DOING DIRTY WORK: AN EXAMINATION OF THE EFFECTS OF OCCUPATIONAL STIGMA ON LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICER OUTCOMES

By

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(Under the Direction of Kecia M. Thomas)

ABSTRACT

This study examines the effects of occupational stigma on employee well-being and withdrawal, as well as the impact that leadership behaviors and condemnation of condemners has on these relationships. The dirty work literature (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999), Job Demands-Resources model (Bakker & Demerouti, 2014; Demerouti, Nachreiner, & Schaufeli, 2001), and Conservation of Resources theory (Hobfall, 1989) guide the study hypotheses. Participants included 512 law enforcement officers. Participants completed measures on occupational stigma, burnout, turnover intentions, psychosomatic complaints, team-oriented leadership behaviors, and condemnation of condemners. Results show that occupational stigma indirectly affects psychosomatic complaints and turnover intentions through two aspects of burnout: exhaustion and mental distance. A test of the conditional indirect effects as a function of team-oriented leadership behaviors and condemnation of condemners failed to show significant conditional effects. These findings support and expand dirty work theory and offer several practical recommendations for avenues for future research.

INDEX WORDS: Occupational stigma, Burnout, Turnover intentions, Psychosomatic complaints, Leadership, Dirty work, Law enforcement

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to a number of people. This study is dedicated to anyone that has ever felt unseen, unheard, unappreciated, and misunderstood. I also dedicate this study to every officer that has given his or her life for this job and to those that love them.

To my friends and family from the Kentucky Post-Critical Incident Seminar (KYPCIS): Travis Tennill, Angela Childers, Larry Conley, Andrea Eslami, Gabe Gillingham, Sarah Powell, Stan Salyards, John McGuire, the entire peer and MHP training team – I love you. Thank you for sharing your world with me. There are too many to name but please know that I am a better person for knowing each and every one of you. Daniel Goldberg – my official title is "Dr. Van Wilder" now. Rest in peace, Angels of Anbar.

To my little brother, Michael, no one else knows me like you do and I am thankful to have your support for so many years. To Matt Goren, thank you for pushing me in a way I don't know I've ever been pushed before: seize the fish. To Debbie and Mendal, thank you for loving me and being there when I needed it the most. To Henry and Charlie Ann, my faithful furry friends, for your dedicated years of sitting in my lap while I write.

To my friends lost along the way, Chaplain Arthur Lee Twombley and Chief Deputy Sheriff Jody Cash, I will see you again - God willing and the creek don't rise!

And finally, to my mother and father, Teresa and Nat Brown. I did it. I wish you could have seen me finish. Your daughter's a doctor, as you would say. I miss you every day. I love you.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Occupational stigma occurs when a given profession is associated with negative attributes by different stakeholders (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Ashforth, Joshi, Anand, & O'Leary-Kelly, 2013; Kreiner, Ashforth, & Sluss, 2006). The "dirty work" literature specifies that a work role (e.g., job position, occupation) becomes stigmatized because it involves one or more of the following undesirable components: physical taints (e.g., dangerous or disgusting job tasks), social taints (e.g., interactions with stigmatized individuals), and moral taints (e.g., using violent or deceptive means to achieve work tasks) (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Hughes, 1951, 1958). Some occupations may possess one or more of these stigmatized taints. Employees who view themselves as working in particularly stigmatized occupations may face challenges when attempting to view themselves and their work in a positive manner (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). As such, perceptions of occupational stigma may manifest negatively as employee withdrawal and strain (Guerrero, Garcia-Falieres, 2021; Pinel & Paulin, 2005; Schaubroeck et al., 2018; Wildes, 2005).

The present research seeks to make several theoretical and practical contributions by examining the impact occupational stigma has on employees outcomes using a sample of patrol law enforcement officers. First, empirical quantitative research on occupational stigma is fairly limited as a large amount of studies are conceptual or qualitative in nature (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2014a; Ashforth & Kreiner, 2014b; Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark, & Fugate, 2007; Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark, & Fugate, 2017; Bosmans, et al., 2015; Chow & Calvard, 2021; Debus, Unger, & Probst,

2021; Dick, 2005; Gunby & Carline, 2020; Kreiner, Ashforth, & Sluss, 2006; Rabelo & Mahalingam, 2019). As such, this study's design examines the direct and indirect effects (Preacher Rucker, & Hayes, 2007; Hayes, 2015; 2022) of occupational stigma on psychosomatic complaints and turnover intentions through burnout. Additionally, this study examines the conditional effects that team-oriented leadership and condemnation of condemners have on these indirect relationships. Results from this study will extend current dirty work theory by delineating a number of downstream effects of occupational stigma beyond just those related to identity processes (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999).

Second, previous studies investigating the relationships between burnout and dirty work have exclusively focused on the exhaustion component of burnout (Barbier, Dardenne, & Hansez, 2013; Baran et al., 2012; Bentein et al., 2017; Guidetti et al., 2021). In an effort to both support and expand on previous findings, the current research examines the exhaustion component of burnout, as well as an additional component: mental distance. Mental distance represents a cognitive or emotional disengagement from the work (Demerouti & Bakker, 2007; Schaufeli, Leiter, Maslach, & Jackson, 1996; Schaufeli, Desart, & De Witte, 2020). Additionally, the present study builds on the Job Demands - Resources model (Demerouti et al., 2001) and Conservation of Resources theory (Hobfall, 1989) by framing occupational stigma as a job demand that may increase employee strain and framing team-oriented leadership and condemnation of condemners as resources that may buffer against these effects (Bakker, Demerouti, & Euwema, 2005; Xanthopoulou, Bakker, Dollard, Demerouti, Schaufeli, Taris, & Schreurs, 2007). The proposed study combines COR theory (Hobfall, 1989) and the JD-R model (Demoerouti et al., 2001) within the context of Ashforth and Kreiner's (1999) dirty work framework to explain how perceptions of occupational stigma are related to employee burnout,

health, and withdrawal, and to incorporate leader team-building and condemnation of condemner as possible boundary conditions.

Finally, using the law enforcement occupation as a lens for better understanding occupational stigma allows this study to make practical recommendations that attend to some of the most pressing problems currently facing this occupation including retention and health issues (Hartley et al., 2011; PERF, 2021; Violanti et al., 2013; Wareham, Smith, & Lambert, 2015). Public (Gallup, 2021) and academic (Hall, Hall, & Perry, 2016; Ruggs et al., 2016; Weitzer, 2015) perceptions of police legitimacy have become increasingly unfavorable following numerous high-profile police incidents involving unarmed people of color (e.g., Breonna Taylor, George Floyd). Stigmatized aspects of policing (e.g., using deadly force) are made more salient via media coverage of stories involving unjustified or excessive use of force on unarmed citizens and through interactions with community members in person and on social media. Continuous media coverage of negative events surrounding an occupation signals that a "tipping point" has been reached where both occupational members and outsiders are now highly aware of these occupational transgressions (Petriglieri & Devine, 2016). Avoidance of this occupational stigma, whether internalized or not, becomes virtually impossible for its members. This increased scrutiny of law enforcement is reflected in a recent Gallup poll examining Americans' confidence in major U.S. institutions that shows reduced confidence in the police from 53% in 2019 to an all-time low of 48% in 2020 (Gallup Organization, 2021). This stigmatization is also reflected in withdrawal from the occupation. A recent survey of 194 law enforcement agencies in the U.S. comparing hiring, resignation, and retirements rates for the same one-month period in 2019 and 2020 showed an overall 5% decrease in the hiring rate, an 18% increase in the resignation rate, and a 45% increase in the retirement rate (PERF, 2021). The current study

addresses the concerning reductions in the law enforcement workforce, the increased stigmatization of the occupation, and the known health and retention issues associated with this profession by examining the relationships between perceived occupational stigma and officer outcomes.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESES

Occupational Stigma

As previously mentioned, an occupation may be labeled "dirty work" if it includes physically, socially, and/or morally undesirable components and is thus negatively stereotyped by society (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Hughes, 1951, 1958). Some occupations may involve multiple types of stigmatized components. For example, policing involves dealing with gruesome accidents or crime scenes (physical taint), interacting with violent or predatory criminals (social taint), and using physical force to restrain non-compliant people under arrest (moral taint). Some suggest that policing is stigmatized primarily because it involves morally tainted *coercive authority*, which is the sanctioned ability to use force to stop activities that would otherwise threaten the safety and peace of other citizens (Bittner, 1970; Dick, 2005; Waddington, 1999). The application of coercive authority can range from giving verbal commands to using deadly force and, when in practice, is often difficult to objectively evaluate. This evaluative "judgmental dilemma…produces moral ambiguity" (p. 1370, Dick, 2005), resulting in the legitimacy of occupational members' decisions and actions being questioned by occupational outsiders. Moral taint is considered dirtier (e.g., more stigmatized) than social or physical taint (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2013).

Previous research has demonstrated the negative impact that dirty work stigma has on employees and organizations including withdrawal, organizational deviance, feeling disrespected by service recipients, and poor physical and psychological well-being (Baran, Rogelberg, &

Clausen, 2016; Bentein, Guerrero, Jourdain, & Chenevert, 2017; Guerrero, Bentein, & Garcia-Falieres, 2021; Pinel & Paulin, 2005; Schaubroeck et al., 2018; Shantz & Booth, 2014; Wildes, 2005). A range of stigmatized occupations have been examined including janitorial workers, garbage collectors, domestic workers, call center employees, corporate lawyers and commercial cleaning employees (Bosmans et al., 2016; Chow & Calvard, 2021; Guerrero, Bentein, & Garcia-Falieres, 2021; Hamilton, Redman, & McMurray, 2019; Rabelo & Mahalingam, 2019; Shanzt & Booth, 2014). Only a few studies have examined occupational stigma and dirty work among public safety employees (e.g., British rape investigators, Danish prison guards, Swedish private security guards) but none of these included law enforcement officers working in the United States.

