

IDENTITY AND DAILY EXPERIENCE IN QUEER EMERGING ADULTS

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ABSTRACT

This study examined possible links between aspects of sexual orientation identity and daily experiences of queer emerging adults ages 18-24 in a sample of 20 college students and non-college students in the Midwest, using the experience sampling method (ESM). Participants reported momentary experiences on approximately 49 occasions across one week, with a total number of 796 moments of experience in the data set. Participants also completed a Lesbian Gay Bisexual Identity Scale (LGBIS). The study examined associations among momentary identity variables, momentary contextual variables, and global assessments of identity. Results indicated that positive experience (more positive mood, less negative moods, more uplifts, fewer heterosexist hassles, more positive experience of being queer, and more affirming/supportive environmental ratings), flow, and self-determination were associated with clear momentary outness and satisfaction with level of outness. Momentary identity-relevant experiences were also associated with global identity measures.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis in gratitude to my family members, teachers, mentors, and acquaintances from previous generations who may or may not have been able to come out and live openly but who lived their lives in full knowledge of who they were and who they loved. Their lives not only contributed to my ability to accept and embrace who I am as a queer/bisexual woman. Their contributions are part of the slow struggle that has made it possible for the queer young adults in my study to live many moments of their lives out and proud.

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INTRODUCTION

The word “queer” appears in the title of this study investigating the daily experience of young adults with lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, pansexual, omniseual, and fluid sexual orientations. The word queer, formerly a pejorative term for people with a same-gender sexual orientation, has been reclaimed back into the language of sexual orientation minorities (Leap, 2013). In the academic world, queer theory deconstructs social conceptions of gender, sex, and sexual orientation, asserts that they are all separate socially-constructed realities (Rosser, 2007), and resists the binaries of gender, sex, and sexual orientation as prescriptions for normal and preferred behaviors in regard to gender, sex, and sexuality (Oswald, Kusalanka, Blume & Berkowitz, 2009). Queer is also a label that many young people now embrace in favor of previously more commonly used and specific labels for sexual orientation (gay, lesbian, bisexual) and gender identity (man, woman) because the word queer allows for more fluidity in self-defining and involves resisting categorization (Crowley, 2010; Fahs, 2009; Kusalanka & Goldberg, 2009; Meyer, M., 2010; Worthington & Reynolds, 2009).

In this study the term queer will be used to refer to lesbians, gays, and bisexuals, as well as people who have a self-described same-gender sexual orientation which they describe as queer, pansexual, omniseual, or fluid. The word queer is chosen over the acronym LGB because the author asserts that the terms lesbian, gay, and bisexual do not capture all of the fluidity and diversity of sexual orientation within the sexual minority community. In the literature review that follows, use of the acronym LGB and references to specific sexual orientations are done to preserve the language of the studies being cited. The meanings of the varied identity labels used by sexual minorities may not be familiar to all audiences, so these terms are defined in Appendix A.

Despite the fact that queer people of all ages in the U.S. now experience both greater visibility and greater acceptance than ever before, they also still face many of the same types of discrimination that have existed for decades. While a great deal of research exists on queer young adults, there remain many gaps in our understanding of what daily experience is like for emerging adults with a queer sexual orientation. This study seeks to contribute new knowledge about protective factors in queer emerging adults and also to further illuminate previously-studied impacts of stigma and discrimination in the daily experience of queer emerging adults. This study was done 1) to contribute to the understanding of queer emerging adults' momentary experience, including how often they are actually conscious of their sexual orientation, 2) to investigate how queer emerging adults' daily experience may be associated with conditions of optimal development leading to resiliency, such as flow, relatedness, autonomy, and competence, and, 3) to contribute in more detail to what has already been researched about the experience of queer emerging adults, including aspects of identity and associations with small and large encounters with heterosexism.

Emerging Adulthood

Young adulthood, or emerging adulthood, is described by developmental models as a transitional time between 18 and 24, during which young people between adolescence and full adulthood explore their identities and relationships while delaying commitments associated with full adulthood (Arnett, 2006; Brewster & Moradi, 2010). Emerging adulthood is a time of many opportunities for many young adults. Successfully navigating this life phase's developmental challenges, by taking optimal advantage of those opportunities, consists of learning to shape one's environment to meet one's needs and wishes and, where this is not possible, learning to adjust oneself to one's environment (Heckhausen, Wrosch & Schulz, 2010). What might be

viewed as negative adaptation in other stages of life might be explained as at least having a temporary adaptive function during emerging adulthood (Schulenberg & Zarrett, 2006).

In the general population of emerging adults, some similarities in circumstances, roles, and behavior persist from adolescence. Peer preference and popularity appear to have similar importance for emerging adults among college students, as they do for adolescents (Lansu & Cillessen, 2012). Sexual activity shows an increase after high school for emerging adults who are college students (Lefkowitz, 2005). In the general population of emerging adults, substance use initially increases but then decreases again over time (Schulenberg & Zarrett, 2006). There are discrepancies in the research about patterns of mental health among the general population of emerging adults. Some studies show that mental health and overall well-being improve, and yet there is also an increased frequency with which mental health disorders appear (Schulenberg & Zarrett, 2006). Other sources describe much more complexity in patterns of depression in emerging adults, which may follow different pathways depending on gender, class, race or ethnicity, trauma history, and other factors (Frye & Liem, 2011). It is possible that these pathways might also vary depending upon sexual orientation.

The definition of emerging adulthood as a time of promise and opportunity may not accurately describe every young adult's life, depending on whether or not young adults have the options and conditions available to have choices; without choices, it is less likely that emerging adulthood would be experienced as a time of freedom (Gitelson & McDermott, 2006; Schulenberg & Zarrett, 2006;). For youth from families with low income and for youth without economic and emotional support from family (for example, adolescents leaving the foster care or juvenile justice systems), this time can represent one of great risk (Gitelson & McDermott,

2006). Since queer young adults face the risk of loss of family support and homelessness after coming out, this phase of life is potentially one of great risk for them as well.

Minority Stress

A dynamic that underlies and interacts with other risk factors for members of all stigmatized minority groups is minority stress. Early research looked at stress experienced by racial and ethnic minorities and identified minority stress as a type of “stress caused to socially disadvantaged groups by their experience and internalization of victimization and negative life events” (Shilo & Savaya, 2011, p. 318). Minority stress is proposed to explain many of the between-group differences and multiple negative outcomes associated with minority groups (Meyer, 2003). In this respect, it is possible to explore parallels between the experience of discrimination based on race and discrimination based on heterosexism. The findings of studies about the impacts of minority stress for members of racial and ethnic minorities are also relevant to the lives of queer young adults because the queer community includes members of all races, ethnic groups, national origins, social classes, ability levels, and every other possible dimension of difference, including sexual minorities within the queer community that are relatively more stigmatized. The following examples of studies of racial and ethnic minority stress illustrate the types of findings associated with minority stress literature. In one study, findings showed that the frequency of Latino/as’ experiences of repeated incidents of racism and discrimination rather than the perceived severity of the incidents had a significant correlation with depression and anxiety (Huynh, Devos & Dunbar, 2012). In a study of Asian American and Latin American youth, it was found that experiences of three categories of micro-aggressions (having their experience of discrimination denied or minimized, being treated in a sub-standard way due to

their race, and experiences or comments that singled them out as different or foreign) were associated with increases in anger, anxiety, and stress (Huynh, 2012).

Sexual Minority Stress

Research on minority stress has shown that there are specific impacts on queer people that are distinctly different from the impacts of minority stress on racial minorities (Shilo & Savaya, 2011). Minority stress that is specifically experienced by queer people has been termed sexual minority stress or gay-related stress (Lewis, Derlega, Griffin & Krowinski, 2003; Rosario et al., 2008). Gay-related stress often relates to the fact that being a sexual minority does not automatically correspond with being a visible minority, so having one's sexual orientation disclosed or discovered without one's choosing is one possible type of sexual minority stress (Lewis, et al., 2003).

Sexual minority stress also may be experienced in regard to family reactions to disclosure of sexual orientation, in relation to the level of acknowledgement or visibility as sexual minorities with friends, family, and in public, and resulting from experiences of harassment and violence (Lewis, Derlega, Berndt, Morris & Rose, 2001). One example of gay-related stress in the life of a queer youth would be to have to face the possible consequence of losing a friendship as a result of coming out to that friend (Shilo & Savaya, 2011). Because contemporary adolescents and young adults are coming out at younger ages, the risk of losing relationships with friends and family members due to either disclosing or having their sexual orientation revealed during this time of life is of great concern (Russell, 2010b).

One of the dynamics that creates and perpetuates sexual minority stress is that social expectations revolve around the assumptions of heteronormativity: that heterosexuality is the norm for sexuality, that the associated/idealized gender norms of highly masculine men and

highly feminine women are also society's default assumptions of 'normality' for gender expression, and that the associated family type- norms are that "normal" families are like idealized heterosexual families (Oswald, Blume, & Marks, 2005). Homonegativity, or the degree to which a person internalizes or turns inward beliefs reflecting the stigma society associates with LGB people and identity, is an identity component that is both an indicator of and a result of minority stress and will be discussed further in the section on identity (Mohr & Kendra, 2011).

Risk Factors and Their Consequences for Queer Emerging Adults

A brief look at the risk exposure of queer adolescents includes high levels of violence, threats of violence, targeted bullying (Russell, 2010a, 2010b; Toomey, Ryan, Diaz, Card & Russell, 2010) as well as high risks of homelessness and being throw-aways or a run-aways from their homes (Rosario, Schrimshaw & Hunter, 2004, 2012; Russell, 2010b). High rates of negative outcomes associated with all of these risks include early substance use (Rosario et al., 2004; Russell, 2010b); and adjustment, conduct, emotional, physical, and mental health problems, including suicide (Kulkin, Chauvin & Percle, 2000; Rosario, Schrimshaw & Hunter, 2011, 2012; Russell, 2010b).

Because many queer people are also members of other minorities, it is important to note that exposure to risks and probability of negative outcomes are even higher among queer youth who are also members of other disadvantaged minorities than for their white and/or middle class counterparts. For example, queer youth in rural communities face higher risks of hostilities at school (Kosciw, Greytak & Diaz, 2009; Oswald & Culton, 2003). Queer adolescents of color face higher risks of homelessness (Munoz-Laboy et al., 2009). Bisexual youth as a group show higher rates of negative health and mental health outcomes than lesbians and gays (Pallotta-

Chiarolli & Martin, 2009), and bisexual adolescents of color self-report a greater lack of self-acceptance, greater vulnerability, needing more help to accept their sexual orientation, and tending to conceal their sexual orientation more than white bisexuals or gay and lesbian adolescents (Munoz-Laboy et al., 2009; Rosario, Schrimshaw & Hunter, 2008; Shilo & Savaya, 2011).

Research confirms that many of the significant risk factors and stressors experienced by queer youth are also experienced by queer young adults. There is incomplete evidence about how trends studied in the general population of emerging adults might relate to sexual minority emerging adults, but in general higher rates of exposure to risk and higher rates of negative health and mental health outcomes have been found among sexual minority young adults compared to their heterosexual counterparts (Friedman, Marshal, Stall, Cheong & Wright, 2008; Friedman, Marshal et al., 2011; Needham, 2012; Sandfort, Melendez & Diaz, 2007; Toomey et al., 2010). For example, queer young adults smoke cigarettes, cigars, and hookahs in greater numbers than their heterosexual counterparts, and queer young adults of color smoke more of all three variations than their white peers (Blosnich, Jarrett & Horn, 2011).

Some studies that describe high rates of high risk exposure and high rates of negative outcomes among queer young adults are summarized below. Queer young adults use substances at higher frequency levels than their heterosexual counterparts, and partnered, cohabiting gay and lesbian young adults use substances more frequently than heterosexual young adults who are married or cohabiting (Austin & Bozick, 2011).

Queer emerging adults' high risk levels are augmented by the fact that their heterosexual peers, if already homophobic as adolescents, are likely to become more homophobic as they move into emerging adulthood (Hooghe & Meeusen, 2012). Queer young adults report less

parental support than do their heterosexual peers, which is significant because it has been shown that parental support can mediate associations between sexual minority status and negative health, mental health, and behavioral outcomes, including substance use (Needham & Austin, 2010).

As a group faced with exposure to additional risk factors and stressors moving into emerging adulthood, queer people may experience less career success than their heterosexual peers, spending more of their psychological resources on the tasks of developing a sexual minority identity (Schmidt & Nilsson, 2006). Additionally, one study showed that queer young adults feel less supported in their career development than do their heterosexual peers (Schmidt & Nilsson, 2006). For queer emerging adults who are college students, college campuses can be unfriendly places, despite more recent progress in attitudinal changes overall, with attitudes towards bisexuality being especially negative among male heterosexuals and among students who are more religious (Debruin & Arndt, 2010).

At times, problem-focused research done on LGB youth and young adults may overemphasize risk-factors in LGB youth when such interpretations may be overstated and even erroneous, according to Savin-Williams (2001) and Savin-Williams, Cohen, Joyner, and Rieger (2011). Savin-Williams and colleagues (2011) caution against unexamined or oversimplified interpretations because “Outcomes as multi-determined as mental health can seldom be explained by a single factor but rather require consideration of variables as disparate as biological sex, temperament, individual differences, and environmental context” (p. 659). It is valuable that much research has been done on queer youth and young adults’ exposure to risks and their experience of negative outcomes. It also is important to recognize that many factors interact in the lives of LGB individuals who experience negative health and mental health

outcomes – and that more research is needed to explore how the risk of these outcomes happens as a result of multiple intersecting factors, including the experience of being LGB in certain negative environments (Lewis, Derlega, Brown, Rose, & Henson, 2009). It is also important to note that far less research has been done on protective factors and resiliencies than has been done on risks.

Resiliencies and Protective Factors

Although less frequently studied than risk factors, research exists about personal characteristics which appear to promote resiliency and protective factors which can serve as buffers against minority stress and can help in reducing the negative outcomes associated with queer adolescents' exposure to multiple risk factors (Adams, 2006; Horn, Kosciw & Russell, 2009; Saewyc, Poon, Homma & Skay, 2008; Shilo & Savaya, 2011). Because studies that explore the adaptive capabilities, positive qualities, strengths, and other abilities that contribute to members of a marginalized population having the ability to transcend the social stigma attached to their identities, a greater understanding of these areas is an essential component of the research literature about any such group. To understand the strengths, resiliencies, and protective factors of queer young adults as a group, it is important to consider briefly the research on queer youth moving into young adulthood. Researchers point out that it is important not to generalize too broadly, seeing all queer adolescents as struggling and lagging behind their heterosexual peers; in fact, the majority of queer adolescents survive adolescence despite the difficulties of living in a society that stigmatizes sexual minorities (Adams, 2006; Saewyc, et al., 2008).

