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# Consequences of Public/Private Selves on the Stigmatized Individual in the Workplace

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**Consequences of Public/Private Selves on the Stigmatized Individual in the**

**Workplace**


by

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We the undersigned committee hereby approve the attached dissertation, "Consequences of Public/Private Selves on the Stigmatized Individual in the Workplace," by Dinah Miriam Camilleri

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Consequences of Public/Private Selves on the
Stigmatized Individual in the Workplace

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**Abstract**

Although workplace discrimination based on group membership has been studied, there is little research focused on the experience of stigmatized individuals and the organizational outcomes of perceived stigmatization. This study aimed to determine whether perceived stigmatization leads to negative consequences such as emotional exhaustion, counterproductive work behaviors (CWBs), and reduced job satisfaction through the process of public/private self-schematization. A sample of 302 employees identifying as religious minorities were surveyed three times over a period of four months. Findings indicate that self-schematization mediated the relationship between perceived stigmatization and emotional exhaustion while partially mediating the relationships between perceived stigmatization, job satisfaction, and CWBs. Diversity climate weakened the relationship between perceived stigmatization and schematization, whereas religiosity strengthened the relationships between self-schematization, emotional exhaustion, and job satisfaction. Finally, need for

authenticity also strengthened the relationships between self-schematization and emotional exhaustion, job satisfaction, and CWBs. This study contributes to organizational research and practice by identifying when self-schematization is most likely to occur, the associated negative outcomes, and diversity climate as a potential mitigating factor.

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Completing this dissertation has been an incredibly long journey. From the experiences that led to the initial ideas behind this research to the completion of this manuscript, many years have gone by and each year brought extraordinary memories, lessons and amazing new people into my life.

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The world we currently live in is tumultuous, especially for those who are "different". My dream is that our children will grow up to be a part of a world that celebrates those differences and chooses to view them as strengths instead of threats. I hope that this research and the research to come can be a tiny spark in this movement to build a better, more inclusive world for everyone.

## Introduction

Workplace discrimination against stigmatized groups (i.e., groups that have historically been negatively evaluated due to a devalued social identity) has been documented (EEOC, 2016) and studied in organizational research (Khan, 2014, Malos, 2009).Groups that are often stigmatized include: the mentally ill, obese people, homosexuals, HIV/AIDS patients, as well as members of a variety of racial, ethnic, and religious groups (Kurzban & Leary, 2001). Individual belonging to these groups have been found to experience disparate treatment, harassment, and retaliation in the workplace as a result of their membership in stigmatized groups. However, very few studies have attempted to examine how perceptions of stigmatization affect the thoughts and behaviors of diverse employees or the subsequent impact perceptions of stigmatization may have on organizational outcomes.

Perceived stigmatization refers to the perceptions an individual has about how their group membership is viewed by others and, consequently, how they will be treated by others if their association with the stigmatized group were to be known (Khan, 2014).  Despite the assumed negative organizational outcomes of perceived stigmatization, it is a relatively unstudied topic. Considering the complex implications perceived stigmatization may have on an individual's psyche and behaviors in the workplace, studying the impact of these perceptions in organizational contexts is of high importance, particularly in the current political climate where a significant spike in

hate crimes against religious and ethnic minority groups has occurred after the 2016

U.S. Presidential election (Okeowo, 2016).

The proposed research is aimed at establishing evidence of the negative

organizational outcomes of perceived stigmatization. These outcomes are expected

include decreased job satisfaction, increased levels of emotional exhaustion, and higher

levels of counterproductive work behaviors. By establishing this evidence, the causal

mechanisms that link stigmatization to these negative organizational outcomes can be

explored. As a result, organizations may be able to pinpoint interventions that can help

reduce the development of these negative outcomes.

Finally, the proposed research also considers key moderators (i.e., religiosity,

diversity climate, and need for authenticity) that are expected to potentially impact the

extent to which stigmatization will lead to self-schematization and subsequently,

negative organizational outcomes. Understanding these moderators will help

organizations recognize when employers are most at risk of experiencing negative

outcomes and what the organization can do to reduce the likelihood of these negative

outcomes from occurring.

There is a continued growth of religion worldwide and persistent rise in EEOC

claims pertaining to religious discrimination (EEOC, 2016). Additionally there is a

recognized scarcity of research on this topic in management publications (Sedlovskaya

et al., 2013). Although the theory proposed is designed to be generalizable to all

stigmatized groups, the proposed study will focus on religious minorities and will

examine whether perceptions of stigmatization based on religious membership cause the

use of a stigma-relevant coping mechanism that involves a division of self, namely

public/private self-schematization.

## Literature Review

### Religious Discrimination in the Workplace

"Adherents to religious beliefs that are considered to be of a minority persuasion

continue to voice their concern that their rights have been and continue to be violated in

the workplace" (Cromwell, 1997, p.155).  This quote continues to be increasingly

salient day after day. In the current political climate, talk of excluding certain religious

and ethnic groups from entering the country and religious litmus tests are only

worsening the stigma these groups may face on a daily basis (Pilkington et al., 2016).

The complications that arise from being a religious employee in the workplace

specifically seem to be commonly featured in the news and social media, especially

when household names are involved. EEOC & Khan vs. Abercrombie & Fitch (2013)

was a case that brought religious discrimination in the workplace to the forefront of

"around the water cooler" conversation, when a 19-year old Muslim employee of

Hollister (an Abercrombie brand) was fired for refusing to remove her hijab, or

religious headscarf. The company cited Khan's refusal to adhere to its "Look Policy" as

the reason for her termination, along with undue hardship, and infringement upon its

First Amendment right to commercial free speech. The court order, The U.S. Equal

Employment Opportunity Commission v. Abercrombie & Fitch, 2013 WL 4726137,

N.D. Cal., 2013, dismissed the company's affirmative defenses and denied

Abercrombie's cross-motion for summary judgment (EEOC, 2013). EEOC vs.

AutoZone (2012) brought to light the experience of Frank Mahoney Burroughs, an

employee of the auto store and a convert to the Sikh religion, who was harassed for

wearing a turban and was consequently fired for "offending customers". The judgment

ruled in favor of Burroughs and the auto store chain was required to adopt a policy that

prohibits religious discrimination through the training of managers and human resources

employees.

Covert discrimination against religious employees has also been found to take

place in performance appraisal, a routine organizational process with significant

consequences (promotions, raises, turnover, etc.). Camilleri (2013) found that the

mention of an employee's religious accommodation led to negative bias on performance

ratings when the rater of performance self-identified as being low in religiosity. This

means that the employee who perceives himself/herself to be stigmatized must not only

be concerned with the more obvious forms of discrimination in the workplace, but also

more subtle forms of discrimination which can infiltrate organizational processes

without the employee's knowledge and lead to negative organizational outcomes. In

addition to performance appraisal, covert discrimination based on religious affiliation

has been found to occur through avoidance or exclusion from coworkers (Abu-Ras,

Senzai & Laird, 2012) and through microinequities that include subtle put-downs,

snubs, dismissive gestures, and sarcastic tones (Ghumman, Barclay & Markel, 2013).

These forms of covert discrimination by themselves may not be detrimental to the

employee experiencing them but over time, they may become additive and can potentially rise to the level of overt discrimination (Ghumman, Barclay & Markel, 2013).

In addition to the points already mentioned, trends regarding religious individuals reported by various outlets globally indicate the rise in importance of religious consideration in general, and ultimately, the consideration of religious identity in the workplace. According to The Pew Research Center's Religious Landscape survey, 63% of American adults claim an absolute belief in God and 74% of adults state that religion is either somewhat or very important to them (Pew, 2015). The Pew Research Center published the latest trends in religious restrictions and hostilities worldwide with some troubling findings. Harassment of Jews, either by government or social groups, was found in 77 countries worldwide. This becomes increasingly disturbing when looking at Europe alone, where Jews were harassed by individuals or social groups in 76% of the region's countries (34 countries out of 45). Christians and Muslims faced harassment in the largest number of countries with Christians being harassed in 102 countries (52% of the countries included in the study) and Muslims being harassed in 99 countries (50% of the countries included in the study).

Not often discussed in research regarding religiosity in the workplace is the discrimination that may potentially take place towards Atheists or Agnostics. While the statistics showing belief in God and the importance placed on religion are strong, numbers of individuals who identify themselves as Atheist or Agnostic are growing. According to a survey by the Pew Research Center forecasting trends in world religious

affiliation, it is predicted that more than 1.2 billion people will identify as either Atheist or Agnostic by 2050 (Pew, 2015). Atheism is included under Title VII and is therefore protected along with all religious groups. A case involving discrimination against an Atheist employee is Williams v. Allied Waste Serv., where a waste management employee was chastised and ridiculed for his non-belief. When Williams' identity as an atheist was revealed to his coworkers, he alleged he had been subjected to harassment and a hostile work environment. A study published in 2007 by Pew found that the majority of Americans say it is necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values. This means that individuals who openly identify as Atheist or Agnostic are at risk of being seen as immoral and are therefore subject to discrimination in the workplace.

Although this study discusses legal cases and reported trends to justify the research being called for, what this study is truly focused on is aiming to understand the internal psychological experience that may result from being part of a stigmatized religious group in the workplace.

**Perceived Stigmatization**

Stigma is an extremely powerful phenomenon having extensive effects on its targets. According to most definitions in the literature, stigmatization occurs when an individual is negatively evaluated via discrediting, negative attributions, a perceived illegitimacy, or a devalued social identity (Kurzban & Leary, 2001). Stigmatization is

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not to be confused with related concepts such as incivility or ostracism. Workplace

incivility is defined as low-intensity deviant behavior with ambiguous intent to harm the

target, in violation of workplace norms for mutual respect. Uncivil behaviors are

characteristically rude and discourteous as well as displaying a lack or regard for others.

Ostracism is defined as being ignored and excluded. Through the process of

stigmatization, certain individuals are systematically excluded from particular types of

social interactions because they possess a certain characteristic or are a member of a

particular group. Accumulated evidence has shown that many social groups or

categories of people are stigmatized in our society (Crocker & Major, 1989).

Pronounced risk of social exclusion exists for members of diverse groups, such as the

mentally ill, mentally handicapped persons, obese people, homosexuals, psoriasis

patients, epileptics, HIV/AIDS patients, cancer patients, as well as members of a variety

of racial, ethnic, and religious groups (Kurzban & Leary, 2001).

Most theory and research on the process of stigmatization can be credited to

Goffman (1963), who defined stigma as an "an attribute that is deeply discrediting

(p.3)". According to Goffman (1963), stigmatization is a process of global devaluation

of an individual who possesses a deviant attribute. Stigma arises during a social

interaction when an individual's actual social identity (the attributes he or she can be

proved to possess) does not meet society's normative expectations of the attributes the

individual should possess (his or her virtual social identity). Thus, the individual's social

identity is spoiled, and he or she is assumed to be incapable of fulfilling the role

requirements of social interaction (Kurzban & Leary, 2001).

Stigmatization in the Workplace

Researchers who write about the origin of stigmatization argue that the process is the result of evolution. This view of stigmatization relies on the foundational belief that the process of natural selection leads to adaptations, which are designed to solve the recurrent adaptive problems faced by a particular species during its evolutionary history (Kurzban & Leary, 2001). Additionally, the school of thought that brings puts forth the evolutionary argument for stigmatization also assumes that the social world, which is composed of other members of one's species, represents an intricate and complex web of interactions that generates a vast array of potential fitness costs and benefits, requiring extremely sophisticated computational machinery to navigate it successfully (Kurzban & Leary, 2001). According to the authors, people are stigmatized not simply because they are evaluated negatively or possess a spoiled identity, but rather because they possess a characteristic or belong to a group viewed by society or a subgroup as constituting a basis for avoiding or excluding other people. Examples of social exclusion with an evolutionary purpose include behaviors related to territoriality and monopolizing resources, and the establishment of status hierarchies where organisms at the top impose an array of restrictions on those at the bottom, limiting their access to food, preferred sites, and mates (Kurzban & Leary, 2001).

With stigmatization, groups becomes associated with negative evaluations and stereotypes that are generally widely shared and well known among the members within a certain culture, which ultimately become the basis for the exclusion of members within that stereotyped category (Major & Eccleston, 2004). Stereotypes play a large role in the process of stigmatization, as in order to stigmatize, we must utilize the pre-

existing information we have about certain groups in order to determine whether or not

we will exclude them. Cognitive schemas (or the cognitive framework that allows for

the organization and interpretation of information) can result in these stereotypes, which

can ultimately lead to stigmatization (Major & Eccleston, 2004). Stereotypes are beliefs

about people based on group membership. These stereotypes can be negative, positive,

or neutral. Stereotypes are not easily changed as people tend to look to confirm

stereotypes of a particular group and tend to ignore information that contradicts beliefs

about particular groups (Crocker & Major, 1989).

Like stigmatization, the evolutionary purpose of stereotyping is thought to be for

the purpose of survival. Stereotypes allow for quick decisions to be made about new

people that are encountered, in order to determine if they are to be considered a threat or

a non-threat. Stereotypes have also been discussed as serving additional purposes such

as boosting self-esteem, allowing for scapegoats during times of struggle, allowing for

in-group bonding by contrasting the in-group to outsider groups, and justifying one's

dominance over another (Myers & Twenge, 2012, Kurzban & Leary, 2001). For some

targets of stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination seem to be ever-present.

Researchers have documented the extent to which stereotypes are pervasive in modern-

day society, both in terms of the number of groups that are stereotyped and the number

of people who endorse stereotypes about these groups (Pinel, 1999). From this

perspective, it is surprising that stereotype targets would ever think that their

stereotyped status does not influence how people treat them (Pinel, 1999).

Stigmatization in the Workplace

Major and O'Brien (2005) present mechanisms through which stigma affects the stigmatized. One of these mechanisms is negative treatment and direct discrimination via the limitation of access to important life domains (i.e., housing, workplace, healthcare, and in the criminal justice system). Through this negative treatment and discrimination, the social status, psychological well-being, and physical health of the stigmatized are directly affected (Major & O'Brien, 2005). Additionally, contemporary perspectives on stigma emphasize the extent to which the effects of stigma are mediated through the targets' understanding of how others view them, their interpretations of social contexts, and their motives and goals (Major & O'Brien, 2005).

