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RELIGION IN THE WORKPLACE: A MULTILEVEL PERSPECTIVE

ABSTRACT

Religion in the workplace has been growing as a specific topic in management discourses. This dissertation contributes to that discussion by taking a multilevel perspective where each of the four contributions tackles different yet connected issues. The first work contributes to the disentangling of workplace discrimination faced by Muslims in diverse societal contexts through a systematic review of the literature. The second work uses a similar method and data as the first but accentuates another important angle by depicting the comprehensive picture of Muslim struggles in the workplace. The third work employs a quantitative method to shed light on religious individuals' career success patterns. The fourth work explores the nexus of workplace spirituality and individual religiosity, answering whether the interaction of those two leads to affective commitment to organization. Overall, this dissertation covers religion in the workplace discourses on three levels: relational, individual, and organizational.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In this section, I will not talk much about this dissertation's content to avoid the risk of redundancy. Instead, I would like to share stories of the things that have motivated me to go through this—borrowing a phrase from The Beatles— 'long and winding road' of doctoral journey until, finally, the end of the tunnels is in sight. Three main drives have kept my perseverance alight in completing my doctoral study. The first is the shortage of Indonesian management scholars focusing on religion in the workplace topic.

Data provided by the Indonesian Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology in 2019 suggests that 1,140 Indonesian universities have management departments. Assuming there are 5-20 faculty members that belong to the Organizational Behavior (OB) & Human Resource Management (HRM) subfields in each management department, there are roughly 5,700 – 22,800 OB-HRM scholars in Indonesia. How many of those scholars publish research on religion, religiosity, and everything in-between in reputed journals? Only a handful of people. I see this as ironic, considering the results of many global surveys position Indonesia among the most religious countries in the world. By finishing my dissertation, I hope I can write more, publish more, and consequently add to the list of Indonesian management scholars who explore the topic of religion in the workplace.

Second, the world is seeing too many human conflicts carried out on behalf of religion. I believe those religious-based conflicts would be largely diminished if we invest a bit of our time in trying to understand our similarities rather than differences. As Suheir Hammad puts it, "writing must always have intention, because words have power." My work on religion in the workplace is partially aimed at promoting harmonious living among diverse religious communities. Though there is a long way to go, I believe such an aim is viable. During EURAM 2022, I saw positive responses that emboldened my vision and made me believe that my work might mean something more than just being a pile of words.

After my presentation on career success patterns from five religious perspectives at EURAM, the audience responded positively and related themselves to my presentation in their feedback. For instance, one member of the audience mentioned that she was raised within Buddhist traditions. My presentation gave her a new perspective; apparently, Buddhists have more things in common with Muslims, Hindus, and Christians than she ever imagined. Other audiences in the forum followed what the Buddhist lady did, they shared their religious background stories before delivering their feedback. The forum became an impromptu interfaith arena filled with

joy and cheerful nuance. From that moment on, I decided that my academic work was among the ways for me to introduce my religion to the world in a positive light. At the same time, my work is also a means to conduct positive interfaith discourses with other management-religiosity scholars, thereby further emphasizing our religions' similarities.

My third point is about legacy. There are two sayings about the legacy that I'm familiar with. The first is an Islamic teaching stated by Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him), who said, "When a man dies, his good deeds come to an end, except three: Ongoing charity, beneficial knowledge, and a righteous child who will pray for him." I have learned a lot during the three years of my doctoral study. Later, I will pass my knowledge to my students, and I want to use my knowledge to publish papers, which will hopefully be of beneficial knowledge. The second saying I want to mention is an Indonesian-Malay proverb, which states, "When an elephant dies, it leaves behind its tusks. When a tiger dies, it leaves behind its stripes (patterned skins). When a human dies, he/she leaves behind his/her names." I sincerely hope my works last longer than my biological age so that future management scholars interested in religion in the workplace may still 'meet' me, albeit only through my published papers. I'm fully aware the journey to craft my legacy will start after my doctoral study finish. That is my motivation.