Some frequently studied protective factors include friendship, academic achievement, and school environments; queer adolescents report these supportive and positive outlets that

have the potential to provide a buffer against risk factors (Bussari, Willoughby, Chalmers & Boegaert, 2006; Saewyc, 2011). The presence of Gay-Straight Alliance (GSA) groups in high schools potentially provides a context for lower suicide risks for LGB youth (Toomey, Ryan, Diaz & Russell, 2011). Family acceptance (Russell, 2010b; Ryan, Russell, Heubner, Diaz & Sanchez, 2010; Saewyc et al., 2009) and supportive friendships appear to be especially critical for queer adolescents coming out (Saewyc et al., 2009; Shilo & Savaya, 2011). Some authors propose research on LGB youth to discover detailed associations between specific protective factors and specific risk exposure (Saewyc et al., 2009). In comparison to literature focused on areas of risk and concern, literature about resiliencies in queer adolescent populations is lacking (Savin-Williams, 2001; Vaughan & Waehler, 2010; and literature on resiliencies in queer emerging adults is even more scarce.

Queer Identity

Findings about how sexual identity interacts with sexual minority stress are inconsistent and contradictory within the research literature. Sexual orientation identity has both internal and external components. Internal components include how one self-defines, how one values one's identity, and perceptions of how others value, accept, tolerate, or stigmatize one's identity. External components of SO identity include how one presents to others and in what contexts. Some studies suggest that exposure to repeated negative messages about sexual minority orientation is associated with lack of a positive queer identity (Page, Bregman, Malik & Lindahl, 2011). Identity issues also vary in research done with the queer community among different identity groups. For example, bisexuals in one study experienced less violence and harassment than their lesbian and gay peers, yet reported a more negative experience of their sexual orientation/identity than did gays and lesbians in the study (Lewis et al., 2009).

Some studies suggest that a strong queer identity is associated with lower negative impacts of discrimination, possibly acting as a buffer against sexual minority stress (Hansen & Sassenberg, 2006). Other studies suggest that a strong queer identity might have mixed influences on how queer people experience discrimination (Swim, Johnson & Pearson, 2009)

While the concept of having a strong and positive queer identity is something researchers agree is positive, what identity is and how it works are not as clear. Many models and studies of SO identity describe a global SO identity with a level of stability that ignores the inevitable fluidity of identity that occurs in conjunction with the varying requirements and influences of context. Mohr and Kendra (2011), creators of a Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Identity Scale (LGBIS), have observed the tendency in sexual minority identity scales and models to focus on internalized homonegativity, or the degree to which a person internalizes or turns inward beliefs reflecting the stigma society associates with LGB people and identity (Mohr & Kendra, 2011). The LGBIS includes an internalized homonegativity subscale but also measures additional dimensions on five other subscales: identity affirmation, identity centrality, acceptance concerns, concealment motivation, and identity uncertainty. Concealment motivation describes the degree to which people feel they must hide their LGB identity; and acceptance concerns describe the degree to which people are concerned about being rejected if others know their sexual orientation (Mohr & Kendra, 2011). Identity affirmation refers to the degree to which people see their LGB identity and their group in a positive light (Mohr & Kendra, 2011). Identity centrality refers to the degree to which a person claims his or her queer identity and how important a person's queer identity is to their overall identity (Brewster & Moradi, 2010; Mohr & Kendra, 2011). Identity uncertainty has been described as a typically necessary questioning and

discovery process optimally leading to a person's accepting their LGB identity (Mohr & Kendra, 2011; Worthington & Reynolds, 2009).

Coming Out

One factor commonly associated with an external component of positive sexual minority identity is coming out. The current generation of teenagers is the first group to feature coming out in large numbers as teens (Russell, 2010a; Russell, 2010b; Shilo & Savaya, 2011) and coming out continues to be viewed as a developmental milestone for LGB people (Rossi, 2010). For LGB youth of all races, ethnicities, and backgrounds, coming out paradoxically has associations both with high risks and with the development of a positive, well-integrated sexual identity, which correlates with decreasing risk levels. Much research has shown that coming out may serve as a pathway to buffers for queer youth against risks and may facilitate their resiliencies. Lower rates of depression, anxiety, conduct problems, and higher self-esteem are all associated with positive identity integration (Rosario et al., 2011).

While coming out is most often seen as a positive action (Frost & Meyer, 2009; Vaughan & Waehler, 2010), a number of researchers advise framing the coming out process in a context of more complexity, to avoid equating level of outness with self-acceptance, because a variety of contextual factors can make not coming out a preferred, and safer choice (Frost & Meyer, 2009; Rasmussen, 2004; Russell, 2010b). In acknowledging this complexity, researchers recognize that outness about gender identity is different from outness about sexual orientation, and that there are variations in findings for within-group differences in regard to coming out. For example, Latino/a bisexual young adults report both valuing ties with family and feeling pressure either to keep their queer identities quiet or hidden completely (Munoz-Laboy et al., 2009). It is

unclear how these experiences for queer emerging adults may be similar or different according to race, ethnicity, and other factors.

Uplifts, Hassles, and Major Life Events

Research on the general population has included studies of ongoing, frequent, and relatively minor daily experiences that are both negative (hassles – or microstressors) and positive (uplifts). This body of research has contrasted the impacts of these daily experiences in comparison to impacts of the perhaps longer lasting and more temporally finite experiences of major life events (Kanner, Coyne, Schaefer & Lazarus, 1981; Wolf, Elston & Kissling, 1989). Over time, this body of research has repeatedly revealed that in comparison to major life events, hassles and uplifts have been shown to be more significantly related to and/or serve as stronger predictors of a variety of outcomes. Studies have found relationships between daily life stressors (microstressors), uplifts, and overall well-being (Kanner, et al., 1981; Maybery, 2003; Wolf, et al., 1989). Hassles and uplifts have been associated with moods (Baker, 2009; Kanner, et al., 1981; Wolf, et al., 1989), health and mental health outcomes (Cardilla, 2009; Baker, 2009; Stephens & Pugmire, 2007; Wolf, et al., 1981), and even sleep (Kanner, et al., 1981; Tomfohr, Ancoli-Israel, Pung, Natarajan & Dimsdale, 2011). Some researchers have conducted hassles studies that explore the associations with stigma-associated hassles (Borrow & Ong, 2010; Silverschanz, Cortina, Konik, & Magley, 2008; Swim, Johnson & Pearson, 2009; Szymanski, 2009). Negative impacts, related coping strategies, personality factors, and situational issues related to daily hassles have been studied in the general population.

Impacts of discrimination. Living in a climate of hostility based on sexual orientation is part of the lived experience of queer people (Russell, 2010b). Consequently, queer individuals are likely to encounter small and large incidents of discrimination on a regular basis. Previous

studies into the impacts of discrimination have shown conflicting results, with some studies finding associations with psychological distress (Diaz, Ayala, Bein, Henne & Marin, 2003; Lewis, Derlego, Berndt, Morris & Rose, 2001; Silverschanz et al., 2008; Szymanski, 2009), while other studies suggest there is no long term association with well-being (Rosario, Schrimshaw, Hunter, & Gwadz, 2002). These studies on impacts of discrimination have focused on a range of types of incidents (from physical violence and threats to nonphysical incidents) and/or the range of frequency of incidents, whether or not there are gender-specific relationships to impacts (Silverschanz, et al., 2008), and how heterosexist harassment can also be experienced by heterosexuals (Silverschanz, et al., 2008).

Studies of heterosexist hassles, events, and/or harassment explore the associations and impacts of nonphysical incidents and their impacts on LGBT people. These studies of heterosexist hassles or events and their impacts have not always used the same methods; these studies also have shown varied results regarding the frequency with which such events have occurred, ranging from two per week (Swim et al., 2009) to 10% of the time or less in the past year (Szymanski, 2009). Considering these variations as well as the fact that the source of the heterosexism in these studies could be a stranger, coworker, professor, classmate, friend, or family member (and therefore more or less significant to the person experiencing the heterosexism), it is not surprising that findings about the impacts of these incidents are not necessarily consistent.

One daily diary study of heterosexist hassles found that these relatively small incidents averaged two per week (Swim, Johnson & Pearson, 2009). Younger populations may be even more at risk for such incidents. In Swim's study, the influences of daily encounters with heterosexist hassles and sexual-orientation-based discrimination were compared to the influences

of daily encounters with nonheterosexist hassles. Hassles were defined as distinct from life-changing, “major life events” in being both fairly frequent and less impactful while still annoying or impeding (Swim et al., 2009, p.598); examples of nonheterosexist hassles were “ordinary frustrations” (Swim et al., 2009, p. 598) such as being held up by a train crossing the road when already late to one’s destination or encountering people’s unpleasant but not violent behavior. The majority of daily heterosexist hassles documented by Swim and colleagues’ (2009) participants fell into five general categories: verbal comments directed at the participant, verbal comments overheard, hostile treatment, poor service, and exclusion. Swim and colleagues’ (2009) findings showed that a stronger LGB identity was associated with higher daily levels of anxious mood and depressed mood, and that encounters with nonheterosexist hassles had a more general impact on daily experience of negative and positive moods. Swim and colleagues (2009) stated that these mood effects might suggest that having a less intense identification with his or her queer identity could make it easier for a person to “disengage from the negative implications of heterosexist hassles” in the short term (p. 620). The authors warned against the assumption that having a stronger queer identity increased vulnerability or risk, suggesting that while associated with more anger and anxiety in the short term, a stronger identity would likely serve a protective function in the longer term (Swim et al., 2009). This finding parallels similar findings with responses to studies of daily experience of negative racial or ethnic incidents (Burrow & Ong, 2010; Yip & Douglass,2013), in that a strong racial or ethnic identity has been associated with more negative effects of encounters with daily discrimination but is also assumed to serve protective functions.

Flow

Because risk factors are higher for queer adolescents and emerging adults, more knowledge is needed about the potential resiliencies and protective factors that might promote optimal development for queer emerging adults. Flow has been researched as being associated with a variety of indicators of optimal development across the lifespan (Csikszentmihalyi, 1992; Hektner, 2011). Flow is a construct describing a state of optimal experience in which the individual is engaged in an activity he or she enjoys and chooses, and in which the “heart, will, and mind are on the same page” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997, p. 28). Flow has been described as a state that brings about a feeling of transcendence of self and as “those moments in time that make life worth living” (Jackson, 2012, p 139).

Jackson (2012) describes the three conditions making flow possible: 1) the level of skill and challenge in the activity the individual is doing are in balance, so that neither boredom nor frustration is likely to occur, 2) the goals of the activity are clear so that any potential next step follows naturally out of what is happening in the moment, since the person doing the activity knows effortlessly what has to be done, and 3) there is clear feedback (from within, or from an external source, or both) which also contributes to continuity within the activity because of the person’s clear and easy knowing of what needs to happen next. The experience of flow is described in six dimensions: a sense of being totally immersed and “at one” with the activity, total concentration on the activity, a feeling of being in control while doing the activity (without “fear of failure”), a sense of self-awareness fading into the background, a feeling of losing a sense of time and, intrinsic motivation for and intrinsic rewards from the activity (Jackson, 2012, p. 128-129). Some of the conditions and dimensions of the flow experience have been identified as predictors of “growth-conducive experiences” for adolescents in a variety of contexts

providing them with a balance of both support and challenge (Hektner, 2001, p. 180). It is clear that the experience of flow, per se, does not necessarily represent a condition of optimal development because, potentially, flow can be experienced during any activity, whether or not that activity is described as productive or leading to positive development (Hektner, 2001). Related to the experience of flow, “engagement,” or “being fully engaged in a challenging but controllable activity,” is a construct that emerged out of flow theory and is also associated with positive outcomes both in terms of career achievements and overall mental health (Hirschi, 2011, p. 367) and with happiness (Peterson, Park & Seligman, 2005).

Expanding understanding of human experience, especially optimal experience, is especially relevant when applied to learning more about resiliencies and protective factors for members of marginalized groups. Research on marginalized groups tends to focus on ways in which groups experience challenges and related risk factors without also studying in detail what resiliencies and strengths enable group members to rise above and thrive despite those challenges. Studies of flow have been applied to a variety of disciplines and experience domains including sports (Catley & Duda, 1997; Jackson, 1992; Jackson & Roberts, 1992), the performing arts (Jackson & Ecklund, 2004; Martin and Cutler, 2002; Wrigley, 2005), creative writing (Perry, 1999), learning (Karagheorgis, Vlachopoulos & Terry, 2000), internet learning (Chen, Wigand & Nilan, 1999), internet browsing (Novak, Hoffman & Yung, 2000), creativity (Homan & Hektner, 2007), to personality characteristics such as hypnotic susceptibility (Grove & Lewis, 1996) and perfectionism in athletes (Vea & Pensgaard, 2004). And finally, flow has been researched in a study comparing flow experiences across cultural differences, with Italian high school students and U.S. high school students (Carli, Delle Fave, & Massimini, 1992). Flow as experienced by specific groups has also been explored to a limited degree, including

flow in older athletes (Jackson, Kimiecik, Ford & Marsh, 1998), Korean elderly immigrants (Han, 1992), and Japanese motorcycle gangs (Sato, 1992). The majority of these studies focused on the activity being experienced or the setting or environment rather than on the group and identity issues. Little research has been done to explore the flow experiences of members of marginalized groups that are part of a larger group or society. Examples of exceptions to this trend are a study comparing the flow experiences at work of professional women compared to those of women in blue collar jobs (Allison & Duncan, 1992) and a study comparing flow experiences at work and during leisure of a group of women workers (Lefevre, 1992). When these studies have been done, they have often focused on specific activities in which group members are all involved, rather than looking at the overall quality of experience of the entire group as it might relate to having a minority status or rather than looking at within-person experiences as they might relate to identity as a minority group member.

Where flow has been studied in emerging adults, the studies are on the general population of emerging adults and/or college and graduate students. In an experience sampling study of the general population of emerging adult college and graduate students, positive correlations were found between flow, positive affect, being on campus, and spending time with friends and family (Homan & Hektner, 2007). In addition to family support and acceptance, flow might be seen as a protective factor or resiliency for queer emerging adults. It is unclear whether the experience of flow might be associated with positive queer identity in the daily experience of queer emerging adults compared to the already studied experience of flow in the daily experience of emerging adults of the general population. It is also unclear whether or not momentary consciousness of self as queer might have a relationship to the loss of awareness of self that is commonly featured in flow experiences (Csikszentmihalyi, 1992; Jackson, 2012).