Contemporary researchers on the topic like Mikolon et al. (2016) state that members of stigmatized groups have shared beliefs of the negative stereotypes that others commonly associate with their group. These shared beliefs are termed *metastereotypes* or what a group believes others think about them. Metastereotypes are conceptually different from self-stereotypes in that metastereotypes refer to individual group members' beliefs about how their group is viewed by others, whereas self-stereotypes refer to individuals' own personal beliefs about their group. Metastereotypes are predominantly negative in their content and become activated in interactions because members of stigmatized groups anticipate that they will be categorized and therefore treated in terms of their group membership (Mikolon et al., 2016).

Negative self-relevant group stereotypes have been theorized to lead to stereotype threat, which is a situationally based fear that one will be judged on the basis

of those negative stereotypes, or confirm them (Steele, 1997). Major and O'Brien

(2005) introduced a model that integrates identity threat models of stigma with

transactional models of stress and coping that assumes that possessing a consensually

devalued social identity increases one's exposure to potentially stressful (or even life-

threatening) situations. A target's responses to identity threat can be involuntary (e.g.,

stress, working memory load) or voluntary (e.g., coping efforts; Major & O'Brien,

2005). Voluntary responses (or coping responses) refer to conscious, volitional efforts

to regulate emotion, cognition, behavior, physiology, and the environment in response

to events or circumstances that have been appraised by the target as stressful (Major &

O'Brien, 2005).

In alignment with this proposal's concept of perceived stigmatization is the

notion of stigma sensitivity, put forth by Pine (1999). This refers to the individual

differences in chronic sensitivity to being stigmatized. People who expect to be treated

on the basis of their group membership rather than their personal identity and/or those

who are sensitive to rejection based on their group membership are more aware of

stigma-related threats, and are more likely to appraise stigma-relevant situations as

threatening. The more conscious individuals are of stigma, the more likely they are to

perceive themselves as targets of discrimination at both the group and individual levels.

Additionally, individuals who regard their stigmatized social identity as a central part of

their self-identity are more likely to see themselves as targets of personal and group

discrimination. They are also more likely to appraise stigma-relevant events as self-

relevant (Pine, 1999).

Stigmatization in the Workplace

Awareness of the outsider view has psychological consequences. Human beings are acutely responsive to how other people perceive, evaluate, and feel about them. Not only are people attuned to others' reaction to them, but perceiving that other people are interested, approving, or accepting typically evokes quite different reactions than perceiving that others are disinterested, disapproving, or rejecting (Richman & Leary, 2009). Khan (2014) examined the relationship between perceptions of stigma and the ensuing responses of a highly stigmatized religious group. Perceptions of stigma significantly predicted negative cognitive and emotional responses and may lead to target group members actively dis-identifying or concealing their group identity (Khan, 2014).

Responses to self-consciousness and feelings of threat reflect a collective awareness of how the group is seen by others. Some changed their routine as a result of fear of violence and discrimination. Participants also reported some degree of needing to prove their "Americannness" to others (Khan, 2014). While negative reactions from other people take many forms (disinterest, criticism, prejudice, avoidance, rejection, betrayal, stigmatization, ostracism, neglect, abandonment, abuse, bullying, etc.), what all these categories of experiences have in common is that they may be responsible for having a large negative impact on emotion, self-evaluations, and behavior (Richman & Leary, 2009).

Unlike race, gender, weight, or certain disabilities, religion can be an invisible social identity. The invisibility allows an individual to control the likelihood of being stigmatized by his or her choice to disclose what would otherwise remain hidden. The

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stigmas associated with being a Muslim and with the religion, Islam, were certainly

heightened after the events of 9/11 and other recent events around the world where the

Islamic religion has been frequently associated with religious extremists (Ball & Haque,

2003). Major and O'Brien (2005) identified four mechanisms of stigmatization: (1)

negative treatment and discrimination, (2) expectancy confirmation processes, (3)

automatic stereotype activation, and (4) identity threat processes. Specifically, negative

treatment and discrimination were the acts that directly affect the social status,

psychological well-being, and physical health of the stigmatized individual.

In a study of treatment discrimination and its effects, Rippy and Newman (2006)

found complaints of verbal harassment, unfair employment practices, job termination or

denial of employment, and denial of religious accommodations among others by

Muslim job applicants. The consequences of these actions resulted in the same aversive

psychological symptoms of anxiety commonly found in race-based discrimination.

Several studies have also found adverse effects for Muslims in the workplace including

negative impact on hiring decisions based on their name/religion (King and Ahmad,

2010), unfavorable judgment compared to whites in hiring decisions, salary

assignments, and future career progression (Park *et al.*, 2009), and stereotyping and

biases associated with their of religion and national origin (Mujtaba and Cavico, 2012).

These studies reveal that religious employees and stigmatized individuals in general

have legitimate concerns about fair and equal treatment in the US workplace.

There is substantial evidence that stigmatization has substantial negative social,

economic, political, and psychological consequences for members of stigmatized

groups (Major & O'Brien, 2005). The noticeability of the stigma plays a key role in the production of negative reactions the members of the stigmatized group endure (Jones et al. 1984). Therefore, it seems as though concealing one's stigma may be a coping method used by individuals who perceive themselves to be potential targets of stigmatization.

**Public/Private Self-Schematization**

An employee who perceives that the group he/she belongs to is stigmatized and is therefore afraid of being discriminated against or receiving unfair treatment in the workplace is more likely to conceal their stigmatized identity at work as a form of a coping mechanism (Major & O'Brien, 2005). One of the ways an employee who perceives that he/she is a member of a highly stigmatized group may conceal their group membership is through the separation of private and public self-schemas.

The concept of self-schema refers to a set of ideas or beliefs about the self, which the individual uses to organize and guide the way that self-relevant information is processed (Markus, 1977). Self-schemas are important to one's self-concept and vary according to cultural and environmental factors (Ramirez, Chung & Sierra-Otero, 2011). Self-schemas provide a means of relating new information to the self through the process of evaluating the new information and comparing it to the ideas or beliefs about the self that are already had. Self-schemas also help enable decision-making in terms of deciding how to behave (Markus, 1977). Often, multiple self-schemas develop that allow the individual to decide how to behave in different contexts (Ramirez, Chung &

Sierra-Otero, 2011). For example, an individual may have a different self-schema at work versus when they are with their friends. Therefore, when in either of those contexts, the relative self-schemas help determine which behaviors are performed in different contexts.

Baumeister and Leary (1995) reviewed a large body of evidence showing that human behavior, emotion, and thought are pervasively influenced by a fundamental interpersonal motive to obtain acceptance and to avoid rejection by other people -- what they called the need to belong. Long-term exposure to negative interpersonal reactions, such as those that are the result of stigmatization and discrimination, exert a strong impact on people's thoughts, emotions, motives, and behavior, as well as their physical and psychological well-being (Richman & Leary, 2009). Multiple self-schemas can be used to avoid negative outcomes. When an individual perceives that he/she belongs to a group that is highly stigmatized, a possible method of dealing with the perceived stigmatization is through a division of self in public and private domains. In the public domain, the individual conceals aspects of the self that relate to the stigmatized identity. In the private domain, the individual is then free to express the aspects of the stigmatized identity that they concealed in the public domain. Sedlovskaya et al. (2013) found that homosexual men engaged in public/private self-schematization more than heterosexual men. The authors also found that religious students on a secular campus engaged in public/private self-schematization.

Sedlovskaya et al. (2013) found that engaging in public/private self-schematization was related to depressive symptoms and stress. The main reason for the

lack of psychological well-being in individuals who engage in self-schematization is the constant need for monitoring and suppression of the stigmatized identity. Active concealment of one's identity in the workplace involves cognitive distress as the individual must constantly monitor his/her speech and actions and also must suppress key aspects of the self (Sedlovskaya et al., 2013). Self-suppression has also been shown to lead to psychological distress through the lack of inability to express oneself (Sedlovskaya et al., 2013). It seems that a constant state of monitoring and suppression as a result of perceived stigmatization may lead to various negative emotional, cognitive, and affective outcomes. Therefore, the following hypothesized model suggests that perceived stigmatization results in several negative organizational outcomes for stigmatized individuals in the workplace, and that these outcomes are a result of the process of self-schematization

**Development of Hypotheses**

It is expected that perceived stigmatization will lead to several negative organizational outcomes because of the impact on employee's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. More specifically, it is proposed that perceived stigmatization will lead to increased emotional exhaustion, reduced job satisfaction, and increased counterproductive work behaviors. Furthermore, the cognitive process of self-schematization is expected to partially explain these outcomes.

**Emotional Exhaustion**

For the employee who feels they belong to a stigmatized group, actions taken to suppress and actively hide the stigmatized identity may result in an excessive use of cognitive resources (such as the resources an individual may use to self-schematize) and could potentially cause the individual to experience physical, emotional, and psychological strain. The intentional concealment and management of one's identity in the workplace would most likely result in burnout for the employee who perceives him/herself to be a target for stigmatization due to (a) the psychological experience of inauthenticity of acting against one's core identity and values, (b) the dedication of cognitive and emotional resources to the suppression and management of identities, and (c) the stress that is experienced when "juggling" various identities (Grandey et al., 2012).

Maslach et al. (2001) state that burnout is a psychological syndrome in response to interpersonal stressors on the job and can be more specifically conceptualized in three dimensions. These dimensions include exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced personal accomplishment. Although all three components are potentially important, a growing research consensus has concluded that emotional exhaustion is the key dimension of burnout (Cordes & Dougherty, 1993, Zohar, 1997, Wright & Bonnett, 1997). Emotional exhaustion describes feelings of being emotionally overextended and exhausted by one's work. It is manifested by both physical fatigue and a sense of feeling psychologically and emotionally "drained" (Wright & Cropanzano, 1998).

Conservation of Resources (COR) theory provides particularly valuable insights for the study of emotional exhaustion. According to COR theory, emotional exhaustion is most likely to occur when there is an actual resource loss, a perceived threat of resource loss, a situation in which one's resources are inadequate to meet work demands, or when the anticipated returns are not obtained on an investment of resources (Wright & Cropanzano, 1998). Hobfall (1989) defined resources as objects, personal characteristics, conditions, or energies that are valued by the individual or that serve as a means for attainment of these objects. Prolonged strain or emotional exhaustion occurs when individuals feel they no longer have sufficient emotional resources to handle the stressors confronting them (Hobfall, 1989). When the demands at work exceed the amount of resources the employee has, the employee is likely to experience exhaustion (Hobfall, 1989).

It has already been supported that individuals who see themselves very differently across their various roles tend to be more depressed, more neurotic, and lower in self-esteem than individuals who see themselves as similar across roles (Donahue et al., 1993). Being that self-schematization is a heavily cognitive process (Sedlovskaya, 2013), if an individual is in a constant state of cognitive depletion due to excessive resources being diverted to monitoring and suppression of their stigmatized identity, it seems that schematization can logically lead to emotional exhaustion in the workplace and ultimately, lead to the negative outcomes that emotional exhaustion has been shown to cause.

*Hypothesis 1 (H1): Perceptions of stigmatization will result in increased levels of emotional exhaustion.*

*Hypothesis 2 (H2): The relationship between perceptions of stigmatization and emotional exhaustion will be mediated by public/private self-schematization.*

**Job Satisfaction**

The construct of job satisfaction is a highly important variable in organizational studies as it is central to key organizational outcomes such as organizational commitment and employee withdrawal (Kinicki et al, 2002). It is also the most commonly investigated dependent variable in I/O psychology with more than 12,400 studies published on the topic by 1991 (Spector, 1996). Job satisfaction has been defined as a "pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experiences"(Locke, 1976, p. 1300). Literature has shown that antecedents of job satisfaction include job characteristics (variety, identity, task significance, autonomy, feedback, and job richness), role conflict, ambiguity, inequity of work significance, organizational structure, and climate (Kinicki et al., 2002). Job satisfaction has been shown to be positively correlated with outcomes such as organizational commitment, job involvement, and overall life satisfaction while being negatively correlated with poor health symptoms (Kinicki et al., 2002). Outcomes of job satisfaction include increased motivation and organizational citizenship behaviors and lower levels of turnover, lateness, and intention to leave (Kinicki et al., 2002).

Stigmatization in the Workplace

Locke (1976) states that one's level of job satisfaction is attained by assessing how well the job itself meets the individual needs of the employee. These needs can be subdivided into physical and physiological, both of which are extremely important to the well being of an individual (Price & Mueller, 1981). In addition, Person-Environment (P-E) fit theory states that stress arises not solely from the person or his environment but rather is a result of the congruence of both (Caplan, 1983). Van den Bosch & Taris (2014) hypothesized that workers who experienced being true to their selves feel more comfortable and do not lose energy in pretending to be someone else. The results of their study found that being authentic to the true self was related to overall well-being and work outcomes such as higher levels of engagement and lowered intention to turnover (van den Bosch & Taris, 2014). More specifically, the authors found that a specific dimension of authenticity, self-alienation, had the strongest relationship with well-being and work outcomes (van den Bosch & Taris, 2014). Employees who experience self-alienation are those who feel out of touch with their core identity at work (van den Bosch & Taris, 2014). Madera et al. (2012) also found that efforts to suppress aspects of one's identity (race, age, gender, religion, etc.) was related to decreased job satisfaction and increased intention to turnover. Therefore, the inability to be open about one's identity in the workplace due to fear of discrimination based on stigma and the consequential suppression of that identity via the process of public/private self-schematization would likely cause a decrease in overall job satisfaction as a result of the increased negative appraisal of one's job and job experiences.

*Hypothesis 3 (H3): Perceptions of stigmatization will result in decreased levels*

*of job satisfaction.*

*Hypothesis 4 (H4): The relationship between perceptions of stigmatization and*

*job satisfaction will be mediated by public/private self-schematization.*

**Counterproductive Work Behavior**

Counterproductive work behavior (CWB) refers to any behavior that can

negatively impact an organization's productivity and coworker performance (Bruk-Lee

& Spector, 2007). Various antecedents of CWB have been established in the literature.

