members effectively reduces prejudice between them. Research has found that, in line with the contact hypothesis, prior contact with gay men and lesbians results in more positive attitudes toward them (Bowen & Bourgeois, 2001; Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Herek & Glunt, 1993; Horvath & Ryan, 2003; Lance, 1987). As such, we argue that gay men and lesbians are more likely to be invited to socialize by their coworkers if there is high task interdependence as these jobs tend to have greater intergroup contact.

We conducted two field studies to test our hypotheses. Using a sample of 113 hiring personnel, Study 1 examines whether gay men and lesbians are perceived to be less suitable for jobs with high task interdependence. Using a sample of 220 working individuals, Study 2 examines whether gay men and lesbians are less likely to be invited to socialize by coworkers if they are placed in high-task-interdependent jobs.

Our study contributes to the wide and expansive literature on discrimination against gay men and lesbians in the workplace. First, we provide a demand-side explanation for the high concentration of gay men and lesbians in high-task-independent jobs—gay men and lesbians have limited access to high-task-interdependent jobs because they are perceived as less suitable for such jobs during the selection stage. It is important to note that disclosure at the selection stage is increasingly common. More workers recognize that bringing their authentic self to work positively impacts their well-being and their interactions with coworkers (Ramarajan & Reid, 2013) and may allow them to obtain emotional and career support via networking with similar others in employee resource groups (Chuang, Church, & Hu, 2016; Trau, 2015). However, disclosure in the application process also opens them up to the risk of being discriminated against by recruiters. A second contribution of our study is to dispel the notion that gay men and lesbians are less preferred coworkers for high-task-interdependent jobs. As we explained using the contact hypothesis, gay men and lesbians are more socially integrated with their coworkers when they are in high-task-interdependent jobs.

2 | LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 | Occupational segregation

Occupational segregation refers to the distribution of people across jobs based on demographic characteristics, such as gender, race, and sexual orientation (Tilcsik et al., 2015). The uneven distribution of members of a particular demographic group across occupations has implications for both the individual and the organization. At the individual level, occupational segregation limits the opportunities that are available to members of the particular demographic group, limiting their social and economic prospects (England et al., 1982; Mandel, 2013; Reskin, 1993). At the organizational level, occupational segregation reduces the pool of talent from which organizations may draw and leads to a lack of diversity in different positions and professional groups within the organization (Barbulescu & Bidwell, 2013; Bidwell et al., 2013; Dobbin et al., 1993; Kalev et al., 2006).

This phenomenon has been observed by numerous scholars for gender, race, and sexual orientation (e.g., King, 1992; Reskin & Padavic, 1999; Singh et al., 2013; Tilcsik et al., 2015). In particular, gay men have been found in disproportionate numbers in occupations such as flight attendants, hairdressers, nurse practitioners, actors, news analysts, and producers and directors, while lesbians have been found in disproportionate numbers in occupations such as psychologists, probation officers, mechanics, repairers, and installers (Tilcsik et al., 2015). While these occupations tend to be quite wide ranging, a common thread among these occupations is that gay men and lesbians tend to concentrate in occupations that provide high task independence (Tilcsik et al., 2015). The prevailing reasoning is that gay men and lesbians prefer to be in high-task-independent jobs so that they can better manage information about their stigma. The less gay men and lesbians have to interact with others, the easier it is for them to manage their stigma (Tilcsik et al., 2015).

2.2 | The stigma of homosexuality

According to stigma theory, stigmatized individuals and groups are often seen as inferior, flawed, or deviant (Goffman, 1963) and are believed to possess attributes or characteristics that reflect a flawed social identity (Crocker et al., 1998; Goffman, 1963). Such attributions about stigmatized individuals result in prejudice and discrimination (Dovidio, Major, & Crocker, 2000; Roehling, Roehling, & Pichler, 2007). Stigma theory suggests that such discrimination occurs because observers tend to experience negative emotions such as fear and threat when interacting with stigmatized individuals (Blascovich et al., 2001; Stangor & Crandall, 2000). Stigmas can cause observers to feel anxious, threatened, or uncomfortable in social interactions (Crocker et al., 1998; Goffman, 1963; Law, Martinez, Ruggs, Hebl, & Akers, 2013) and elicit feelings of uncertainty and unpredictability, which may then lead to perceptions of physical or psychological danger (Blascovich et al., 2001).

According to Ragins (2004), gay and lesbian employees may be perceived as a triple threat to other employees at work. Specifically, gay men may be perceived as being a threat to the health and safety of other employees (i.e., tangible threat) because gay men are often stereotyped as being HIV positive, and normal ailments such as flu are sometimes assumed to be symptoms of AIDS (Friskopp & Silverstein, 1996; Woods, 1993). Gay men and lesbians may also threaten other employees' moral and religious beliefs (i.e., symbolic threat), as gay marriage has often been characterized as a threat to the institution of marriage or a threat to society (Adam, 2003; Ozturk, 2011). Furthermore, gay men and lesbians may sometimes be perceived as a personal threat to heterosexual coworkers, as they may feel that their sexual identity is threatened by the presence of a gay or lesbian colleague (Pichler, 2007). This personal threat stems partly from homophobia—fear that one is gay, may become gay, or may be perceived as gay by others (Herek, 1984). This fear is unique to gay men and lesbians, as employees generally do not feel afraid that they may be perceived as or become someone of a different gender or race by associating with members from other groups. Compounding this is stigma-by-association (otherwise known as courtesy stigmas) whereby heterosexual employees who associate with openly gay or lesbian employees may be perceived or assumed to be gay or lesbian by others in the organization (Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Kulik, Bainbridge, & Cregan, 2008).

Even though gay men and lesbians may differ slightly in terms of the perceived threat to others (whereby gay men are perceived to pose an additional health and safety threat due to their association with HIV), it is not uncommon for studies examining employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation to study these two groups of stigmatized individuals as a single group (e.g., Barron & Hebl, 2013; Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). For example, Barron and Hebl (2013) had male and female students posing as gay or lesbian job applicants in a field study and an experiment in order to capture information on interpersonal discrimination in employment. Ragins and Cornwell (2001) tested a model of perceived sexual orientation using a sample of gay and lesbian employees and found no significant gender differences. Taken together, these studies suggest that gay men and lesbians face similar career challenges (e.g., employment discrimination, interpersonal discrimination, disclosure challenges), and, more pertinently, both gay men and lesbians are found in high proportions in task-independent occupations (Tilcsik et al., 2015).

2.3 | The discrimination of gay men and lesbians

The stigma of homosexuality has led to widespread discrimination against gay men and lesbians. At the societal level, gay men and lesbians face discrimination in the form of an absence of legal protection (or worse, the presence of laws against homosexuality), hate crimes (Herek, Cogan, & Gillis, 2002; Nelson & Krieger, 1997), and heterosexism (Pichler, 2007). At the workplace, gay men and lesbians are also subject to discrimination in many forms (Ozturk, 2011). A study by Croteau (1996) found that 25% to 66% of gay men and lesbians reported experiencing discrimination on the basis of their sexual orientation. In another study of 534 gay and lesbian professionals, over a third reported facing verbal or physical harassment because of their sexual orientation, 37% reported facing discrimination because they were suspected or assumed to be gay, and 12% left their jobs because of discrimination (Ragins et al., 2007). These forms of

discrimination are not only costly to gay and lesbian workers but also to their employers (Bell et al., 2011; Pichler, Blazovich, Cook, Huston, & Strawser, 2018; Pichler & Ruggs, 2015).