While none of the previous quantitative research examining occupational stigma and withdrawal use public safety samples, the findings from this literature are still generalizable to the law enforcement community. Policing is currently most stigmatized for its association with stereotyping and discrimination against communities of color (Hall, Hall, & Perry, 2016) and the occupations that have been previously examined in the dirty work literature do not share these attributes; however, these employees do share the experience of perceiving others as holding stereotypes against them based on their occupation. Staff employees working in a large university, restaurant workers, and commercial cleaners perceive stigma directed towards them by the people they serve for being employed in their given professions (Guererro, Bentein, & Garcia-Falieres, 2021; Pinel & Paulin, 2005; Wildes, 2005), which is operationalized as the extent to which they believe other people view their behaviors as stereotypical of that profession or that other people devalue them because of their profession. These perceptions of stigma are focused on occupational membership rather specific “dirty” work tasks or stigmatized attributes

(i.e., physical, social, and moral taint; Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Hughes, 1951, 1958). The current study similarly operationalizes perceptions of occupational stigma as societal devaluation of one's occupation.

Theoretical framework linking occupational stigma to employee outcomes. Ashforth and Kriener's (1999) seminal article on dirty work describes the threat to employee self-esteem and self-concept elicited by occupational stigma as well as the tactics that employees and organizations could use to reduce the negative impact of this stigmatization. Social identity theory (SIT; Hogg, 2003; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) suggests our group memberships are an important source of self-esteem and, consequently, we strive to view these groups positively. For many people, occupation is a central component of their self-concept (Van Maanen & Barley, 1984) and social validation of this work role is important to maintaining a positive sense of self. Identification with one's occupation is negatively impacted when employees are unable to gain positive social validation from others who perceive a given occupation as stigmatized (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004). The authors further suggest various processes can impact the effects of occupational stigma on occupational identity. Some of these methods include the use of occupational ideologies or belief systems that allow for sense-making around dirty work by changing the perception of negative attributes and strengthening positive evaluations about the work and occupation. Employees may also use social weighting tactics to downplay or support outside stakeholders' opinions about the occupation. The current research seeks to expand this framework beyond identity dynamics to examine the impact that perceived occupational stigma has on employee well-being and withdrawal.

Conservation of Resources theory (COR; Hobfall, 1989) and the Job Demands - Resources (JD-R) model (Bakker & Demerouti, 2014; Demerouti et al., 2001) are often used in

tandem to frame the relationships between work stressors and employee strain and withdrawal. Hobfall (1989) defines resources as objects (e.g., a house), characteristics (e.g., self-esteem), conditions (e.g., marriage), and energies (e.g., time, money) that are valued by an individual or that serve as a means to obtain these valued things. Work-related factors can deplete these resources, creating a sense of instrumental and symbolic loss for employees who want to protect their resources. Employees experience strain when resources are lacking, inadequate, or unable to achieve certain goals related to reducing job demands. The JD-R model (Bakker, Demerouti, De Boer, & Schaufeli, 2003; Demerouti et al., 2001) suggests that burnout and disengagement develop in response to an imbalance between job demands and job resources.

Job demands refer to physical, psychological, social, and organizational aspects of one's job that require a sustained amount of employee effort and thus are related to psychological and physical costs. Job resources are the physical, psychological, social, and organizational aspects of one's job that assist the employee with achieving work goals, reducing physical and psychological costs associated with certain job demands, and facilitate personal growth and development. The JD-R model further posits that job demands and resources predict different outcomes (Bakker & Demerouti, 2014; Demerouti et al., 2001). The *health-impairment process* represents the impact that high job demands have on employees' mental and physical resources resulting in burnout, as well as psychological and physical health issues (Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner, & Schaufeli, 2001; Lee & Ashforth, 1996). The *motivational process* describes the impact that inadequate job resources have on employee motivation, engagement, and subsequent withdrawal (Bakker et al., 2003a, 2003b). The JD-R model additionally suggests that job resources can buffer against the negative effects that job demands have on employee strain (Bakker, Demerouti, & Euwema, 2005; Xanthopoulou et al., 2007). Taken together, these

theories suggest occupational stigma may be viewed as a job demand that creates negative downstream effects on employee health and withdrawal through its impact on employee burnout. The presence of job resources specific to processes that may counter the stigma (e.g., a feeling of team spirit with others doing the same work) may mitigate the negative impact that perceptions of occupational stigma have on employee outcomes.

Occupational stigma and physical health. Only one known study has specifically examined the link between occupational stigma and health outcomes. Barbier, Dardenne, and Hansez (2013) found increases in perceived occupational stigma among university employees between Time 1 and Time 2 significantly predicted burnout at Time 2, which in turn predicted health complaints at Time 3. While little empiricism has been conducted on the health effects associated with occupational stigma, the negative effects of other types of stigmatization and related variables (e.g., perceived discrimination) on well-being are well-documented.

Perceptions of group-based prejudice and discrimination (e.g., sexism, racism, heterosexism) at work are associated with increased emotional exhaustion the following morning, increased psychological distress, depression and anxiety, posttraumatic stress, burnout, and poorer physical and mental health (Buchanan & Fitzgerald, 2008; Burrow & Ong, 2010; Dhanani, Beus, & Joseph, 2018; Klonoff & Landrine, 1995; Landrine, Klonoff, Corral, & Fernandez, & Roesch, 2005; Raver & Nishii, 2010; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001; Thoroughgood, Sawyer, & Webster, 2020; Sojo, Wood, & Genat, 2016; Velez, Cox, Polihronakis, & Moradi, 2018; Volpone & Avery, 2012). The effects of stigmatization and discrimination on physical health can be particularly deleterious for the recipient. Experiences of discrimination are associated with elevated rates of hypertension, increased rates of obesity, increased substance abuse and cardiovascular issues (Brondolo, Rieppi, Kelly, & Gerin, 2003;

Gee, Spender, Chen & Takeuchi, 2007; Kaholokula, Grandinetti, Keller, Nacapoy, & Mau, 2012; Williams & Neighbors, 2001). Research on perceptions of stigma also shows that stigma associated with being a victim of sexual trauma predicts more somatic health complaints (Dodd, Altschuler, Caselman, & Hinkle, 2021) and perceptions of financial stigma are associated with poorer health-related quality of life (Hirsch et al., 2019). The current research seeks to expand theory on dirty work and occupational stigma by examining physical health in the form of psychosomatic complaints as an additional possible employee outcome of this stigma. Psychosomatic complaints are physical ailments such as headaches, musculoskeletal pain, gastrointestinal problems, and chest pain that can be responses to chronic stress (Frese, 1985; Nixon, Mazzola, Bauer, Kruergar, & Spector, 2011). The current research proposes the following:

> **Hypothesis 1**: Occupational stigma will have a positive direct effect on psychosomatic complaints.

Occupational stigma and withdrawal. Converse to the lack of research investigating the health impact of perceptions of occupational stigma, several previous studies link occupational stigma to employee withdrawal. Pinel and Paulin (2005) found occupational stigma consciousness associated with being a staff employee predicts intentions to leave one's job and likelihood of having a new job two years later as mediated by perceptions of occupation-related disrespect from service recipients. A short-coming of this study includes a self-reported measure of turnover that did not distinguish between voluntary or involuntary turnover, thus rendering this finding open to interpretation. For example, do employees who feel stigmatized and disrespected by the clients they serve voluntarily decide to leave their job or do they increase negative behaviors at work (e.g., organizational deviance, poor customer service) that result in

their termination? Strong perceptions of occupational stigma are also inversely related to the likelihood of staying in the restaurant industry and the likelihood to recommend a job in the restaurant industry to another person (Wildes, 2005). This study incorporated single-item measures for each of the outcome variables and did not use validated pre-existing scales. Schaubroeck and colleagues (2018) used a diverse sample of occupations to show that higher salience levels of the dirtiness of one's work increased levels of occupational disidentification, which in turn increased job change intentions and withdrawal behaviors. Withdrawal behaviors were operationalized as a wide range of behaviors including lateness, "I arrived late to work or to meetings", and disengagement, "I put less effort into my job than I could have." Guerrero, Bentein, & Garcia-Falieres (2021) found perceptions of occupational stigma predicted absenteeism six months later via increased emotional exhaustion among a sample of commercial cleaning employees; additionally, the level of idiosyncratic deals (e.g., accommodations made to satisfy an individual's specific needs such as training or a change in work schedule; Rosseau, Ho, & Greeneberg, 2006) available to an employee moderated the relationships between perceived occupational stigma and emotional exhaustion, and between emotional exhaustion and absences. As a whole, these findings show that stronger perceptions of occupational stigma are associated with higher levels of employee withdrawal in the form of absenteeism, turnover intentions, actual turnover, and withdrawal behaviors. Thus, I propose the following:

> **Hypothesis 2**: Occupational stigma will have a positive direct effect on turnover intentions.