Spector & Fox (1995) established an emotion-centered model of voluntary behaviors at

work that was developed to explain the connection between stressors and the exhibition

of CWBs. The Spector & Fox (1995) model explains that a situation that induces a

negative emotion will increase the likelihood that CWB will occur, either to actively

and directly attack the agent of the situation or to passively and indirectly cope with the

emotion being experienced by the employee. A measure of overall negative emotion

was found to correlate significantly with organizational and interpersonal CWB, such

that negative emotions were associated with higher levels of CWB (Fox et al. 2001).

Sedlovskaya et al. (2013) found that engaging in public/private self-

schematization was related to depressive symptoms, stress and a lack of overall

psychological and emotional well being. The main reason for the lack of psychological

and emotional well being in individuals who engage in self-schematization is the

constant need for monitoring and suppression of the stigmatized identity. In addition to

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negative emotion, research has also found that perceptions of injustice can lead to

higher levels of CWBs (Starlicki & Folger, 1997). In particular, studies have shown that

perceptions of interactional justice are especially important when studying CWB (Fine

et al., 2016). A key component of interactional justice is interpersonal justice.

Interpersonal justice refers to perceptions about the extent to which authorities treat

people with sensitivity, dignity, and respect (Ford et al., 2009). Based on social

exchange principles, the agent-system model of justice suggests that individuals tend to

direct their responses toward the perceived source of fair or unfair treatment (Fine et al.,

2016). According to equity theory, employees may engage in retaliatory CWB

responses in an attempt to "get even" with their employers for perceived injustices or

poor treatment. Employees who believe they are being unfairly treated by their

supervisors or organization overall might choose to engage in CWBs such as theft,

tardiness, or absenteeism.

Foley et al. (2005) found that perceptions of gender discrimination in the

workplace were related to perceptions of procedural and distributive justice and

predicted outcomes such as organizational commitment and intention to turnover.

Additionally, Kelloway et al. (2010) include injustices related to social identity as a key

predictor of CWBs used as a form of protest and clarify that an individual can engage in

CWBs as a form of protest for their own perceived interpersonal injustices or can

engage in CWBs as a representative of a collective group. Therefore, if an employee

perceives that they are stigmatized in their organization and feel the need to self-

Stigmatization in the Workplace
schematize as a result, they may engage in CWBs as a result of both a negative

emotional reaction, as well as a need to restore justice.

*Hypothesis 5 (H5): Perceptions of stigmatization will result in increased levels*

*of counterproductive work behaviors.*

*Hypothesis 6 (H6): The relationship between perceptions of stigmatization and*

*counterproductive work behaviors will be mediated by public/private self-*
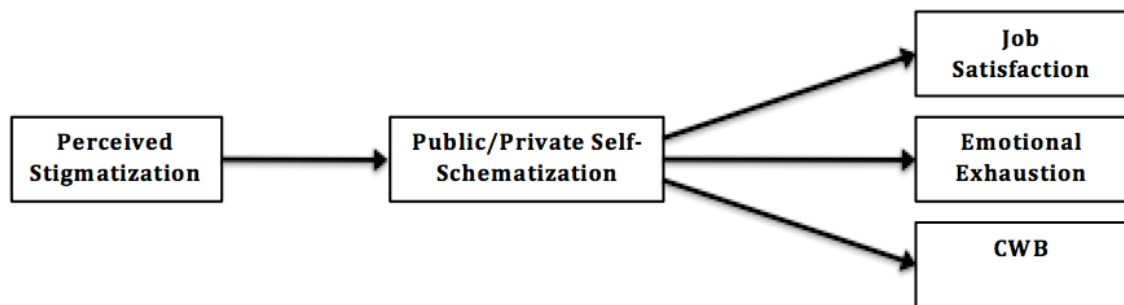
*schematization.*



**Figure 1. Hypotheses 1-6**

The first half of the proposed theory identifies emotional exhaustion, job

satisfaction, and CWBs as relevant employee outcomes of perceived stigmatization and

the process of self-schematization as a key explanatory mechanism for these

relationships, whereas the second half of the proposed theory acknowledges several key

contextual factors that could potentially influence or mitigate the likelihood that this

process, and resulting outcomes, will occur.

**Diversity Climate**

Psychological climate is defined as the individual's cognitive appraisal of environmental attributes in terms of their acquired meaning and significance to the individual (McKay et al. (2007). McKay et al. (2007) also suggested that individuals engage in valuation by interpreting aspects of the environment in light of personal values and personal meaning. As a general definition, Gelfand et al. (2005) define diversity climate as "employees' shared perceptions of the policies, practices, and procedures that implicitly and explicitly communicate the extent to which fostering and maintaining diversity and eliminating discrimination is a priority in the organization" (p. 104). Other definitions of diversity climate include organizations seeking input from minority groups, allowing customs and values of diverse groups to shape the work environment and minimal intergroup conflict (Wolfson & Kraiger, 2011).

The definition of diversity climate used by the proposed study is that of McKay et al. (2007). According to McKay et al. (2007), a climate is considered pro-diversity when, consensually, employees feel they have an equal opportunity to succeed on the job and are made to feel like integral members of the organization. Employee perceptions of a diverse organizational climate have many positive organizational outcomes. These include job satisfaction, organizational commitment, increased job performance, individual empowerment, and reduced absenteeism (Wolfson & Kraiger, 2011 and Wolfson, Kraiger & Finkelstein, 2011). When employees perceive that the organization effectively manages diversity and cultivates a diversity climate that is

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affirming, they are more likely to feel valued and be fulfilled in their job, develop

loyalty to that organization and feel an attitudinal attachment, and experience improved

interactions with their co-workers (Cox, 1991). Perception of diversity climate has

many implications on the employee who perceives that they are a member of a

stigmatized group. If the employee perceives that the climate of the organization fosters

acceptance of diversity and promotes inclusion, there will be less of a motivation for the

employee to engage in public/private self-schematization. Employees who perceive

themselves to belong to a group generally stigmatized by society, but who work in a

positive diversity climate, will most likely feel less of a need to separate their public and

private selves being that the organization presumably makes the employee feel that the

religious aspects of his/her private self will be accepted and even valued in the

organization. Conversely, if the stigmatized employee's perception of diversity climate

is lacking, the employee will most likely feel the need to engage more heavily in

public/private self-schematization as they believe the organization lacks tolerance and

does not value diversity.

If an employee who feels they belong to a stigmatized group perceives that the

climate of their organization is diverse, or that the organization itself includes diversity

as a priority in their corporate values or mission, they will be less likely to engage in

private/public self-schematization than an employee who feels their organization does

not value diversity or make it a priority.

*Hypothesis 7 (H7): The relationship between perceived stigmatization and*

*public/private self-schematization will be moderated by perceptions of*

*organizational diversity climate such that the relationship will be weaker when*

*the organizational diversity climate is strong.*
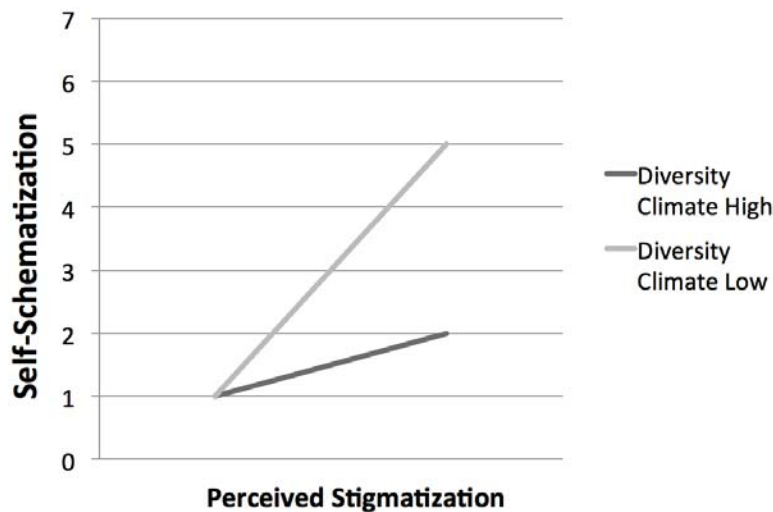


*Figure 2. Hypothesized Interaction of Diversity Climate and Perceived Stigmatization Predicting Self-Schematization*

## Religiosity

Religiosity has been defined in the literature as the extent to which an individual adheres to the doctrine or tenets of a specific religion into his/her beliefs, attitudes and values. The dichotomous measure of religiosity from Allport and Ross (1967) is one of the most widely used in the literature. This measure features intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity. Kahoe (1974) summarizes Allport and Ross's definitions of intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity by stating that an intrinsically religious person refers to someone who internalizes his religious beliefs and lives by them while an individual who is extrinsically religious tends to use religion for his own ends. Using religion for one's

own ends could involve providing security and solace for oneself or status and self-justification (Kahoe, 1974). Therefore, one could argue that someone who is more intrinsically religious is more genuinely religious, as they internalize and are committed to the beliefs of their respective religion and often lead lives that are dictated by these beliefs. Because intrinsically religious individuals incorporate their religious values and practices into their everyday lives, there is little doubt that these values will spillover into the workplace. Therefore, those who are high in intrinsic religiosity will be much less likely to engage in public/private self-schematization, as it is more essential for them to incorporate aspects of religion into their every day lives. The religious identity of an intrinsically religious individual is at the core of the self, and would be nearly impossible to separate in the public/ private contexts.

An individual who is more intrinsically religious will incorporate their religious values into his/her core identity more strongly, making self-schematization more difficult and unpleasant. Since religiosity is at the core of their identity, they will be less likely to be able to maintain a public identity that is devoid of religious practice. Therefore, the extent to which an employee who perceives their religious group to be stigmatized engages in public/ private self-schematization will also depend on the degree to which they identify as intrinsically religious.

While it may seem more difficult and therefore, less likely for a highly religious individual to engage in public/private self-schematization, there may be extreme situations where the highly religious employee feels the need to self-schematize in a

particularly bad diversity climate. In such cases where a highly religious employee feels

forced to engage in self-schematization for their own safety, the outcomes of emotional

exhaustion, decreased job satisfaction, and CWBs may be intensified for that individual

in comparison to an employee who is not as deeply religious and is therefore, not as

negatively impacted by the need to self-schematize.

> *Hypothesis 8 (H8): The relationship between perceived stigmatization and*
>
> *public/private self-schematization will be moderated by religiosity such that the*
>
> *relationship will be weaker when religiosity is high.*
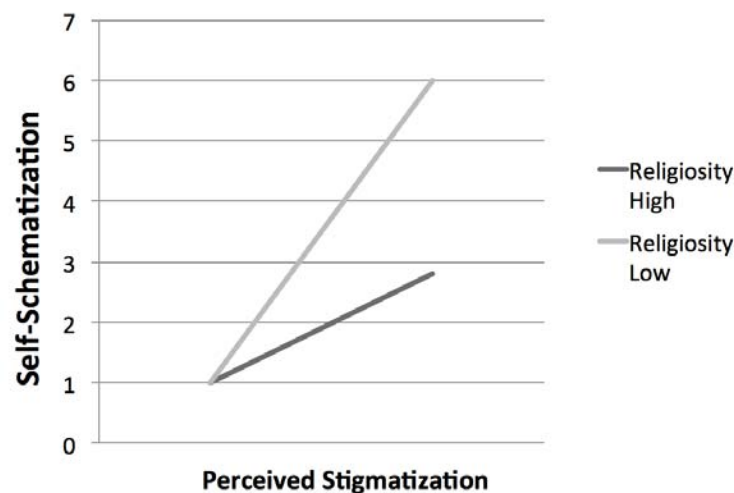


*Figure 3. Hypothesized Interaction of Religiosity and Perceived Stigmatization Predicting Self-Schematization*

> *Hypothesis 9 (H9): The relationship between public/private self-schematization*
>
> *and the separate outcomes of (a) emotional exhaustion, (b) job satisfaction, and*
>
> *(c) CWBs will be moderated by religiosity such that the relationships will be*
>
> *stronger when religiosity is high.*

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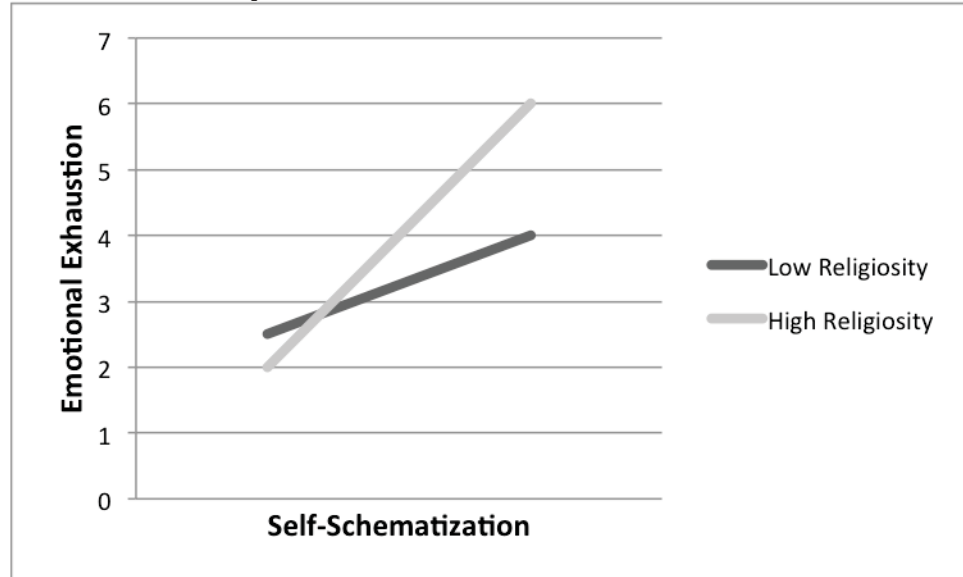
*Figure 4. Hypothesized Interaction of Religiosity and Self-Schematization Predicting Emotional Exhaustion*
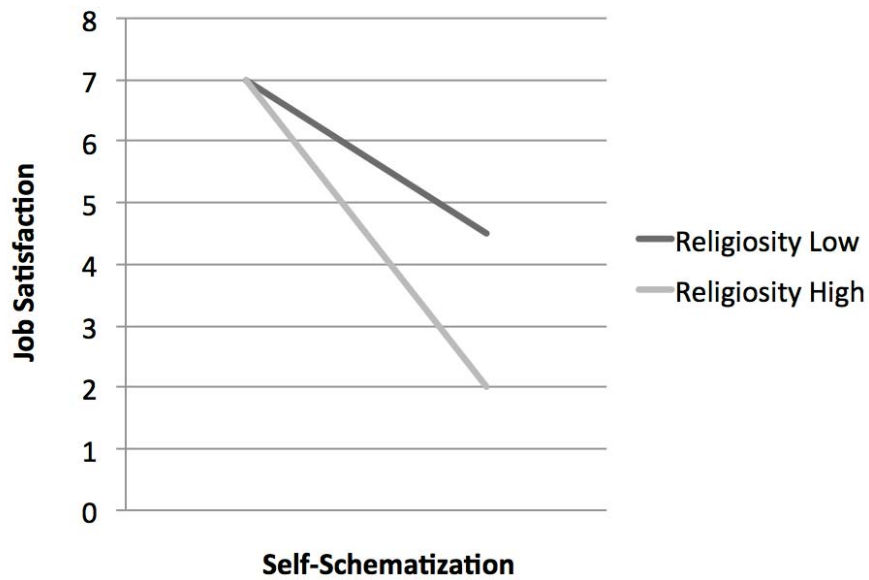