Self-Determination Theory

People thrive in environments that support autonomy, relatedness, and competence, and fail to thrive in environments that neglect to provide that support or that actually impede fulfillment of these three needs (Deci & Ryan, 2012). Self-determination theory describes autonomy, relatedness, and competence as conditions for optimal development, in terms of how they vary with context in daily experience, and as essential for well-being (Deci and Ryan, 2012; Reis et al., 2000). Self-determination theory has been studied in relation to physical activity, smoking cessation, and alcohol and drug use (Sharma & Smith, 2011) and in evaluating a correctional education program (McKinney & Cotronea, 2011). Autonomy is associated with a variety of positive health and mental health indicators (Reis et al., 2000; Rockafellow, 2007), including cognitive development (Yorio & Feifei, 2012). Reis and colleagues (2000) wrote that it is important to make distinctions between daily variations in traits (within person differences) and variations in more stable trait comparisons between persons, and suggested that greater understanding of daily fluctuations within the individual is helpful in building knowledge about more stable traits as they relate to well-being. Deci and Ryan (2011) have developed interventions from self-determination theory based on their belief that to influence the proximal causes of human behavior translates to influencing the contexts in which people function: “we believe that people’s psychological experiences, whether conscious or unconscious, are frequently the most important proximal causes of their behaviors and that social contextual variables strongly influence those experiences and behaviors” (p. 18). Greater understanding of these needs as reflected in the lives and experiences of queer emerging adults might assist policy makers and service providers in supporting this at risk group in developing resiliencies and avoiding risks.

The Experience Sampling Method

The Experience Sampling Method is useful as a research method because it provides a way of discovering relationships between external contexts, external behavior, and internal states. ESM is also useful for detecting how individuals see their contexts and see themselves in context (Hektner, 2011) as well as for detecting changes in the internal states of individuals, depending on context and passage of time (Hektner, 2011; Ravert, Calix & Sullivan, 2010). ESM is uniquely suited to explore within-person states and variations as they might relate to context in a sample of a minority population such as queer emerging adults. ESM as a method reduces the risk that participants will overstate or understate the incidents they experience or the emotional impacts of those incidents, both because of the number of data points collected and because the descriptors of experience are done immediately as the experience is happening.

ESM studies have been conducted exploring variations in aspects of ethnic identity associated with variations in context (Yip & Douglass, 2013). ESM methods allowed the researchers to detect situational variations in identity constructs that had been viewed as static and to observe that variations in salience of various aspects of identity appeared to be instrumental in explaining those variations and their impact; associations among identity variables and psychological well-being, positive experiences, and positive mood were also found (Yip & Douglass, 2013). Using ESM to explore identity issues in context in a group of queer young adults can augment both previous ESM studies of ethnic identity and previous daily diary studies about encounters with heterosexist discrimination by providing more data and having the recording of data be more immediate temporally to the actual moments of experience.

Clearly, there is research indicating that queer youth struggle in variety of ways due to the stigma associated with their sexual orientation, and the beginnings of a body of research exist

describing the resiliencies and protective factors at work for this group of at-risk adolescents. Similarly, existing research indicates that queer emerging adults as a group carry a number of risk factors as well as resiliencies and protective factors, and this body of research is smaller than that describing queer adolescents. It is evident that minority stress has an impact on all queer individuals, and possibly a greater impact on adolescents and emerging adults than on older LGB individuals, but further study is warranted not only to identify how minority stress adds to risk loads, and also to explore how that stress is experienced in terms of micro-level momentary experiences of discrimination and stigma (heterosexist hassles), and how the experience of minority stress interacts with queer identity. Among the possible areas for study of resiliencies and protective factors, flow has been studied in the general population of adolescents and emerging adults, but not in the queer population of adolescents and emerging adults. Similarly, autonomy, relatedness, and competency have been studied in the general population of adolescents and emerging adults and may have potential as resiliency factors for queer emerging adults. This research has not yet been done.

Given the gaps in research and theory about queer emerging adults, the purpose of this thesis is to explore the quality of daily experience of queer emerging adults. The study will examine correlations among context (where participants are when beeped, who they are with, and what they are doing), the quality of consciousness of sexual orientation, variations in their level of “outness” in daily interactions, and variations in experience of flow, positive affect, relatedness, autonomy, and competence. Because queer identity involves both external and internal domains, exploring the daily experience of queer emerging adults with regard to flow, competence, autonomy, relatedness, and momentary outness, satisfaction about outness level, and quality of consciousness of sexual orientation offers the potential to contribute important

insight into questions of identity, risk, and resiliencies for queer emerging adults. Specifically, the study sought to address these research questions: 1) How often do queer emerging adults describe their context as neutral or better in regards to their sexual orientation? 2) To what degree are momentary level of outness, satisfaction with that level of outness, and quality of consciousness of sexual orientation related to context (who one is with, what one is doing, how LGB affirmative the context is rated in that moment, and what kinds of heterosexist hassles have been encountered)? 3) Are context, level of outness, satisfaction with that level of outness, and quality of consciousness of sexual orientation associated with mood and self-determination? 4) Are momentary experiences of level of outness, satisfaction with that level of outness, quality of consciousness of sexual orientation, mood, flow, and self-determination associated with global assessments of LGB identity centrality, identity affirmation, concealment motivation, and internalized homonegativity? If so, is there a valence to the associations?

METHOD

Participants

Approval was received from the Institutional Review Board, after which participants were recruited from among the general population and also from the institutions of higher education from the Fargo-Moorhead local area, from Morris, Minnesota, and from the Chicago, Illinois, local area. A total of 25 participants in the Fargo-Moorhead area, and elsewhere in the Midwest, were recruited. Five of these individuals dropped out of the study due to expecting the study to involve paper surveys only, due to bad timing and/or being too busy; data from the remaining 20 participants were used for the study. Outside the Fargo-Moorhead area, one individual from Morris, Minnesota, was recruited, and two participants from Chicago, Illinois, were recruited.

Participants in the study were undergraduate and non-student emerging adults who identify with a lesbian, gay, bisexual, omnisexual, pansexual, fluid, or queer sexual orientation (all of which will be referred to from here forward with the umbrella term of queer) living in the local area of Fargo, North Dakota, Moorhead and Morris, Minnesota, and in Chicago, IL. The study was open to both transgender (which in this study is defined as those whose self-identified gender/identity is other than the gender typically associated with the biological sex they were assigned at birth) people (Heugel, 2011) and cisgender (which in this study is defined to mean those born into the gender associated with the biological sex they were assigned at birth and are living and comfortable with) people (Heugel, 2011) who also have a queer (other than heterosexual) sexual orientation. The focus of the study was sexual orientation rather than gender identity, which are two different aspects of identity. The questionnaires and ESM questions explored aspects of the participants' sexual orientation, rather than their gender identity.

Individuals aged younger than 18 or older than 24 were not included in the study. Table 1 displays the age range and self-identified gender identities and sexual orientation identities of the participants. Participants responded to a total number of 796 beeps, with a minimum of 25 beeps and maximum of 47 beeps answered. The average number of beeps per person was 39.8.

Participants received compensation of \$20 in cash or gift cards for their participation in the study. 18 participants were undergraduate students. Although a number of the participants who are students may have also been working full-time and self-supporting, the Pre and Post ESM surveys did not clearly solicit this information. The two young adult participants who were not students were working full time.

Table 1

Identity Demographics of Participant Sample.

Gender Identity	Woman	Man	Queer	Other	Queer/Other		
	5	7	3	4	1		
Sexual Orientation	Lesbian	Gay	Gay/Pansexual	Pansexual	Bisexual		
	3	8	1	2	2		
Sexual Orientation	Queer	Fluid	Pan/Queer/Demisexual	Gay/Asexual			
	1	1	1	1			
Age	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	2	7	2	2	5	1	1

Procedure

The majority of data collection in this study was done using the Experience Sampling Method (ESM; Hektner, Schmidt & Csikszentmihalyi, 2007), with personal digital assistants (PDAs) using ESP software (ESP, n.d.). A pilot study was conducted in August, 2012, field testing the PDAs and the questions with four participants over a total of 14 days, with seven data collections/signals per day. In the actual study, participants carried a PDA, which signaled them seven times a day for seven days. Each time the participant was signaled, he or she then answered questions or items describing the activities, environment, companions, and internal states he or she was currently experiencing. The average time required to complete all of the questions in one momentary survey was between 1-3 minutes. Data collection using the PDAs occurred between September 30, 2012, and September 22, 2013. Depending on the flow of inquiries from potential participants, ESM data collection periods happened both individually and in groups, concurrent and staggered. Most of the data collection cycles involving the 17 participants in Fargo-Moorhead occurred in November, 2012, January, 2013, April, 2013, and August-September, 2013. Most of the data collection cycles involving the three participants recruited from outside of the Fargo-Moorhead area occurred between June and September, 2013.

Student participants were recruited via announcements in classes and at meetings of organizations serving or most likely to include queer students and via announcements in newsletters, course and organization web pages, and other campus publications. Nonstudent participants were recruited via announcements at meetings of organizations serving the queer community, in publications serving the queer community locally, and via professional networking and contacts made by the researcher through other LGB professionals and individuals.

Forms were signed and paper surveys were given to participants local to the Fargo-Moorhead area in face-to-face pre-ESM and post-ESM meetings with the researcher.

Participants recruited from outside of the Fargo-Moorhead area participated in the pre-ESM and/or post-ESM meetings with the researcher either in person or via Skype, telephone, and/or email, and the necessary signed forms and post ESM surveys were returned either in person or via email or by mail. The palm pilots and chargers were returned via envelopes with prepaid postage.

At the initial face-to-face meetings for local residents, participants were told that they would be participating in an exploratory study about how queer young adults experience daily life moment to moment. Participants were told that the measurements would be done primarily via the Experience Sampling Method, carrying palmtop computers, and that at the end of the process of carrying the palmtop computers, they would also be asked to fill out several questionnaires. After participants agreed to participate, they signed informed consent forms. A sample of the informed consent form is found in Appendix B. After signing informed consent forms, each participant completed a preliminary informational questionnaire soliciting basic data, information about each participant's typical daily schedule, and contact information. A sample of this preliminary informational questionnaire is found in Appendix C.

Due to the interest of each potential participant in going ahead with the study, all face-to-face initial meetings were extended to include the process of distributing PDAs to the participant or participants present. Participants were supplied with letters of explanation, which they could share with employers, professors, etc., in case they were beeped during class, work, etc. A sample of this letter is found in Appendix D. It was explained to participants that they would have 15 minutes after each signal during which to respond to the questions, and that if they were

unable to respond, they should continue to respond at all subsequent times when they were beeped. Participants were told that for each question, the PDA device would allow them 15 minutes to answer. Participants were shown how to turn the devices off, in case they were in a situation in which being signaled would not be possible or would be too disruptive (e.g., while taking an exam). The PDAs were programmed to randomly signal participants during the waking hours indicated by them on their daily schedule in the pre-ESM informational questionnaire. Generally, the hours chosen ranged between 8:00 am and midnight Monday through Friday and between 10 am and midnight on Saturdays and Sundays.

At the initial meeting, participants were given a brief training about the difference between heterosexist hassles, nonheterosexist hassles, and major life events, and were asked to write down two examples of each on a worksheet which they turned in to the researcher. This training was done to prepare participants to answer ESM survey questions about heterosexist and nonheterosexist hassles. Participants were instructed that some of the ESM survey questions would refer to hassles and major life events and to err on the side of recording all hassles, both heterosexist and nonheterosexist, and all events, including major life events, when they were asked during the ESM survey to record information about hassles or other negative experiences. This approach was adapted from Swim et al. (2009). A sample of the worksheet about hassles and major life events is found in Appendix E.

A second meeting was held after the ESM sampling for participants to return the palm pilots, and to fill out two post-ESM questionnaires, the Post ESM Survey, found in Appendix G, and the Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Identity Scale (Full scale), found in Appendix H. These questionnaires are described more fully in the section below titled Questionnaire Measures.

For participants at a distance, two procedures were followed. Two of these participants met with the researcher individually to sign all of the forms in Appendices A through F and started the ESM sampling with the researcher present. The third participant at a distance was given the surveys to fill out by a peer who was one of the above two participants. All three of these participants returned the post-ESM questionnaires either by postal service or by email.

ESM Measures

Context. During the daily sampling cycles, participants responded to seven items describing their external environment at the time they were signaled. Five items described the main activity they were doing, what else they were doing at the same time as the main activity, where they were, if they were interacting with others or not, and, if so, whom they were interacting with (e.g., “What is the main thing that you are doing right now?”). These questions offered multiple-choice answers that included “none of the above” as a choice. These items were adapted from Homan (2008).

With regard to the main activity being done at the time of the beep, the 16 possible categories of responses in the ESM samples were collapsed for statistical testing into four possible groups: productive activity (academic work, reading, notetaking; work; childcare), passive leisure (sleeping, relaxing; thinking, meditating, praying; leisure media; phone talking, texting), active leisure (physical recreation, sport, exercise; conversation, talking, hanging out; intimate, sexual activity; hobby; shopping), and maintenance (going somewhere; eating; housework; personal care, grooming).

With regard to who was present, the 10 possible categories of responses in the ESM samples were collapsed for statistical testing into seven possible groups: alone, with a friend/partner, with classmates or coworkers, with faculty or supervisor, with parents or family,

with a stranger or other person, and a combination group representing moments when participants were with people from more than one category. The problem of not meeting the assumption of homogeneity of variance was still encountered due to a number of groups being represented for no beeps or a relatively small number of beeps. The responses were then further collapsed into four possible groups (alone, with a friend or partner, a category including all the other choices of people possible, and a fourth category, the combination category, was retained.

A sixth item, adapted from Russell (2010a) prompted participants to rate how affirmative their environment was of their sexual orientation at the time of the signal ("How would you rate your environment at the moment in terms of sexual orientation?") on a -2 (*Hostile*) to +2 (*Affirming*) scale, with a midpoint of 0 (*Tolerant/Neutral*). A complete list of the context items is available in Appendix F.

Momentary mood/affect. Six items prompted participants to rate the extent to which their mood at the time they were beeped was angry, nervous/uneasy, sad/discouraged, happy, excited, and relaxed ("Describe how you were feeling right now as you were beeped. Angry?") by moving a slider on a number line ranging from 1 (*Not At All*) to 100 (*Very Much*), with a midpoint of 50, which was the default where the slider was set initially. The momentary affect items were adapted from a daily diary study of relationships between LGB adults' mood and encounters with heterosexism (Swim et al., 2009). These items can be found in Appendix F. Following Hektner, et al. (2007), the mood items were collapsed into two composites, positive mood (combining happy, excited, and relaxed moods) and negative mood (combining angry, nervous/uneasy, and sad/discouraged moods). The internal consistency coefficients (Cronbach's alphas) were .74 for positive mood and .73 for negative mood.