The paragraphs onward would be the most important points in this section, where I'm about to thank all parties who helped me along the way. I especially want to thank Prof. Wolfgang Mayrhofer, who gave me a chance to be one of his students. Maybe he doesn't know how much I learned from him, both directly from our conversation and indirectly from my observation of how he leads the team, treats people, manages his work-life balance, and all other positive aspects of him as a professor, a boss, and a family man. Also, to his wonderful wife, Mrs. Andrea Mayrhofer, a kind-hearted lady who helped and cared for me sincerely during my early months in Vienna. I want to thank Prof. Edwina Pio and Prof. Michael Meyer for their earlier constructive feedback on my research proposal. The process of my *defensio* arrangement was stress-free thanks to their kindness. Also, thank you to Prof. Syeda Arzu Wasti (Sabancı University, Turkey), an excellent host and mentor during my research visit to Turkey.

I want to also thank my beloved parents, Philipus Linando and Tazkirowati, and my sibling, Jaya Utami Linando. I remember how my late dad, Philipus, once told me that one of the successful parenting signs for him is when the child can achieve higher education than his parents. I did it, Dad, and it is indeed also your success. To my parents-in-law, Respati Utoro and Sholeha, thank you for letting me marry your adorable daughter. My dearest wife, Annisaa

Lathiip Utoro, and beautiful daughter, Assyifa Shafiyya Linando: no words could illustrate how grateful I am to have you two accompanying me all the way through the ups and downs. To all my Indonesian colleagues who are studying in Austria at the same time as I am, acting as a big family that lessens my homesickness, thank you. Further thanks to Dr. Ignaz Hochholzer and Susie the Nurse of Barmherzige Brüder who treated me benevolently while I was helpless. They performed a superior kind of compassion that inspired me to pay much more forward.

Many thanks to IVM colleagues who are really inspiring and supportive, listed here in alphabetical order: Prof. Astrid Reichel, Dominik Zellhofer, Felix Diefenhardt, Gisela Ullrich-Rosner, Prof. Johannes Steyrer, Lea Katharina Reiss, Michaela Schreder, Petra Eggenhofer Rehart, and Sarah Steiner. Special mention to Michael Schiffinger, the methodology expert who has patiently and extensively aided me with method-related issues. Last but not least, thanks to Marco Leander Rapp, a wonderful roommate who is very easy-going and compassionate. He has helped me a lot, not only with PhD-related matters but also with life-related matters.

After all, I have realized that getting a doctoral degree is not the end. It is, in fact, a beginning. I have always perceived a doctoral title as a 'license' to independently conduct scientific studies on my own. At this point, I could say that I'm truly confident about getting my 'license' and beginning the 'real journey.' The accomplishment of earning this title would also be a means to realize a life principle I adopted from Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him)—that the best among you are those who bring the greatest benefits to many others. I wish my doctoral committees share parallel sentiments as mine, and may this 'Dr. rer. soc. oec' title empowers me to convey greater benefits to others.

Bismillahirrahmanirrahim.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation comprises various investigated themes, methodological approaches, and theoretical lenses. The three main themes it covers include workplace struggles, career, and workplace spirituality. Those three assortments are linked through three ties that frame this dissertation. The first tie is that all the explored works contextualize religion and religiosity. Second, those works were elaborated and developed within the Organizational Behaviour field, mainly in the workplace context. These two ties justify the dissertation title: "Religion in the Workplace."

The third tie relates to how I focused on investigating individual outlooks, which can be seen as 'individual struggles' in the first branch of this dissertation, 'individual career' in the second, and 'individual commitment' in the third. However, even though the main focus of all branches starts with individual outlooks, the analyses of each work are interrelated with other perspectives. The first branch of my cumulative work portrays the struggles of individuals (specifically Muslim employees) in the workplace. Those workplace struggles should not be seen as a standalone phenomenon caused solely by individual factors but as a part of larger societal issues through a relational lens. My first work branch also applies a relational lens that comprises the interrelation among societal, organizational, and individual factors to comprehend these phenomena.