Burnout

Burnout is a strained psychological state that occurs after chronic exposure to workplace stressors. Burnout was originally conceptualized as a syndrome consisting of symptoms of

exhaustion, cynicism, and reduced professional efficacy (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001). Research since then has presented expanded conceptualizations of burnout that include aspects of disengagement, mental distancing, physical and mental exhaustion, reduced personal accomplishment, and cognitive and emotional impairment (Demerouti et al., 2001; Demerouti & Bakker, 2007; Schaufeli, Leiter, Maslach, & Jackson, 1996; Schaufeli, Desart, & De Witte, 2020). The JD-R model (Demerouti et al., 2001) and COR theory (Hobfall, 1989) suggests burnout arises as a response to stressful job demands in the workplace that deplete or threaten to deplete employee resources. Previous research has identified a number of job demands associated with burnout including physical workload, role clarity, stressful events, shift work, role conflict, work pressure, and recipient contact (Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Demerouti et al., 2001). Job demands can vary widely depending on the industry, however their impact on employee burnout is similar. Additionally, job resources may buffer against the negative effects that job demands have on employee strain (Bakker, Demerouti, & Euwema, 2005; Xanthopoulou et al., 2007). The current research frames occupational stigma as a job demand that leads to burnout among employees.

Occupational stigma and burnout. A handful of studies have examined the experiences of burnout in dirty work. Baran and colleagues (2012) used COR theory (Hobfall, 1989) to predict strain develops as employees deplete personal resources navigating the identity-taxing processes associated with dirty work among a sample of animal shelter employees. The authors found that dirty work task frequency and saliency predicted employee burnout and recommended that managers in dirty work occupations monitor the proximity that employees have to particularly stigmatized tasks (e.g., euthanasia) in order to take steps to mitigate involvement in these tasks as well as create methods of positively viewing the work.

Bentein et al. (2017) combined the JD-R model (Demerouti et al., 2001) with social identity approaches to occupational stigma (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999) to examine the indirect effect of perceived social isolation on commercial cleaning employees' emotional exhaustion via perceived occupational stigma which they framed as a job demand. The authors suggested that social isolation hinders the ability for positive group identity processes to occur, thus inhibiting the buffering effect this has against the negative impact of working a dirty job. For example, socially isolated workers are unable to share positive meaning-making experiences about their work (Tracy & Scott, 2006; Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001) with one another and thus are less likely to successfully "reframe" or view their jobs in more positive lights (e.g., less stigmatized) (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999).

Barbier, Dardenne, and Hansez (2013) examined the longitudinal effects of perceived occupational stigma as a job demand and group identification as a job resource on employee burnout and engagement, respectively. They framed occupational stigma as a social job demand due to the chronic threat it can present to employees' sense of self. Group identification was framed as a social job resource that reflects a level of shared group values and goals (Haslam & Ellemers, 2005; Van Knippenberg, 2000) that may provide positive self-esteem based on social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Increases in perceived occupational stigma between Time 1 and 2 significantly predicted burnout at Time 2, which in turn predicted health complaints at Time 3. Similarly, increased group identification between Time 1 and 2 predicted increased engagement at Time 2 and subsequent turnover intentions at Time 3. Increased group identification between Time 1 and Time 2 moderated the relationship between increased occupational stigma between Time 1 and 2 and work engagement at Time 2 but not burnout. More specifically, employees' level of engagement is unaffected by occupational stigma when

group identification is low, but engagement significantly decreases when group identification is high in the presence of occupational stigma. Employees disengage from work that is important to their self-image when it is devalued by others, which may consequently lead to further decreased identification in the future. Finally, Volpone and Avery (2013) examined the impact that perceived discrimination (e.g., sex, racioethnic, age, sexual orientation) had on physical withdrawal (e.g., lateness, turnover intentions) via psychological withdrawal (e.g., burnout and disengagement). They found that resources such as personal coping strategies significantly moderated the relationships between perceived discrimination, psychological withdrawal (e.g., burnout), and physical withdrawal outcomes. Previous research shows that burnout develops in response to various types of group identity threat (e.g., stigmatization and discrimination) and can lead to negative health and withdrawal outcomes. Thus, I propose the following:

> **Hypothesis 3**: Occupational stigma will have an indirect effect on psychosomatic complaints through a) exhaustion and b) mental distance.

and

> **Hypothesis 4**: Occupational stigma will have an indirect effect on turnover intentions through a) exhaustion and b) mental distance.

Boundary Conditions of Occupational Stigma Effects

A number of different types of variables have been identified as moderators between occupational stigma and employee outcomes. For example, occupational stigma consciousness has been found to negatively affect work meaningfulness, occupational identification, and organizational production deviance but these effects are the most detrimental for call center employees with high core self-evaluations (Shantz & Booth, 2014). Conversely, the authors found that employees with low core self-evaluations experienced increased work meaningfulness

and occupational identification, as well as lower organizational production deviance when they were more salient of occupational stigma. They use self-verification theory to suggest individuals with low core self-evaluations feel more secure when given feedback that aligns with their self-views (Swann et al., 1992a, 1992b) and negative public perceptions of their occupations reinforces their negative self-perceptions. The discrepancy between the positive self-views of employees with high core self-evaluations and the negative public views of their occupation is distressing and results in negative outcomes for these employees. Guerrero, Bentein, & Garcia-Falieres (2021) found that the indirect relationship between perceptions of occupational stigma and absenteeism six months later via increased emotional exhaustion among a sample of commercial cleaning employees was moderated by the level of idiosyncratic deals (e.g., accommodations made to satisfy an individual's specific needs such as training or a change in work schedule). The presence of idiosyncratic deals, a type of job resource, available to employees reduced the negative effect that occupational stigma had on emotional exhaustion and between emotional exhaustion and absences.

Examining the moderating effect of leadership behaviors. Leader behaviors may mitigate the negative impact of occupational stigma. Schaubroeck and colleagues (2018) found the relationship between experienced work dirtiness and occupational disidentification was significant only when team-oriented leadership (e.g., leader encouragement for followers to collaborate and focus on shared goals) was low. These types of leadership behaviors are associated with increased positive unit outcomes such as increased civic virtue (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Bommer, 1996) and they allow the unit to more readily share ideologies and favorable views of their occupation (Lord et al., 1999). Leadership behaviors promoting a shared identity may facilitate the development of positive occupational ideologies (e.g., reframing) that

help employees view their work roles positively (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark, & Fugate, 2007; 2017). This can have a unifying effect rather than a distancing effect on employees' sense of self in relation to their occupation. This may explain why Pinel and Paulin (2005) failed to find significant moderating effects for supervisor support on the occupational stigma consciousness – turnover intentions link. Perceived supervisor support towards an employee may not be enough to reframe the stigma of the work, but increased collaboration and cohesion of a stigmatized group can buffer against the negative effects of the stigma by building positive occupational identity and group dynamics (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004).

The current research seeks to identify moderating variables that may attenuate the relationship between perceived occupational stigma and burnout, as well as between burnout and physical health and withdrawal. As previously described by Ashforth and Kreiner (1999), certain occupational ideologies including reframing (transforming the meaning of the stigma), recalibrating (adjusting how bad a stigmatized aspect of the work may actually be), and refocusing (shifting the focus of attention from stigmatized to non-stigmatized aspects of work) may be used to help normalize the taint associated with dirty work. These occupational ideologies are more likely to counter the effects of stigma when strong workgroup cultures exist. Within the context of law enforcement, the job activities of frontline officers often involve interactions with their shift supervisor (i.e., lieutenant). These supervisors have the ability to create positive sense-making processes among their followers by forging a sense of community and collaboration between them. Employees that feel part of a team in a stigmatized occupation may be better able to foster positive ideologies around the work that they do. Promotion of team-oriented behaviors is a valuable job resource and technique that supervisors can utilize to

mitigate the negative impact of occupational stigma on employee outcomes. Therefore, I hypothesize the following:

> **Hypothesis 5**: Team-oriented leadership will have a first stage moderating effect on the indirect effect of occupational stigma on psychosomatic complaints through a) exhaustion and b) mental distance such that the indirect effect becomes weaker in the presence of high team-building leadership

and

> **Hypothesis 6**: Team-oriented leadership will have a first stage moderating effect on the indirect effect of occupational stigma on turnover intentions through a) exhaustion and b) mental distance such that the indirect effect becomes weaker in the presence of high team-building leadership.

Examining the moderating effect of condemnation of condemners. Another method posited by Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) that may reduce the negative effects of dirty work stigma on employee outcomes involves social weighting of outside stakeholders' evaluations of the occupation. The perceptions of occupational outsiders are an important component in the occupational stigmatization process as it is these perceptions that deem an occupation "dirty" or not. Outsiders can either view the occupation favorably or unfavorably. Media coverage, in particular, can provide important sense-making information for occupational members regarding how they are viewed by outside stakeholders (Corley & Gioaia, 2004; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2000; Kjaergaard et al., 2011; Elsbach & Kramer, 1996). Occupational stigmas are further made salient via identity cues (Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008) when interacting with outside stakeholders who view the employee as representative of the occupation as whole. For example, a law enforcement officer may be called racist or questioned about high-

profile law enforcement events (e.g., the killing of Breonna Taylor) when responding to calls for service.