*Figure 5. Hypothesized Interaction of Religiosity and Self-Schematization Predicting Job Satisfaction*

Stigmatization in the Workplace
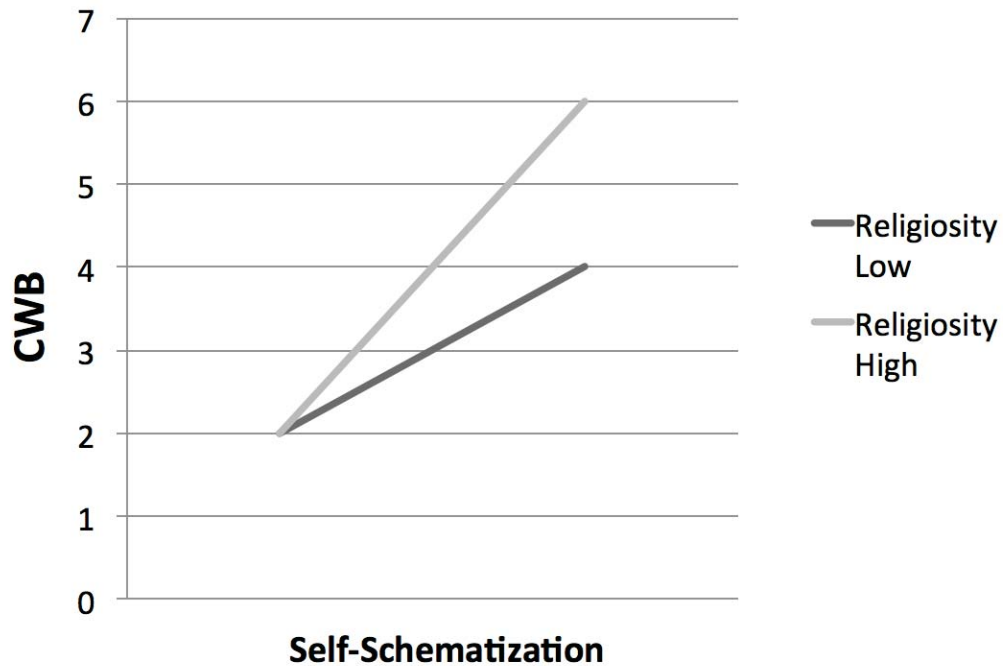


*Figure 6. Hypothesized Interaction of Religiosity and Self-Schematization Predicting CWBs*

## Need for Authenticity

While research has shown the negative impact that juggling the fear of stigmatization while adapting behavior to prevent exposure of identity has on the individual (Khan, 2014, Sedlovskaya, 2013) it seems that the negative effects are entirely reliant on the view of being true to oneself as being important to or necessary to the individual engaging in an intentional division of self. Authenticity has been discussed frequently in the literature, but has a short history as an object of empirical research (Knoll et al., 2013). In particular, defining what authenticity is and how it is measured has been a point of interest and debate. At its most foundational level,

authenticity can be defined as being true to ourselves. "It has something to do with the self and has something to do with being truthful or sincere" (Bovens, 1999). According to Heidegger (1927) understanding our own being, existence, and identity is itself a form of authenticity. Heidegger (1927) also states that the conscious self is coming to terms with being a material world and with encountering external forces and influences, which are very different from itself. Authenticity is one way in which the self acts and changes in response to these pressures. Deci & Ryan (1995) identified the significance of the self-regulatory process in authenticity. Self-Determination Theory speculates that authenticity can be obtained when persons self-regulate in such a way that gratify their basic needs for competence, self-determination, and relatedness. In contrast, meeting other people's expectations or demands is associated with inauthentic functioning.

Authenticity's short and inconsistent history in empirical research has been attributed to ambiguities regarding the construct's content, a lack of adequate measures, and concerns about the reliability of self-reports and the accessibility of self-knowledge. Kernis and Goldman (2006) suggested four facets to be essential for trait authenticity: awareness (the extent of knowledge about one's self and the motivation to expand it and trust in that knowledge), unbiased processing (the relative absence of interpretive distortions in processing self-relevant information), behavior (acting in accordance with one's values, preferences, and needs), and relational orientation (valuing and achieving openness and truthfulness in close relationships). Wood et al. highlighted congruence as the central characteristic of their tripartite construct of authenticity as defined as "consistency between the three levels of (a) a person's primary experience, (b) their

symbolized awareness, and (c) their outward behavior and communication (Barrett-

Lennard, 1998, p. 82).

It is evident from all of these conceptualizations of authenticity that they share a

common classification of dimensions that make up the construct. One dimension is self-

oriented while the other is expression oriented. Sheldon (2004) refers to authenticity as

the accurate representation both privately and publicly of an individual's internal states,

intentions and commitments. When authenticity is discussed, it is often assumed that

authenticity is a need for every individual, regardless of cultural background, or

individual preference.  Across cultures, people do not always express to others what

they feel inside and often say what is deemed conventionally appropriate in the specific

social context (Hamamura, 2015). However, culture level constructs that tap into

individual differences in authenticity exist.

For example, in Japanese culture, there exists the concept of *Honne* and

*Tatemae*. Honne and Tatemae are core values in Japanese culture that pertain to the

relationship between the self and others. According to Naito & Gielen (1992) Honne

means one's natural, real, or inner wishes and proclivities, whereas "Tatemae" refers to

the standard, principle, or rule by which one is bound at least outwardly. In another

description of Honne and Tatemae, Tatemae means appearances, or things as they

should be, idealization, pretense or illusion. Honne is things as they actually are. In

Japan, both levels of perception exist and for everything, there is a tatemae and a honne.

The tatemae is displayed on festive occasions or before important people who must be

impressed. Only with insiders, does one revert to honne. "For Japanese dealing with

Japanese, there is nothing dishonest or devious in proclaiming the tatemae. That is how things are done" (p. 274).

A similar concept dealing with the concealment of feelings or attitudes in the public sphere is Face, which is prevalent in Chinese culture. One way the concept of Face can be described is that it is the prevention of embarrassment at all costs. This not only applies to the prevention of individual embarrassment but for others as well. For example, a child would never embarrass his parent in public, and a colleague would never criticize a co-worker in the workplace or point out an error that a superior made. Concepts such as these are usually foreign to those who are culturally American, as it is a culture that is extremely individualistic and places emphasis on the importance of "bringing your authentic self to work" (Ruderman, 2013, Crawford, 2015, Smith, 2015).

Another reason why some individuals may have less of a need to be their authentic selves in public contexts such as the workplace is that it may be an accepted practice to acculturate to the environment around them. For many immigrant and religious groups, it was a fact of life that one would have to adopt the practices around them in their new culture and put their former identities on the back burner (Godes, 2012). However, there are varying degrees within the groups that acculturate to the external environment around them, with some who completely acculturate and forego their previous identities, and those who balance the two identities between the public and private contexts (Godes, 2012).

The process of public/private self-schematization is expected to positively relate to emotional exhaustion being that this process requires the constant use of cognitive

resources for identity suppression and self- monitoring. However, the experience of

emotional exhaustion should depend on the extent to which authenticity is valued or

needed by the employee engaging in the process of public/private self-schematization.

Therefore, the extent to which an employee who perceives their religious group to be

stigmatized experiences emotional exhaustion after engaging in public/private self-

schematization depends on the importance of authenticity in their everyday lives, or

their need to be authentic.

While public/private self-schematization is expected to lead to the negative

outcomes of emotional exhaustion, decreased job satisfaction, and CWBs, these

outcomes are most likely to occur for individuals with a high need for authenticity since

the process of self-schematization runs directly counter to that need. Conversely,

individuals with lower need for authenticity will be less affected and disturbed by the

process of self-schematization, making the outcomes less severe.

> *Hypothesis 10 (H10): The relationship between public/private self-*
>
> *schematization and the separate outcomes of (a) emotional exhaustion, (b) job*
>
> *satisfaction, and (c) CWBs will be moderated by need for authenticity such that*
>
> *the relationships will weaken when the need for authenticity is low.*
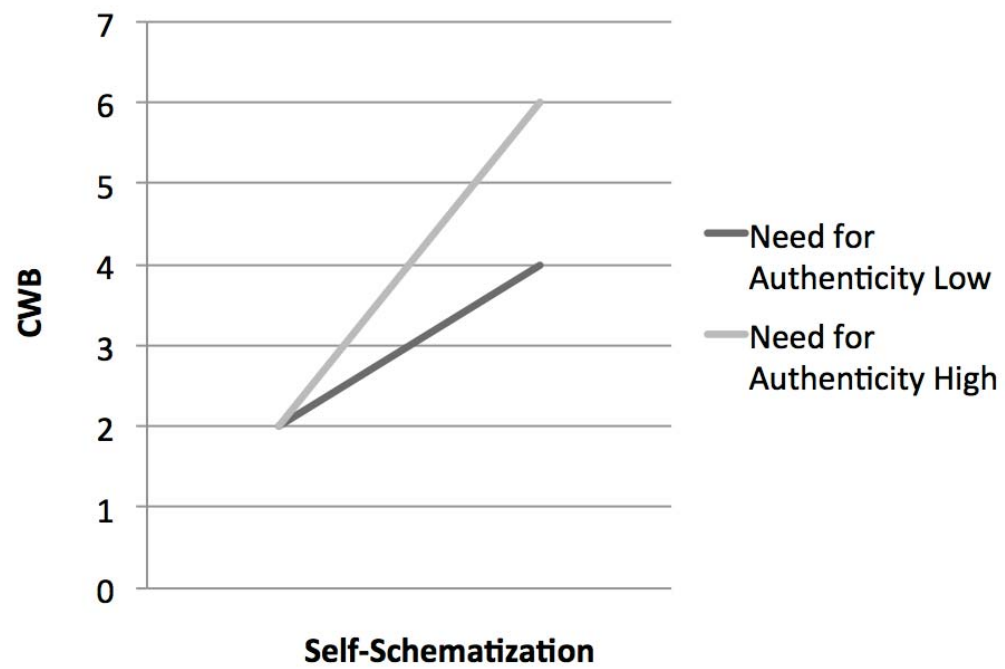
*Figure 7. Hypothesized Interaction of Need for Authenticity and Self-Schematization Predicting CWBs*
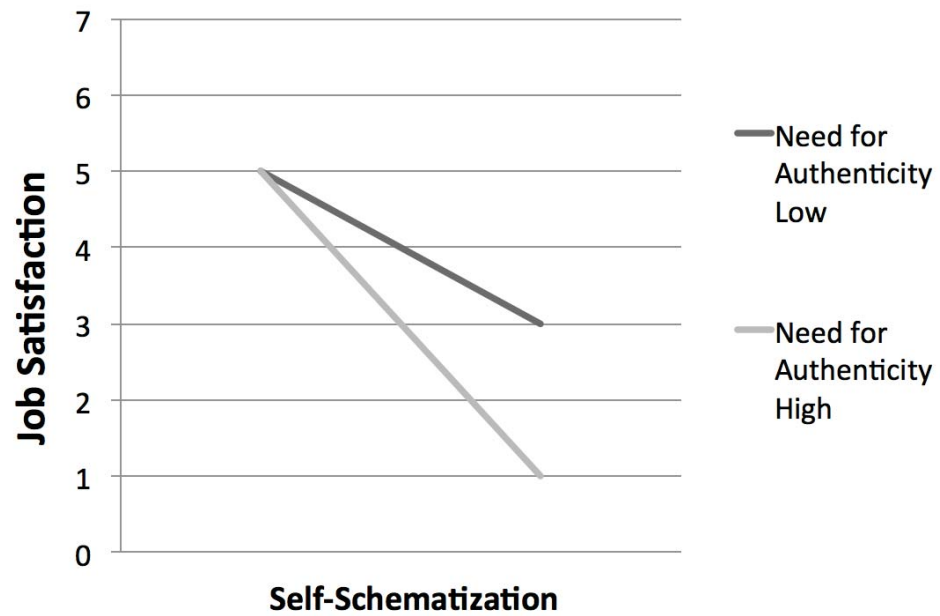
*Figure 8. Hypothesized Interaction of Need for Authenticity and Self-Schematization Predicting Job Satisfaction*
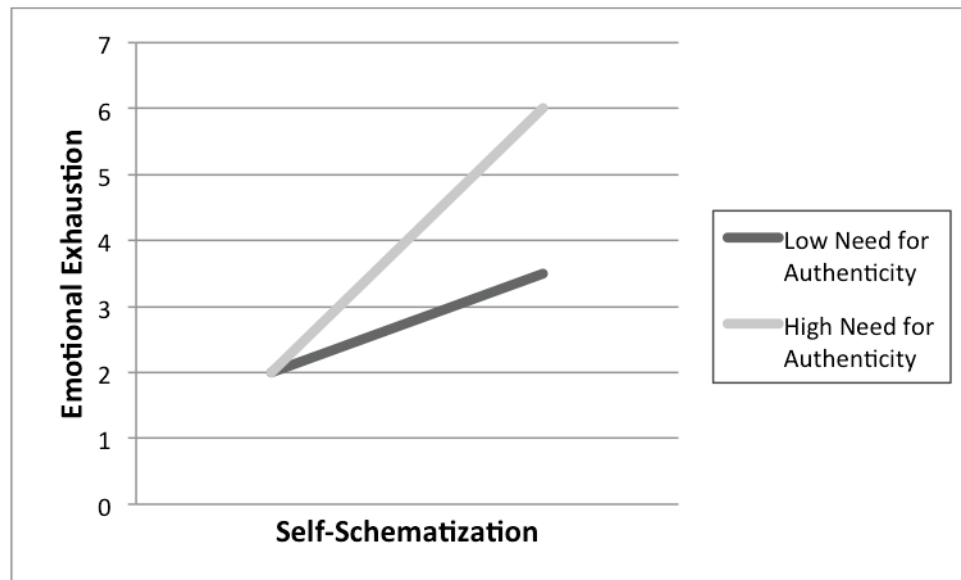