Studies examining hiring discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation also found evidence that gay men and lesbians are consistently discriminated against in the hiring process. During the selection process, gay men and lesbians are less likely to be offered a job interview than heterosexual applicants (Drydakis, 2015; Tilcsik, 2011) and may even experience more hiring discrimination as compared to other minority groups, such as women and blacks (Crow et al., 1995).

All in all, there is strong evidence that employers' preferences and biases impact perceptions of fit, and that may well lead to the exclusion of gay men and lesbians from task-interdependent jobs. We argue in this article that gay men and lesbians would encounter more discrimination during the job selection process for high-task-interdependent jobs, as hiring personnel may not perceive them as being suitable for such jobs. Past research has provided strong evidence suggesting that stigmatized individuals tend to threaten those who interact with them (Ragins, 2004), and scholars have theorized that hiring personnel may expect that potential coworkers may feel uncomfortable interacting with them, especially in jobs that require them to work interdependently with others (Stone & Colella, 1996). Based on this reasoning, we propose that:

> **Hypothesis 1:** *Task interdependence relates negatively to perceived job fit for gay men and lesbians. That is, the higher the task interdependence, the lower the perceived job fit.*

If indeed our hypotheses are supported, the fear of hiring gay men and lesbians into task-interdependent jobs is unwarranted. We base our reasoning on Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis. As discussed earlier, Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis theorized that interpersonal contact with members of a minority group effectively reduces prejudice between members of a majority group and a minority group. In high-task-interdependent jobs, employees will have to work closely together, and their frequent interpersonal contact facilitates greater understanding between members of different groups, including those who are gay or lesbian and those who are not (Ragins, 2004). Taken together, while gay men and lesbians possess a stigmatized identity, employees working interdependently with gay or lesbian employees should be able to reduce their bias toward their stigmatized coworkers (Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Herek & Glunt, 1993; Lance, 1987). We argue that the reduction of bias toward stigmatized coworkers due to increased contact extends to interactions outside the workplace.

If one is biased against stigmatized coworkers, he or she is less likely to interact with them beyond what is necessary. This is because stigmatized groups tend to be excluded from informal social interactions (Ibarra, 1993; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; O'Leary & Ickovics, 1992). In a work context, coworkers may have to interact to get the job done. But they have more discretion whether to interact outside of work. Interacting with coworkers outside of work has wide-ranging benefits, including providing information that enables employees to perform their jobs effectively (Ibarra, 1993), organizational socialization and commitment (Morrison, 2002), building trust and acceptance (Rumens, 2012), and positive emotions—an essential component for flourishing at work (Colbert, Bono, & Purvanova, 2016). Following Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, coworkers of gay men and lesbians in high-task-interdependent jobs will have the opportunity to get to know them better in the course of work. Because of such contact, coworkers should be less likely to avoid informal social interactions with their gay and lesbian counterparts as compared to jobs with less contact. As such, we hypothesize that:

> **Hypothesis 2:** *Task interdependence relates negatively to the decision not to socialize with gay and lesbian coworkers. That is, the higher the task interdependence, the more likely gay men and lesbians are invited to socialize.*

3 | STUDY 1: METHOD

3.1 | Conjoint methodology

To test Hypothesis 1, we conducted a study using conjoint analysis. Conjoint analysis is a method used to capture the factors underlying an individual's decision or judgment. This methodology has been used in judgment and decision-making studies across a variety of disciplines (Green, Krieger, & Wind, 2001) such as in marketing (Carroll & Green, 1995), strategy (Pablo, 1994; Tyler & Steensma, 1995), entrepreneurship (Lohrke, Holloway, & Woolley, 2010), and economic psychology (Poortinga, Steg, Vlek, & Wiersma, 2003). In particular, this methodology is extremely useful for examining bias and discrimination (highly sensitive topics that are subject to a fair amount of political correctness and social desirability biases), as it is able to detect the factors and decision rules that impact participants' decisions and judgments (Lohrke et al., 2010; Shepherd, Patzelt, & Baron, 2013; Shepherd & Zacharakis, 1999).

In studies using conjoint analysis, participants are given a series of scenarios and are required to make a judgment or decision based on the factors in each scenario. A scenario comprises a set of attributes of a decision task. For our study, we created 16 unique scenarios mirroring the attributes of a hiring scenario. Each scenario featured seven attributes comprising two applicant attributes (gender, display of homosexual behavior), four job attributes (interdependence of task, interaction with external parties, supervisory responsibility, hierarchical level of job), and one situational attribute (availability of other candidates). Each attribute was varied on two attribute levels, and participants were asked to decide whether the applicant was a fit for the job at the end of each scenario. Conjoint analyses similar to the one used in our study have been used in prior studies to investigate complex decisions such as entrepreneurs' evaluations of the attractiveness of opportunities (Shepherd et al., 2013), entrepreneurs' decisions to exploit opportunities (Choi & Shepherd, 2004; Mitchell, Shepherd, & Sharfman, 2011), and alliance managers' decisions about resource allocation (Patzelt & Shepherd, 2008), among others. Details of the attributes, the attribute levels, and the two dependent variables are discussed in the next section.

Following earlier studies using conjoint analysis (e.g., Choi & Shepherd, 2004; Shepherd et al., 2013), our survey comprises two sections: (a) a conjoint experiment, and (b) a questionnaire capturing participant and organization information. The conjoint experiment section comprised 16 unique scenarios, which were repeated to ensure test–retest reliability. In addition to these 32 scenarios, a practice scenario (which was not scored or captured in the dataset used for analysis) was included at the start of the experiment to familiarize participants with the conjoint procedure. Since order effects may influence participants' responses, we created four versions of the conjoint experiments. These four sets differed in order of attributes (two versions) and order of scenarios (two versions). On average, it takes participants 20 to 30 minutes to complete the entire survey.

3.2 | Sample

Our sample was composed of 113 hiring personnel. Participants were recruited in person at the organization in which they worked. We randomly selected a number of office blocks within the Central Business District in Singapore and approached each organization in these blocks to request participation. At each organization, we requested participation from someone within the organization with at least one year of full-time working experience and hiring responsibility within the organization. Potential participants were briefed on the purpose of the study and given instructions for completing the survey. Participants in this study were mostly female (69%), had at least tertiary education (80%), and had an average age of 36 years. Industries represented include banking and finance (15%); information technology (12%); legal services (7%); consulting (5%); and mining, oil, and gas (5%).

3.3 | Dependent variable

3.3.1 | Perceived job fit

Participants were asked to indicate perceived job fit by responding to two questions on a 7-point Likert scale: "Based on the description of the job applicant and the job above, what is your assessment on the match (or fit) between the applicant and the job?"; and "Based on the description of the job applicant and the job above, how likely are you to employ this applicant for the job?" These items are consistent with single-item measures used to measure hiring recommendation (e.g., Ali, Lyons, & Ryan, 2017) and in conjoint experiments (e.g., Choi & Shepherd, 2004; Patzelt & Shepherd, 2008, 2009; Shepherd et al., 2013). Response options ranged from 1 (*very low fit*) to 7 (*very high fit*), and from 1 (*employment very unlikely*) to 7 (*employment very likely*), respectively. The Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .92.

3.4 | Independent variable

3.4.1 | Task interdependence

Interdependence of task was presented as one of the factors in the conjoint scenarios. It was varied on two attribute levels: team (defined as "The job requires the employee to work closely with others in a group") and individual (defined as "The job does not require the employee to work closely with others in a group"). Team was coded as 1 and individual coded as 0.