These social weighting tactics (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999) include condemning the condemners (e.g., devaluing those that devalue you), supporting the supporters (e.g., preference for those that support you), and making selective social comparisons (e.g., between and within occupational groups). Condemning the condemners involves criticizing the legitimacy (e.g., expertise, experience, or character) of outsiders who hold negative perceptions of the occupation (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark, & Fugate, 2007; Kreiner, Ashforth, & Sluss, 2006). This type of social weighting process is of particular interest to the current research given the pervasive anti-police rhetoric that has increased on mass and social media over recent years. Condemning those who criticize one's occupation allows the employee to lessen the impact that this stigma may have on him or her (Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark, & Fugate, 2007; Bosmans, et al., 2016; Cahill, 1999). Thus, the current research proposes the following:

> **Hypothesis 7**: Condemnations of condemners will have a first stage moderating effect on the indirect effect of occupational stigma on psychosomatic complaints through a) exhaustion and b) mental distance such that the indirect effect becomes weaker in the presence of high condemnation of condemners.

and

> **Hypothesis 8**: Condemnation of condemners will have a first stage moderating effect on the indirect effect of occupational stigma on turnover intentions through a) exhaustion and b) mental distance such that the indirect effect becomes weaker in the presence of high condemnation of condemners.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Participants and Procedure

Sworn patrol officers working in the U.S. were targeted for this study. To be eligible, participants had to be at least 18 years old, work full-time as a patrol office at a police department, and have been employed as a patrol officer for at least one month. Patrol officers were specifically chosen for this study given their high level of interaction with the public. The majority of the 512 participants were male (88%) and white (78%) and nearly half (49%) possessed a bachelor's degree. The average age was 32.98 years (SD = 8.24). Participants worked in law enforcement for an average of 7.71 years (SD = 6.94) and were employed in their respective agencies for 6.99 years (SD = 6.43). More than a third (37%) had at least one family member that currently worked or had worked in law enforcement. A total of 781 patrol officers employed across six police departments in four southeastern states comprised the initial potential study sample. Due to logistical limitations (e.g., officers on sick leave, squad rotations, financial constraints), on-site recruitment and survey administration activities were not able to reach all employed patrol officers. A total of 515 officers (66%) were present during the site visits. Of these officers, 512 completed the survey resulting in a response rate of 99%.

Recruitment occurred in stages. First, agencies were targeted based on the researcher's professional network and snowball sampling (Grant & Meyer, 2009; Piccolo, Greenbaum, Den Hartog, & Folder, 2010). An email describing the purpose and logistics of the study was sent out to leadership at each agency. Agencies that agreed to participate were then provided a

recruitment letter to share with patrol supervisors and front-line patrol officers via email describing the research activities and voluntary nature of the study. The researcher then coordinated site visits to present opportunities for patrol officers to complete the survey. The researcher attended rolls calls to describe the nature of the study and the confidentiality process before administering hardcopy surveys to any officers that wanted to participate. In-person collection of survey data has been strongly recommended when conducting research with law enforcement populations due to low response rate when using other methods (Paoline & Terrill, 2013).

Measures

All measures used a 5-point response set ranging from 1 ("Strongly Disagree") to 5 ("Strongly Agree") unless otherwise specified. Structural equation modeling (SEM) and M*plus* statistical software (Muthen & Muthen, 2017) were used to conduct confirmatory factory analyses (CFAs; Anderson & Gerbing, 2008; Lance & Vandenberg, 2002) on the burnout and condemnation of condemners scale, as well as the measurement model, prior to testing hypotheses. The findings from these CFAs are shown in Table 1 for burnout, Table 2 for condemnation of condemners and Table 3 for the measurement model. A complete list of all scale items included in the study is presented in Appendix A.

Occupational stigma perception. A four-item measure adapted from Schaubroeck et al.'s (2018) measure of occupational stigma perception was used to assess officers' perceptions that their occupation is stigmatized. The items included, "Most people would not want to associate themselves with a job like mine", "Few people would be proud to have my job", "People in my occupation are devalued by others", and "People may treat me with less respect because of my occupation." The wording from one item from the original scale, "Most people

would consider my occupation disgusting or degrading" was omitted due to its content being more specifically reflective of a physical taint. The coefficient alpha for this measure in the current study was $\alpha = .72$. A discussion of the reliability rating for this scale is provided in a later section.

Burnout. The exhaustion and mental distance subscales from the Burnout Assessment Tool – Core (BAT-C; Schaufeli, Desart, and De Witte, 2020) were used to measure burnout. Responses ranged from "Never" (1) to "Always" (5). The BAT is a recently validated measure developed to combat some of the validity and psychometric issues present in the two of the most widely used measures of burnout in the organizational literature (i.e., the Maslach Burnout Inventory and Oldenberg Burnout Inventory; Demerouti, Bakker, Vardakou, & Kantas, 2003; Maslach; Schaufeli, Leiter, Maslach, & Jackson, 1996). The full BAT consists of 33 items that measure core (BAT-C) and secondary (BAT-S) symptoms of burnout. In order to reduce the survey length and more closely align with previous research on burnout, the proposed research only used the 8-item exhaustion and 5-item mental distance sub-scales from the BAT-C rather than the full scale. Sample items from the exhaustion scale included, "At work, I feel physically exhausted" and "At the end of my work day, I feel mentally exhausted and drained." Sample items from the mental distance scale included, "I struggle to find enthusiasm for my work" and "I'm cynical about what my work means to others." The coefficient alphas for exhaustion and mental distance were $\alpha = .88$ and $\alpha = .83$, respectively.

The factor structure of burnout was examined using CFAs and a number of model fit indices (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Lance & Vandenberg, 2002) including the chi-square goodness-of-fit test (χ^2), the comparative fit index (CFI; Bentler, 1990), Tucker – Lewis Index (TLI; Tucker & Lewis, 1973), root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA; Steiger, 1990), and

standardized root mean square residual (SRMR; Bentler. 1995). Previous research suggests adequate model fit is indicated by CFI and TLI values > .90, RMSEA values < .08, and SRMR values < .10 while good model fit is represented by CFI and TLI values ≥ .95, RMSEA values ≤ .06, and SRMR values ≤ .08) (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Lance & Vandenberg, 2002; Tanaka, 1993). Data were non-independent (discussed in more detail in a later section), thus, all CFAs were conducted using the MLR function in M*plus (*Muthen & Muthen, 2017) which calculates robust standard errors using the Huber-White sandwich estimator (Huber, 1967; White, 1982) and adjusted chi-square statistics. As such, the Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square difference test (Satorra & Bentler, 2010) was also used. A one-factor model of burnout was tested first and showed poor fit to the data, ($\chi^2(65) = 524.92$, $p = .00$, CFI = .82, TLI = .79, RMSEA = .12 [90% CI = .111, .131], SRMR = .07). A two-factor model delineating exhaustion and mental distance showed better fit to the data, ($\chi^2(64) = 257.57$, $p = .00$, CFI = .93, TLI = .91, RMSEA = .08 [90% CI = .065, .086], SRMR = .05). Thus, a two-factor model of burnout was retained for the remainder of analyses. Table 1 displays the model fit statistics and model comparisons[1] for each of the burnout models.

Turnover intentions. Kelloway, Gottlieb, and Barham's (1999) four-item measure of turnover intentions was used to assess turnover intentions. These items included: "I am thinking about leaving this agency", "I am planning to look for a new job", "I intend to ask people about new job opportunities" and "I don't plan to be in the agency much longer." The reliability statistic for this scale was $\alpha = .94$.

Team-oriented leadership. Team-oriented leadership behaviors was assessed using a scale adapted from Podsakoff et al.'s (1996) Fostering an Acceptance of Group Goals measure.

[1] Adjusted χ^2 and $\Delta\chi^2$ values have been calculated using a scaling correction because the Huber-White robust estimator was used in analyses.

These items include, “Fosters collaboration among his/her officers/deputies”, “Encourages officers to be team players”, “Gets the group to work together for the same goal, and “Develops a team attitude and spirit among his/her officers/deputies.” Officers were instructed to respond to these items with their shift supervisor (i.e., lieutenant) in mind. The coefficient alpha for this scale was $\alpha = .95$.

Table 1

Goodness of Fit Indices and Difference Tests for Burnout Model Comparisons

Model	χ^2	df	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR
Model 1: 1 factor (global)	524.92[a]	65	.82	.79	.12	.07
Model 2: 2 factors (exhaustion & mental distance)	257.57[a]	64	.93	.91	.08	.05
Model Comparison	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf				
Model 1 vs. Model 2	737.99[b*]	1				

[a] χ^2 value adjusted with MLR scaling correction

[b] value calculated using Satorra-Bentler scaled χ^2 difference test

* $p < .001$

Condemnation of condemners. A measure was created for the current study assessing patrol officers’ perceptions of people who are critical of the law enforcement occupation. The measure included five items that tapped into the devaluation of outsiders’ knowledge, expertise, motivation, and character as demonstrated by previous qualitative work on social weighting in dirty work occupations (Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark, & Fugate, 2007; Bosmans et al., 2016). These items included the following: “People that are highly critical of the police often do not fully understand what we do”, “People that dislike the police often have criminal backgrounds”, “People that want to defund the police are ignorant of the impact that can have on communities”,

"People that are outspoken about disliking the police are just looking for attention", and "People that are a part of anti-police groups only harm our communities."

The factor structure of this measure was examined using CFAs (A one-factor model of the condemnation of outsiders scale was tested first and showed poor fit to the data, ($\chi^2(5)$ = 71.92, p = .00, CFI = .89, TLI = .78, RMSEA = .16 [90% CI = .131, .198], SRMR = .06). Examination of the standardized factor loadings showed that one item in particular, "People that are highly critical of the police often do not fully understand what we do" had a low loading (i.e., .34). A second CFA was conducted without this item and showed improved fit to the data, albeit not along every fit index, ($\chi^2(2)$ = 34.07, p = .00, CFI = .95, TLI = .85, RMSEA = .18 [90% CI = .129, .234], SRMR = .03). Thus, the four-item one-factor structure of the condemnation of others was retained for the rest of the analyses. Table 2 displays the model fit indices and chi-square difference tests[2] for condemnation of condemners. Cronbach's alpha for the four-item scale was α = .77.