Flow. The items related to flow were designed to measure the experience of flow and were adapted from a study of flow in the daily experience of the general population of emerging adults at NDSU (Homan, 2008). These items measuring experience of flow asked participants to rate their level of concentration on, interest in, and enjoyment of the current activity (e.g., “How much are you concentrating on this activity right now?”) on a 1 (*Not at All*) to 100 (*Very Much*) slider scale. The midpoint was scored 50, which was the default point, where the slider was set initially. These three items were combined into a composite flow experience variable, following Hektner, et al. (2007). Cronbach’s alpha for the experience of flow scale was .74. The items related to experience of flow can be found in Appendix F.

Self-determination theory. The three items related to self-determination theory measured momentary levels of competence, autonomy, and relatedness (Deci & Ryan, 2012; Reis et al., 2000). The item assessing competence (“How skilled or competent do you feel in relation to this activity right now?”) asked participants to rate their level of competence on a 1 (*Not At All*) to 100 (*Very Much*) scale with a midpoint of 50, which was the default point, where the cursor was set initially. The item assessing autonomy, adapted from Homan (2008), prompted participants to describe their level of choice in doing the current activity (“To what degree did you have some choice in picking this activity?”) on a 1 (*Not At All*) to 100 (*Very Much*) scale with a midpoint of 50, which was the default point, where the cursor was set initially. The item measuring relatedness asked participants to describe the degree to which they felt closely connected to the person or people they were with at the time of the signal (“How closely connected do you feel with this person or these people?”) on a 1 (*Not at all*) to 5 (*Completely*) scale with a midpoint of 3 (*Neutral*). Reis, et al. (2000) provide evidence for the validity of these constructs. The three items were weighted equally and then combined into one

scale called self-determination for statistical analysis. Because the theory does not expect that autonomy, competence, and relatedness all measure the same thing, Cronbach's alpha would be inappropriate. Instead, the three separate constructs all add to the likelihood of greater self-determination. The self-determination scale measuring competence, relatedness, and autonomy is found in Appendix F.

Momentary level of outness. Two items were created for the study by the author to measure the degree to which participants had revealed their sexual orientation to the people they were interacting with at the time they were signaled. One item asked participants to describe their state of outness at the moment of the signal ("Are you out to the person or people you were with at the time you were beeped?") on a 1 (*No*) to 4 (*Yes*) scale with intermediate points of 2 (*Not sure*) and 3 (*Partially*). The other item asked participants to rate their level of satisfaction about that level of outness ("With this person/people, do you wish you were more or less out?") on a 1 (*Wish I was less out*) to 3 (*Wish I was more out*) scale, with a midpoint of 2 (*Neutral*). The items relating to momentary outness were analyzed as separate items and are listed in Appendix F.

Momentary quality of consciousness of sexual orientation. The item measuring quality of consciousness of sexual orientation, created for this study by the author, was asked in moments when participants had already answered that they were momentarily at least slightly conscious of themselves as being queer. ("How conscious are you right now of yourself as a queer person?") on a 1 (*Not at all*) to 5 (*Completely*) scale with a midpoint of 3 (*Somewhat*). Participants were then asked to rate the positivity or negativity of that consciousness of their sexual orientation ("If conscious of yourself as a queer person, what is that like?") on a -2 (*Very Negative*) to +2 (*Very Positive*) scale with a midpoint of 0 (*Neutral*). The momentary

consciousness of sexual orientation and quality of consciousness of sexual orientation items are listed in Appendix F. Responses to the second item assessing quality of consciousness of sexual orientation were analyzed and reported in the Results section. Because the second item assessed a qualitative or directional aspect of consciousness of sexual orientation, whereas the first item only assessed the presence of consciousness of sexual orientation, the first item was dropped from the analysis and is not included in the analysis described in the Results section.

Momentary encounters with heterosexist hassles and with uplifts. These 12 items were adapted from Swim and colleagues (2009). Participants were asked about their momentary experience of any of the following negative events: verbal comments directed at the participant, overheard verbal comments about the participant, hostile treatment, poor service, exclusion, or other hassles (“Just now when beeped, were you experiencing any of the following negative events? comments said to you? overheard comments about you? hostile treatment? poor service? Exclusion? any other hassles?”) with the instruction to check all [of these options] that applied. The question following asked participants to rate the degree to which they attributed the worst of these events to heterosexism, with five possible responses (*None was heterosexist/Not very heterosexist/Uncertain/Somewhat heterosexist/Extremely heterosexist*). The next two questions asked about hassles since the last beep and used wording parallel to the previous at-beep hassles questions. To create a composite variable indexing the number of hassles encountered at each beep, the number of hassles checked either since the last beep or at the current beep that were also rated as “somewhat” or “extremely heterosexist” in nature were summed.

The final four questions in the survey asked about momentary uplifts experienced (“Just now when beeped, did anything uplifting happen, such as comments or actions by someone in person or in the media that made you feel really good? able to be completely yourself accepted

as queer? not invisible? represented in society? other uplifting feeling?") with the instruction to check all [of these options] that applied. The question following asked participants to rate how uplifting they ranked the best of these events (If any of these incidents was uplifting, how uplifting was the best one?") with five possible responses (*None was uplifting/Not very uplifting/Uncertain/Somewhat uplifting/Extremely uplifting*). The second set of questions asked about uplifts since the last beep used wording parallel to the previous at-beep uplift questions. To create a composite variable indexing the number of uplifts encountered at each beep, the number of uplifts checked either since the last beep or at the current beep that were also rated as "somewhat" or "extremely uplifting" were summed. The uplifts questions were developed in collaboration with Anita Bender of Minnesota State University at Moorhead. The hassles and uplifts questions are found in Appendix F.

Questionnaire Measures

A demographics and feedback survey titled "Post ESM Survey" was adapted by the researcher and given to participants after they completed the ESM component of the study, asking about their age at first questioning and first coming out as queer, about gay-straight-alliance groups in their high schools or communities, and whether or not religious values were associated with inner conflict about sexual orientation. A copy of this survey is found in Appendix G. The LGB Identity Scale questionnaires (LGBIS; Mohr & Kendra, 2011) also were completed at this time. All items and subscales from the LGBIS are found in Appendix H.

LGB identity affirmation. This subscale of three items assessed the degree to which participants are able to embrace their LGB identity (for example, "I feel ashamed of my sexual orientation"). Responses were selected from a six-point scale ranging from *Disagree Strongly* to *Agree Strongly*. In the current sample, Cronbach's alpha for this subscale was .91.

Acceptance concerns. This subscale of three items assessed the degree to which participants may have thoughts, concerns, expectations, and/or beliefs that others might be thinking negatively about their sexual orientation (for example, “I can’t feel comfortable knowing that others judge me negatively for my sexual orientation”). Responses were selected from a six-point scale ranging from *Disagree Strongly* to *Agree Strongly*. Cronbach’s alpha for this subscale was .83.

LGB identity centrality. The five items of the subscale related to how central LGB identity is to a person’s overall identity (for example, “To understand who I am as a person you have to know that I’m LGB”). Responses were selected from a six-point scale ranging from *Disagree Strongly* to *Agree Strongly*. Cronbach’s alpha for this scale’s items was .80.

Internalized homonegativity. This three-item subscale included items assessing participants’ rejection of their sexual orientation (for example, “I wish I were heterosexual”). Responses were selected from a six-point scale ranging from *Disagree Strongly* to *Agree Strongly*. Cronbach’s alpha for this subscale was .92.

Concealment motivation. This subscale’s three items assessed the degree to which participants feel the need to conceal their sexual orientation and/or relationships (for example, “I keep careful control over who knows about my same-sex romantic relationships”). Responses were selected from a six-point scale ranging from *Disagree Strongly* to *Agree Strongly*. Cronbach’s alpha for this subscale was .70.

Demographics

Participants completed the Demographics and Feedback Survey at a meeting with the researcher after completing the ESM component of the study. Demographic information solicited on the questionnaire included age, gender identity, and self-identified sexual

orientation. Finally, in this survey, participants were asked questions about how they self-described their sexual orientation, what it meant to them, how out they would describe themselves as being, and what their first coming out experience was like. It was proposed to collect information about race, ethnicity, and rural or urban home of origin. In an oversight, this information was not included in the Demographics and Feedback Survey and thus was not collected. A copy of the Demographics and Feedback Survey is in Appendix H.

Data Analyses

The data were analyzed using a variety of statistical procedures and measures. Associations were measured among momentary queer identity variables and momentary context (who the participants were with at that moment, what they were doing, and how participants rated their environment in regards to their sexual orientation). Associations were also measured among each of these items and mood, flow, and self-determination scales; among each of these measures and contextual factors (who the participants were with at that moment, what they were doing, and how participants rated their environment); and among contextual factors, mood, flow, self-determination, heterosexist hassles, and uplift items. Correlations were measured among continuous variables; 1-Way ANOVAs were conducted for associations between one continuous and one categorical variable; and Chi-square analyses were conducted for associations between two categorical variables. Associations were also measured among person-level percentages on momentary identity variables and global identity measures.

RESULTS

Research Question 1

How often do queer emerging adults describe their context as neutral or better in regard to their sexual orientation?

To explore this research question, data were collected describing 716 moments of experience at the response level. Participants rated the momentary affirmative level of their current environment. The overall mean for rating of environment was 4.08, with an SD of .99, indicating that in the majority of moments sampled, participants rated their environment at least tolerant/neutral in regard to sexual orientation. Frequency data indicated that the rating of 3 (*Tolerant/Neutral*) was chosen during 31 percent of moments, with the rating of 1 (*Hostile*) chosen during 2% of moments and the rating of 2 (between *Hostile* and *Tolerant/Neutral*) chosen during 1% of moments; the rating 5 (*Affirming*) was chosen during 47 % of moments, with the rating of 4 (between *Affirming* and *Tolerant/Neutral*) chosen during 19 % of moments. Participants rated their environment better than neutral in 66% of moments (ratings of 4 and 5 combined), neutral or better in 97% of moments (ratings of 3, 4, and 5 combined), and worse than neutral in 3% of moments (ratings 1 and 2 combined).

In addition to the beep level mean reported above, it is also important to report the person-level mean. The person-level mean for rating of environment was 4.09 with a standard deviation of 0.56. Participants rated the affirmativeness level of their environment within the range of 3.06 (for the person with the lowest mean weekly rating) to 4.89 (for the person who had the highest mean weekly rating) on the same scale described above, in which ratings correspond from 1 (*hostile*) to 5 (*affirming*) with a midpoint of 3 (*neutral*).

Research Question 2

To what degree are momentary level of outness, satisfaction with level of outness, and quality of consciousness of sexual orientation related to context (who one is with, what one is doing, how LGB affirmative the context is rated in that moment, and what kinds of uplifts and heterosexist hassles have been encountered)?

To analyze and report results for this question, several analyses were conducted, depending on the types of variables being examined for interrelationships. Four one-way ANOVAs were conducted to compare the four variables—ratings of the environment, quality of consciousness of sexual orientation, encounters with uplifts and heterosexist hassles—across three levels of two other variables: outness and satisfaction with outness.

Ratings of environment and outness/satisfaction about outness. As shown in Tables 2 and 3, significant differences in ratings of the environment were found among all three levels of outness and all three levels of satisfaction with outness. Post-hoc tests following ANOVA revealed that ratings of environment at each level of outness differed significantly from each other level, with clear nondisclosure having the lowest ratings, followed by ambiguous outness, followed by clear outness with the highest ratings.

Regarding ratings of the environment as related to momentary level of satisfaction about outness, there were significant differences found between all levels of satisfaction about outness. Mean ratings of environment were slightly lower than neutral during moments of wishing to be less out, between neutral/tolerant and positive during moments of neutrality about outness, and highest (between positive and affirming) during moments of wishing to be more out. Results of these ANOVAs are found in Tables 2 and 3.

Quality of consciousness of SO and outness/satisfaction about outness. As shown in Tables 2 and 3, significant differences in quality of consciousness of SO were found among the levels of outness and among all three levels of momentary satisfaction with outness. During moments of clear nondisclosure of SO, there were significantly lower ratings of participants' quality of consciousness of their sexual orientation (ratings were more negative) than during moments of clear outness and ambiguous outness. There were no significant differences in participants' ratings of their quality of consciousness of their sexual orientation in moments of ambiguous outness as compared to clear outness. During moments of wishing to be less out, ratings of quality of consciousness of SO were significantly more negative than in moments of neutrality about outness and moments of wishing to be more out. In moments of neutrality about outness, ratings of consciousness of their sexual orientation were significantly less positive than in moments of wishing to be more out.

Heterosexist hassles, uplifts, and outness. In testing for differences in experiences of heterosexist hassles and uplifts across the three levels of momentary outness, ANOVAs could not be used for this analysis because the assumption necessary in ANOVA of equal variances was not satisfied. Instead, nonparametric tests—Brown-Forsythe and Welch—were conducted. Significant differences were found for both tests in comparisons of total uplifts ($p < .01$) and total heterosexist hassles ($p < .05$) experienced across the three levels of momentary outness. Games-Howell post-hoc testing showed that in moments of clear outness, the number of heterosexist hassles experienced was significantly lower than during moments of ambiguous outness but not significantly lower than during moments of clear nondisclosure. No significant differences were found between moments of ambiguous outness and moments of clear nondisclosure. Games-Howell post-hoc testing also found significant differences in total number

of uplifts experienced across the levels of outness. In moments of clear outness, the number of uplifts experienced was significantly higher than in moments of ambiguous outness and moments of clear nondisclosure. In moments of ambiguous outness, the number of uplifts experienced was significantly higher than during moments of clear nondisclosure. These results are found in Table 2.

Table 2

Means on Momentary Ratings of Outness, and Ratings of Environment, Quality of Consciousness of Sexual Orientation, and Encounters with Heterosexist Hassles and Uplifts.

Variable	Clear Non-Disclosure of SO		Ambiguously Out		Clearly Out	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>N</i>	36		88		216	
Affirming Environment	2.89 _a	1.21	3.75 _b	0.89	4.45 _c	0.83
Quality of Consciousness of SO	3.07 _a	1.00	4.08 _b	0.90	4.05 _b	0.95
Heterosexist Hassles	0.25 _{ab}	0.77	0.41 _a	0.91	0.12 _b	0.60
Uplifts	0.50 _a	1.13	1.21 _b	2.03	1.95 _c	3.11

Note: Means with different subscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$, by Tukey post-hoc comparisons following ANOVA or Games-Howell post-hoc comparisons following Brown-Forsythe and Welch nonparametric alternative tests.

Heterosexist hassles, uplifts, and satisfaction about outness. In testing for differences in number of uplifts and heterosexist hassles experienced across levels of satisfaction about outness, again the assumption of equal variances could not be satisfied and ANOVAs could not be conducted. Because so few moments sampled were moments when participants wished to be less out (nine moments overall) and because during moments of wishing to be less out no uplifts

were experienced at all, nonparametric tests-Welch and Brown-Forsythe-were conducted. For heterosexual hassles experienced, the Welch and Brown-Forsythe tests showed significance, but the post-hoc test was not significant ($p = .05$). For total uplifts experienced, the Welch test showed a significant difference between the means ($p < .05$) but the Brown-Forsythe test did not show significance ($p = .06$). Though not significant, results appeared to indicate that the most frequent experience of uplifts happened in moments of neutrality about outness and no uplifts at all were experienced in moments of wishing to be less out. Most heterosexual hassles were experienced during moments of wishing to be less out, with the next highest number of hassles experienced during moments of wishing to be more out. The fewest number of heterosexual hassles were reported during moments of neutrality about outness. These results are found in Table 3.