3.5 | Control variables

Consistent with previous studies in decision making, we included control variables related to the applicant, job, and situation. These control variables were selected because they could potentially confound the findings of this study and have been included in the conjoint scenarios. Previous diversity studies have found that demographic and contextual variables may influence the attitudes toward minority groups such as gay men and lesbians. As a result, the effects of respondent age, gender, education, organization size, and industry were controlled. Religion has also been found to be negatively related to attitudes toward gay men and lesbians (Herek, 1987), and hence respondents were also asked to state their religious affiliation.

3.5.1 | Gender of job applicant

Attitudes toward gay men are more negative than attitudes toward lesbians (Crow et al., 1995; Kite & Whitley, 1998), and the stereotypes that are associated with gay men, such as being too emotional, sensitive, and feminine (Simon, Glassner-Bayerl, & Stratenwerth, 1991), are deemed as less valuable in the workplace than those associated with lesbians, such as being independent thinkers and workers and having the ability to persevere in difficult situations (Eliason, Donelan, & Randall, 1992; McKenna & Johnson, 1981; Schein, Mueller, Lituchy, & Liu, 1996). As such, we controlled for the gender of job applicant. We varied gender of job applicant on two attribute levels: male ("The job applicant is biologically male") and female ("The job applicant is biologically female"). Male was coded as 1 and female coded as 0.

3.5.2 | Display of homosexual behavior

Whether or not the job applicant displayed behaviors consistent with stereotypes of their sexual orientation may affect the perception of fit. As such, we included it as a control variable and varied it on two attribute levels: high ("The job applicant's mannerisms lead you to believe that he/she is homosexual") and low ("The job applicant's mannerisms do not lead you to believe that he/she is homosexual"). High was coded as 1 and low coded as 0.

Stigma theories relating to social status and social interaction suggest that gay men and lesbians are located lower in the social hierarchy and are deemed as less suitable for higher level jobs and for jobs with supervisory responsibilities (e.g., Baxter & Wright, 2000; Knights & Richards, 2003; Mitra, 2003; Rosenfeld, Van Buren, & Kalleberg, 1998; Vallas, 2003). Moreover, the negative stereotypes associated with gay men and lesbians may cause hiring personnel to be reluctant to have gay men and lesbians in frontline roles where they have to interact with external parties, as employees are considered brand "ambassadors" (Harris & de Chernatony, 2001). As such, we controlled for three job attributes: supervisory responsibility, hierarchical level of job, and interaction with external parties.

3.5.3 | Supervisory responsibility

Supervisory responsibility was varied on two attribute levels: yes ("The employee has a lot of direct supervision over other employees")

and no ("The employee has little or no direct supervision over other employees"). Yes was coded as 1 and no coded as 0.

3.5.4 | Hierarchical level of job

Hierarchical level of job was varied on two attribute levels: high ("The job places the employee at or near the top level of the hierarchy, responsible for making organization-wide decisions") and low ("The job places the employee at or near the bottom level of the hierarchy. The employee does not make any decision affecting the whole organization."). High was coded as 1 and low coded as 0.

3.5.5 | Interaction with external parties

Interaction with external parties was varied on two attribute levels: high ("The job requires a lot of interaction with people outside the organization") and low ("The job requires limited interaction with people outside the organization"). High was coded as 1 and low coded as 0.

3.5.6 | Availability of candidates

Finally, we also controlled for availability of talent pool. If there are fewer potential candidates available for the job, hiring personnel may be more likely to consider the gay or lesbian applicant for the job. We varied availability of candidates on two attribute levels: high ("There are many potential candidates for the job") and low ("There are limited potential candidates for the job"). High was coded as 1 and low coded as 0.

4 | STUDY 1: RESULTS

Since the ratings of scenarios are nested within the respondent, we used multilevel models to deal with a nested or multilevel data structure (Muthén & Muthén, 2015). All variables captured in the scenario (e.g., task independence, display of homosexual behavior) are classified as Level 1 variables, whereas all variables at the individual level (e.g., respondent age, gender, education level) are classified as Level 2 variables. Before proceeding with multilevel analysis, we needed to confirm whether the data were suited for multilevel analysis by examining within- and between-person variance in the outcome variable (i.e., perceived job fit). If there is no within-person variance, then multilevel analysis is inappropriate because there is only one level of variance (between-person) to explain outcome variables. We checked whether the data met this criterion by conducting a null model for each outcome variable. Results revealed systematic within-person variances in perceived fit (50% of the total variance), suggesting that there was sufficient within-person variance to potentially be explained. We thus conducted a multilevel analysis on these data. We captured the decision policy of the sample as a whole (from the decision policy at Level 1) and how the decision was impacted by individual-level factors (Level 2).

Means, standard deviations, reliabilities, and correlations are reported at the individual level (i.e., Level 2) in Table 1. This research hypothesizes that task interdependence is negatively related to perceived job fit (Hypothesis 1). Results support the hypothesis (see Table 2). Task interdependence is negatively related to perceived job fit (β = –.17, p < .01). It is also worthy to note that task interdependence contributes additional variance over and above other Level 1 and Level 2 control variables that are significantly related to perceived job fit.

5 | STUDY 1: DISCUSSION

Study 1 examined whether gay and lesbian applicants are perceived as being fit for task-interdependent jobs (Hypothesis 1). We found strong support for the hypothesis. Our findings support a demand-side explanation for the concentration of gay men and lesbians in task-independent occupations, as we found that hiring personnel are likely to be biased against lesbian and gay job applicants for task-interdependent jobs. Specifically, hiring personnel are more likely to perceive a lack of fit between gay and lesbian job applicants and high-task-interdependent jobs. While we did not examine why hiring personnel responded in such a manner, scholars have suggested that this may be due to hiring personnel's perception that potential coworkers may feel threatened by stigmatized individuals (Ragins, 2004; Stone & Colella, 1996). As such, in Study 2 below, we examined whether this perception is a myth or a reality, as the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) posited that increased interaction will reduce bias, and empirical studies have provided support for this hypothesis as they pertain to gay men and lesbians (Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Herek & Glunt, 1993; Lance, 1987). We hypothesized that gay men and lesbians are more likely to be invited to socialize by coworkers if they are in high-task-interdependent jobs as compared to low-task-interdependent jobs (Hypothesis 2).

TABLE 1 Means, standard deviations and correlations (Study 1)

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Age	35.65	8.43						
2. Gender	.27	.45	.36**					
3. Education	3.97	.98	–.18	.31**				
4. Religion	2.69	1.52	–.09	–.05	–.07			
5. Organization size	146.57	834.11	.16	.16	–.02	.18		
6. Industry	8.91	4.31	.01	–.04	–.13	.00	.12	
7. Perceived job fit	3.99	1.05	–.28**	.01	–.03	.02	–.18	–.05

Notes: N = 113; **p < .01, *p < .05.

TABLE 2 Results of multilevel modeling for effects on perceived job fit

Variables	Null model	Hypothesis 1
Intercept	6.65** (.66)	7.23** (.67)
Control (Level 2)		
Age	−.06** (.01)	−.06** (.01)
Gender	.54* (.24)	.61* (.24)
Education	−.20 (.10)	−.22* (.10)
Religion	.02 (.07)	.03 (.07)
Organization size	.00**	.00** (.00)
Industry	.01 (.02)	.00 (.02)
Control (Level 1)		
Gender		−.05 (.04)
Homosexual behavior		−.28** (.08)
External interaction		−.15** (.04)
Supervisory responsibility		−.26** (.07)
Job level		−.10 (.04)
Availability of other candidates		−.25** (.04)
Predictors (Level 1)		
Task interdependence		−.17** (.05)

Notes: N = 3616 observations. Numbers in parentheses are standard errors; $^{**}p < .01$, $^{*}p < .05$.