Table 2

Goodness of Fit and Difference Tests for Condemnation of Condemners Model Comparisons

Model	χ^2	df	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR
Model 1: 1 factor (5 items)	71.92[a]	5	.89	.78	.16	.06
Model 2: 1 factor (4 items)	34.07[a]	2	.95	.85	.18	.03
Model Comparison	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf				
Model 1 vs. Model 2	40.09[b*]	3				

[a] χ^2 value adjusted with MLR scaling correction

[b] value calculated using Satorra-Bentler scaled χ^2 difference test

* $p < .001$

[2] Adjusted χ^2 and $\Delta\chi^2$ values have been calculated using a scaling correction because the Huber-White robust estimator was used in analyses.

Psychosomatic complaints. Schaufeli, Desart, and De Witte's (2020) five-item measure of psychosomatic complaints from the Burnout Assessment Test – Secondary (BAT-S) was used to assess psychosomatic complaints. These items included, "I suffer from palpitations of chest pain", "I suffer from stomach and/or intestinal complaints", "I suffer from headaches", "I suffer from muscle pain, for example in the neck, shoulder, or back", and "I tend to get sick." Responses were anchored from "Never" (1) to "Always" (5). The coefficient alpha for this measure was $\alpha = .73$.

Officer demographics. Officer age, race, gender, highest level of education, law enforcement tenure, and organizational tenure were also assessed.

Controls. Demographic variables including organizational tenure, age, and gender were included as control variables based on their associations with turnover intentions (Cotton & Tuttle, 1986; Riketta, 2005; Cooper-Hakin & Viswesvaran, 2005). Law enforcement family background, coded "yes" or "no", was also included as a control variable. Three modified items from Meyer, Allen, and Smith's (1993) occupational continuance commitment scale were included to account for the perceived need to stay within the law enforcement occupation due to invested resources and a lack of alternative options. These items included, "Changing professions now would be difficult for me to do", "Too much of my life would be disrupted is I were to change my profession", "Changing professions now would require considerable personal sacrifice (for example, losing my benefits)." The coefficient alpha for the continuance commitment measure was $\alpha = .92$.

Measurement Model

Specification of the measurement model was conducted prior to conducting hypothesis testing (Anderson & Gerbing, 2008; Kline. 2011; Lance & Vandenberg, 2002). A global model

fitting all indicators onto one latent factor was tested first and showed poor fit to the data, (χ^2 (527) = 5376.59, p = .00, CFI = .40, TLI = .36, RMSEA = .13 [90% CI = .131, .137], SRMR = .13).

Next, a six-factor model depicting occupational stigma, burnout as one factor, turnover intentions, psychosomatic complaints, leader team-building, and condemnation of condemners was evaluated and showed good fit to the data, (χ^2 (512) = 1221.97, p = .00, CFI = .91, TLI = .90, RMSEA = .05 [90% CI = .048, .056], SRMR = .05). Finally, a seven-factor model representing the previous latent variables and burnout as two factors (i.e., exhaustion and mental distance) showed the best fit to the data (χ^2(506) = 904.93, p = .00, CFI = .95, TLI = .95, RMSEA = .04 0% CI = .035, .043], SRMR = .04). The seven-factor model was retained for the rest of the analyses. Table 3 depicts the model comparisons for the three measurement models tested. Table 3 depicts the model fit indices and comparisons for the measurement models[3].

Table 3

Goodness of Fit Indices and Difference Test for Measurement Model Comparisons

Model	χ^2	df	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR
Model 1: 1 factor (global)	5376.56[a]	527	.40	.36	.13	.13
Model 2: 6 factors (burnout as 1 factor)	1221.97[a]	512	.91	.90	.05	.05
Model 3: 7 factors (burnout as 2 factors)	904.93	506	.95	.95	.04	.04
Model Comparisons	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf				
Model 1 vs. Model 2	4555.04[b*]	15				
Model 1 vs. Model 3	4898.85[b*]	21				
Model 2 vs. Model 3	343.81[b*]	6				

[a] χ^2 value adjusted with MLR scaling correction

[b] value calculated using Satorra-Bentler scaled χ^2 difference test

* $p < .001$

[3] Adjusted χ^2 and $\Delta\chi^2$ values have been calculated using a scaling correction because the Huber-White robust estimator was used in analyses.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSES

Structural Equation Modeling

Structural equation modeling (SEM) and M*plus* statistical software (Muthen & Muthen, 2017) were used to conduct CFAs (Anderson & Gerbing, 2008; Lance & Vandenberg, 2002) and hypotheses tests. SEM was utilized based on its ability to simultaneously estimate all path coefficients using full-information maximum likelihood (FIML) estimation (Bollen, 1989; Joreskog, 1970, 1971) and produce unbiased parameter estimates and standard errors when addressing missing data (Enders & Bandalos, 2001).

As previously mentioned, data violated the SEM assumption of independence as respondents were nested within workgroups that shared the same shift supervisor (i.e., lieutenant). As such, intraclass correlations (ICC(1)) were calculated to determine the extent to which group membership accounted for variance in individual-level responses (Bartko, 1976; Bliese, 2000; Bliese & Halverson, 1998; Bryk & Raudenbush, 1992; James, 1982). There were a total of 41 workgroups comprised of 512 patrol officers. Group sizes ranged from 5 to 26 members, thus, an average of the group sizes (i.e., 12.49) was used in place of *k* (Bliese & Halverson, 1998). LeBreton and Senter (2008) suggested an ICC(1) score of .05 may indicate the existence of a group effect. As expected, a number of variables were associated with substantial ICC(1) scores (e.g., .05 - .24, see Table 4) indicating the need to correct for non-independence. Therefore, robust standard errors were calculated using the Huber-White sandwich estimator (Huber, 1967; White, 1982) which provides more accurate parameter estimates in the presence of

non-independence (Killduff, Crossland, Tsai, & Krackhadt; Little, Nelson, Quade, & Ward, 2011).

Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations, Intraclass Correlation, and Bivariate Correlations of Study Variables

	Variable	*M*	*SD*	*ICC(1)*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.	Stigma	3.51	.70	.02	(.72)									
2.	Psychosomatic	2.10	.66	.05	.23**	(.73)								
3.	Turnover Int.	2.41	1.15	.09	.18**	.17**	(.94)							
4.	Exhaustion	2.76	.66	.03	.26**	.55**	.34**	(.88)						
5.	Mental Distance	2.25	.74	.02	.24**	.35**	.44**	.60**	(.83)					
6.	Team-building	4.10	.82	.24	-.05	.00	-.15**	-.07	-.11*	(.95)				
7.	Condemnation	3.72	.75	.08	.23**	.11*	.03	.13**	.21**	-.04	(.77)			
8.	Cont. Comm.	3.45	1.16	.01	.11*	.21**	-.21**	.15**	.16**	.01	.21**	(.92)		
9.	Org. Tenure	84.17	78.08	.10	.02	.06	.11*	.21**	.21**	-.06	.19**	.33**	1.00	
10.	Age	33.04	8.28	.09	.01	-.04	-.01	.13**	.13*	-.02	.16**	.31**	.78**	1.00

n = 478

Coefficient alpha reliablility estimates are in parantheses.

***p < .01, *p < .05*

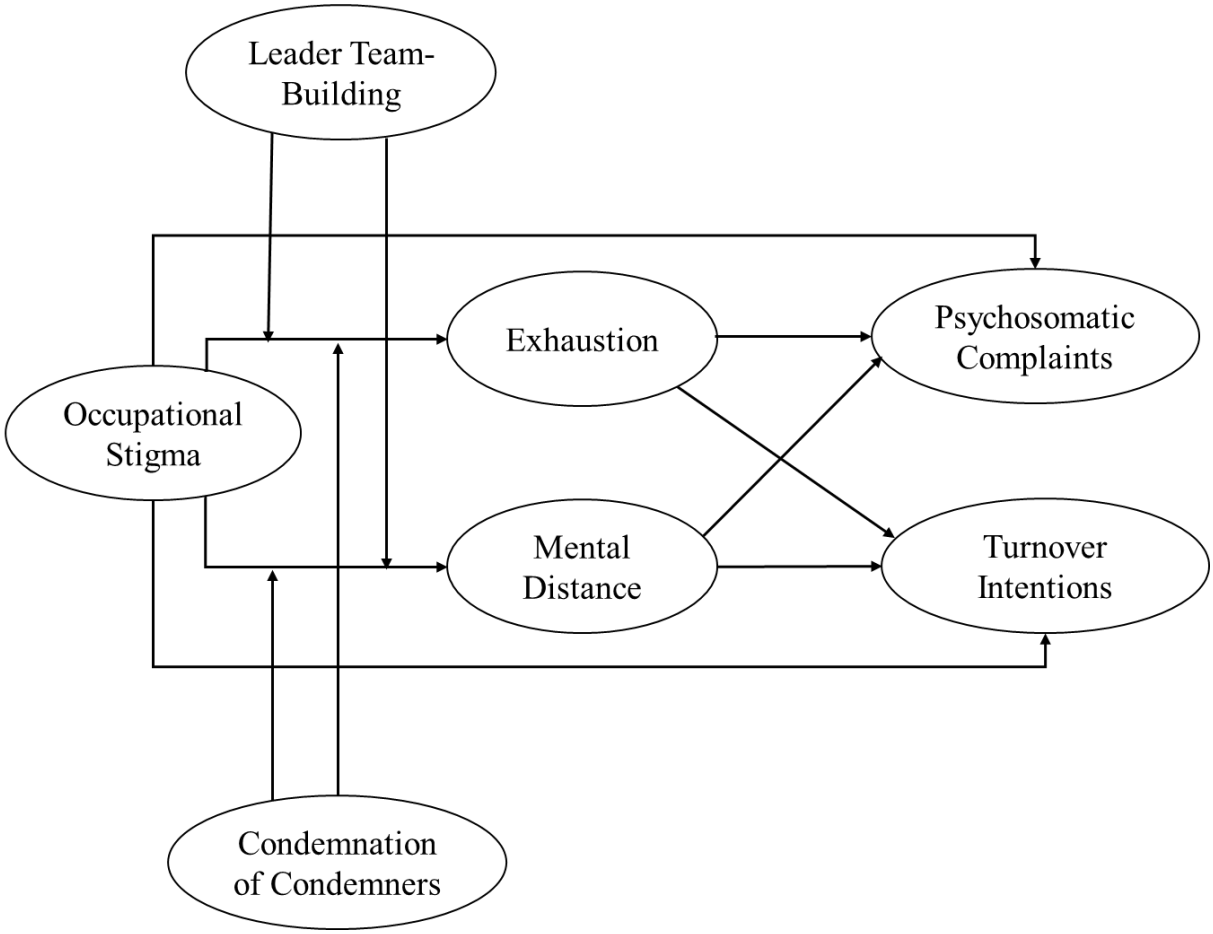
Indirect Effects and Conditional Indirect Effects