Table 3

Means on Momentary Ratings of Satisfaction About Outness, and Rating of Environment, Quality of Consciousness of SO, and Encounters with Heterosexual Hassles and Uplifts.

Variable	<u>Wish Less Out</u>		<u>Neutral</u>		<u>Wish More Out</u>	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>N</i>	9		269		62	
Affirming Environment	2.22 _a	1.09	4.18 _b	0.98	4.10 _c	0.99
Quality of Consciousness of SO	3.70 _a	0.73	3.92 _b	0.95	4.42 _c	0.84
Heterosexual Hassles	0.89	1.36	0.13	0.62	0.42	0.90
Uplifts	0.00	0.00	1.54	2.83	2.13	2.51

Note: Means with different subscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$, by Tukey post-hoc comparisons following ANOVA or Games-Howell post-hoc comparisons following Brown-Forsythe and Welch nonparametric alternative tests.

One-way ANOVAs were conducted to compare four variables—ratings of the environment in relation to sexual orientation, quality of consciousness of sexual orientation, and hassles and uplifts experienced – across levels of the two variables related to context what main activity was being engaged in and who was present at the time of sampling.

Ratings of environment and main activity. Significant differences were found across the four types of momentary main activity and ratings of the environment (hostile to affirming). For ratings of environment, homogeneity of variance could not be assumed, so ANOVAs could not be run. Nonparametric tests were conducted (Welch and Brown-Forsythe) and results were significant. Games-Howell post-hoc testing revealed that the only significant mean differences in ratings of the environment were between moments of productive activity and moments of passive leisure and active leisure; environmental ratings were significantly lower during productive activity moments than during passive leisure or active leisure moments. No significant differences in ratings of the environment were found between moments of productive activity and maintenance, between moments of passive leisure and active leisure, or between moments of maintenance and any other category of main activity. Results of these tests are found in Table 4.

Quality of consciousness of SO and main activity. There were significant results found in relationships between participants' main activity and ratings of the quality of consciousness of SO. Consciousness of SO was significantly more negative during moments of productive activity than during moments of active leisure and passive leisure. Consciousness of SO was significantly more positive during passive leisure moments than during moments of maintenance and also significantly more positive during active leisure moments than during maintenance

moments. Significant differences were not found between moments of active leisure and passive leisure. Results of these ANOVAs are found in Table 4.

Uplifts, heterosexist hassles and main activity. Significant differences were found in total number of uplifts experienced between types of main activity. Homogeneity of variance could not be assumed, so nonparametric tests were run and significant values were obtained for Welch and Brown-Forsythe. The highest mean number of uplifts was experienced during moments of active leisure, followed by maintenance, then passive leisure, with the fewest mean number of uplifts experienced during moments of productive activity. Games-Howell post-hoc testing revealed significant differences in number of uplifts experienced between moments of productive activity and active leisure and between moments of passive leisure and active leisure. No significant differences were found in number of uplifts experienced between moments of maintenance and any activity group or between productive activity and passive leisure moments. No significant differences in number of heterosexist hassles experienced were found among the types of momentary main activity. Results of these ANOVAs are found in Table 4.

Ratings of environment and who was present. Homogeneity of variance could not be assumed, so nonparametric tests were run and significant values were obtained for Welch and Brown-Forsythe. As shown in Table 5, ratings of the environment were highest when with a friend/partner, followed by when with more than one type of companion, next followed by when alone, with the lowest ratings occurring while with someone from the “all others” category. Games-Howell post-hoc testing revealed significant differences in number of uplifts experienced depending on who was present. Ratings of the environment were significantly higher when with a friend or partner than when alone, with more than one type of companion, or with someone from the “all others” category; environmental ratings were significantly higher when alone than

when with someone from the “all others” category. Environmental ratings were not significantly different when alone than when with more than one type of companion.

Table 4

Means on Categories of Momentary Main Activity, and Rating of Environment, Quality of Consciousness of SO, Heterosexist Hassles and Uplifts.

Variable	Productive Activity		Active Leisure		Passive Leisure		Maintenance	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>N</i>	376		122		43		168	
Rating of Environment	3.79 _a	1.11	4.25 _b	0.90	4.25 _b	0.99	4.06 _{ab}	0.91
Quality of Consciousness of SO	3.69 _a	0.96	4.16 _b	0.91	4.14 _b	0.96	3.80 _a	0.94
Heterosexist Hassles	0.19	0.66	0.12	0.48	0.70	0.84	0.15	0.50
Uplifts	1.10 _a	1.91	1.99 _{ab}	3.30	1.13 _b	2.18	1.53	2.43

Note: Means with different subscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$, by Tukey post-hoc comparisons following ANOVA or Games-Howell post-hoc comparisons following Brown-Forsythe and Welch nonparametric alternative tests.

Quality of consciousness of SO and who was present. Ratings of quality of consciousness of sexual orientation also varied significantly depending on who was present. Consciousness of sexual orientation was significantly more positive during moments with a friend/partner than when alone, when with more than one type of companion, or with someone from the “all others” category. Ratings of consciousness of sexual orientation during moments spent alone were significantly lower when with someone from the “all others” category than when alone or when with more than one type of companion. No significant differences were found in ratings of consciousness of sexual orientation during moments spent alone compared to

moments spent with more than one type of companion. Results of these ANOVAs are found in Table 5.

Table 5

Means on Momentary Ratings of Who With, and Rating of Environment, Quality of Consciousness of Sexual Orientation (SO), Heterosexist Hassles, and Uplifts.

Variable	Alone		Friend/ Partner		All Other Categories		Combination	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
<i>N</i>	376		122		43		168	
Affirming Environment	4.05 _a	0.97	4.43 _b	0.82	3.21 _c	1.21	4.12 _a	0.99
Quality of Consciousness of SO	3.94 _a	0.94	4.05 _a	0.98	3.18 _b	1.06	4.05 _a	0.90
Heterosexist Hassles	0.12	0.50	0.20	0.76	0.30	0.80	0.20	0.68
Uplifts	1.16 _a	2.07	1.57 _b	2.77	0.63 _{bc}	1.20	1.95 _{ac}	3.00

Note: Means with different subscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$, by Tukey post-hoc comparisons following ANOVA or Games-Howell post-hoc comparisons following Brown-Forsythe and Welch nonparametric alternative tests.

Heterosexist hassles, uplifts, and who was present. No significant differences were found across the types of companions in regards to the number of heterosexist hassles experienced. Homogeneity of variance could not be assumed, so nonparametric tests were run and significant values were obtained for Welch and Brown-Forsythe. Games-Howell post-hoc testing revealed significant differences in mean number of uplifts experienced across types of companions present. Significantly fewer uplifts were experienced when with someone from the

“all others” category than when with a friend or partner or with more than one type of companion; uplifts experienced when with someone from the “all others” category was not significantly different compared to when alone. Significantly more uplifts were experienced when with more than one type of companion than when alone. No significant differences were found in mean uplifts experienced when with more than one type of companion than with a friend or partner. No significant differences were found in the experience of uplifts between moments spent alone and with a friend/partner. Results of these ANOVAs are found in Table 5.

Outness and who was present. Chi Square tests for independence were conducted to detect differences in levels of outness across categories of who was present at the time of sampling. As in ANOVA testing described above, categories of types of companions present were collapsed to adjust to required testing parameters. As seen in Table 6, momentary outness was significantly related to who was present at the time of sampling. The majority of moments spent with a friend or partner were also moments of clear outness, with much smaller percentages of moments spent with a friend or partner taking place during ambiguous outness moments and very few moments of clear nondisclosure. Moments spent with people in the all others category featured the largest proportion of moments spent in a state of clear nondisclosure, followed by the percentage of moments spent in a state of clear outness, with the smallest percentage of moments spent in ambiguous outness. In moments spent with more than one type of companion, the majority of moments was spent in clear outness, with the middle percentage spent in ambiguous outness and a small minority of moments spent in clear nondisclosure of SO.

Table 6

Crosstabulation of Outness and Who Was Present.

Outness	Who Is Present			<u>Overall % (N)</u>
	<u>Friends/ Partner Group</u>	<u>All Others Group</u>	<u>Combined Group</u>	
Clear Nondisclosure	0.8%	44.2%	9.5%	10.8% (36)
Ambiguous Outness	13.9%	23.3%	34.5%	25.5% (85)
Clear Outness	85.2%	32.6%	56.0%	63.7% (212)
<i>N</i>	122	43	168	333

Note: Cell values are percentages within each column.
 $\chi^2 = 84.70$, $p < .05$, $\Phi = .50$, large effect.

Outness and main activity. Chi Square tests for independence were conducted to detect differences in levels of outness across categories of main activity at the time of sampling. As in ANOVA testing described above, categories of main activity were collapsed to adjust to required testing parameters. As seen in Table 7, momentary outness was significantly related to main activity. During moments of active leisure, passive leisure, and maintenance, participants were most likely to be clearly out. During moments of productive activity, participants were most likely to be ambiguously out. Moments of clear nondisclosure represented the minority of moments in every category of main activity.

Table 7

Crosstabulation of Outness and Main Activity.

Outness	Main Activity					Overall % (N)
	Productive Activity	Active Leisure	Passive Leisure	Maintenance		
Clear Nondisclosure	13.0%	14.0%	9.6%	4.1%	10.6%	(36)
Ambiguous Outness	47.0%	16.1%	23.3%	12.2%	25.9%	(88)
Clear Outness	40.0%	69.9%	67.1%	83.8%	63.5%	(216)
N	100	93	73	74		340

Note: Cell values are percentages within each column.

$\chi^2 = 45.07, p < .05, \Phi = .36$, medium effect.

Satisfaction about outness, main activity, and who was present. As seen in Table 8, results of Chi square testing for relationships between categories of satisfaction about outness and categories of main activity were not valid because too many cells had an extremely low count (< 5 beeps). The largest percentage of moments of every type of activity took place when people were neutral about their momentary outness (not wishing to be more out or less out). In relation to who was present, the largest percentage of moments took place in the category of neutrality about outness, no matter who was present. Results were not valid because too many cells had an extremely low count (< 5 beeps). When moments of wishing to be less out were omitted from testing, the results were valid but still not significant for either main activity or who was present. Results of these Chi Square tests are found in Table 9.

Table 8

Crosstabulation of Satisfaction about Outness and Main Activity.

Satisfaction About Outness	Main Activity				Overall % (N)
	Productive <u>Activity</u>	Active <u>Leisure</u>	Passive <u>Leisure</u>	<u>Maintenance</u>	
Wish Less Out	6.0%	3.2%	0.0%	0.0%	2.7% (9)
Neutral	73.0%	80.6%	80.8%	83.8%	79.1% (269)
Wish More Out	21.0%	16.1%	19.2%	16.2%	18.2% (62)
N	100	93	73	74	340

Note: Cell values are percentages within each column. Chi-square test was not valid and is not reported because 4 cells (33%) have expected count less than 5.

Environmental ratings, quality of consciousness of SO, uplifts and heterosexist hassles. Pearson's correlations were conducted to detect relationships among ratings of the environment (hostile to affirming), quality of consciousness of sexual orientation, and the momentary heterosexist hassles and uplifts encountered. Experiences of uplifts were significantly positively correlated with positive ratings of the environment and with positive consciousness of sexual orientation. Experiences of hassles were significantly negatively correlated with positive ratings of the environment and with positive consciousness of sexual orientation. Results of these correlations are found in Table 10.

Table 9

Crosstabulation of Satisfaction About Outness and Who Was Present.

Satisfaction	Who Was Present			Overall % (N)
	Friends/ Partner	All others Group	Combined Group	
About Outness				
Wish Less Out	1.6%	11.6%	1.2%	3.7% (9)
Neutral	84.4%	72.1%	76.2%	78.7% (262)
Wish More Out	13.9%	16.3%	22.6%	18.6% (62)
	122	43	168	333

Note: Cell values are percentages within each column. Chi-square test was not valid and is not reported because 4 cells (33%) have expected count less than 5.

Table 10

Correlations Among Ratings of Environment, Quality of Consciousness of SO, and Encounters with Heterosexist Hassles and Uplifts for Queer Emerging Adults.

Variable	1	2	3	4
1. Rate Environment	-			
2. Quality of Consciousness of SO	.51**	-		
3 Heterosexist Hassles	-.22**	-.14**	-	
4. Uplifts	.22**	.33**	.03	-

Note. ** $p < .01$, $n = 716$.

Research Question 3

Are context, outness, satisfaction about outness, and quality of consciousness of sexual orientation associated with mood, flow, autonomy, relatedness, and competence?

To analyze and report results for this question, different types of analysis were conducted, depending on the types of variables being examined for interrelationships. Rather than repeating the analysis of contextual factors from Research Question 2 (who was present, what main activity was being engaged in), analyses focused only on outness, satisfaction about outness, quality of consciousness of SO, mood, flow, and self-determination.

Flow, self-determination and outness. As seen in Table 11, one way ANOVA tests were conducted and no significant differences were found in ratings of experience of flow across the three levels of outness. Although results were not significant, it is noteworthy that the highest ratings of experience of flow took place during moments of ambiguous outness.

Because the assumption of homogeneity of variance was not met, with respect to self-determination in relation to outness, Welch and Brown-Forsythe tests were conducted and results were significant. In Games-Howell post-hoc tests, significant differences were found in mean ratings of self-determination across the three levels of outness. Mean self-determination scores were significantly lower during moments of clear nondisclosure of SO than during moments of clear outness. Self-determination ratings were also significantly lower during moments of ambiguous outness than during moments of clear outness. Significant differences were not found in mean ratings of self-determination between moments of clear nondisclosure and moments of ambiguous outness.

Moods and outness. As seen in Table 11, significant relationships were also found in ratings of positive mood and negative mood, across the levels of outness. The assumption of

equal variances was not met for moods, so Welch and Brown-Forsythe tests were conducted and significant differences were found. Games-Howell post-hoc testing indicated that in moments of clear nondisclosure of SO, ratings of negative mood were significantly higher than in moments of clear outness. During moments of ambiguous outness, ratings of negative mood were also significantly higher than during moments of clear outness. No significant differences were found in ratings of negative mood between moments of clear nondisclosure of SO and moments of ambiguous outness. Also seen in Table 11 are significant differences in mean ratings of positive mood across levels of outness. During moments of clear nondisclosure of SO, positive mood ratings were significantly lower than during moments of clear outness. No significant differences in positive mood ratings were found between moments of ambiguous outness and moments of nondisclosure, or between moments of ambiguous outness and moments of clear outness. Results of these tests are found in Table 11.