6 | STUDY 2: METHOD

6.1 | Conjoint methodology

Similar to Study 1, we used conjoint analysis to test Hypothesis 2. We constructed scenarios that reflected possible factors that influence an employee's decision to socialize with a coworker outside of work. These factors include five individual attributes (sex, gender-nonconforming behavior, gay/lesbian-like dressing, known sexual orientation, race similarity) and two job attributes (task interdependence, hierarchical position). Each attribute was varied on two attribute levels, and participants were asked whether they are likely to socialize with the individual outside of work.

As with Study 1, the survey comprised two sections: (a) the conjoint experiment and (b) a questionnaire obtaining information about the participant and the organization in which they worked. The conjoint experiment had in total 33 conjoint scenarios—one practice scenario that was provided to familiarize the participants with the conjoint procedure, the 16 unique conjoint scenarios, and a repeat of the 16 scenarios to ensure test–retest reliability. Four unique sets of the conjoint experiments were also created to test for order effects. These four sets differed in order of attributes (two versions) and order of scenarios (two versions). As with Study 1, participants took approximately 20 to 30 minutes to complete the survey.

6.2 | Sample

Our sample comprised full-time working personnel. Similar to Study 1, we recruited participants from randomly selected office buildings in the Central Business District in Singapore. For Study 2, though, participants had to fulfill only one criterion to be eligible to participate in this study—that is, have at least 1 year of full-time working experience. We distributed surveys to 410 full-time working personnel. Checks were done to ensure that Study 2 participants did not participate in Study 1. Two hundred twenty individuals participated in this study. Participants' average age was 31 years (SD = 8.0), and they were employed by organizations that represent industries such as finance and insurance (20%); information and communications (15%); legal services (7%); consulting (4%); and mining, oil, and gas (6%). Participants were in typical white-collar professions such as administration, finance, sales and marketing, information technology, human resources, engineering, and operations.

6.3 | Dependent variable

6.3.1 | Decision not to socialize

Participants were asked to indicate their decision not to socialize by responding to the following question on a 7-point Likert scale: "Based on the description of the coworker and situation above, how likely are you to socialize with the coworker outside of work?" Response options ranged from 1 (*very unlikely*) to 7 (*very likely*). The responses were reverse-scored for analysis.

6.4 | Independent and moderating variables

6.4.1 | Known sexual orientation

Known sexual orientation was presented as one of the factors in the conjoint scenarios. It was varied on two attribute levels: gay/lesbian (defined as "You know that the coworker is sexually attracted to members of the same sex") and heterosexual (defined as "You know that the coworker is sexually attracted to members of the opposite sex"). Gay/lesbian was coded as 1 and heterosexual coded as 0.

6.4.2 | Task interdependence

Task interdependence was varied on two attribute levels: high (defined as "Your job requires you to work closely with this coworker") and low (defined as "Your job does not require you to work closely with this coworker"). High was coded as 1 and low coded as 0.

6.5 | Control variables

As with Study 1, we used a number of individual and job attributes as control variables in this study. As mentioned earlier, past studies have found that attitudes toward minority groups such as gay men and lesbians are affected by their demographic and environmental characteristics. We therefore control for the effects of respondent age, gender, education, religion, and industry. Also, multinational corporations increasingly recognize that diversity adds value to their business around the world, and hence are increasingly implementing diversity initiatives and programs (Wentling, 2004). Such policies have been found to affect the level of discrimination in the workplace (Drydakis, 2015). As such, we control for how global the company is as well. We ask respondents whether the organization that they are working

in operates (a) only in the country, (b) around the region, or (c) globally. A higher score represents a more global organization.

6.5.1 | Sex

Sex was varied on two attribute levels: male (defined as "The coworker is biologically male") and female (defined as "The coworker is biologically female"). Male was coded as 1 and female coded as 0.

6.5.2 | Gender nonconforming behavior

Gender nonconforming behavior was varied on two attribute levels: yes (defined as "The coworker tends to behave in a manner that does not conform to the behavior deemed suitable by society for his/her gender. For example, a male coworker behaving in an effeminate manner, a female coworker behaving in a masculine manner") and no (defined as "The coworker tends to behave in a manner that conforms to the behavior deemed suitable by society for his/her gender. For example, a male coworker behaving in a masculine manner, a female coworker behaving in a feminine manner"). Yes was coded as 1 and no coded as 0.

6.5.3 | Gay/lesbian-like dressing

Gay/lesbian-like dressing was varied on two attribute levels: yes (defined as "The coworker dresses in a manner which leads you to think that he/she might be gay/lesbian") and no (defined as "The coworker dresses in a manner which does not lead you to think that he/she might be gay/lesbian"). Yes was coded as 1 and no coded as 0.

6.5.4 | Hierarchical position

Hierarchical position was varied on two attribute levels: higher (defined as "The coworker's position in the organizational hierarchy is higher than yours") and lower (defined as "The coworker's position in the organizational hierarchy is the same as yours"). Higher was coded as 1 and lower coded as 0.

6.5.5 | Race

Race is varied on two levels: similar (defined as "The coworker belongs to the same race as you") and different (defined as "The coworker does not belong to the same race as you"). Similar is coded as 1, and different is coded as 0.

7 | STUDY 2: RESULTS

The design of this conjoint experiment resulted in 32 observations per individual or 6,287 total observations.

In Table 3, we report the means, standard deviations, and correlations of the variables at the individual level (Level 2). Table 4 presents the main and moderating effects. Sexual orientation related negatively to the decision to socialize ($\beta = .33$, $p < .01$). The relationship between sexual orientation and the decision to socialize was moderated by task interdependence ($\beta = -.07$, $p < .05$). The results also indicated that the effect of sexual orientation on decision to socialize is weaker when task interdependence is high ($\beta = .33$, $p < .01$) compared to when task interdependence is low ($\beta = .41$, $p < .01$). Hence, Hypothesis 2 is supported. Similar to the results of Study 1, task interdependence obtained significance over and above the significant effects of Level 1 and Level 2 control variables. Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between the decision not to socialize and sexual orientation, moderated by task interdependence.

We asked respondents to report if they were heterosexual, gay/lesbian, bisexual, or transsexual in Study 2. Twenty-four respondents (11%) self-identified as LGBT. Analyses were conducted to examine differences in responses between LGBT respondents and heterosexual respondents. Results of a one-way analysis of variance indicate that the effect of respondent sexual orientation on the decision not to socialize with coworkers is significant at the $p < .0001$ level. Heterosexual respondents (mean = 3.99, SD = 1.55) are less likely to socialize with coworkers outside of work than LGBT respondents (mean = 3.46, SD = 1.51). We conducted additional analyses to see if LGBT respondents responded differently from heterosexual respondents in their willingness to socialize with gay and lesbian coworkers as compared to heterosexual coworkers. The results of the analyses suggest that both LGBT respondents (mean = 3.65 for gay and lesbian coworkers and 3.27 for heterosexual coworkers) and heterosexual respondents (mean = 4.18 for gay and lesbian coworkers and 3.80 for heterosexual coworkers) are less likely to socialize outside of work with gay and lesbian coworkers as compared to heterosexual coworkers. These differences are significant at the $p < .0001$ level, and justify combining both subgroups into one sample.