The overall conceptual model representing the proposed hypotheses (see Figure 1) depicted conditional indirect effects (Hayes, 2015; Hayes, 2022; Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007) or what is also referred to as moderated mediation (Edwards & Lambert, 2007; Muller, Judd, & Yzerbyt, 2005). The effects decomposition feature in M*plus*' (Muthen & Muthen, 2017) was used to conduct mediation analyses and model constraints were used to test conditional indirect effects. Bootstrapping with 5,000 resamples and 95% confidence intervals (Preacher & Hayes, 2004; Preacher et al., 2007; Hayes, 2022) were used to test all indirect effects.

Previous recommendations by Hayes (see Figure 11.1, Panel A, p. 414, 2022) and Edwards and Lambert (see Figure 1, Panel B, p. 4, 2007) were used to guide the statistical model

Figure 1

Conceptual Model

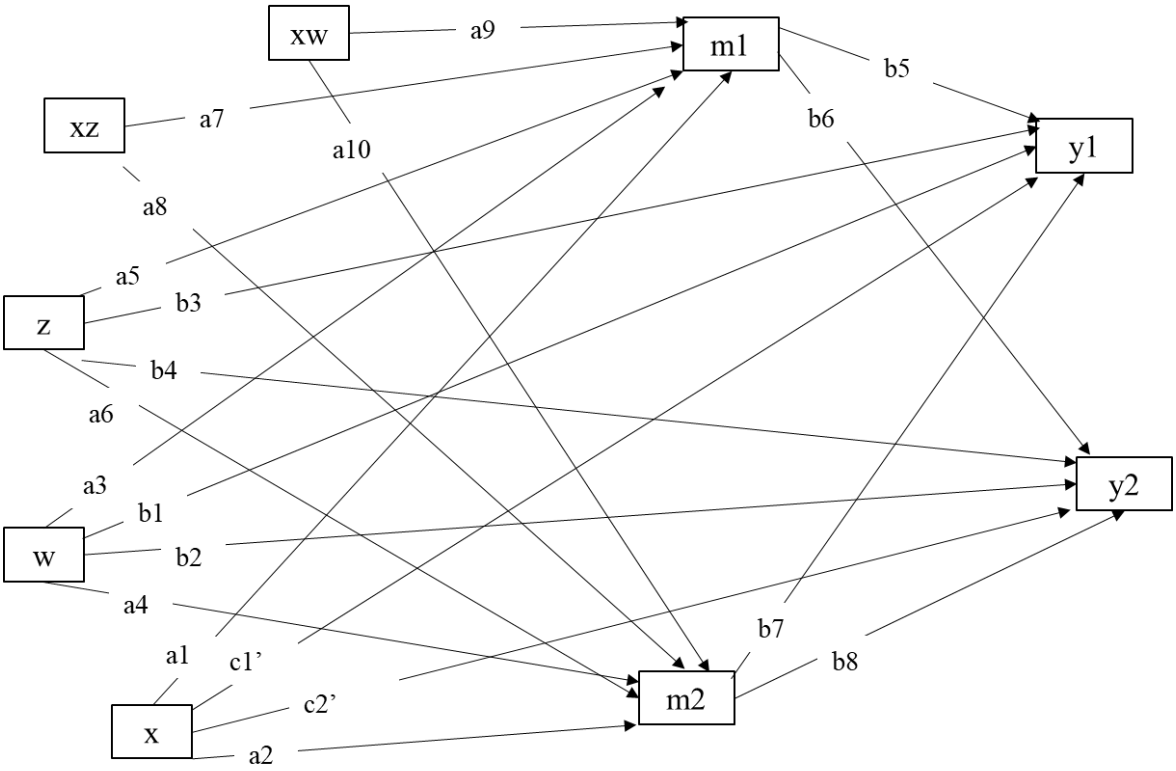


(see Figure 2) and equations used to test the condition indirect hypotheses. Conditional indirect effects can be examined in a similar fashion as simple mediation, where the products of the paths of influence (e.g., a and b paths) are calculated, however, now the products involve one or more paths that are also a function of a given moderating variable (Hayes, 2015; 2022; Edwards & Lambert, 2007; Muller et al., 2005; Preacher et al., 2007). To examine first stage moderation, each indirect effect was examined as a product of the conditional effect of X on M and the effect of M on Y controlling for X by testing an *index of moderated mediation* as described by Hayes

(2015; 2022). This index offers a single inferential test of moderated mediation. If significant, follow-up investigation of the conditional indirect effect can be conducted by estimating this effect at different values of the moderator and examining the simple slopes (Aiken & West, 1991; Hayes, 2015; 2022; Preacher et al., 2007).

Figure 2

Statistical Model Used for Conditional Indirect Analyses



Note: Control variables are excluded from this figure to increase visual clarity. X = occupational stigma; w = team-oriented leadership, z = condemnation of condemners; m1 = exhaustion; m2= mental distance; y1 = psychosomatic complaints; y2 = turnover intentions. Interaction terms are represented by xw and xz.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

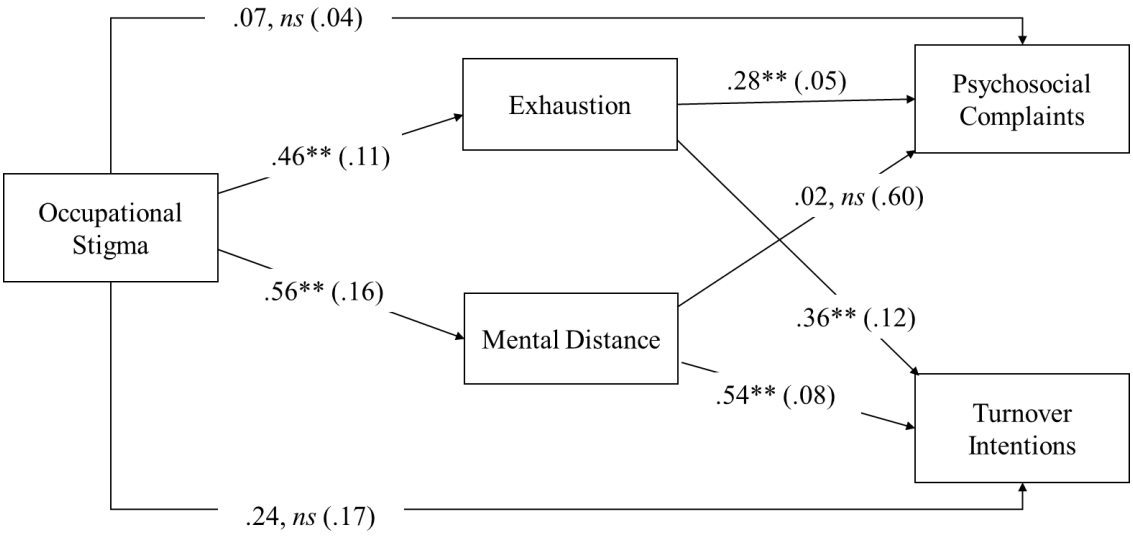
Hypothesis 1 predicted that occupational stigma is positively related to psychosomatic complaints. The direct effect between occupational stigma and psychosomatic complaints was not significant, (b = .07, SE = .04, p = .10). Thus, Hypothesis 1 was not supported. Hypothesis 2 predicted occupational stigma is positively related to turnover intentions. The direct effect between occupational stigma and turnover intentions also failed to meet significance (b = .24, SE = .17, p = .17). Hypothesis 2 was not supported. A direct relationship between the predictor and outcome variable is not a required condition for mediation (Preacher & Hayes, 2004), therefore a test of the mediating effect of burnout on these relationships was still conducted.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that occupational stigma indirectly affects psychosomatic complaints through a) exhaustion and b) mental distance. The results show the indirect effect of occupational stigma on psychosomatic complaints is significant through exhaustion (b = .13, p = .003, 95% CI [.044, .214]), but not mental distance (b = .01, p = .72, 95% CI [-.038, .055]). Thus, Hypothesis 3a was supported but 3b was not supported.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that occupational stigma indirectly affects turnover intentions through a) exhaustion and b) mental distance. Results show that the indirect effect of occupational stigma on turnover intentions is significant for exhaustion (b = .16, p = .00, 95% CI [.019, .307]), as well as mental distance (b = .32, p = .00, 95% CI [.101, .544]),). The results fully support Hypothesis 4. See Figure 3 for the overall mediation model.