Flow and satisfaction about outness. As seen in Table 12, significant differences were found between mean levels of experience of flow across the levels of satisfaction about outness, with significant differences in each pair of levels tested. During moments of wishing to be less out, mean ratings of experience of flow were significantly lower than during moments of moments of neutrality about outness and moments of wishing to be more out. The highest ratings of experience of flow took place during moments of wishing to be more out.

Self-determination and satisfaction about outness. As seen in Table 12, there were significant differences between mean levels of self-determination across the levels of satisfaction about outness. Due to the lack of homogeneity of variances not being met, ANOVAs were not conducted; Welch and Brown-Forsythe tests were conducted and significant differences were found. Games-Howell post-hoc testing revealed that during moments of wishing to be less out,

self-determination ratings were significantly lower than during moments of neutrality about outness and during moments of wishing to be more out. There were no significant differences found in self-determination ratings between moments of wishing to be more out and moments of neutrality about outness. The results of these ANOVAs are found in Table 12.

Table 11

Means on Momentary Ratings of Outness, Moods, Experience of Flow, and Self-Determination.

Variable	Clear Non-Disclosure of SO		Ambiguous Outness		Clear Outness	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>N</i>	36		88		216	
Experience of Flow	57.39	25.97	62.17	23.94	58.75	27.38
Self-Determination	46.26 _a	14.28	48.8 _a	15.12	55.94 _b	14.43
Negative Mood	25.48 _a	23.8	22.42 _a	17.75	15.47 _b	18.68
Positive Mood	46.35 _a	22.84	53.98 _{ab}	21	57.81 _b	24.06

Note: Means with different subscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$, by Tukey post-hoc comparisons following ANOVA or Games-Howell post-hoc comparisons following Brown-Forsythe and Welch nonparametric alternative tests.

Moods and satisfaction about outness. One-way ANOVAs were conducted to compare mean levels of positive mood and negative mood across three levels of levels of satisfaction about outness, with significant differences found in mean ratings of positive mood in all pairwise comparisons. During moments of wishing to be less out, positive mood ratings were significantly lower than during moments of neutrality about outness and moments of wishing to be more out. The highest mean ratings of positive mood took place during moments of wishing to be more out and these ratings were significantly higher than moments of neutrality about outness. Results of these ANOVAs are found in Table 12.

ANOVAs could not be used to compare mean levels of negative mood across the levels of satisfaction about outness. Welch and Brown-Forsythe tests gave significant results and Games Howell post-hoc testing revealed that mean scores for negative mood were significantly higher during moments of wishing to be less out compared to moments of neutrality about outness and moments of wishing to be more out. There were no significant differences in mean ratings of negative mood between moments of neutrality about outness and moments of wishing to be more out.

Table 12

Means on Momentary Ratings of Satisfaction About Outness, Moods, Experience of Flow, and Self-Determination.

Variable	Wish Less Out		Neutral About Outness		Wish More Out	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>N</i>		36		88		216
Experience of Flow	25.3 _a	24.18	57.92 _b	25.31	71.28 _c	25.44
Self-Determination	36.42 _a	5.06	53.44 _b	14.85	53.84 _b	15.75
Negative Mood	52.82 _a	36.33	16.69 _b	17.72	20.4 _b	18.52
Positive Mood	24.48 _a	25.05	54.89 _b	22.64	63.26 _c	22.43

Note: Means with different subscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$, by Tukey post-hoc comparisons following ANOVA or Games-Howell post-hoc comparisons following Brown-Forsythe and Welch nonparametric alternative tests.

Environmental ratings, quality of consciousness of SO, flow, self-determination, and moods. Pearson's correlations were conducted to determine relationships among environmental ratings, quality of consciousness of SO and flow experience, self-determination, positive mood, and negative mood. Quality of consciousness of sexual orientation was significantly positively

correlated with flow experience and with self-determination. Quality of consciousness of SO was significantly positively correlated with positive mood and negatively correlated with negative mood. Correlations indicated that a more affirming environment was correlated with positive mood and positive CSO and negatively correlated with negative mood. Results of these correlations are found in Table 13.

Table 13

Correlations Among Environmental Ratings, Quality of Consciousness of SO, Positive Mood, Negative Mood, Experience of Flow, and Self-determination.

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Rate Environment	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Quality of Consciousness of Sexual Orientation	.51**	-	-	-	-	-
3. Positive Mood	.23**	.40**	-	-	-	-
4. Negative Mood	-.17**	-.11**	-.42**	-	-	-
5. Experience of Flow	.07	.15**	.06	-.17**	-	-
6. Self-determination	-.20	.20**	-.16	-.19**	.24**	-

Note. ** $p < .01$, $n = 716$.

Research Question 4

Are momentary experiences of outness, satisfaction with that level of outness, positive consciousness of sexual orientation identity, and momentary experiences of mood, flow, autonomy, relatedness, and competence associated with global assessments of LGB identity centrality, identity affirmation, concealment motivation, and internalized homonegativity? If so, what is the valence to the associations?

To run analyses to address these questions, variables which at the beep-level were continuous were converted to determine person-level averages; this was done for the variable quality of consciousness of SO, moods, flow, and self-determination. Variables which were categorical at the beep-level were converted to a separate “percent of beeps” variable for each category. This procedure was followed for outness and satisfaction about outness. For example, regarding outness for each participant, the percentage of beeps for each level of outness was calculated (clear nondisclosure, ambiguous outness, and clear outness), and all of the percentages added up to 100. Then each separate level of outness functioned as a continuous variable at the person-level. The items in the Lesbian Gay Bisexual Identity Scale (LGBIS) were continuous variables already.

After these making these adjustments, Pearson’s correlations were conducted to detect relationships between these aggregated experiential variables and the global measures of queer identity from the LGBIS. High within-person percentages of clear nondisclosure (from the ESM measures of momentary outness) were significantly negatively related to scores on the LGBIS identity affirmation scale and the identity centrality scale. High within-person percentages of wishing to be less out were positively related to scores on the concealment motivation scale of the LGBIS. High within-person averages of quality of consciousness of SO were significantly negatively related to internalized homonegativity scale scores and positively related to scores on the identity centrality scale and to scores on the identity affirmation scale of the LGBIS. No significant relationships were found between high within-person averages on experience of flow, self-determination, positive mood, negative mood and scores on the LGBIS. Results of the Pearson’s Correlations are found in Table 14.

Table 14

Correlations Among Person-Level Percentages of Outness, Satisfaction About Outness, Quality of Consciousness of SO, Experience of Flow, Self-Determination, Positive Mood, Negative Mood, and Global Identity Measures.

Variable	Identity Centrality	Concealment Motivation	Internalized Homonegativity	Identity Affirmation
1. Clear Nondisclosure	-.51*	0.31	0.05	-.70**
2. Ambiguous Outness	-0.05	-0.08	-0.13	0.34
3. Clear Outness	0.40	-0.16	-0.07	0.23
4. Wish Less Out	0.24	.50*	0.05	-0.2
5. Neutrality About Outness	-0.32	-0.27	0.14	-0.01
6. Wish More Out	0.28	0.14	-0.17	0.08
7. Positive Consciousness of SO	.58**	-0.26	-.47*	.71**
8. Experience of Flow	0.07	-0.2	-0.13	0.13
9. Self-determination	0.19	0.02	-0.14	0.11
10. Positive Mood	0.06	-0.16	-0.38	0.27
11. Negative Mood	0.14	0.004	-0.07	0.02

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, $n = 20$

DISCUSSION

Overview

Results indicate that among the participants completing momentary ESM surveys, clear outness is associated with more positive consciousness of sexual orientation, more positive ratings of the environment in regard to sexual orientation, higher levels of positive mood and lower levels of negative moods, more frequent experiences of uplift, fewer experiences of heterosexist hassles, and experiences of flow and self-determination in specific contexts. These positive momentary experiences of outness were experienced more frequently in the presence of friends and partners, multiple companions, and more often in the process of active and passive leisure and maintenance activities than during productive activities (work, academic work). Being satisfied about the current state of outness was similarly associated with many of these positive variables.

Research Question 1: Participants' Momentary Ratings of Hostile to Affirming Environment

The findings for Research question 1 (How often do queer emerging adults describe their context as neutral or better in regard to their sexual orientation?) that the queer young adults in the study were in environments that they rated affirming 2/3 of the time and at least tolerant or better during nearly all moments (97%) sampled is a result vastly more positive than the researcher expected. Even at the person level, the most negative end of the range for environmental ratings was 3.06, which is slightly better than tolerant/neutral. This result is simply a frequency analysis and does not take into account context, which later results will do. If the result is true at face value, without exploring context or other factors, then it may be possible to make certain assumptions: that awareness raising and diversity training programs on

local campuses are succeeding in providing queer young adults the environments in which to get an education that are accepting a majority of the time and tolerant almost all of the time.

A question prompted by this result is that since the majority of participants were college students it may be possible that the college campuses where they are spending their time are more affirming environments than their high schools or home communities were. (this was already in the thesis) In the Upper Midwest, the university campuses and communities of Fargo-Moorhead are much more likely to be liberal and accepting than the smaller, rural communities from which participants may have originally come. University campuses also make it more possible for members of stigmatized and invisible minorities, e.g., queer young adults, to find each other and come together, than if these young adults were living independently in the larger community. Further, university campuses include programs and organizations with publicized meetings and outreach efforts which exist to support queer young adults in accepting their identities and making connections with others in the queer and allied community. Being involved in organizations and having connections in the LGB community are protective factors identified in the research literature that are associated with positive identity and resiliency. Recruiting efforts for this study primarily targeted people who were already connected to such groups and programs and likely to be experiencing the related benefits. Finally spending a majority of time around friends, partners, and acquaintances known either to be queer themselves or to be accepting of sexual and gender diversity also may have influenced participants to rate the environment more positively than if they were less connected and more isolated from other queer and/or supportive young adults. Further analysis of existing data and further study is necessary to further illuminate this result.

Research Question 2: Outness, Satisfaction About Outness, Environmental Ratings, Quality of Consciousness of SO, Uplifts, and Heterosexist Hassles

Results for Research question 2 indicate that the moments when the queer young adults in the study were clearly out and satisfied about their level of outness were moments when they rated the environment more positive, when their own consciousness of their SO was more positive, and when they experienced more uplifts and fewer heterosexist hassles. These positive states (environmental ratings, consciousness of SO, experience of uplifts) were also positively correlated with each other and negatively correlated with experience of heterosexist hassles.

As previously stated, much has been written and studied already about outness and its associations with positive queer identity other positive outcomes (Frost & Meyer, 2009; Vaughan & Waehler, 2010). It is not surprising that in environments where queer young adults are out, they would rate those environments as positive and have positive evaluations of their SO. Being in queer-supportive environments would likely make it more possible to feel good about one's queer identity and safe to come out. Being in such environments also could make it more likely to be able to notice and experience uplifts and have fewer experiences of heterosexist hassles. It is important to note that results of frequency analyses of outness and satisfaction about outness indicated that participants were clearly out 64% of moments and neutral about being out (not wishing to be more out or less out) during 79% of moments sampled. Perhaps there is something ordinary and unremarkable about a majority of the moments in their lives.

Research Question 2: Identity Variables, Main Activity, and Who Was Present

Environmental ratings and quality of consciousness of SO were also more positive when participants were with friends or partners and most negative when with someone from the "all others" category, which included classmates, coworkers, parents, family, strangers, professors,

supervisors, other persons). The queer young adults in the study spent a majority of their moments of every type of activity in a state of neutrality (or satisfaction) about their momentary outness level. The majority of moments of maintenance activities and passive and active leisure activities were spent in a state of clear outness. These findings are not surprising in that a majority of total moments were spent in states of clear outness. Being out while doing maintenance activities would be expected – these tasks are most likely done at home and/or with close or intimate people; doing passive and active leisure activities are also more likely to be done in places and/or with people who are closer and probably expected or known to be queer-accepting. In other words, it is not surprising that participants were out in activities where they were more likely to be around people they knew well, as compared to other activities in a more public setting or without friends, partners, or other known people around.

A majority of participants' moments of productive activity were spent in a state of ambiguous outness. Doing productive activity was also associated with less affirming environmental ratings, more negative consciousness of SO, and fewer uplifts. It is not surprising that in moments spent in a less affirming environment and when consciousness of SO is more negative, fewer uplifts would be experienced. It is possible that the location rather than the activity was what was associated with perceptions of a less affirming environment, that productive activities typically take place in public with larger groups or individuals who are less close, trusted, and intimate. Being in a less affirming environment in a state of ambiguous outness could contribute to having part of a person's conscious and nonconscious mental processors diverted to vigilance and monitoring for signs of physical and emotional safety or danger related to being queer. Spending mental energy in this way could contribute to a less relaxing and more negative experience of both self and others. How the environment and state

of outness might relate to or even translate into more negative momentary self-perceptions of being queer remains to be explored and is likely to be related to possible effects of sexual minority stress. Not surprisingly, positive aspects of experiences tended to cluster together, as did negative aspects. So queer emerging adults in an affirming environment were more likely to also experience more uplifts, fewer heterosexist hassles, and a more positive consciousness of their sexual orientation.

Research Question 3: Identity Variables and Mood, Flow, and Self-Determination

The moments when queer young adults participating in the study were clearly out were moments when their ratings of negative moods were lower and positive moods higher, and moments when their self-determination levels were highest. It is already known that self-determination is associated with a variety of positive health and mental health outcomes (Reis, et al., 2000). Clear outness is therefore associated with well-being.

Moments of wishing to be more out were associated with the highest means of self-determination, flow, and positive mood. It is unexpected that participants' highest levels of positive mood took place in moments of wishing to be more out. The expectation is that wishing to be more out would be associated with negative emotions, such as frustration. Swim and colleagues (2009), suggest that having a stronger queer identity, although it might involve more momentary intense negative emotion as a result of heterosexist events and hassles, might also be associated with protective functions. It is possible that this result illustrates the presence of a positive queer identity in a momentary protective function, with outness being perceived as positive and wanting to be more out also experienced as positive.

Though not significant, the highest ratings of experience of flow were during moments of ambiguous outness, which may have been during productive activity and other public

spaces/activities. It would be predictable that if participants were doing flow experiences and not clearly out, that they might wish to be more out. The result also suggests that if ambiguous outness might be associated with negative outcomes, it is also possible for queer young adult to experience flow in a state of ambiguous outness, perhaps offsetting some of the negative momentary influences of ambiguous outness.