8 | STUDY 2: DISCUSSION

Study 2 examined whether gay and lesbian employees will be invited to socialize by coworkers if they are in high-task-interdependent jobs. We found that indeed gay and lesbian employees, compared to heterosexual employees, are more likely to be invited to socialize outside of work by their coworkers when they are in high-task-interdependent jobs. The interaction between task interdependence and sexual orientation reveals compelling insights into the extent to which the nature of a high-task-interdependent job facilitates coworkers' willingness to socialize with gay and lesbian employees. This finding suggests that the interactive nature of high-task-interdependent jobs likely facilitates the reduction of the stigma associated with gay men and lesbians, lending support to Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis.

9 | OVERALL DISCUSSION

Gay men and lesbians concentrate in occupations that are high in task independence, and it was suggested in previous literature that this is due to gay and lesbian workers' need to better manage their stigma (Tilcsik et al., 2015). In our study, we suggest an alternative explanation for this phenomenon—gay men and lesbians are excluded from high-task-interdependent jobs during the selection process. Drawing on past research, we theorized that hiring personnel are less likely to perceive gay men and lesbians as being fit for high-task-interdependent jobs, as they may believe that other employees may

TABLE 3 Means, standard deviations, and correlations (Study 2)

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Age	31.44	8.01						
2. Gender	.73	.44	−.12					
3. Education	4.15	1.24	−.32**	−.25**				
4. Religion	2.92	1.59	−.03	−.13	.04			
5. Industry	8.18	4.77	−.05	.04	−.12	.00		
6. Global	2.20	.86	.13	−.07	.16*	−.13	−.25**	
7. Decision not to socialize	3.93	1.09	.04	.17*	−.01	−.13	−.17*	.20**

Notes: N = 220; **p < .01, *p < .05.

TABLE 4 Results of multilevel modeling for effects on decision not to socialize

Variables	Null model	Model 1	Model 2
Intercept	3.05 (.04)	2.75 (.59)	2.73 (.59)
Control (Level 2)			
Age	.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)
Gender	.42** (.14)	.42** (.14)	.42** (.14)
Education	.03 (.07)	.03 (.07)	.03 (.07)
Religion	−.05 (.04)	−.05 (.04)	−.05 (.04)
Industry	−.02 (.02)	−.02 (.02)	−.02 (.02)
Global	.20** (.08)	.20** (.08)	.20** (.08)
Control (Level 1)			
Gender		.10** (.04)	.19** (.03)
Gender nonconforming behavior		.19** (.03)	.24** (.03)
Gay/lesbian dressing		.24** (.03)	−.16** (.03)
Race		−.16** (.03)	.17** (.04)
Hierarchical position		.17** (.04)	.10** (.04)
Predictors (Level 1)			
Sexual orientation (gay/lesbian = 1)		.33** (.04)	.36** (.04)
Task interdependence		−.32** (.05)	−.29** (.05)
Sexual orientation × task interdependence			−.07* (.04)

Notes: N = 6,287 observations. Numbers in parentheses are standard errors; **p < .01, *p < .05.

find it uncomfortable working and interacting closely with gay men and lesbians. We found that gay men and lesbians indeed appear to be discriminated against for jobs that are high in task interdependence, lending support to our contention that gay men and lesbians are in high-task-independent occupations due to limited access to high-task-interdependent occupations. Study 2 results provide compelling evidence that the reluctance of hiring personnel to employ gay men and lesbians in high-task-interdependent jobs could be misguided if their main concern is that gay men and lesbians will make their potential coworkers feel uncomfortable if they have to work more closely together. In fact, our results suggest that the higher interaction due to work activities is more likely to result in potential coworkers' decision to socially include gay and lesbian coworkers outside of work. All things considered, we found that hiring personnel tend to perceive a misfit between gay and lesbian job applicants for high-task-interdependent jobs. If their perception of misfit is based on assumptions that gay men and lesbians will make their coworkers feel uncomfortable, then this bias is unfounded, as our research found that gay and lesbian workers are less—not more—likely to be invited to socialize outside of work by coworkers when they are working more closely together.

The findings in our article contribute to research on the occupational segregation and discrimination of gay men and lesbians in several ways. First, we extend research on the observed concentration of gay men and lesbians in task-independent jobs. In addition to current theorizing that gay men and lesbians prefer such jobs, we found evidence that gay men and lesbians are perceived to be less suitable for such jobs by hiring personnel. As our study suggests, the occupational segregation of gay men and lesbians into task-independent jobs is partly explained by the selection process. We found significance in both Study 1 and Study 2 in spite of the significance of a fair number of control variables, implying that our results are robust.

Second, Stone and Colella (1996) theorized that individuals in stigmatized groups may have limited access to task interdependent jobs because of hiring personnel's belief that other employees may not be comfortable working closely with them. Building on Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, our study finds contrasting evidence that task-interdependent jobs actually help to reduce the prejudice

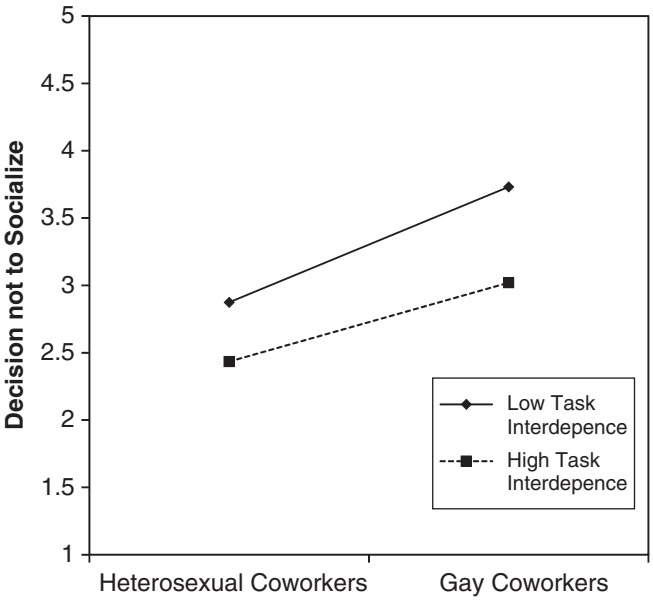

FIGURE 1 Effect of sexual orientation on decision not to socialize, moderated by task interdependence

toward, and enhance social interactions with, gay and lesbian employees. This finding highlights the possible false beliefs that hiring personnel may hold and how their decision to limit gay and lesbians from accessing high-task-interdependent occupations may be incorrect.

Third, we introduce conjoint analysis as a methodology that may be useful for the study of workplace discrimination. As the methodology is able to detect the factors and decision rules that underlie participants' decisions and judgments, this is extremely useful for examining bias and discrimination as they tend to be highly sensitive topics that are subject to a fair amount of political correctness and social desirability biases.

An interesting finding that arose from our additional analysis of the responses by LGBT and heterosexual respondents in Study 2 is that both groups prefer to socialize with heterosexual coworkers than LGBT coworkers. This is surprising, as our a priori theory was that LGBT respondents were more likely to prefer socializing with LGBT coworkers, based on Byrne's (1971) similarity–attraction theory. We speculate that in this case, LGBT respondents might prefer not to socialize with gay and lesbian coworkers for fear of courtesy stigmas (especially if these respondents had not disclosed their sexual orientation at work). In comparison, heterosexual respondents might avoid socializing with gay and lesbian coworkers due to homophobia. The small sample size of LGBT respondents (11%) did not allow us to do any other meaningful subsample analysis apart from the analyses we did. We also did not ask respondents to report their sexual orientation in Study 1. Future research could examine this further.