The second branch of this dissertation mainly focuses on how individuals (specifically religious individuals) perceive their career success. Therefore, it is sensible to claim that the second branch only applies individual perspectives in discussing religion in the workplace. The third branch examines the interplay of organizational perspectives, termed workplace spirituality and religiosity, as individual characteristics. Therefore, the third branch covers individual and organizational perspectives in comprehending religion in the workplace. These explanations further justify the 'multilevel perspective' phrase completing my whole dissertation title: "Religion in the Workplace: A Multilevel Perspective."

Considering that the three branches of this dissertation expose the relationship between individuals and their organizations, I employed the Person–Environment (P-E) lens to bind this dissertation together. This dissertation is structured into three parts. The first part portrays the connecting lines between the contributions. It contains the state of research in each work's field and details how each work contributes to the field. The second part situates each contribution in full-text papers so that the readers can thoroughly understand them. Lastly, I conclude this

dissertation with my future research roadmap on religion in the workplace. Such a conclusion is consistent with the spirit of my words in the preface section; this dissertation is not an end but a beginning.

I. Synopsis of the Cumulative Dissertation

The Broader Research Program

Religion was once considered an irrelevant factor in the workplace for several reasons, including the widespread belief that it either played no role in organizational management (Hill et al., 2000; Mellahi & Budhwar, 2010) or did not contribute directly to profit-making activities (Tracey, 2012). Slowly but surely, religion gained momentum in management discourses as evidenced in the establishment of the Management, Spirituality, and Religion (MSR) Interest Group of the Academy of Management (AoM) and the development of the Journal of Management, Spirituality and Religion (JMSR), among other indicators.

Nevertheless, despite the emerging interest in 'religion in the workplace,' some aspects of the topic have been explored minimally, leaving many gaps as the wait continues for more scholars to explore them. Among the main unresolved matters is the comprehensive picture of the struggles Muslim face in the workplace. Scholars (e.g., Masood, 2019; Naseem & Adnan, 2019) have pointed out the need to explore the struggles Muslims face in the workplace by considering various factors. Another aspect that scholars (e.g., Dries, 2011; Duffy, 2006) encourage to be taken into consideration is the effect of religion on career studies, as religion is believed to influence individuals in career decision-making.

There is also a suggestion to clarify the relationship between spirituality and religiosity—two phenomena some scholars (e.g., King & Williamson, 2005; Vandenberghe, 2011) perceive as independent and separate constructs. Meanwhile, for other scholars, the effort to separate those two is like "surgically dividing conjoined twins" (Giacalone & Jurkiewicz, 2010, p. 4). My first and second dissertation papers aim to answer the first-mentioned gap. Those papers apply a systematic literature review (SLR) to create a comprehensive picture of the struggles of Muslims in the workplace and further delineate how those struggles differ across societal contexts.

My third dissertation paper mainly examines the effect of religiosity on career success orientation. Specifically, this paper evaluates whether religiosity affects the perceived importance of positive impact and financial success dimensions of career success. Lastly, the fourth dissertation paper explores the nexus of workplace spirituality and individuals' religiosity, examining whether the interaction between those two constructs enhances the affective commitment of employees to their organization.

From a broad viewpoint, this dissertation applies the Person-Environment (P-E) Fit (Holland, 1997) as the main lens to explore organizational circumstances that fit with religious employees' characteristics. P-E Fit is derived from the Trait-Factor theory, which focuses on the ways individuals decide their ideal vocations, as initiated long ago by Parsons in his classic work (1909). P-E Fit also links to the Theory of Work Adjustment (TWA) popularized by Dawis & Lofquist (1984). P-E Fit is the compatibility between the characteristics of individuals and their environment (Holland, 1997).