**Figure 9.**. *Hypothesized Interaction of Need for Authenticity and Self-Schematization Predicting Emotional Exhaustion*

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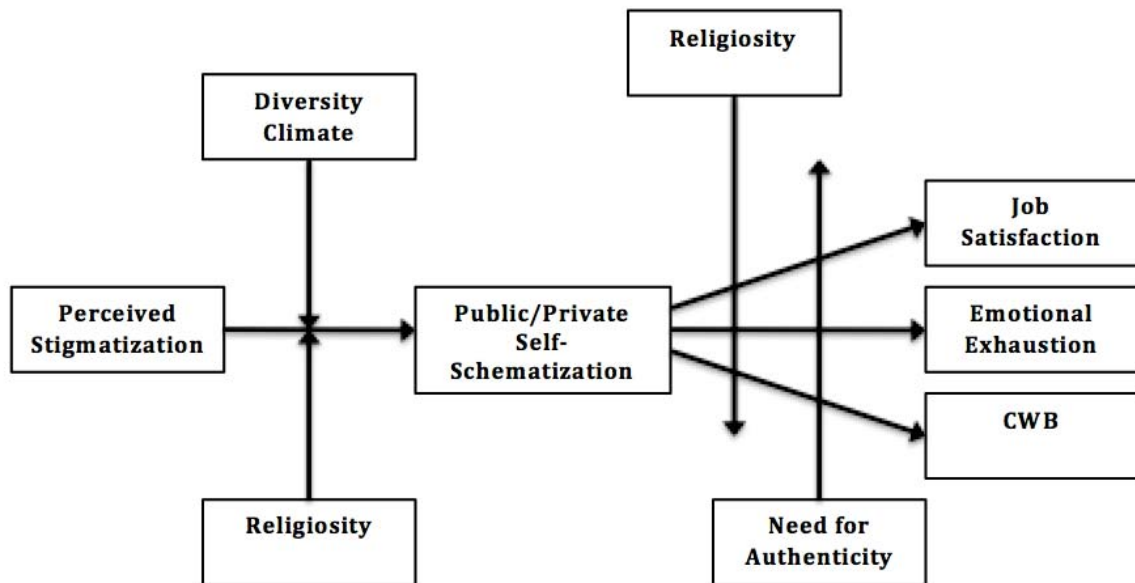


**Figure 10**. *Overall Hypothesized Model*

## Method

### Participants

A total of 302 participants were sourced using a snowball method of e-mailing employees of JetBlue Airways and Tiffany & Co. as well as various organizations and social media groups with a focus on religious minorities. Given the focus of this study on stigmatized religious groups, participants from religious minority groups were requested in order to ensure adequate variance in the study variables of interest. Potential participants were also required to be currently employed and have a minimum of one year of work experience at their current organization.

**Survey Procedure**

The study design required the use of eight focal variable measures in total. Considering the personal and sensitive nature of the data being collected, the method of data collection was entirely comprised of self-report measures. In addition to the sensitive nature of the data being collected, almost all of the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors being measured in this study would only be known to the participant, as they are not objectively measurable.

By using these eight self-report measures, the potential for common method biases to occur increases. The potential for common method variance in behavioral research is stressed by Podsakoff et al. (2003). Common method variance can either inflate or deflate observed relationships between constructs, thus leading to both Type I and Type II errors. Podsakoff et al. (2003) identify the consistency motif, or the tendency of respondents to try and maintain consistency in their responses to similar or to organize information in consistent ways, as a potential cause of common method variance. Related to the consistency motif are the concepts of implicit theories and illusory correlations. Raters often possess assumptions about the study they are participating in and may attempt to distort responses based on those assumptions (Podsakoff, 2003). These are relevant to the proposed study as the eight measures being used may lead participants to aim to be consistent in their responses as well as lead

them to make assumptions about what the hypotheses of the study are and potentially

distort their responses as a result.

While Spector (2006) argues that the umbrella term of common method variance

should be abandoned and replaced with specific measurement biases that can impact

measurement, both Podsakoff et al. (2003) and Spector (2006) offer useful techniques

for reducing the potential for biases in behavioral research. Temporal, proximal,

psychological, and methodological separations of measurement may be used to reduce

biases. This is particularly helpful since all of the measures used in the study were self-

report measures. In terms of temporal separation, the eight measures were spaced out

and sent to the participants over the course of several months. The first set of measures

sent out and completed by participants were the trait-based measures including

religiosity, perceived stigmatization, and need for authenticity. After several weeks,

participants were sent surveys that assessed cognitive processes and organizational

perceptions, including public/private self-schematization and diversity climate. Finally,

after another month had passed, participants were sent surveys that included measures

of the dependent variables (i.e., emotional exhaustion, job satisfaction, and

counterproductive work behavior).

The institution of temporal separation in addition to the separation of trait-based,

cognitive, and organizational measures were intended to help mitigate the possibility of

common method bias as well as aid in reducing any potential priming effects and

limiting the impact of rater affect (Spector, 2006). Participants were assured that the

results of the survey were confidential and that there were no right or wrong answers to

the questions being asked. Additionally, they were directed to be as honest as possible

to reduce the likelihood of responses being influenced by social desirability and rater

apprehension (Podsakoff, 2013). Participants who did not complete all surveys were

removed. Various manipulation checks were conducted throughout the survey process

to enhance the quality of the data. These included multiple attention check items

throughout the survey (i.e. "Please answer Strongly Disagree for this item"). Data was

also examined for extreme responding (i.e. participants responding to all survey items

extremely negatively or positively). In total, 23 participants were removed from the

final sample prior to data analysis.

**Measures**

      **Perceived stigmatization.** Perceived stigmatization was measured using an

adapted version of Khan's (2014) Muslim Perceptions of Stigma survey. Items are rated

along a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree). Items

include "People in general would treat me more poorly if they knew about my religious

identity." and "I feel threated by others because of my ethnic or religious background."

Reliability analysis revealed the perceived stigmatization scale to be reliable with a

Cronbach's alpha equaling .77. All scale items are included in Appendix D.

      **Religiosity.** Religiosity was measured using a scale from Gorsuch & McPherson

(1989). Items are rated along a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5

(strongly agree). Items include "I try to live all my life according to my religious

beliefs" and "Although I believe in my religion, many other things are more important

in life" (reverse coded). Reliability analysis revealed the religiosity scale to be highly

reliable ($\alpha$ = .91). All scale items are included in Appendix C.

**Need for authenticity.** Need for authenticity was measured using an adapted

version of Gregoire's 6-item (2004) Authenticity scale. Items rated along a7-point

Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Sample items include "I

feel the need to be true to myself in most situations" and "I feel the need to always stand

up for what I believe in". Reliability analysis revealed the need for authenticity scale to

be reliable ($\alpha$ = .74). All scale items are included in Appendix G.

**Diversity climate.** Perceptions of organizational diversity climate were

measured using McKay et al's (2008) 4-item Diversity Climate scale. Items are rated

along a 5-point Likert scale from1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Items

include "My organization maintains a diversity-friendly work environment" and "Top

leaders demonstrate a visible commitment to diversity." Reliability analysis revealed

the diversity climate scale to be highly reliable ($\alpha$ = .91). All scale items are included in

Appendix F.

**Self-schematization.** Public/private self-schematization was measured using an

adapted version of Khan's (2014) scale, which measured behavioral changes made by

post-9/11 Muslims in America regarding their identities as to avoid discrimination. This

measure contains six items that are rated along a Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree)

to 7 (strongly agree). Items in this measure include "I have changed my daily religious

routine because of fear of discrimination" and "I actively try not to reveal my religious

identity at work". Reliability analysis revealed the self-schematization scale to be

reliable ($\alpha$ = .71). All scale items are included in Appendix H.

**Job satisfaction.** Job satisfaction was measured using the modified short form

version of the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire. This measure features 20

characteristics of the work environment and respondents are asked to rate each job

characteristic on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (not satisfied) to 5 (extremely satisfied)

as it relates to their organization. Some sample job characteristics include "good

working conditions" and "co-workers get a long with each other". Reliability analysis

revealed the job satisfaction scale to be reliable ($\alpha$ = .71). All scale items are included

in Appendix J.

**Emotional exhaustion.** Emotional exhaustion was measured using Maslach &

Jackson's (1981) Emotional Exhaustion Scale. This measure contains nine statements

related to emotional exhaustion in the workplace and respondents were asked to rate

each statement using a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly

agree). Items include "Working with people directly puts too much stress on me," and

"I feel fatigued when I get up in the morning and have to face another day". Reliability

analysis revealed the emotional exhaustion scale to be reliable ($\alpha$ = .83). All scale items

are included in Appendix E.

**Counterproductive work behavior.** Counterproductive work behavior (CWB)

was measured using Spector & Fox (2001) Short Version of the CWB Checklist (CWB-

C). This measure contains 10 statements overall with five statements pertaining to CWB

directed towards the organization and five statements pertaining to CWB directed

towards others within the organization. Respondents were asked to rate how often they

have done each of the behaviors included in the statements in their present jobs using a

5-point Likert scale from 1 (never) and 5 (every day). Items include "Came to work late

without permission" and "Insulted or made fun of someone at work". Reliability

analysis revealed the CWB scale to be reliable ($\alpha = .73$). All scale items are included in

Appendix I.

**Control Variables**

Along with the previously discussed measures, several control variables were

included based on prior research and theory. Both age and tenure will be controlled for

being that both may impact the strength of the relationship between perceived

stigmatization and private/public self-schematization as well as the individual

relationships between private/public self-schematization and the outcomes of emotional

exhaustion, job satisfaction, and CWBs. Both age and tenure are related to the potential

amount of time an employee may have had experiencing and coping with perceived

stigmatization. It is possible that an employee with high perceptions of stigmatization

may have found other mechanisms through which to protect him/herself from

discrimination and/or become desensitized to the negative impact of self-schematization

after spending longer periods of time working in organizations. Gender will also be

controlled for as men and women may perceive potential threats differently (Khan,

2010). Religious affiliation will be controlled for as certain religious minority groups

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have been shown to be viewed more unfavorably than others (Khan, 2010).

Additionally, whether the participant identified as being a religious minority in their

workplace (i.e. "Are you a religious minority in your organization?"), previous

stigmatization (i.e. "Do you believe you have been treated poorly in the past as a result

of your religious group membership?", and perception of strength of social resources

(i.e. "I have a strong support network of family and friends.") were also controlled for.

## Results

### Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics were recorded for the final sample of 302 participants that

completed the entire series of survey time points. The breakdown in age as follows; 18-

25 years old (13.9%), 28-35 years old (20.5%), 31-35 years old (23.5%), 36-41 years

old (21.8%), 42-50 years old (17.5%), 51-65 years old (2.6%).  56.3% of participants

had tenure of 2-5 years at their current organization while 35.6% had 6-10 years and

8.1% had 10+ years. 59.2% of the sample population identified as male while 40.7%

identified as female. 33.1% of participants identified as Asian, 62.2% identified as

Caucasian/White and 4.6% identified as Black/African American. 56% of the

participants identified as Jewish, 37% identified as Muslim and 7% identified as

Atheist/Agnostic. 62.3% of participants indicated that they have previously experienced

some form of stigmatization in the past. 83.6% of participants indicated that they are in

the religious minority at their current organization. 88.7% of participants indicated that

they believed their social support resources to be strong.

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**Correlational Analysis**

Prior to hypothesis testing, each control variable (tenure, age, gender, religious minority status at work, previous experience with stigmatization, and perceived strength of social resources) was correlated with the outcome variables in the study. Partial correlations were performed for study variables controlling for each of the control variables. Bivariate correlations were also performed between control and study variables. Correlations between the control and study variables were found. Therefore, control variables were included in subsequent analyses.

Tenure was found to be significantly correlated with each of the outcome variables. Tenure was negatively correlated with both emotional exhaustion ($r = -.19$, $p < .01$) and CWBs ($r = -.18$, $p < .01$) and positively correlated with job satisfaction ($r = .14$, $p < .05$). Gender (identifying as female) was found to be positively correlated with emotional exhaustion ($r = .27$, $p < .01$) and negatively correlated with job satisfaction ($r = -.16$, $p < .01$). Age was negatively correlated with job satisfaction ($r = -.19$, $p < .01$) and positively correlated with emotional exhaustion ($r = .12$, $p < .05$). Religious minority status at work was positively correlated with both emotional exhaustion ($r = .47$, $p < .01$) and CWB ($r = .46$ $p < .01$) and negatively correlated with job satisfaction ($r = -.34$, $p < .01$). Previous experience with stigmatization was positively correlated with CWB ($r = .13$, $p < .05$). Interestingly, strength of social network was positively correlated with emotional exhaustion ($r = .18$ $p < .01$).