9.1 | Implications for practice

The findings in this article indicate that organizations that seek to be fair and inclusive will need to examine more carefully the biases that their hiring personnel may have against members of minority groups. In particular, do their hiring personnel associate gay men and lesbians with the negative stereotypes of gay men and lesbians, and are their hiring personnel aware of their own biases? Organizations can take measures to address these issues by utilizing research evidence to raise awareness of the unconscious bias by their hiring personnel, so as to reduce the negative stereotypes that they may have about gay men and lesbians and employees' possible reactions toward working closely with them.

9.2 | Limitations and future research

Tilcsik et al.'s (2015) observation that gay men and lesbians tend to systematically concentrate in task-interdependent occupations was the departure point for our research. We expand on their work by providing evidence of a complementary explanation for this phenomenon in Study 1. Their research also found that gay men and lesbians tend to concentrate in occupations requiring high social perceptiveness. While our findings from Study 1 indicate that gay men and lesbians may be found mainly in high-task-independent jobs due to gatekeeping during the selection process, we do not know if the same explanation holds for the high concentration of gay men and lesbians in high-social-perceptiveness jobs.

In Study 2, we found evidence that gay men and lesbians are more likely to be included in socialization activities outside of work if their jobs have a higher degree of task interdependence. However, we do not know if our findings extend to other visible minority groups in organizations, such as women, racial minorities, and physically disabled individuals. We also do not know if our findings apply to other invisible minority groups in organizations, such as those with mental health issues. Gay men and lesbians possess a unique stigma that not only is invisible but also threatens others in several ways. As such, the effect of task interdependence in reducing prejudice may be greater for gay men and lesbians than for other minority and stigmatized groups. Future research could examine these issues to extend our understanding of occupational segregation patterns of sexual minorities and, broadly, marginalized groups in society.

While we found that coworkers are more willing to socialize with their gay and lesbian coworkers outside of work when they are working interdependently as compared to when they are working independently, we did not examine if the coworkers are more willing to socialize with them in some social activities over others. For example, a coworker may be more willing to have lunch with a gay or lesbian coworker but less willing to go for drinks with that coworker, as the presence of courtesy stigma could be greater in the latter activity. Hence, gay men and lesbians could be limited in their ability to benefit from "old boys" and "old girls" networks that are beneficial for career advancement. We encourage more studies on the types of interaction activities that coworkers have with their gay and lesbian coworkers as compared to their heterosexual coworkers.

On a related note, our study focuses on the decision to socialize with gay and lesbian coworkers outside of work. We did not examine if gay and lesbian employees are intentionally excluded from socialization activities. Deciding not to socialize with gay and lesbian coworkers outside of work may not mean that they are being excluded. Exclusion has active behavior connotations such as ensuring that an individual is not included, whereas the decision not to

socialize can be passive such as simply not asking an individual out after work. Future research can explore the extent to which gay and lesbian employees experience exclusion and socialization behaviors.

Despite these limitations, taken together, our research contributes to the understanding of occupational segregation of gay men and lesbians in the workplace.

10 | CONCLUSION

Our article explored the issue of gay men and lesbians concentrating in high-task-independent occupations. We provide a demand-side explanation that gay men and lesbians are concentrated in jobs with task independence because those with hiring responsibilities perceive them as being less suitable for jobs with high task interdependence. In a second study, we also provide evidence that coworkers are in fact more willing to interact with their gay and lesbian coworkers when they are in high-task-interdependence jobs. We highlight the need for organizations interested in creating a fair and inclusive culture to more closely examine their hiring processes and their hiring personnel's biases, and take steps to address those biases using research-based evidence. In this case, gay men and lesbians may not be misfits for jobs with high task interdependence, as their coworkers are less likely to shun them because of increased contact.

ORCID

Angeline Cuifang Lim https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0985-4435

REFERENCES

Adam, B. D. (2003). The defense of marriage act and American exceptionalism: The "gay marriage" panic in the United States. *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, *12*(2), 259–277.

Ali, A. A., Lyons, B. J., & Ryan, A. M. (2017). Managing a perilous stigma: Ex-offenders' use of reparative impression management tactics in hiring contexts. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *102*(9), 1271–1285.

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books.

Badgett, M. V. L., Durso, L. E., Kastanis, A., & Mallory, C. (2013). *The business impact of LGBT-supportive workplace policies*. The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law. Retrieved from https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Business-Impact-of-LGBT-Policies-May-2013.pdf

Badgett, M. V. L., Hasenbush, A., & Luhur, W. E. (2017). *LGBT exclusion in Indonesia and its economic effects*. The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law. Retrieved from https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/LGBT-Exclusion-in-Indonesia-and-Its-Economic-Effects-March-2017.pdf

Badgett, M. V. L., Nezhad, S., Waaldijk, K., & van der Meulen Rodgers, Y. (2014). *The relationship between LGBT inclusion and economic development: An analysis of emerging economies*. The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law. Retrieved from https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/lgbt-inclusion-and-development-november-2014.pdf

Barbulescu, R., & Bidwell, M. (2013). Do women choose different jobs from men? Mechanisms of application segregation in the market for managerial workers. *Organization Science*, *24*, 737–756.

Barron, L. G., & Hebl, M. (2013). The force of law: The effects of sexual orientation antidiscrimination legislation on interpersonal discrimination in employment. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, *19*(2), 191–205.

Baumle, A. K., Compton, D. L. R., & Poston, D. L. (2009). *Same-sex partners: The demography of sexual orientation*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Baxter, J., & Wright, E. O. (2000). The glass ceiling hypothesis: A comparative study of the United States, Sweden and Australia. *Gender and Society*, *14*(2), 275–294.

Bell, M. P., Özbilgin, M., Beauregard, T. A., & Surgevil, O. (2011). Voice, silence, and diversity in 21st century organizations: Strategies for inclusion of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender employees. *Human Resource Management*, *50*, 131–146.

Bidwell, M., Briscoe, F., Fernandez-Mateo, I., & Sterling, A. (2013). The employment relationship and inequality: How and why changes in employment practices are reshaping rewards in organizations. *Academy of Management Annals*, *7*(1), 61–121.

Blascovich, J., Mendes, W. B., Hunter, S. B., Lickel, B., & Kowai-Bell, N. (2001). Perceiver threat in social interactions with stigmatized others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *80*(2), 253–267.

Bowen, A. M., & Bourgeois, M. J. (2001). Attitudes toward lesbian, gay, and bisexual college students: The contribution of pluralistic ignorance, dynamic social impact, and contact theories. *Journal of American College Health*, *50*, 91–96.

Byrne, D. (1971). *The attraction paradigm*. New York, NY: Academic Press.

Carroll, J. D., & Green, P. E. (1995). Guest editorial: Psychometric methods in marketing research: Part I, Conjoint analysis. *Journal of Marketing Research*, *32*, 385–391.

Choi, Y. R., & Shepherd, D. A. (2004). Entrepreneurs' decisions to exploit opportunities. *Journal of Management*, *30*, 377–395.

Chuang, Y.-T., Church, R., & Hu, C. (2016). Effects of movement and opportunities on the adoption of same-sex partner health benefits by corporations. *Journal of Management*. https://doi-org.libproxy1.nus.edu.sg/10.1177/0149206315623839

Colbert, A. E., Bono, J. E., & Purvanova, R. K. (2016). Flourishing via workplace relationships: Moving beyond instrumental support. *Academy of Management Journal*, *59*(4), 1199–1223.

Crocker, J., Major, B., & Steele, C. (1998). Social stigma. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology* (4th ed., pp. 504–553). Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.

Croteau, J. M. (1996). Research on the work experiences of lesbian, gay and bisexual people: An integrative review of methodology and findings. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *48*, 195–209.