Figure 3

Results of Hypothesized Mediation Model



Note: Path weights are unstandardized b weights and standard errors are displayed in parentheses.

Hypothesis 5 predicted team-oriented leadership will have a first stage conditional effect on the indirect effect of occupational stigma on psychosomatic complaints through a) exhaustion and b) mental distance such that the indirect effect becomes weaker in the presence of high team-building leadership. The index of moderated mediation (Hayes, 2015; 2022) testing the first stage conditional effect of team-oriented leadership on the occupational stigma → exhaustion → psychosomatic complaints relationship and was not significant, (b = .02, p = .41, 95% CI [-.032, .072]), thus Hypothesis 5a was not supported. The first stage conditional effect of team-oriented leadership on the occupational stigma → mental distance → psychosomatic complaints relationship was also not significant, (b = .00, p = .68, 95% CI [-.003, .023]). Hypothesis 5b was

not supported. No follow-up analyses of the conditional effects simple slopes were conducted as no indexes of moderated mediation were statistically significant (Hayes, 2015; 2022).

Hypothesis 6 examined the first stage moderation effect of team-oriented leadership on the indirect effect of occupational stigma on turnover intentions through a) exhaustion and b) mental distance. The conditional indirect effect through exhaustion was not significant, (b = .01, p = .30, 95% CI [-.016, .050]). Hypothesis 6a was not supported. The conditional indirect effect through mental distance was not significant (b = .03, p = .30, 95% CI [-.030, .098]). Thus, Hypothesis 6b was not supported.

Hypothesis 7 predicted condemnation of condemners will have a first stage conditional effect on the indirect effect of occupational stigma on psychosomatic complaints through a) exhaustion and b) mental distance such that the indirect effect becomes weaker in the presence of high condemnation of condemners. The conditional effect on the occupational stigma → exhaustion → psychosomatic complaints relationship was not significant, (b =- .03, p = .31, 95% CI [-.081, .029]), thus Hypothesis 7a was not supported. The conditional effect of condemnation of condemners on the indirect effect of occupational stigma on turnover intentions through mental distance was also not significant, (b = .00, p = .66, 95% CI [-.029, .004]). Hypothesis 7b was not supported.

Hypothesis 8 predicted the first stage moderation effect of condemnation of condemners on the indirect effect of occupational stigma on turnover intentions through a) exhaustion and b) mental distance. The conditional indirect effect through exhaustion was not significant, (b = -.02, p = .33, 95% CI [-.056, .015]), nor was the conditional effect through mental distance (b = -.04, p = .23, 95% CI [-.111, .029]). Therefore, Hypothesis 8b was not supported.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

This study examined the effects of occupational stigma on employee well-being and withdrawal using a sample of law enforcement officers. Results provide support for the JD-R model (Demerouti et al., 2001) and COR theory (Hobfall, 1989) approach to understanding occupational stigma as a job demand that predicts employee strain. Findings identified burnout as an important mediating factor in the relationships between occupational stigma and psychosomatic complaints, as well as turnover intentions. Furthermore, the dimension of burnout, emotional exhaustion or mental distance, showed different effects on psychosomatic complaints and turnover intentions. Additionally, the two boundary conditions examined, team-oriented leadership and condemnation of condemners, failed to provide support for the moderating impact of job resources on the negative effects of job demands (Bakker, et al., 2005; Xanthopoulou et al., 2007). Despite this, several conclusions can be drawn from the findings. A discussion of the theoretical and practical implications, limitations and strengths of the study, and directions for future research as presented in the following sections.

Theoretical Implications

The findings from this study provide several implications for theory on dirty work and stigma. First, the significant indirect effect of occupational stigma on psychosomatic complaints through exhaustion reflects a loss of resources through the health-impairment process of the JD-R model (Bakker & Demerouti, 2014; Demerouti et al., 2001; Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Hobfall, 1989). This finding supports previous research on the effects of dirty work on psychological and

physical well-being (Barbier et al., 2013; Bentein et al., 2017) and further suggests this type of stigma may accurately be conceptualized as a job demand that results in employee strain. Additionally, these findings extend theory on the deleterious effects of group stigmatization on physical well-being (Araujo-Dawson, 2009; Lewis, Derlega, Clarke, & Kuang, 2006; Major & O'Brien, 2005; Meyer, 2003; Raver & Nishii, 2010) by including occupational group as a potential stigmatizing factor beyond more commonly examined stigmas such as race/ethnicity or sexual orientation. The indirect effect of occupational stigma on psychosomatic complaints through mental distance was not significant. The difference in mediating effects may due to the stronger conceptual link between the exhaustion measure and psychosomatic complaints (e.g., both involve physical symptoms) than the mental distance measure which represents more of a psychological connection to the work. Indeed, the path between occupational stigma and mental distance is significant, however the path between mental distance and psychosomatic symptoms is not.

Second, results from this study show that occupational stigma affects employee turnover intentions indirectly through both exhaustion and mental distance. This supports previous research linking work-related stigma to various withdrawal outcomes (Guerrero et al., 2021; Pinel & Pauline, 2005; Wildes, 2005), however the current study is the first to demonstrate the specific relationships between occupational stigma, burnout, and turnover intentions. The findings also contradict the health-impairment versus motivational processes suggested to occur in the JD-R model (Demerouti et al., 2001; Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Bakker et al., 2003), which delineate a stronger pathway between job demands and health-related outcomes while job resources are suggested to have a stronger pathway with motivation-based outcomes. The findings in the present study show a stronger mediating effect of both exhaustion and mental

distance on the stigma-turnover intentions compared to the stigma-psychosomatic complaints relationship. This may be largely in part due to the low reliability of the psychosomatic complaints scale ($\alpha = .73$) compared to the turnover intentions scale ($\alpha = .95$). Further examination of the health impairment versus motivational processes within the context of occupational stigma is warranted. Mental distance had a stronger mediating effect on turnover intentions than exhaustion, which suggests this aspect of burnout may be more closely related to the motivational process of the JD-R model than the health process.

Finally, neither moderator variable significantly affected the indirect effects of occupational stigma on psychosomatic complaints or turnover intentions through either mediator. Team-oriented leadership was operationalized as leader behaviors that promote employees working together as a team, sharing goals, collaborating, and developing a team attitude/spirit (Podsakoff et al., 1996). It is possible that the nature of the job tasks involved in this particular occupation (i.e., patrol officers) are less interdependent than in other occupations, thus concepts such as building collaboration are less impactful for these followers. Another explanation for the null findings may be that the context of the team-oriented behaviors need to be more specific to building positive occupational ideologies around the meaning of the work (i.e., more specifically involve behaviors that reframe, refocus, and recalibrate the dirty work; Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark, & Fugate, 2007) in order to more strongly mitigate the effects of occupational stigma. Leader behaviors that target the positive meaningfulness of the work, emphasis non-stigmatized aspects of the work, and encourage alternative ways of viewing different work tasks rather may be more successful in reducing the negative effects of occupational stigma compared to more general team-building behaviors.

Condemnation of condemners was included in the study based on its theoretical potential to be used as a social weighting tool to buffer against the negative effects of perceived occupational stigma. More specifically, psychologically derogating individuals that hold stigmatized beliefs about one's occupation may help delegitimize and invalidate these negative beliefs (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Ashforth & Kreiner, 2014; Gold, 1964; Rollins, 1985; Sykes & Matza, 1957). In essence, condemnation of those that criticize the profession serves as a defense mechanism for stigmatized occupational members. To condemn the condemners means to, "impugn the motives, character, knowledge, or authority – in short, the legitimacy – of critical outsider as moral arbiters" (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; p. 424). The measure of condemnation of condemners was created for the present study, as no other measures currently exist. This measure consisted of items representing one's beliefs that critics of the law enforcement occupation had criminal backgrounds, were ignorant of the effect that defunding the police has on communities, were simply seeking attention, and that anti-police groups did more harm than good. Cronbach's alpha for this unidimensional measure was .77 indicating that the internal consistency (Cortina, 1993) of these items could be stronger. A longer measure, possibly with multiple dimensions, representing this construct would be a more comprehensive way to assess the effects of condemnation of condemners on occupational stigma.

Practical Implications

Organizations and supervisors operating within stigmatized occupations should be aware of factors that may lessen employee perceptions of occupational stigma and feelings of burnout as these appear to impact employee health and withdrawal. Burnout was shown to be an important variable in the stigma-outcomes relationships. Findings from experimental field research and randomized control trials show that a variety of interventions can significantly

reduce employee burnout including mindfulness training, co-worker civility training, and coaching around chronic health issues (Hülsheger, Alberts, Feinholdt, & Lang, 2012; Leiter, Laschinger, Day, & Oore, 2011; McGonagle, Beatty, & Joffe, 2014). Dirty work organizations should understand the risk of burnout faced by their employees and take steps to implement programs and training that can support them by targeting this type of strain in particular.