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**Table 1: Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for Study Variables**

| Variables | Mean | SD | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Tenure | 2.75 | .771 | ---- | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Gender | .41 | .492 | .402** | ---- | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. Age | 34.07 | 7.78 | .525** | .466** | ---- | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. Minority | .83 | .372 | -.423** | -.030 | -.110 | ---- | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. Stigma (P) | .62 | .486 | .003 | -.077 | -.065 | .388* | ---- | | | | | | | | | |
| 6. Social Res. | .88 | .321 | -.092 | .047 | .052 | .117* | .038 | ---- | | | | | | | | |
| 7. Stigma (C) | 4.78 | 1.08 | -.256** | .070 | -.014 | .690** | .180** | .033 | ---- | | | | | | | |
| 8. Religiosity | 4.67 | 1.19 | -.394** | .115* | -.008 | .622** | .096 | .180** | .647** | ---- | | | | | | |
| 9. DC | 3.02 | 1.28 | .336** | -.027 | .034 | -.623** | -.170** | -.090 | -.739** | -.715** | ---- | | | | | |
| 10. NFA | 4.63 | .729 | .188** | -.146* | -.092 | -.508** | -.080 | -.126* | -.483** | -.679** | .513** | ---- | | | | |
| 11. Schema | 4.65 | 1.20 | -.270** | .087 | -.001 | .574** | .144* | .102 | .790** | .736** | -.851** | -.516** | ---- | | | |
| 12. EE | 4.04 | .935 | -.210** | .261** | .123* | .543** | 050 | .102 | .554** | .736** | -.542** | -.622** | .542 | ---- | | |
| 13. JS | 3.03 | .822 | .342** | .029 | .055 | -.478** | -.082 | -.058 | -.577** | -.517** | .475** | .372** | -.497** | -.437** | ---- | |
| 14. CWB | 2.68 | .535 | -.183** | .035 | .047 | .465** | .139* | .077 | .417** | .620** | -.438** | -.496** | .420** | .451** | -.348** | --- |

*Note.* For all focal study variables, partial correlations were performed controlling for Social Resources, Previous Stigma, Religious Minority Status, Gender, Tenure, and Age. Bivariate correlations were performed between control variables and study variables. Stigma (P) = Previous Stigmatization, Stigma (C) = Current Stigmatization, DC= Diversity Climate, NFA= Need for Authenticity, EE= Emotional Exhaustion, JS = Job Satisfaction and CWB = Counterproductive Work Behavior.

**Hypothesis Testing**

H1 proposed that perceptions of stigmatization would result in increased levels of emotional exhaustion, and H2 proposed that public/private self-schematization would mediate this relationship. Therefore, H1 and H2 were tested using the PROCESS macro for SPSS. After variables were standardized, emotional exhaustion was entered as the outcome variable (Y), perceived stigmatization was entered as the independent variable (X), and public/private schematization was entered as the mediator variable (M). Since many of the control variables (tenure, gender, age, religious minority status in the organization, and social resources) significantly correlated with emotional exhaustion, they were included as covariates in the analysis. The total effect of perceived stigmatization on emotional exhaustion was significant, $c =. 26$, $t(295) = 4.9$, $p < .001$. The confidence interval surrounding the indirect effect of perceived stigmatization on emotional exhaustion through self-schematization did not include zero, $ab = .67$, *SE* $=.06$, 95% CI [.03, .25], and the direct effect of perceived stigmatization on emotional exhaustion became insignificant when the mediator was accounted for $c' = .13$, $t(294) = 2.9$, $p =.07$. The results of the analysis provide support for H1 and H2. However, the covariate of religious minority status in the organization had a significant and large effect size ($p < .001$) as well as gender ($p < .001$), tenure ($p < .005$), and age ($p < .05$), indicating that public/private self-schematization may only partially mediate the relationship between perceived stigmatization and emotional exhaustion.
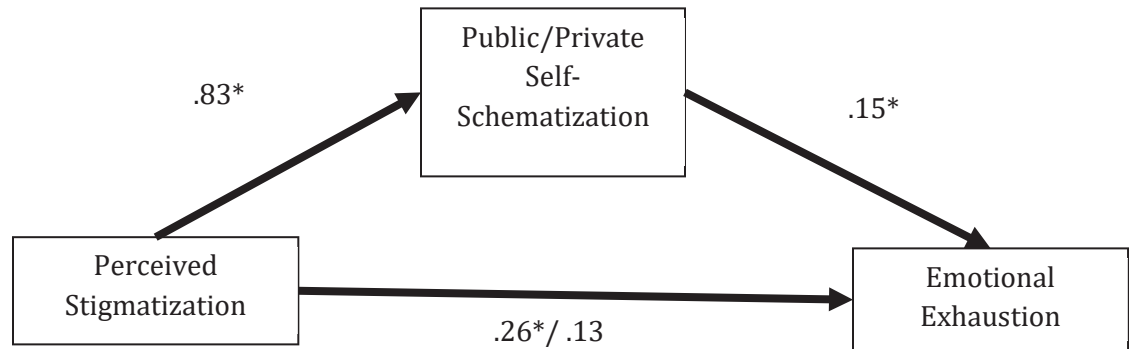
*Figure 11: Mediation Model of Direct and Indirect Effects of Perceived Stigmatization on Emotional Exhaustion*

**Table 2: Significant Effect Sizes of Hypothesized Mediation Analysis of Perceived Stigmatization, Public/Private Self-Schematization and Emotional Exhaustion**
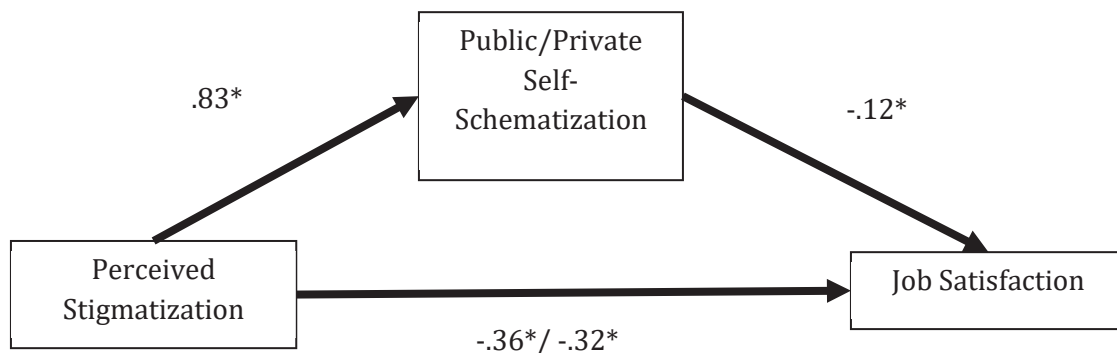
| Model | Effect Size | $p$ |
|---|---|---|
| **PS → self-schematization → emotional exhaustion** | .67 | .00 |
| PS →self-schematization | .83 | .00 |
| Tenure → self-schematization | **-.18** | .02 |
| PS→ emotional exhaustion | .26 | .00 |
| Self-schematization → emotional exhaustion | .15 | .005 |
| Tenure → emotional exhaustion | **-.23** | .001 |
| Gender (female) → emotional exhaustion | **.50** | .00 |
| Religious minority status → emotional exhaustion | **.69** | .00 |

*Notes.* Mediation analyses were conducted via PROCESS macro and the covariates of tenure, gender, age, religious minority status in the organization and social resources were included in the analysis. Only significant effect sizes are included in the table. PS = perceived stigmatization.

H3 proposed that perceptions of stigmatization would result in lower levels of job

satisfaction, and H4 proposed that this relationship would be mediated by the process of

public/private self-schematization. H3 and 4 were tested using the PROCESS macro for SPSS and the same procedure as H1 and H2. The total effect of perceived stigmatization on job satisfaction was significant, c = -.36, t(295) = -7.4, $p$ <.001. The confidence interval surrounding the indirect effect of perceived stigmatization on job satisfaction through self-schematization did not include zero, ab = .62, $SE$ = .02, 95% CI [.09, .02], and the direct effect of perceived stigmatization on job satisfaction was still significant when the mediator of public/private self-schematization was accounted for, c' = -.32, t(293) = -2.4, $p$ < .001, suggesting that the effect of perceived stigmatization on job satisfaction was partially mediated by public/private self-schematization. Therefore, H3 was fully supported and H4 was only partially supported. The covariate of tenure had a significant effect size ($p$ = < .001).



*Figure 12: Mediation Model for Direct and Indirect Effects of Perceived Stigmatization on Emotional Exhaustion*

**Table 3. Significant Effect Sizes of Hypothesized Mediation Analysis of Perceived Stigmatization, Public/Private Self-Schematization and Job Satisfaction**

| Model | Effect Size | $p$ |
|---|---|---|
| **PS → self-schematization → job satisfaction** | .62 | .00 |
| PS →self-schematization | .83 | .00 |
| Tenure → self-schematization | **-.18** | .02 |
| PS→ job satisfaction | -.36 | .00 |
| Self-schematization → job satisfaction | -.12 | .02 |
| Tenure → job satisfaction | **.22** | .001 |

*Notes.* Mediation analyses were conducted via PROCESS macro and the covariates of tenure, gender, age, religious minority status in the organization and social resources were included in the analysis. Only significant effect sizes are included in the table. PS = perceived stigmatization.

H5 proposed that perceptions of stigmatization would result in increased levels of counterproductive work behaviors. H6 proposed that the relationship between perceived stigmatization and counterproductive work behaviors would be mediated by the process of public/private self-schematization. H5 and 6 were tested using the PROCESS macro for SPSS. Since some control variables (tenure and religious minority status at work) significantly correlated with CWB, they were included as covariates in the analysis. The total effect of perceived stigmatization on CWB was significant, c = .09, t(298) = 2.6, $p <$ .01. The confidence interval surrounding the indirect effect of perceived stigmatization on emotional exhaustion through self-schematization did not include zero, ab = .52, *SE* = .02, 95% CI [.02, .08] and the direct effect of perceived stigmatization on CWB became insignificant when the mediator was accounted for, c' = .03, t(298) = 1.1, *p* = .31. However, the effect sizes of perceived stigmatization on CWB were relatively small.

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Upon further inspection of the results of the analysis, the covariate of religious minority

status in the workplace a large and significant effect size ($r = .49$, $t(298) = 4.6$, $p < .001$).

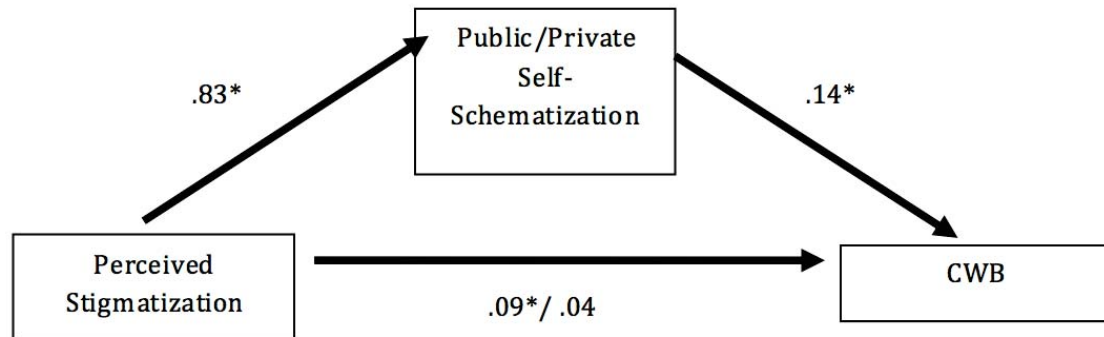Therefore, H5 and 6 were only partially supported.



Figure 12. Mediation Model for Direct and Indirect Effects of Perceived Stigmatization on CWB

**Table 4. Significant Effect Sizes of Hypothesized Mediation Analysis of Perceived Stigmatization, Public/Private Self-Schematization and CWB**

| Model | Effect Size | $p$ |
|---|---|---|
| **PS → self-schematization → CWB** | .52 | .00 |
| PS →self-schematization | .83 | .00 |
| PS→ CWB | .09 | .01 |
| Self-schematization → CWB | .14 | .00 |
| Religious minority status → CWB | **.46** | .00 |

*Notes.* Mediation analyses were conducted via PROCESS macro and the covariates of tenure, gender, age, religious minority status in the organization and social resources were included in the analysis. Only significant effect sizes are included in the table. PS = perceived stigmatization.

H7 proposed that the relationship between perceived stigmatization and

public/private self-schematization would be moderated by perceptions of organizational

diversity climate such that the relationship would be weaker when organizational

diversity climate was strong. H7 was tested using the PROCESS macro for SPSS. After

variables were standardized, public/private self-schematization was entered as the

outcome variable (Y), perceived stigmatization was entered as the independent variable

(X), and diversity climate was entered as the moderator variable (W). The variables of

perceived stigmatization and diversity climate accounted for a significant amount of

variance in public/private self-schematization, $R^2 = .785$, $F(3, 298) = 362.6$, $p < .001$. The

interaction term was significant, $\Delta R^2 = .004$, $\Delta F(1, 298) = 5.49$, $p < .05$. Examination of

the interaction plot showed that stigmatized individuals who had higher perceptions of

diversity climate engaged in lower levels of public/private self-schematization than those

who had lower perceptions of diversity climate. Therefore, diversity climate as a

moderator between perceived stigmatization and public/private self-schematization was
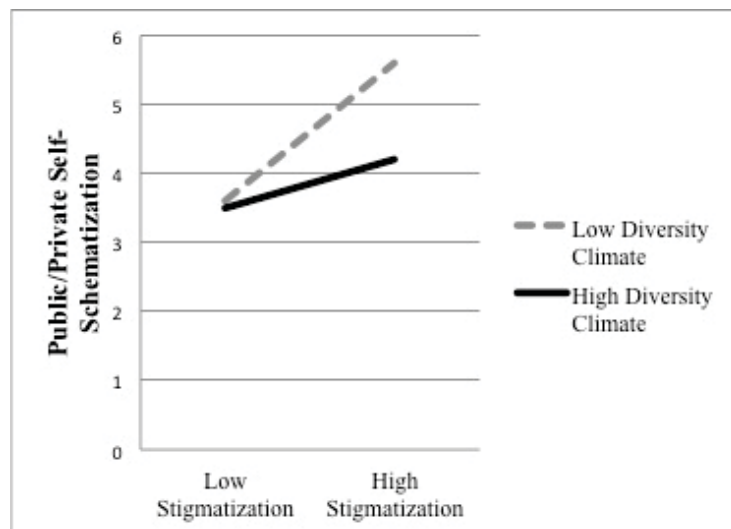
supported.