Crow, S. M., Fok, L. Y., & Hartman, S. J. (1995). Priorities of hiring discrimination: Who is at greatest risk—women, blacks, or homosexuals? *Academy of Management Best Paper Proceedings*, 443–448.

Dobbin, F., Sutton, J. R., Meyer, J. W., & Scott, W. R. (1993). Equal opportunity law and the construction of internal labor markets. *American Journal of Sociology*, *99*, 396–427.

Dovidio, J., Major, B., & Crocker, J. (2000). Stigma: Introduction and overview. In T. Heatherton, R. Kleck, M. Hebl, & J. Hull (Eds.), *The social psychology of stigma* (pp. 1–30). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Drydakis, N. (2015). Sexual orientation discrimination in the United Kingdom's labour market: A field experiment. *Human Relations*, *68*(11), 1769–1796.

Eliason, M., Donelan, C., & Randall, C. (1992). Lesbian stereotypes. *Healthcare for Women International*, *13*, 131–144.

Ellis, H. (1897). *Sexual inversion*. London, England: F.A. Davis.

Emir, O. (2014). Sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace: A systematic review of literature. *Procedia, Sexual and Behavioral Sciences*, *109*, 1203–1215.

England, P., Chassie, M., & McCormack, L. (1982). Skill demands and earnings in female and male occupations. *Sociology and Social Research*, *66*, 147–168.

Friskopp, A., & Silverstein, S. (1996). *Straight jobs, gay lives: Gay and lesbian professionals, the Harvard Business School, and the American workplace*. New York, NY: Touchstone/Simon & Schuster.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Green, P. E., Krieger, A. M., & Wind, Y. (2001). Thirty years of conjoint analysis: Reflections and prospects. *Interfaces*, *31*(3), S56–S73.

Griffith, K. H., & Hebl, M. R. (2002). The disclosure dilemma for gay men and lesbians: "Coming out" at work. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *87*(6), 1191–1199.

Harris, F., & de Chernatony, L. (2001). Corporate branding and corporate brand performance. *European Journal of Marketing*, *35*(3/4), 441–456.

Hebl, M. R., Foster, J. B., Mannix, L. M., & Dovidio, J. F. (2002). Formal and interpersonal discrimination: A field study of bias toward homosexual applicants. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *28*(6), 815–825.

Herek, G. M. (1984). Beyond "homophobia": A social psychological perspective on attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *10*, 1–21.

Herek, G. M. (1987). Religion and prejudice: A comparison of racial and sexual attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *13*, 56–65.

Herek, G. M., & Capitanio, J. P. (1996). "Some of my best friends": Intergroup contact, concealable stigma, and heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *22*, 412–424.

Herek, G. M., Cogan, J. C., & Gillis, J. R. (2002). Victim experiences in hate crimes based on sexual orientation. *Journal of Social Issues*, *58*, 319–339.

Herek, G. M., & Glunt, E. K. (1993). Interpersonal contact and heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men: Results from a national survey. *Journal of Sex Research*, *30*, 239–244.

Horvath, M., & Ryan, A. M. (2003). Antecedents and potential moderators of the relationship between attitudes and hiring discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. *Sex Roles*, *48*(3/4), 115–130.

Ibarra, H. (1993). Personal networks of women and minorities in management: A conceptual framework. *Academy of Management Review*, *18*(1), 56–87.

International Labour Office. (2016). PRIDE at work: A study on discrimination at work on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity in Indonesia. Working Paper No. 3. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/gender/Informationresources/Publications/WCMS_481581/lang–en/index.htm

Johnson, I., & Cooper, D. (2015). LGBT diversity: Show me the business case. Retrieved from http://www.outnowconsulting.com/media/13509/Report-SMTBC-Feb15-V20.pdf

Kalev, A., Dobbin, F., & Kelly, E. (2006). Best practices or best guesses? Assessing the efficacy of corporate affirmative action and diversity policies. *American Sociological Review*, *71*, 589–617.

Klawitter, M. (2014). Meta-analysis of the effects of sexual orientation on earnings, industrial relations. *Industrial Relations*, *54*(1), 4–32.

King, M. C. (1992). Occupational segregation by race and gender, 1940–88. *Monthly Labor Review*, *115*, 30–37.

Kite, M. E., & Whitley, B. E. Jr. (1998). Do heterosexual women and men differ in their attitudes toward homosexuality? A conceptual and methodological analysis. In G. M. Herek (Ed.), *Stigma and sexual orientation: Understanding prejudice against lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals* (pp. 39–61). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Knights, D., & Richards, W. (2003). Sex discrimination in UK academia. *Gender, Work and Organization*, *10*(2), 213–238.

Kulik, C. T., Bainbridge, H. T. J., & Cregan, C. (2008). Known by the company we keep: Stigma-by-association effects in the workplace. *Academy of Management Review*, *33*(1), 216–230.

Lance, L. M. (1987). The effects of interaction with gay persons on attitudes toward homosexuality. *Human Relations*, *40*(6), 329–336.

Lau, H., & Stotzer, R. L. (2010). Employment discrimination based on sexual orientation: A Hong Kong study. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, *23*(1), 17–35.

Law, C. L., Martinez, L. R., Ruggs, E. N., Hebl, M. R., & Akers, E. (2013). Trans-parency in the workplace: How the experiences of transsexual employees can be improved. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *79*, 710–723.

Lohrke, F. T., Holloway, B. B., & Woolley, T. W. (2010). Conjoint analysis in entrepreneurship research: A review and research agenda. *Organizational Research Methods*, *13*(1), 16–30.

McKenna, D. J., & Johnson, D. A. (1981). Selection risk, sex-role stereotyping, and sex discrimination in employment decision. *Journal of Occupational Behavior*, *2*, 223–228.

Mandel, H. (2013). Up the down staircase: Women's upward mobility and the wage penalty for occupational feminization, 1970–2007. *Social Forces*, *91*, 1183–1207.

Mitchell, J. R., Shepherd, D. A., & Sharfman, M. (2011). Erratic strategic decisions: When and why managers are inconsistent in strategic decision making. *Strategic Management Journal*, *32*, 683–704.

Mitra, A. (2003). Access to supervisory jobs and the gender wage gap among professionals. *Journal of Economic Issues*, *37*(4), 1023–1044.

Morrison, E. W. (2002). Newcomers' relationships: The role of social network ties during socialization. *Academy of Management Journal*, *45*(6), 1149–1160.

Morrison, A. M., & Von Glinow, M. A. (1990). Women and minorities in management. *American Psychologist*, *45*, 200–208.

Muthén, L. K., & Muthén, B. O. (2015). *Mplus: Statistical analysis with latent variables: User guide*. Los Angeles, CA: Muthén & Muthén.

Nelson, E. S., & Krieger, S. L. (1997). Changes in attitudes toward homosexuality in college students: Implementation of a gay men and lesbian peer panel. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *33*, 63–81.

O'Leary, V. E., & Ickovics, J. R. (1992). Cracking the glass ceiling: Overcoming isolation and alienation. In U. Sekaran, & F. Leong (Eds.), *Womanpower: Managing in times of demographic turbulence* (pp. 7–30). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Ozturk, M. B. (2011). Sexual orientation discrimination: Exploring the experiences of lesbian, gay and bisexual employees in Turkey. *Human Relations*, *64*(8), 1099–1118.

Pablo, A. L. (1994). Determinants of acquisition integration level: A decision-making perspective. *Academy of Management Journal*, *37*, 803–836.

Patzelt, H., & Shepherd, D. A. (2008). The decision to persist with underperforming alliances: The role of trust and control. *Journal of Management Studies*, *45*, 1217–1243.