While the moderating variables in the present study were not significant they may still inform recommendations from the dirty work literature. As previously mentioned, leaders may influence their followers' perceived stigmatization of their occupations by reframing (e.g., viewing the work as a badge of honor, viewing the work as necessary for society), refocusing (e.g., drawing attention to non-stigmatized aspects of the work such as pay or flexible schedules), and recalibrating (e.g., focusing on more positive aspects of the work, downplaying or neutralizing negative work tasks) (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Ashforth et al., 2007; McIntyre, 1987; Miller, 1978; Reed, 1989; Thompson, 1991; Thompson & Harred, 1992). Additionally, positive occupational ideologies are suggested develop more readily when work-group cohesion and culture are strong rather than weak (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). Therefore, leaders should also use behaviors that increase work group cohesion such as showing consideration for their followers, and fostering group goals and teamwork (Callow, Smith, Hardy, Arthur,& Hardy, 2009; Korsgaard et al., 1995). However, as shown by this study's findings, simply building team cohesion, values and goals is not enough. Supervisors should be trained on how implement behaviors that more directly tap into the concepts of reframing, refocusing, and recalibrating.

Law enforcement, in particular, should focus on building resiliency programs focused on occupational stigma and burnout based on the findings from this study. Poor officer health and withdrawal is particularly important for law enforcement agencies given the higher mortality rate

and severe health issues associated with officers compared to the general public (Hartley et al., 2011; Violanti et al., 2013) and the high costs associated with recruitment, hiring, and training (McElroy, Morrow, & Warlow, 1999; Orrick, 2005, 2008). Turnover, in particular, creates significant challenges for agencies due to losses in employee knowledge and skills acquired over years of required training, as well as the resource burden of attracting and hiring qualified replacements, which can be more costly compared to other types of organizations (Evans, Christopher, & Stoffel, 2000; National Institute of Justice, 2004; Weisberg & Kirschenbaum, 1991). Furthermore, the learning curve for new hires is particularly steep in policing, thus lowering productivity during an officer's early years and impacting agency effectiveness. Turnover renders agencies unable to maintain sufficient staffing levels, resulting in a lower quality of services provided to the community, limited officer availability and information-sharing, decreased employee morale, diminished relationships within the community, and decreased officer safety due to increased workloads without increased resources (Griffeth, Hom, & Gaertner, 2000; Harris & Baldwin, 1999; Koper et al., 2001; Lynch & Tuckey, 2008; Wood, 2002). Thus, identifying additional factors that may lessen the development of perceived occupational stigma or burnout is imperative for this occupation.

Limitations and Strengths

This study has limitations that must be considered in lieu of the findings. Data were collected during a single time point making inferences about causality unattainable. Additionally, data were collected from a single source which makes parameter estimates subject to common method bias (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003), however increasing model complexity (e.g., moderated mediation) can help alleviate its impact. Three of the main study variables, occupational stigma, psychosomatic complaints, and condemnation of condemners,

each had relatively low reliability coefficients (i.e., .72 - .77) suggesting that estimates and results involving these measures should be interpreted with caution. While a reliability rating cut-off of .70 has been widely accepted in the organizational literature, reliabilities closer to .80 are more desirable for commonly-used scales; however, scales with lower reliabilities can be permissible in nascent areas of research (Lance, Butts, & Michels, 2006; Nunnally, 1978). To this point, none of the scales with $\alpha < .80$ are widely-used in the present organizational literature.

These scales were chosen for the current study because of the limited availability of measures for these specific construct in the literature, as well as scale length, as survey time completion was a concern for participating organizations. The occupational stigma measure used in the current study was the only previously validated measure available that was developed specifically to asses occupational stigma. This measure was also originally developed in Chinese (Lai, Lam, & Chan, 2010) and was translated into English for one previous study using a sample consisting of multiple occupations ($\alpha = .84$; Schaubroeck et al., 2018). The present study sample consists exclusively of law enforcement employees, thus examining the psychometric properties of this measure in other singular-occupation samples should be considered by dirty work researchers. The psychosomatic complaints measure was only recently validated (Schaufeli et al., 2020) and was chosen based on its short length. Finally, the condemnation of condemners scale was created for the study. Item content was determined based on previous theoretical and qualitative dirty work research (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark, & Fugate, 2007; Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark, & Fugate, 2017; Bosmans, et al., 2015; Rabelo & Mahalingam, 2019). A more rigorous scale development process (e.g., Hinkin & Tracey, 1999) should be conducted to better refine the validity of the condemnation of condemners measure. The low reliabilities found in this study may be more permissible due to the novelty of this area of

research and its contribution to the literature, however future research should take effort to improve current or develop better measures of perceptions of occupational stigma and condemnation of outsiders.

Despite these limitations, the findings from this research offer several theoretical and practical implications for dirty work and the law enforcement profession. This novel research comes during a time when law enforcement face a critical retention issue. Additionally, data were collected from six law enforcement organizations across multiple states in the U.S., indicating that these findings are generalizable to the larger law enforcement population.

Directions for Future Research

The findings from this study illuminated multiple avenues for future research. First and foremost, the dirty work literature would benefit from the development of a psychometrically sound measure of occupational stigma that consists of more items and taps into multiple dimensions of this stigma. Alternative measures of work stigma focus on dirty work tasks (Pinel & Pauline, 2005; Schaubroeck et al., 2018) rather than the perception that others stigmatize your occupation, thus a gap currently exists in the literature regarding assessment of this construct. As previously mentioned, other more systematic approaches to developing a test of perceived occupational stigma (Tracey & Hinkin, 1999) should be examined. Additionally, the measurement of condemnation of condemners may be improved by using grounded theory approaches (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998) to better inform researchers of the psychological mechanisms that take place when one condemns occupational condemners. Future measures of this construct should be developed with care.

Other than identity-related constructs, employee well-being and withdrawal have been some of the more studied variables in the dirty work literature. Future research should consider

further extending outcomes of occupational stigma to include other important workplace factors such as task performance and prosocial behaviors. To that end, future studies should consider additional types of job resources that may serve as boundary conditions in the stigma-strain relationships, however these studies should choose constructs that more closely map onto those described by Ashforth and Kreiner (1999).

Finally, it would be interesting to see how work design approaches may be used to reduce the development of or mitigate the effects of occupational stigma. For example, can a relational job design (Grant, 2007), where employees are able to see the impact of their work on other people, help them feel less stigmatized and more value for the occupation? Within the context of patrol officers, could reunification with citizens involved in calls that ended in success help officers see the merit of their work? Future research should examine whether relational work designs may alleviate some of the negative effects associated with occupational stigma, and if so, what aspects of this work design seem to be the most motivational for employees.

Conclusions

The main purpose of the current study was to investigate predictors and boundary conditions within dirty work (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Hughes, 1951) processes by examining the effects of perceived occupational stigma on various employee outcomes. Another goal of the proposed research was to offer recommendations for mechanisms that may mitigate the negative impact of occupational stigma. Burnout, in the form of exhaustion and mental distance, was found to significantly mediate the relationships between occupational stigma and employee outcomes. Contrary to the JD-R model's proposition that job resources can buffer against the negative effects that job demands have on employee strain (Bakker, et al., 2005; Xanthopoulou et al., 2007), neither moderating variable was found to significantly affect the indirect

relationships between occupational stigma and psychometric complaints or turnover intentions through either burnout variable.

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APPENDIX A

Main Study Variable Items

Occupational Stigma (Schaubroeck et al., 2018)

1. Most people would not want to associate themselves with a job like mine.
2. Few people would be proud to have my job.
3. People in my occupation are devalued by others.
4. People may treat me with less respect because of my occupation.

Burnout (BAT-C; Schaufeli, Desart, & De Witte, 2020)

Response set: 1 (Never), 2 (Rarely), 3 (Sometimes), 4 (Often), 5 (Always)

A. Exhaustion
    1. At work, I feel mentally exhausted.
    2. Everything I do at work requires a great deal of effort.
    3. After a day at work, I find it hard to recover my energy.
    4. At work, I feel physically exhausted.
    5. When I get up in the morning, I lack the energy to start a new day at work.
    6. I want to be active at work, but somehow, I am unable to manage.
    7. When I exert myself at work, I quickly get tired.
    8. At the end of my working day, I feel mentally exhausted and drained.
B. Mental Distance
    1. I struggle to find any enthusiasm for my work.
    2. At work, I do not think much about what I am doing and I function on autopilot.

3. I feel a strong aversion towards my job.
4. I feel indifferent about my job.
5. I'm cynical about what my work means to others.

Psychosomatic Complaints (Psychosomatic complaints subscale, BAT-S; Schaufeli, Desart, & De Witte, 2020)

Responses range from 1 (never) to 5 (always)

1. I suffer from palpitations of chest pain.
2. I suffer from stomach and/or intestinal complaints.
3. I suffer from headaches.
4. I suffer from muscle pain, for example in the neck, shoulder, or back.
5. I tend to get sick.

Turnover Intentions (Kelloway, Gottlieb, & Barham, 1999)

1. I am thinking about leaving this agency.
2. I am planning to look for a new job.
3. I intend to ask people about new job opportunities.
4. I don't plan to be in this agency much longer.

Team-Oriented Leadership (adapted from Podsakoff et al., 1996)

My lieutenant…

1. Fosters collaboration among his/her officers/deputies.
2. Encourages officers to be team players.

3. Gets the group to work together for the same goal.
4. Develops a team attitude and spirit among his/her officers/deputies.

Condemning condemners (created for study)

1. People that dislike the police do not fully understand what we do. (dropped from final measure)
2. People that dislike the police often have criminal backgrounds.
3. People that want to defund the police are ignorant of the impact that can have on communities.
4. People that are outspoken about disliking the police are just looking for attention.
5. People that are a part of anti-police groups only harm our communities.