*Figure 13. Plotted Interaction of Diversity Climate and Perceived Stigmatization on Public/Private Self-Schematization*

H8 proposed that the relationship between perceived stigmatization and public/private self-schematization would be moderated by religiosity such that the relationship would be weaker when religiosity was high. H8 was tested using the PROCESS macro for SPSS. The variables of perceived stigmatization and diversity climate accounted for a significant amount of variance in public/private self-schematization, $R^2 = .711$, $F(3, 298) = 245.3$, $p < .001$. The interaction term was not significant, $\Delta R^2 = .0008$, $\Delta F(1, 298) = .80$, $p = .37$. Additionally, after plotting the interaction, the results showed the opposite direction of what was initially hypothesized. Although not significant, individuals with higher levels of religiosity were more likely to engage in the process of public/private self-schematization. Thus, H8 was not supported.

H9 proposed that the relationship between public/private self-schematization and the separate outcomes of (a) emotional exhaustion, (b) job satisfaction, and (c) CWBs would be moderated by religiosity such that the relationships would be stronger when religiosity was high. H9 was tested using the PROCESS macro for SPSS. The variables of public/private self-schematization and religiosity accounted for a significant amount of variance in emotional exhaustion, $R^2 = .084$, $F(3, 298) = 9.14$, $p < .001$. The interaction term was significant, $\Delta R^2 = .06$, $\Delta F(1, 298) = 18.6$, $p < .001$. Upon plotting the interaction, the results indicate that religiosity moderates the relationship between public/private self-schematization and emotional exhaustion such that levels of emotional exhaustion increase when religiosity increases, thus providing support for H9a.
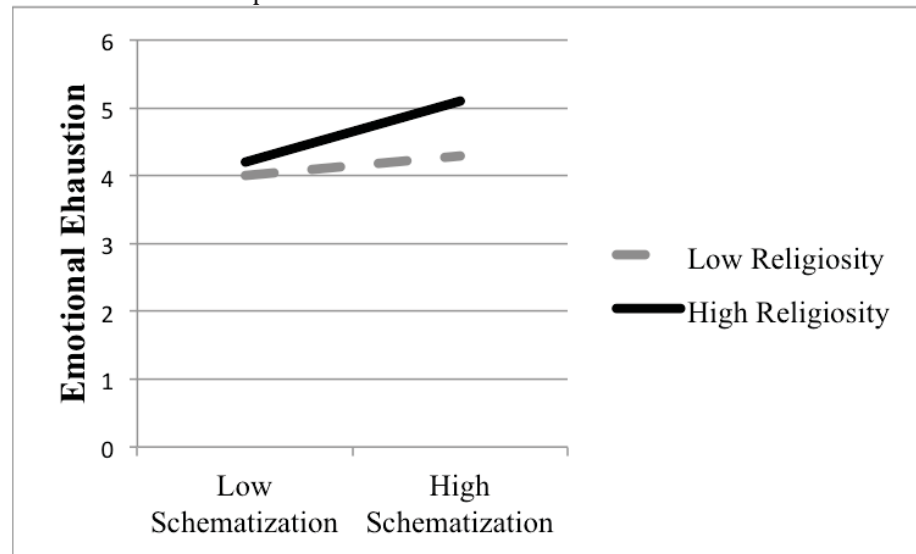
*Figure 14. Plotted Interaction of Religiosity and Perceived Stigmatization on Emotional Exhaustion*

The variables of public/private self-schematization and religiosity accounted for a significant amount of variance in job satisfaction $R^2 = .208$ $F(3, 298) = 26.2, p < .001$. The interaction term was significant, $\Delta R^2 = .02$, $\Delta F(1, 298) = 8.42, p < .005$. Upon plotting the interaction, the results indicate that religiosity moderates the relationship between public/private self-schematization and job satisfaction such that levels of job satisfaction decrease as religiosity increases, thus providing support for H9b. Finally, the variables of public/private self-schematization and religiosity accounted for a significant amount of variance in CWB, $R^2 = .388$ $F(3, 298) = 63.1, p < 001$. The interaction term was not significant, $\Delta R^2 = .0008$, $\Delta F(1, 298) = .398, p = .53$. Therefore, H9c was not supported.
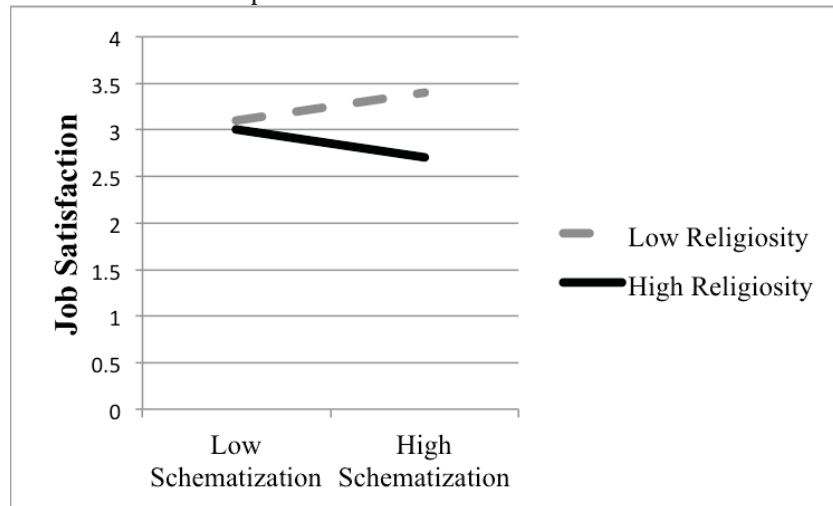
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*Figure 15. Plotted Interaction of Religiosity and Perceived Stigmatization on Job Satisfaction*

H10 proposed that the relationship between public/private self-schematization and the separate outcomes of (a) emotional exhaustion, (b) job satisfaction, and (c) CWBs would be moderated by need for authenticity such that the relationships would weaken when the need for authenticity was low. H10 was tested using the PROCESS macro for SPSS. After variables were standardized, each of the separate outcomes was entered as the outcome variable (Y), public /private self-schematization was entered as the independent variable (X), and need for authenticity was entered as the moderator variable (W).

The variables of public/private self-schematization and need for authenticity accounted for a significant amount of variance in emotional exhaustion, $R^2 = .181$ $F(3, 298) = 21.9$ $p < 001$. The interaction term was significant, $\Delta R^2 = .05$, $\Delta F(1, 298) = 19.7$ $p < .001$. Upon plotting the interaction, the results indicate that need for authenticity

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moderates the relationship between public/private self-schematization and emotional

exhaustion in the hypothesized direction, thus providing support for H10a.
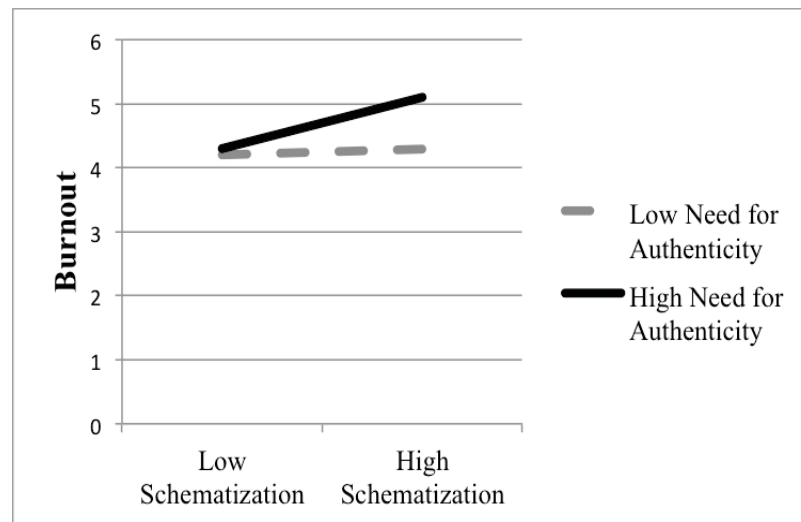


*Figure 17. Plotted Interaction of Need for Authenticity and Perceived Stigmatization on Emotional Exhaustion*

The variables of public/private self-schematization and need for authenticity

accounted for a significant amount of variance in job satisfaction, $R^2 = .305$ $F(3, 298) =$

43.7, $p < 001$. The interaction term was significant, $\Delta R^2 = .04$, $\Delta F(1, 298) = 17.5$ $p < .001$.

Upon plotting the interaction, the results indicate that need for authenticity moderates the

relationship between public/private self-schematization and job satisfaction in the

hypothesized direction, thus providing support for H10b.

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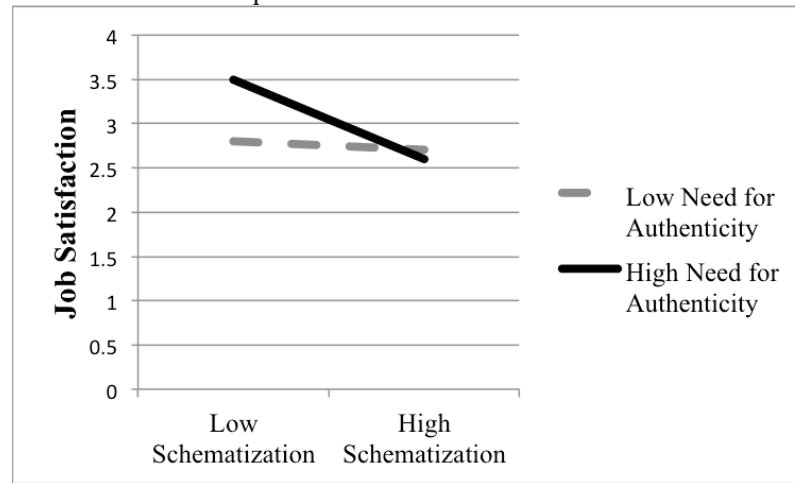


*Figure 16: Plotted Interaction of Need for Authenticity and Perceived Stigmatization on Job Satisfaction*

The variables of public/private self-schematization and need for authenticity accounted for a significant amount of variance in CWB $R^2$ = .294 $F(3, 298)$ = 41.5, $p$ <001. The interaction term was significant ($\Delta R^2$ = .01, $\Delta F(1, 298)$ = 5.08 $p$ <.05. Upon plotting the interaction, the results indicate that need for authenticity moderates the relationship between public/private self-schematization and CWB in the hypothesized direction. Therefore H10c was supported.
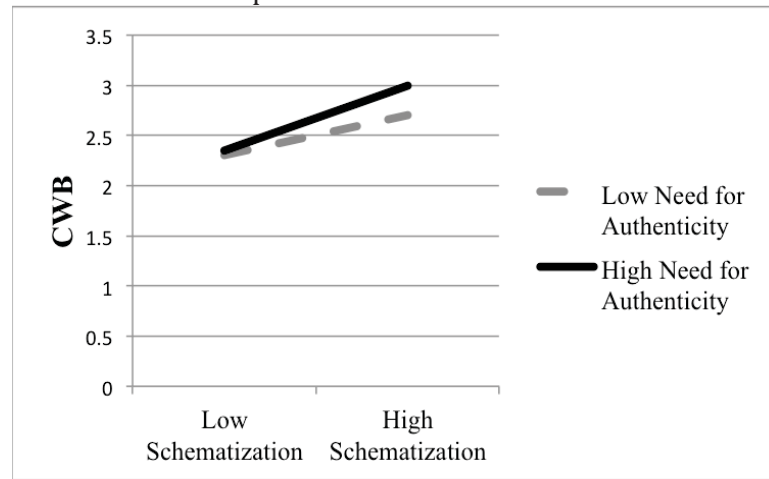
*Figure 17. Plotted Interaction of Need for Authenticity and Perceived Stigmatization on CWB*

## Discussion

This study set out to examine the impact of public/private self-schematization on stigmatized groups in the workplace with a focus on religious minority groups. In summary, the support for H1, H3, and H5 show that employees that perceive themselves to be stigmatized experience more emotional exhaustion, more counterproductive work behaviors, and less job satisfaction. Findings for H2, H4, and H6 suggest that these negative outcomes are, to a varying extent, the result of engaging in public/private self-schematization. Finally, the remainder of the hypotheses provides information about boundary conditions for these effects.

Covariate analyses suggest that employees with more tenure are less likely to experience emotional exhaustion and more likely to have higher levels of job satisfaction. It also appears that females may be more likely to experience emotional exhaustion than

their male counterparts. Additionally, results of covariate analyses suggest that being a religious minority in the organization may result in higher levels of emotional exhaustion as well as higher levels of CWBs.

Support for H7 indicates that individuals who perceive that they belong to a stigmatized group but perceive the diversity climate of their organization to be strong will engage in lower levels of public/private self-schematization than individuals who feel their organization's diversity climate is weak. This finding reinforces the importance of a strong organizational diversity climate and provides a potential intervention for organizations looking to prevent or combat the negative outcomes of stigmatization.

Hypotheses 8 and 9 focused on the moderating role of religiosity. No support for H8 indicates that religiosity of the stigmatized individual does not influence the extent to which they engage in the process of public/private self-schematization. Partial support for H9 indicates that intrinsically religious individuals experience higher levels of emotional exhaustion as a result of engaging in public/private self-schematization than those individuals who are not intrinsically religious. This indicates that while stigmatized individuals may engage in similar levels of public/private self-schematization, those who are more intrinsically religious may experience higher levels of emotional exhaustion as a result of this self-schematization since their religion is at the core of their identity and thus, harder for them to separate. Additionally, it indicates that intrinsically religious individuals experience lower levels of job satisfaction as a result of engaging in public/private self-schematization than those individuals who are not intrinsically

religious. Finally, the results indicate that intrinsically religious individuals are not more

likely to engage in CWBs as a result of engaging in public/private self-schematization

than individuals who are not intrinsically religious.