Patzelt, H., & Shepherd, D. A. (2009). Strategic entrepreneurship at universities: Academic entrepreneurs' assessment of policy programs. *Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice*, *33*(1), 319–340.

Pichler, S. (2007, April). Heterosexism in the workplace. In E. Kossek & M. Pitt-Catsouphes (Eds.), *Work and family encyclopedia*. Chestnut Hill, MA: Sloan Work and Family Research Network. Retrieved from http://wfnetwork.bc.edu/encyclopedia_entry.php?id=871&area=A11

Pichler, S., Blazovich, J. L., Cook, K. A., Huston, J. M., & Strawser, W. R. (2018). Do LGBT-supportive corporate policies enhance firm performance? *Human Resource Management*, *57*(1), 263–278.

Pichler, S., & Ruggs, E. N. (2015). LGBT workers. In A. Colella & E. B. King (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of workplace discrimination*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Pichler, S., Varma, A., & Bruce, T. (2010). Heterosexism in employment decisions: The role of job misfit. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *40*, 2527–2555. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2010.00669.x

Poortinga, W., Steg, L., Vlek, C., & Wiersma, G. (2003). Household preferences for energy-saving measures: A conjoint analysis. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, *24*, 49–64.

Radcliffe, C. (2016). The real cost of LGBT discrimination. World Economic *Forum*. Retrieved from https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/01/the-real-cost-of-lgbt-discrimination/

Ragins, B. R. (2004). Sexual orientation in the workplace: The unique work and career experiences of gay, lesbian and bisexual workers. *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, *23*, 35–120.

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*(6), 1244–1261.

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.

Ramarajan, L., & Reid, E. (2013). Shattering the myth of separate worlds: Negotiating non-work identities at work. *Academy of Management Review*, *38*, 621–644. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2011.0314

Reskin, B. F. (1993). Sex segregation in the workplace. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *19*, 241–270.

Reskin, B. F., Padavic, I. (1999). Sex, race, and ethnic inequality in United States workplaces. In J. S. Chafetz (Ed.), *Handbook of the sociology of gender* (pp. 343–374). New York, NY: Plenum Press.

Roberson, L., Deitch, E. A., Brief, A. P., & Block, C. (2002). Stereotype threat and feedback seeking in the workplace. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *62*, 176–188.

Roehling, M. V., Roehling, P. V., & Pichler, S. (2007). The relationship between body weight and perceived weight-related employment

discrimination: The role of sex and race. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *71*, 300–318.
Rosenfeld, R. A., Van Buren, M. E., & Kalleberg, A. L. (1998). Gender differences in supervisory authority: Variation among advanced industrialized democracies. *Social Science Research*, *27*, 23–49.
Rumens, N. (2012). Queering cross-sex friendships: An analysis of gay and bisexual men's workplace friendships with heterosexual women. *Human Relations*, 8, 955–978.
Schein, V. E., & Mueller, R., Lituchy, T., & Liu, J. (1996). Think manager—think male: A global phenomenon? *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *17*, 33–41.
Shepherd, D. A., Patzelt, H., & Baron, R. A. (2013). "I care about nature, but …": Disengaging values in assessing opportunities that cause harm. *Academy of Management Journal*, *56*(5), 1251–1273.
Shepherd, D. A., & Zacharakis, A. (1999). Conjoint analysis: A new methodological approach for researching the decision policies of venture capitalists. *Venture Capital*, *1*(3), 197–217.
Simon, B., Glassner-Bayerl, B., & Stratenwerth, I. (1991). Stereotyping and self-stereotyping in a natural intergroup context: The case of heterosexual and homosexual men. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *54*, 252–266.
Singh, R., Fouad, N. A., Fitzpatrick, M. E., Liu, J. P., Cappaert, K. J., & Figuereido, C. (2013). Stemming the tide: Predicting women engineers' intention to leave. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *83*, 281–294.
Stangor, C., & Crandall, C. S. (2000). Threat and the social construction of stigma. In T. Heatherton, R. Kleck, M. Hebl, & J. Hull (Eds.), *The social psychology of stigma* (pp. 62–87). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
Stone, D. L., & Colella, A. (1996). A model of factors affecting the treatment of disabled individuals in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, *21*(2), 352–401.
Theodorakopoulos, N., & Budhwar, P. (2015). Diversity and inclusion in different work settings: Emerging patterns, challenges, and research agenda. *Human Resource Management*, *54*, 177–197.
Tilcsik, A. (2011). Pride and prejudice: Employment discrimination against openly gay men in the United States. *American Journal of Sociology*, *117*, 586–626.
Tilcsik, A., Anteby, M., & Knight, C. R. (2015). Concealable stigma and occupational segregation: Toward a theory of gay and lesbian occupations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *60*(3), 446–481.
Trau, R. N. C. (2015). The impact of discriminatory climate perceptions on the composition of intraorganizational developmental networks, psychosocial support, and job and career attitudes of employees with an invisible stigma. *Human Resource Management*, *54*(2), 345–366.
Tyler, B. B., & Steensma, H. K. (1995). Evaluating technological collaborative opportunities: A cognitive modeling perspective. *Strategic Management Journal*, *16*, 43–70.
Vallas, S. P. (2003). Rediscovering the color line within work organizations: The "knitting of racial groups" revisited. *Work and Occupations*, *30*(4), 379–400.
Wentling, R. M. (2004). Factors that assist and barriers that hinder the success of diversity initiatives in multinational corporations. *Human Resource Development International*, *7*(2), 165–180.
Winegarden, B. J. (1994). *Aversive heterosexism: An exploration of unconscious bias toward lesbian psychotherapy clients (Unpublished doctoral dissertation)*. University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
Woods, J. D. (1993). *The corporate closet: The professional lives of gay men in America*. *New York*, NY: Free Press.

AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHIES

ANGELINE LIM is a Lecturer at the National University of Singapore. She has a PhD in Management and Organization from the NUS Business School and was previously a Research Associate at the Center for Creative Leadership. Her research focuses on issues related to diversity and inclusion, as well as human capital management and development. Her research has appeared in academic journals, such as the *Academy of Management Learning & Education* and *Journal of Research in Personality*, as well as in handbooks and casebooks on diversity and human resource management.

RAYMOND TRAU is Lecturer of Management at RMIT University in Melbourne, Australia. His research focuses on diversity, stigma, and stigmatization in the workplace. In particular, his work aims to enhance understanding on the psychological and career barriers of invisible stigmatized groups in organizations. His research has appeared in *Human Resource Management*, *British Journal of Management*, and *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*.

MAW-DER FOO is an Associate Professor at the National University of Singapore. He holds honorary/guest professorships in Jilin University and in Nankai University. His research uses management concepts to understand entrepreneurial processes. Past projects have delved into cognition, teams, and emotions and how these processes impact individual, team, and venture effectiveness. His research has appeared in premier journals, including the *Academy of Management Journal*, *Entrepreneurship: Theory & Practice*, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Journal of Business Venturing*, *Management Science*, and *Strategic Management Journal*. He serves as an editor of *Entrepreneurship: Theory & Practice* and field editor of *Journal of Business Venturing*, as well as on the editorial review boards of *Academy of Management Journal*, *Academy of Management Perspectives*, and *Strategic Entrepreneurship Journal*.

How to cite this article: Lim AC, Trau RNC, Foo M-D. Task interdependence and the discrimination of gay men and lesbians in the workplace. *Hum Resour Manage*. 2018;57: 1385–1397. https://doi.org/10.1002/hrm.21912