Correlations conducted on the continuous identity variables and mood, flow, and self determination revealed similar patterns as the correlations described above, with positive and negative aspects of experience clustering together in ways that were not surprising. Queer emerging adults experiencing their sexual orientation in a positive way were also more likely to experience flow, self-determination, positive mood and lower ratings of negative mood. When in affirming environments, queer emerging adults experienced their sexual orientation positively and were likely to experience positive mood and lower ratings of negative mood, but no relationships were present with flow or self-determination. The results suggest that many of these variables are interrelated in ways that would require further research.

Research Question 4: Person-Level Relationships Among Variables

Within-person relationships among variables also revealed relationships among identity variables, mood, flow, self-determination and global identity measures. Since high percentages of clear nondisclosure were negatively associated with identity affirmation and identity centrality, it might be asserted that being clearly out in part relates to having queer identity that is a central, valued, and affirmed component of identity. The ESM measures and the global measures of the LGBIS appear to be validating each other: high within person percentages of wishing to be less out were positively associated with concealment motivation, high percentages of momentary positive consciousness of SO positively related to identity centrality and

negatively related to internalized homonegativity. An interesting finding is that momentary identity measures were related to mood, flow, and self-determination but global measures were not related. If outness and related identity variables are related to global identity measures (identity affirmation, concealment motivation, internalized homonegativity, and identity centrality), there is still much more to be learned about the interplay between momentary and global identities, general conditions for optimal development, and how relevant these aspects are depending on context. Further study might illuminate the likely complex connections between general conditions for optimal development and well-being and momentary experiences of positive or negative queer identity that may contribute to globally positive or negative queer identity.

Relevance to Theories of Outness and Identity

The majority of moments sampled were moments of outness. Adding additional levels of complexity to studies of outness might shed more light on the types of outness queer young adults may experience in their daily lives and the momentary impacts of these different types of outness. The Outness Inventory created by Mohr and Fassinger (2000) which is used in Clark's research (2013) categorizes outness into low, middle, and high levels based on several criteria. One category has to do with whether or not someone knows the queer person's SO, which might vary from "maybe" to "probably" to "definitely" knows. The category relates to the relationship the queer person has with the person or people present, in reference to whether or not and how often the queer person's sexual orientation is talked about in that relationship, which varies from "never" to "rarely" to "openly" talked about. The ways in which these two categories are combined determine the level of outness (Mohr & Fassinger, 2000).

Fish (2013) asserts the relevance of the relative closeness or importance of (people acting as) potential sources of identity interruptions described in identity control theory (Burke, 1991). Burke describes the regulation of identity with the metaphor of a thermostat requiring a continuous process of measuring the self and momentary experiences of self (influenced by feedback from others) against a standard of acceptability (being developed in young adults); in this process congruence is sought between the momentary experience/feedback and the person's sense of self. Repeated challenges to the sense of self that the system cannot find a way to regulate and balance eventually serve as interruptions, preventing the system of homeostasis to function. Both Burke (1991) and Fish (2013) stress that frequent interruptions to the identity process, experienced as challenges to the sense of self, will likely cause distress and act as obstacles to functioning and development in other aspects of life. Since queer young adults today are performing these processes against a standard of "acceptability" and "normality" that has historically been the default of compulsory heterosexuality, it is likely that developing a positive identity requires a system that is in a frequent if not constant comparison state.

This theory may have additional relevance to outness. Queer young adults are, by necessity, moving within multiple contexts in which decisions about outness (whether nondisclosure, ambiguous outness, clear outness, or low, middle, and high outness) must be made repeatedly and in which external requirements are imposed upon them to function in different ways at different levels of outness; the entire balancing and equilibrium process of seeking congruence between external feedback and developing identity is at work, including making decisions about what degree of salience their queer identity has for them in momentary contexts. The results indicating how conscious participants were of their sexual orientation in daily experience in a sense confirm this idea by demonstrating the variation in momentary

awareness of self as queer, from 24% of moments being not at all aware, 33% of moments being barely or somewhat aware, and 33% of moments being strongly or fully aware. Though it might not necessarily always be a draining process, it must demand additional effort from queer young adults at the conscious and unconscious levels as they are moving through their days developing both a sense of their overall identity and their queer identity.

All of these findings must then be placed into the context of young adulthood and the overall development of emerging adults. All young adults are developing their identities through processes of making meaning of their experiences as they build their abilities of intimacy, commitment both in relationships of all kinds and in their generative pursuits, whether towards building families or making other contributions to society (Kroger, 2007). Queer young adults, like their heterosexual peers, are moving forward in all of these tasks and developmental accomplishments. Given that their time of life has such a significant and lengthy agenda, it is essential that service providers and policy makers continue to provide environments for queer young adults that are affirming—better than tolerant – for the full majority of their moments. Finally, it is important again to caution against the unqualified promotion of outness and the tendency to put pressure on the queer young person to be out and forget the larger society’s responsibility. Outness, which is possible and advisable according to the individual making the decision to come out, is created on the basis of safety and many other concerns. Clark (2013) emphasizes that there can be stigma associated with lack of outness and advocates for “strategic” outness depending on the requirements and circumstances of any given situation, recognizing that outness is a fluid aspect of queer identity.

Limitations

There are limitations on the generalizability of the study due to the relatively small number of participants, due to a local population with low percentages of racial and ethnic minorities, and the lack of a large, visible LGB community. The researcher's error not to include questions about racial and ethnic identity results in having no data at all about how racially and ethnically diverse the sample actually was. Although all of the participants appeared to be white, it is never a safe to assume knowledge of another person's identity by any other means than having them self-identify. There were other limitations related to the size of the sample. Having a small participant pool also prevents comparisons between LGB and other queer groups. Also of relevance is the diversity among a group of 20 queer young adults about how they identify in terms of both gender and sexual orientation; the questions about outness for some of the participants may have evoked descriptions about both gender identity outness and sexual orientation outness. The momentary survey questions were not designed to distinguish between aspects of both types of momentary outness in daily experience. It is likely that the experience reflected in the moments sampled and in the results does not adequately represent any subgroup within the sample; clearly this method alone does not have the capacity (in this study) to access detailed information about the lived experience of all of those individuals with all the variations in their identities. And even with all of the gender and sexual orientation diversity, the sample was likely lacking in racial and ethnic diversity. Although the department and college's funding for participant compensation was no doubt vital to the participation level that was achieved, funding for higher levels of compensation for participating in a time-intensive and intrusive study would likely have enhanced recruiting efforts and resulted in a sample adequately large to be able to make meaningful comparisons between experiences of identity subgroups.

There were difficulties in recruiting beyond the college campus communities, so diversity in terms of social class and SES are also assumedly lacking in the study sample. The lack of diversity in the sample also refers to the fact that recruiting efforts were made via LGB organizations whose participant pool was skewed towards LGB young adults who are already more out, more connected to LGB community, and more experienced with navigating the many challenges of living with an LGB identity; in other words, the study sample is not inclusive of young adults who may be questioning or uncertain about their identity and encountering more negative internal and external experiences as a result. This phenomenon likely leads to results that are positively skewed in terms of mood levels, ratings of affirming environments, and positive consciousness of sexual orientation.

The loss of data due to old and malfunctioning palmtop computers was another limitation of the study. Three people participated whose data were lost and whose momentary experience could have had an impact on results in unknowable ways. Using the palmtop computers required using closed-ended survey questions which potentially limited the types of responses that were possible from participants and prevented a more full and accurate portrait of their momentary experience.

A final limitation that is important to mention is reflected in the ESM surveys developed by a white researcher (Scheurich & Young, 1997). The ESM questions did not allow for any descriptions of negative experience based on racial, ethnic, or other types of multiple identities and any related discrimination. If racial, ethnic, or other minorities were part of the participant pool, there was no way for those participants to record experiences of exclusion, poor treatment, comments about them, and other types of hassles that might have been related to their racial or ethnic identities or related to combined minority identities. There also was not way for

participants with multiple identities to record the experience of uplifts experienced at the level of those multiple identities. LGB people of color do not experience their race as secondary or separate from their sexual orientation nor do they experience their sexual orientation separate from their other identities (Warner & Shields, 2013).

Recommendations

Outness needs to be a safe option for LGB young adults. Affirming friends, classmates, coworkers, family members, employers, professors, and environments are necessary for their optimal development. Much more needs to be explored about the details of how both gender identity outness and sexual orientation outness affect momentary experience for queer young adults and about how individual level strengths and factors play a role in momentary experience. It would also be interesting to develop further research on the relationship of internalized homonegativity to momentary experience.

More current technology in the form of smart phones would have allowed for open-ended response options which would have made the momentary responses and, therefore, the results more accurate. This technology could also have allowed for instant uploading of data, less loss of data, and allowed the researcher to spend more time on recruiting and setting up participants in the study. Using current technology, for example loading ESM surveys to participants' smartphones – or loaning them smartphones—may also have been more appealing and convenient for participants and made them less conspicuous by having ordinary ringtones or vibrations signal their survey times. This also may have reduced potential self-consciousness about participating in the study and facilitated participation by more young adults who were less out in general, and less comfortable with being out and with having a queer sexual orientation. Further study using ESM with updated technologies and devices could begin to contribute to

greater understanding of how relationships and differences between and among variables might move towards causality of the dynamics and experience of resilience and protective factors as well as causality in relation to the dynamics of and experiences of minority stress.

Reflections

Informal conversations with participants after their sampling week showed me that I was not alone in being surprised at how often people rated their momentary environments as positive or affirming, given that North Dakota is known as a politically conservative state. In these post-sampling conversations, several people who had participated shared similar surprise and, upon reflection, pointed out that their campuses (NDSU and MSUM) are much more supportive than the local area in general. At least one person felt that these results did not reflect that person's experience and were far more positive than that person's experience. These post-sampling conversations also showed me that my interpretations of some of the results were in line with those of people who'd completed the study; for example, the interpretation that moments of ambiguous outness were more likely to be in public situations such as classes where not everyone present would know the participant's sexual orientation. An interesting interpretation that came from these conversations was from a person who thought that the association between lower person-level scores of outness and lower levels of person-level global identity centrality might not necessarily need to be viewed in a negative light so much as a pragmatic one—if being queer was not an important part of identity for a queer person, then the only reason to be out to another person would be for the purposes of asking that person out on a date.

On a more personal level, although I did not upload my data and analyze my own results, carrying the palm pilot myself for a week also brought surprises and more positive realizations than I expected. I liked being required to go through whatever I was asking the participants in

my study to go through, but I was nervous that I would find out that I was in angry or depressed moods often, or I would notice frequent instances of hostile or poor treatment based on my sexual orientation. I was surprised to notice how I seemed to be in a neutral or better mood most of the time and to find that often, when I was with people, I was either out to them or not concerned over not being out (e.g., at the grocery store or other place where I had no investment in the people around me). I also was surprised to notice how often I experienced my own environment as tolerant or better and that I had to conclude that most of the people I was around most of the time were intending to be accepting. All of this was actually quite pleasantly surprising, to the point of even being uplifting.

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APPENDIX A. TERMS

Bisexual: someone who experiences physical and emotional attractions to people of the same sex or gender (Huegel, 2011).

Demisexual: someone who only feels sexual attraction to another person with whom there is a previously existing emotional bond (AVENwiki, 2013).

Fluid: a person whose sexual orientation and/or gender identity is experienced as changing over time along the continuum of sexual attractions and gender identities.

Gay: a man who experiences physical and emotional attractions to other men (Huegel, 2011).

Gender Identity: a person's identity based on their feelings and beliefs of whether they are man, woman, or somewhere in between, which may or may not congruous with the biological and anatomical sex of the body they were born with (American Psychological Association, 2009).

Lesbian: a woman who experiences physical and emotional attractions to other women (Huegel, 2011).

Omnisexual: pansexual (American Heritage, 2009).

Pansexual: someone who experiences physical and emotional attractions in many forms regardless of gender (American Heritage, 2009).

Queer: someone whose sexual orientation and/or gender identity is other than typical (Heugel, 2011).

Sexual Orientation: aspects of a person's emotional, physical, and sexual attractions and also the person's identity related to those aspects (American Psychological Association, 2011).

Transgender – a person who has thoughts, feelings, and/or identity of being a gender different than the one assigned based on their physical body at birth (Heugel, 2011).

APPENDIX B. INFORMED CONSENT FORM

North Dakota State University

Dept of Human Development and Family Science (Dept 2615)

P O Box 6050

Fargo, ND 58108-6050

701-231-8268

Title of Research Study:

Identity and Daily Experience in Queer Emerging Adults

This study is being conducted by:

S Catherine Rogers, c.rogers@my.ndsu.edu, 701-232-4382

I am a graduate student in the Department of Human Development and Family Science and my advisor is:

Joel M. Hektner, PhD

Dept of Human Development and Family Science

Joel.Hektner@ndsu.edu

701-231-8269

Why am I being asked to take part in this research study?

If you are between the ages of 18 and 24 and have a gay, lesbian, bisexual, pansexual, omnisexual, fluid, queer, or have a somehow same-gender sexual orientation and live in the Fargo-Moorhead area, your participation in a study is invited. Participants would need to be able to see, read and write English, and have use of both hands for a few simple tasks.

What is the reason for doing the study?

The purpose of the study is to learn more about what the daily experience of being a queer young adult is like. The study also intends to learn more about aspects of daily life for queer young adults that help them to have a good life in spite of discrimination they may face locally, have experienced in the past, or that exists in society as a whole. The study is being conducted because not enough research exists on queer young adults, and there are many gaps in our understanding of the daily life experience of being a queer young adult, and because even less research exists on the strengths and abilities queer young adults have to survive and thrive despite discrimination.

What will I be asked to do?

Being in the study would involve coming to a short informational meeting and filling out a brief information sheet with contact information and other information about yourself. Next, there would be a training-meeting of 30 minutes or less where you would be taught how to operate a palmtop computer device to carry around for a week. The device will signal you with a beep and provide the survey questions for you to answer with a stylus. This part of the study would involve filling out a 2-minute survey of multiple choice questions about your daily life, at random times, seven times a day for a week. At the end of the week, you will be asked back for another meeting of 20-30 minutes to fill out two final paper surveys, return the device, ask questions and/or give feedback about what the experience was like for you.

Where is the study going to take place, and how long will it take?

During the week when you are carrying the palmtop computer, the study will take place wherever you are. If you will be going into an activity where it would be disruptive to be signaled with a beep, you will be trained in how to turn the device off so you won't be

interrupted. You will also be provided with options for what to do if you don't have time to answer the beep and fill out the survey right away.

What are the risks and discomforts?

It is possible that you may experience psychological discomfort as a result of reflecting or dwelling on issues of sexual orientation more often than usual and that this might be negative for you. It is not possible to identify all potential risks in research procedures, but the researcher(s) have taken reasonable safeguards to minimize any known risks to the participant.

What are the benefits to me?