The last hypothesis focused on the moderating role of need for authenticity. Full

support for all components of H10 indicates that individuals that have a higher need for

authenticity experience higher levels of emotional exhaustion, lower levels of job

satisfaction, and engage in more CWBs as a response to self-schematization and the lack

of ability to be their authentic selves in the workplace.

## Implications

The findings of this study have multiple implications as it relates to both the theory and

practice of organizational psychology. As referenced throughout the course of this study,

there is a call for more research on religion in the workplace, as well as a demonstrated

need for this type of research with the rise of anti-religious sentiment throughout the

world.  This study can provide further insight into the potential negative organizational

experiences of the stigmatized religious minority, as well as how these negative

organizational outcomes can be prevented. Religious discrimination in general and in the

workplace continues to be a prevalent issue and therefore, it is important to study the

individual experience of the religious employee who feels they belong to a stigmatized

group. As the results of this study confirm, the negative impact of perceived

stigmatization on the individual as well as the organization is significant. While every

individual engages in some separation of the public/private self, public/private self-

schematization at the level studied in this research has now been demonstrated to be

associated with higher levels of emotional exhaustion, lowered levels of job satisfaction,

and higher levels of CWB. The vast negative impact of the organizational outcomes of

emotional exhaustion, decreased job satisfaction, and CWBs on an organization's internal

processes and overall bottom line has been heavily documented in the literature (Kinicki

et al. 2007, Maslach et. Al, 2001, Bruk-Lee & Spector, 2007). Thus, finding additional

causes of these negative outcomes are of much value to organizational research.

This study also has implications for organizations in terms of informing strategies

around diversity and inclusion. From the findings of the current study, the importance of

organizational diversity climate is clear. In order to establish and maintain an

organization that is inclusive and conscious of diversity, all employees must feel that they

work for an organization where they not only feel safe, but that their unique perspectives

are valued. This, according to the study, will result in fewer employees feeling the need

to engage in public/private self-schematization. Additionally, the relationships examined

amongst the study variables almost always start with perceived stigmatization. The

inclusivity shown and value given to diversity within an organization can help begin to

reduce the perceptions of stigmatization held by minority groups.

The study also indicates the intensified negative outcomes for individuals with a

higher need to be their authentic selves in the workplace. Organizations can not only

work towards a more inclusive and diverse climate but also an organizational culture that

promotes bringing your authentic self to work so that employees who have a need to be

their authentic selves in the workplace will not experience these intensified negative effects.

This study also has implications for the field of social psychology as it provides insight into the thought processes (both conscious and subconscious) behind perceived stigmatization of one's religious group as well as the behaviors that occur as a response to those perceptions of both stigmatization and the threats associated with being stigmatized.

## Limitations

As this study was spread out over the course of several months and required the completion of several surveys by the same participants, participant recruitment was very difficult as well as preventing participant attrition. In terms of recruiting participants, various methods were used. In addition to reaching out to former contacts at various organizations, participants were also recruited through religion-focused groups on social media. As such, the majority of participants in this study identified as being more intrinsically religious. Another limitation of this study is the small sample of atheist/agnostic participants. Despite contacting various groups focusing on atheism/agnosticism, very few participants from these groups completed all of the surveys in the study. Additionally, due to the time requirements of this study, participants who did complete the three surveys over the course of several months may have more of an interest within this area of research for self-serving reasons, potentially influencing the majority of the types of responses received. Finally, when testing for mediation, the

optimal approach is to directly manipulate the independent variables in the study.

Unfortunately, this was not a possibility due to the nature of the topics being studied.

However, temporal separation was used as the next best approach for trying to improve

the inferences of causality between the study variables.

## Future Research

While this study intended to provide more answers regarding the organizational

outcomes of perceived stigmatization and how organizations can prevent/alleviate any

negative outcomes, the results of this study have sparked more questions that future

research should look to answer. The data shows that while public/private self-

schematization partially explained the relationship between perceived stigmatization and

negative organizational outcomes, there are still other variables impacting the strength of

that relationship. Results of mediation analyses showed the strong impact gender (female)

and religious minority status in the organization has on the separate relationships between

perceived stigmatization and the negative organizational outcomes of emotional

exhaustion, decreased job satisfaction and CWBs. Future research should look to more

closely examine the impact of gender and minority status within this context and identify

the potential causes behind these strong relationships. Future research should also look

for additional variables not examined in this study in order to gain a more complete

picture of what is causing perceived stigmatization to result in negative organizational

outcomes. This will provide further insight and identify additional ways organizations

can prevent these negative outcomes from occurring.

While this study was intended to be generalizable to all stigmatized groups, the sample utilized was limited to religious minorities only, and thus there is value in expanding this research by specifically studying additional stigmatized groups. For example, looking at immigrant groups or individuals with certain disabilities may provide even more insight into how perceived stigmatization can negatively impact the organization and as well as what can be done to prevent or alleviate these negative outcomes. This study has also shown that within stigmatized groups, the intensity of negative outcomes may be varied due to within group differences. Intrinsic religiosity was shown to be related to higher levels of emotional exhaustion as a result of engaging in public/private self-schematization. Therefore, studying different stigmatized groups may offer more insight into what other variables impact key organizational outcomes.

The results of this study stress the importance of a strong diversity climate as a key area for organizational intervention as it relates to preventing the negative organizational outcomes of stigmatization. However, more interventions need to be identified and future research should aim to do so. The diversity climate measure used in this study only measured perceptions of diversity climate from a high organizational level. Future research may be able to identify interventions managers can directly take to help prevent their employees who perceive they are stigmatized from experiencing negative outcomes, even when the organization may not be inclusive.

The study results showed the strong relationship between religious minority status in the organization and negative organizational outcomes. Future research might look at the new trend in organizations of creating religion-focused employee resource groups and

how company sponsored implementation of these groups could potentially impact some

of the relationships observed in this study. Need for authenticity was also found to be an

important moderator of the relationships between stigmatization and each of the negative

organizational outcomes. More research should be done to determine what specific

interventions organizations could implement to ensure those who have a need to be

authentic at work truly feel that they are enabled to do so.

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**Appendix A: Consent Form**

Overview: You have been invited to participate in a research study being conducted by researchers from the Florida Institute of Technology. To provide consent to proceed with taking part in this research study, <u>you must be 18 years of age or older</u>. Feel free to read this form and agree to participate now, or you may print this page to study the information before you decide to proceed with the survey. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, meaning that you can choose not to take part in the study at any time, even if you agree initially and later change your mind.  To stop the study at any time, simply close your browser window, and you will not be penalized in any way.

Purpose of research study: The goal of this study is to explore employee religiosity and it's impact on employee attitudes.

Time required for study completion: It is anticipated that this survey will require approximately 15 minutes to finish. There are no right or wrong answers to the survey questions. Please take your time and answer the survey questions honestly.

Risks: There are no risks connected to your participation in this survey.

Confidentiality: All the data collected for this research study will be confidential; **<u>your personal data and survey responses will not be provided to anyone outside the research team.</u>** The data will be collected using a secure server, and the results of the study will be obtained by aggregating the data.

Study contact for questions about the study or to report a problem: All questions that you have regarding this research study should be directed to Dinah Camilleri at 914-318-8579 or dcamilleri2011@my.fit.edu or to Jessica  L. Wildman, PhD, at 321-674-7130 or jwildman@fit.edu. To get information regarding the conduct and review of research studies consisting of human participants, you may contact Dr. Lisa Steelman, the Chairman of the Institutional Review Board of the Florida Institute of Technology, at lsteelma@fit.edu.

By clicking "I CONSENT" below, you indicate that you consent to participate in this research and that you:
1.      Are eighteen (18) years of age or older;
2.      Have carefully read, understood, and agreed with the requirements stated above;
3.      Know that participation is voluntary, and you will not be penalized if you quit at any time during the research study.

## Appendix B: Demographic Items

*Demographics*

What is your current job title (if any)? _____
How many hours per week do you work on average?_____
What industry do you work in? _____

Your Gender:
❑ Male
❑ Female

Age:___

Race:

❑ Caucasian/White
❑ African-American/Black
❑ Hispanic
❑ Asian/Indian
❑ Pacific Islander
❑ Two or more races
❑ Other

Religious Identity:

❑ Christian
❑ Muslim
❑ Jewish
❑ Hindu
❑ Buddhist
❑ Atheist
❑ Agnostic
❑ Other religion
❑ Not religious
❑ Don't know

Country of birth?_____

Stigmatization in the Workplace

Approximately how many years have you been living in the United States?

❑ do not live in the U.S.

❑ less than a year

❑ 1-5

❑ 5-10

❑ 10-15

❑15-25

❑ 25 +

Is English your first language?

❑ Yes

❑ No

**Appendix C: Intrinsic Religiosity Scale**

*Religiosity Scale*

Gorsuch & McPherson (1989)

Responses are rated on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = strongly agree to 7 = strongly disagree)

1. I enjoy reading about my religion
2. I go to church because it helps me to make friends.
3. It doesn't much matter what I believe so long as I am good.
4. It is important to me to spend time in private thought and prayer.
5. I have often had strong sense of God's presence.
6. I pray mainly to gain relief and protection.
7. I try hard to live all my life according to my religious beliefs.
8. What religion offers me most is comfort in times of trouble and sorrow.
9. Prayer is for peace and happiness
10. Although I am religious, I do not let it affect my daily life.
11. I go to church mostly to spend time with my friends.
12. My whole approach to life is based on my religion.
13. I go to church mainly because I enjoy seeing people I know there.
14. Although I believe in my religion, many other things are more important in life.

**Appendix D: Perceived Stigmatization Scale**

Responses are rated on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = strongly agree to 7 = strongly disagree)

1. People in general believe that there is truth to the negative stereotypes held about my religious group

2. People in general would treat me more poorly if they knew about my religious identity

3. People get irritated when they see members of my religious group practicing in public or wearing religious articles in the public sphere

4. I feel threatened by others because of my ethnic or religious background

## Appendix E: Emotional Exhaustion

Maslach and Jackson (1986).

Emotional exhaustion is measured on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from (1) = "strongly disagree" to (7) = "strongly agree," with no verbal labels for scale points 2 through 6.

1. I feel emotionally drained from my work.

2. I feel used up at the end of the workday.

3. I feel fatigued when I get up in the morning and have to face another day.

4. Working with people all day is really a strain for me.

5. I feel burned out from my work.

6. I feel frustrated by my job.

7. I feel like I am working too hard on my job.

8. Working with people directly puts too much stress on me.

9. I feel like I'm at the end of my rope.

**Appendix F: Perceptions of Diversity Climate Scale**

**McKay et al. (2008) 4-item measure Likert scale (1= strongly disagree, 5= strongly agree)**

1. I trust my organization to treat me fairly.

2. My organization maintains a diversity-friendly work environment

3. The company respects the views of people like me

4. Top leaders demonstrate a visible commitment to diversity

**Appendix G: Need for Authenticity Scale**

**Gregoire et al. (2014)**

1. I always feel I need to do what others tell me to do

2. I feel the need to be true to myself in most situations

3. I feel the need to live in accordance with my beliefs and values

4. I think it is better to by yourself than to be popular

5. I feel the need to always stand up for what I believe in

6. I am strongly influenced by the opinions of others

**Appendix H: Private/ Public Self-Schematization Self-Report**

Written for this study but slightly based off of **Khan (2014)**

Responses are rated on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = strongly agree to 7 = strongly disagree)

1. I have changed my daily religious routine because of fear of discrimination.

2. I change certain aspects of my physical appearance at work to avoid

   discrimination

3. I actively try not to reveal my religious identity at work

4. I do not want my co-workers or managers to know what my religious identity is

5. I find that I am two different people in my work life and my private life when it

   comes to my religious expression

6. I have or would openly ask for a religious accommodation at work

**Appendix I:  Short Version of the CWB  Checklist (CWB-C)**


Spector & Fox (2001)
1. Purposely wasted your employer's materials/supplies
2. Complained about insignificant things at work
3. Told people outside the job what a lousy place you work for
4. Came to work late without permission
5. Stayed home from work and said you were sick when you weren't
6. Insulted someone about their job performance
7. Made fun of someone's personal life
8. Ignored someone at work
9. Started an argument with someone at work
10. Insulted or made fun of someone at work

## Appendix J: Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire—Modified Short Form

Wanous, J. P. (1973). Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire—Modified Short Form

*The modified MSQ is rated 5-point Likert-type scale with anchors ranging from 1 (not satisfied) to 5 (extremely satisfied)*

1. Being able to keep busy all the time
2. The chance to work alone on the job
3. The chance to do different things
4. The chance to be "somebody"
5. Supervisors handle employees well
6. Supervisors competent at making decisions
7. Being able to do things not against my conscience
8. The job provides steady employment
9. The chance to tell people what to do
10. The chance to do things for other people
11. The chance to make use of my abilities
12. Good company policies
13. Fair pay
14. Good chance for advancement
15. Freedom to use my own judgment
16. The chance to use my own methods
17. Good working conditions
18. Co-workers get along with each other
19. Praise for doing a good job
20. The feeling of accomplishment from the job

**Appendix K: Debrief Form**

*Debrief Form*

      Thank you for your participation in this study. Due to the nature of this study, the true purpose of the study was not revealed initially. While the study does look at employee religiosity and it's impact on employee attitudes, the true purpose of the study is to see whether belonging to a stigmatized religious minority group leads to negative organizational outcomes. Please note that all questions that you have regarding this research study or specifically about the findings of this study, should be directed to Dinah Camilleri at dcamilleri2011@my.fit.edu or Jessica L. Wildman, PhD, at 321-674-7130 or jwildman@fit.edu. To get information regarding the conduct and review of research studies consisting of human participants, you may contact Dr. Lisa Steelman, the Chairman of the Institutional Review Board of the Florida Institute of Technology, at lsteelma@fit.edu.

Your participation is truly appreciated.