It is possible you might gain some new awareness about yourself and your life as a result of participating in the study. However, you may not get any benefit from being in this research study.

What are the benefits to other people?

By going through this study, the information you provide about your day to day experiences, moods, and interactions with other people will add to the knowledge we have about what it is like to be a queer emerging adult at this time and place in history.

Do I have to take part in the study?

Your participation in this research is your choice. If you decide to participate in the study, you may change your mind and stop participating at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are already entitled.

Who will see the information that I give?

We will keep private all research records that identify you. Your information will be combined with information from other people taking part in the study. When we write about the study, we will write about the combined information that we have gathered. We may publish the results of

the study; however, we will keep your name and other identifying information private. We will make every effort to prevent anyone who is not on the research team from knowing that you gave us information, or what that information is. For example, your name will be kept separate from your research records and these two things will be stored in different places under lock and key. You should know, however, that there are some circumstances in which we may have to show your information to other people. For example the law may require us to show your information to a court or to tell authorities if we believe you have abused a child, or you pose a danger to yourself or someone else.

Will I receive any compensation for taking part in this study?

You will receive a \$20 gift card for your participation in the study. If you withdraw from the study early, this amount will be prorated.

What if I have questions?

Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the research study, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have any questions about the study, you can contact the researcher, Catherine Rogers, at c.rogers@my.ndsu.edu or at 701-232-4382.

What are my rights as a research participant?

You have rights as a participant in research. If you have questions about your rights, or complaints about this research, you may talk to the researcher or contact the NDSU Human Research Protection Program by:

- Telephone: 701.231.8908
- Email: ndsu.irb@ndsu.edu
- Mail: NDSU HRPP Office, NDSU Dept. 4000, PO Box 6050, Fargo, ND 58108-6050.

The role of the Human Research Protection Program is to see that your rights are protected in this research; more information about your rights can be found at: www.ndsu.edu/research/irb.

Documentation of Informed Consent: You are freely making a decision whether to be in this research study. Signing this form means that

1. you have read and understood this consent form
2. you have had your questions answered, and
3. you have decided to be in the study.

You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep.

Your signature

Date

Your printed name

Signature of researcher explaining study

Date

APPENDIX C. PRE-EXPERIENCE SAMPLING INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name
2. Age
3. Address
4. Telephone
5. Email address
6. Occupation
7. Living situation
8. Emergency contact:
9. What time do you ordinarily start your day during the week? For the purposes of scheduling your first signal of the day during the week, what time would be best?
10. What time do you ordinarily go to sleep during the week? For the purposes of scheduling your last signal of the day during the week, what time would be best?
11. What time do you ordinarily start your day during the weekend? For the purposes of scheduling your first signal of the day during the weekend, what time would be best?
12. What time do you ordinarily go to sleep during the weekend? For the purposes of scheduling your last signal of the day during the weekend, what time would be best?

APPENDIX D. SAMPLE LETTER TO PROFESSOR, EMPLOYER, ETC.

Dear Professor, Employer or other person:

_____ has volunteered to participate in a research study as part of my master's degree program at North Dakota State University in Fargo, ND. Participation in the study involves carrying a palmtop computer device for one week. The palmtop device is programmed to beep participants at multiple random times during the day to answer a series of questions, which takes approximately two minutes each time they are beeped. Please excuse _____ for any possible minor interruptions or brief time taken away from his or her tasks as a result of carrying the device for the week. If you have any questions, feel free to contact me via the contact information listed below.

Sincerely,

S Catherine Rogers

NDSU, Department of Human Development and Family Science

Fargo, ND 58104

c.rogers@my.ndsu.edu

APPENDIX E. POST ESM SURVEY

1. Name _____ Date _____
2. How do you describe your gender identity? Other ___ Queer ___ Intersex ___ Woman ___
Man ___
3. How do you describe your sexual orientation? Gay ___ Lesbian ___ Bisexual ___
Pansexual ___ Omnisexual ___ Queer ___ Fluid ___ Other

4. How religious or spiritual are you? Very much ___ A Little ___ Somewhat ___ Not at all ___
5. If you are religious, what religion or denomination

6. How relevant are your religious/spiritual beliefs to your acceptance of yourself as a queer person?
7. Did you ever experience a conflict between your religious/spiritual beliefs and being able to accept yourself as queer person? Y/N
8. Who knows about your sexual orientation?
9. How would you describe the attitudes you encountered when coming out? What was that like for you?
10. How old were you when you first realized your sexual orientation is not or may not be heterosexual? (If questioning, when did you first start to question?)
11. How old were you when you first told someone about your sexual orientation (or about questioning)?
12. Who did you first come out to?
13. Overall, how would you describe how out you are in your own words?

14. How do you feel about your level outness at present?
15. Have you had a queer relationship?
16. Have you had a straight relationship?
17. Was there a GSA (Gay-Straight Alliance) at your high school or queer youth group in our high school or community? Y/N
18. If so, were you involved in it? Y/N
19. What does your sexual orientation/identity mean to you? How would you define it for us?
20. Are there questions we haven't asked that you think are meaningful and that you think we are missing?
21. What has it been like for you to participate in this study?
22. How has participating in the study influenced your awareness of your sexual orientation, if at all?
23. How has participating in the study influenced your awareness of your level of outness, if at all?
24. Do you have any suggestions or additional thoughts to share about the study?

APPENDIX F. ORIENTATION MEETING WORKSHEET/QUESTIONNAIRE #2

Name _____

A major life event would be something that happened, not likely happening often, and having a lasting impact (either positive or negative) on your life. Some examples would be graduating from high school or college, birth of a child, relocating to another state, or the death of a loved one.

A nonheterosexist hassle would be a relatively small obstacle or annoyance that could happen frequently, such as being stuck in traffic, having to wait on a train, or having your phone stolen or lost.

A heterosexist hassle would be a hassle that you know or believe to be caused by someone else's heterosexist attitudes. An example would be someone shouting or mumbling a heterosexist slur at you, being rejected for a job or other opportunity because of your sexual orientation, or not being invited somewhere because of your sexual orientation.

1. Describe two heterosexist hassles you've experienced or you know of:
2. Describe two heterosexist hassles you've experienced or you know about:
3. Describe a major life event:

APPENDIX G. ESM QUESTIONS IN THE ORDER THEY APPEARED TO PARTICIPANTS

1. Where are you?

classroom

on campus but not in class

in transit

at work

at local home/dorm

at family home

in public local

in public out of town

2. What is the main thing that you are doing right now?

going somewhere

phone talking/texting

academic work/reading/notetaking

thinking/meditating/praying

eating

work

sleeping/relaxing

leisure media use

physical recreation/sport/exercise

childcare

conversation/talking/hanging out

hobby

shopping

personal care/grooming

intimate/sexual activity

housework

none of the above

3. How much are you concentrating on this activity right now?

(slider option) Not at all-----Very much

4. How interesting is this activity?

(slider option) Not at all-----Very much

5. How much do you wish you were doing something else right now?*

(slider option) Not at all-----Very much

6. How much enjoyment are you experiencing about the main activity you are doing right now?

(slider option) Not at all-----Very much

7. How challenged do you feel by this activity doing right now?

(slider option) Not at all-----Very much

8. How skilled or competent do you feel in relation to this activity right now?

(slider option) Not at all-----Very much

9. To what degree did you do this activity purely for the interest and enjoyment of doing it?

(slider option) Not at all-----Very much

10. How much did something outside of yourself force you to do it?

(slider option) Not at all-----Very much

11. To what degree did you have some choice in picking this activity?

(slider option) Not at all-----Very much

12. Check all of the following that you are also doing right now.

going somewhere

phone talking/texting

academic work/reading/notetaking

thinking/meditating/praying

eating

work

sleeping/relaxing

leisure media use

physical recreation/sport/exercise

childcare

conversation/talking/hanging out

hobby

shopping

personal care/grooming

intimate/sexual activity

housework

none of the above

13. Describe how you were feeling right now as you were beeped. Angry?

(slider option) Not at all-----Very much

14. Describe how you were feeling right now as you were beeped. Nervous/Uneasy?

(slider option) Not at all-----Very much

15. Describe how you were feeling right now as you were beeped. Sad/Discouraged?

(slider option) Not at all-----Very much

16. Describe how you were feeling right now as you were beeped. Happy?

(slider option) Not at all-----Very much

17. Describe how you were feeling right now as you were beeped. Excited?

(slider option) Not at all-----Very much

18. Describe how you were feeling right now as you were beeped. Relaxed?

(slider option) Not at all-----Very much

19. Are you interacting with others? Yes/No

If this response is No, the next question asked is question 25.

20. Who are you interacting with?(check all that apply)

friends

partner

classmates

coworkers

faculty/staff

supervisor

parent(s)

other family member

stranger

other person

21. How closely connected do you feel with this person or these people?

5 Completely 4 3 Neutral 2 1 Not at all

22. How would you rate your interactions with them?

+2VeryPositive +1Positive 0Neutral -1Negative -2VeryNegative

23. Are you out to the person or people you were with at the time you were beeped?

Yes Partially No Not sure

24. With this person/people, do you wish you were more or less out?

3 Wish I was more out 2 Neutral 1 Wish I was less out

25. If you wish you were more or less out to this person/people, are you dissatisfied about it?

Yes, with yourself?

Yes, with them?

Yes, with the situation?

Yes, other reason(s)?

Not sure

No, not dissatisfied

26. Do you wish you were interacting with others right now when you were beeped?

If the response to question 19 was Yes, question 25 is skipped.

(slider option) Not at all-----Very much

27. How conscious are you right now of yourself as a queer person?

5 Completely 4 3 Somewhat 2 1 Not at all

28. If conscious of yourself as a queer person, what is that like?

+2 Very Positive +1 Positive 0 Neutral -1 Negative -2 Very Negative

29. How would you rate your environment at the moment in terms of sexual orientation?

1 Affirming 2 3 Tolerant/Neutral 4 5 Hostile

30. Just now when beeped, were you experiencing any of the following negative events? (check all that apply)

Comments said to you

Overheard comments about you

Hostile treatment

Poor service

Exclusion

Any other hassles

31. If any of these incidents was heterosexist, how heterosexist was the worst one?

None was heterosexist

Not very heterosexist

Uncertain

Somewhat heterosexist

Extremely heterosexist

32. Since the last time you were beeped, did you experience any of the following negative events? (check all that apply)

Comments said to you

Overheard comments about you

Hostile treatment

Poor service

Exclusion

Any other hassles

33. If any of these incidents was heterosexist, how heterosexist was the worst one?

None was heterosexist

Not very heterosexist

Uncertain

Somewhat heterosexist

Extremely heterosexist

34. Just now when beeped, did anything uplifting happen, such as comments or actions by someone in person or in the media that made you feel (check all that apply)

Really good

Able to be completely yourself

Accepted as queer

Not invisible

Represented in society

Other uplifting feeling

35. If any of these incidents was uplifting, how uplifting was the best one?

None was uplifting

Not very uplifting

Uncertain

Somewhat uplifting

Extremely uplifting

36. Since the last time you were beeped, did anything uplifting happen, such as comments or actions by someone in person or in the media that made you feel (check all that apply)

Really good

Able to be completely yourself

Accepted as queer

Not invisible

Represented in society

Other uplifting feeling

37. If any of these incidents was uplifting, how uplifting was the best one?

None was uplifting

Not very uplifting

Uncertain

Somewhat uplifting

Extremely uplifting

38. Thank you!

*Reverse scoring for item 5: "How much do you wish you were doing something else right now?"

Context items: 1, 2, 12, 19, 20, 29

Momentary mood/affect items: 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18

Flow items: 3, 4, 6

Self-determination theory items: 8, 11, 21

Heterosexist/nonheterosexist hassle items: 30, 31, 32, 33

Uplifts items: 34, 35, 36, 37

Momentary level of outness and satisfaction with level of outness items: 23, 24

Momentary quality of consciousness of sexual orientation (SO) items: 27, 28

APPENDIX H. LESBIAN, GAY, AND BISEXUAL IDENTITY SCALE (FULL VERSION)

For each of the following questions, please mark the response that best indicates your current experience as an LGB person. Please be as honest as possible: Indicate how you really feel now, not how you think you should feel. There is no need to think too much about any one question. Answer each question according to your initial reaction and then move on to the next.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Somewhat Disagree Somewhat Agree Agree

Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5 6

1. I prefer to keep my same-sex romantic relationships rather private.
2. If it were possible, I would choose to be straight.
3. I'm not totally sure what my sexual orientation is.
4. I keep careful control over who knows about my same-sex romantic relationships.
5. I often wonder whether others judge me for my sexual orientation.
6. I am glad to be an LGB person.
7. I look down on heterosexuals.
8. I keep changing my mind about my sexual orientation.
9. I can't feel comfortable knowing that others judge me negatively for my sexual orientation.
10. I feel that LGB people are superior to heterosexuals.
11. My sexual orientation is an insignificant part of who I am.
12. Admitting to myself that I'm an LGB person has been a very painful process.
13. I'm proud to be part of the LGB community.
14. I can't decide whether I am bisexual or homosexual.
15. My sexual orientation is a central part of my identity.

16. I think a lot about how my sexual orientation affects the way people see me.
17. Admitting to myself that I'm an LGB person has been a very slow process.
18. Straight people have boring lives compared with LGB people.
19. My sexual orientation is a very personal and private matter.
20. I wish I were heterosexual.
21. To understand who I am as a person, you have to know that I'm LGB.
22. I get very confused when I try to figure out my sexual orientation.
23. I have felt comfortable with my sexual identity just about from the start.
24. Being an LGB person is a very important aspect of my life.
25. I believe being LGB is an important part of me.
26. I am proud to be LGB.
27. I believe it is unfair that I am attracted to people of the same sex.

For comparability to the norms published in this study, the item response instructions listed above should be included. Also, at some point in the survey prior to these instructions, the following statement should be presented to respondents: "Some of you may prefer to use labels other than 'lesbian, gay, and bisexual' to describe your sexual orientation (e.g., 'queer,' 'dyke,' 'questioning'). We use the term LGB in this survey as a convenience, and we ask for your understanding if the term does not completely capture your sexual identity."

In the interest of promoting further study, other researchers may use this scale without contacting us to obtain prior permission. However, we do ask that researchers send any reports of research findings as soon as available, including those that remain unpublished, to Jonathan J. Mohr.

Subscale scores are computed by reverse-scoring items as needed and averaging subscale item ratings. Subscale composition is as follows (underlined items should be reverse-scored):

Acceptance Concerns (5, 9, 16), **Concealment Motivation** (1, 4, 19), Identity
Uncertainty (3, 8, 14, 22), **Internalized Homonegativity** (2, 20, 27), Difficult Process (12, 17,
23), Identity Superiority (7, 10, 18), **Identity Affirmation** (6, 13, 26), and **Identity Centrality**
(11, 15, 21, 24, 25).