I have two reasons for specifically choosing P-E Fit, rather than Trait-Factor or TWA, as the overarching theoretical framework of this dissertation. The first reason is the wider range that P-E Fit can cover compared to TWA and Trait-Factor theories. As previously mentioned, the Trait-Factors theory is mainly used to explain the vocational choices of individuals; in other words, this theory focuses on the pre-employment phase. That is why the contemporary use of this theory can be mainly found in counseling and vocational guidance literature (e.g., Hees et al., 2012; Mcmahon & Patton, 2015). On the other hand, TWA primarily explains the adjustments individuals make to match their work environments (Swanson & Schneider, 2013), which is why most contemporary studies (e.g., Carillo et al., 2021; Petrou et al., 2018) apply TWA focusing on the employment phase.

While P-E Fit connects to Trait-Factor and TWA, its application could be more comprehensive than the other two. Like Trait-Factor Theory, Holland's model of P-E Fit initially emphasizes the type of 'ideal' career choice for individuals with particular strengths. In other words, the initial focus is on the pre-employment phase. Nevertheless, in due course, the P-E Fit theory has been developed beyond the pre-employment phase boundary. The theory has also been employed in studies on employment (e.g., Lauring & Selmer, 2018; Tepper et al., 2018) and post-employment phases (e.g., Becker et al., 2022; Oakman & Wells, 2016). It has even been used to model contemporary work settings (Goetz et al., 2021; Guan et al., 2021). My cumulative works also cover various employment phases, so I perceive P-E Fit as a suitable theory for this dissertation.

The second reason for using P-E Fit relates to the dissertation's operationalization of 'religion.' In Paper 1 and Paper 2, I interpret 'religion' as a trait that drives the values of individuals. That is why, in both papers, I argue that discrimination and workplace struggles may happen toward any individual who identifies as Muslim, regardless of their degree of religiosity and whether or not they practice the religion. Meanwhile, Paper 3 and Paper 4 use the religiosity scale

adopted from Allport & Ross (1967), which is considered a state rather than a trait. From these explanations, it is clear that the Trait-Factor theory will not sufficiently cover this dissertation as a whole, as it mainly focuses on the 'trait,' as the name suggests. On the other hand, P-E Fit can accommodate all the attributes of an individual, such as needs, goals, values, abilities, and personalities (van Vianen, 2018). Subsequently, scholars (e.g., Kandler & Rauthmann, 2022; Rauthmann, 2021) include both trait and state on P-E Fit discourses.

The use of P-E Fit as the overarching theoretical framework of this dissertation is perceptible from the content of each paper. Papers 1 and 2 investigate workplace struggles for Muslims. Paper 3 explores the pattern of career success for religious individuals. Paper 4 examines whether religiosity moderates the relationship between workplace spirituality and affective commitment to organization.

Overall, framed within the P-E Fit lens, this broader research program aims to lead this dissertation to contribute to address the existing gaps in religion in the workplace topic from a multilevel perspective. The perspectives explored in this dissertation include individual, organizational, and relational. Individual perspectives of religion in the workplace refer to the career success pattern of religious individuals, as was the case in Paper 3. The organizational point of view is represented by Paper 4, which explores the interaction between workplace spirituality and individual religiosity to enhance the affective commitment of employees. Lastly, Paper 1 and Paper 2 explore religion in the workplace from a relational perspective.

Cumulative Contributions Overview

The cumulative contributions of this research are summarized in Table 1 below. The contributions were distributed equally from the authorship composition, with two works being single-author papers and two others being co-authored papers. All papers have been subjected to a formal peer-review procedure. In addition to the formal peer-review mechanism from the journal and conferences, I also presented these four works to IVM colleagues at each research seminar the institute conducted. The articles were then polished following feedback from the formal peer review and IVM colleagues.

Paper 1 and Paper 4 serve as conference articles presented at conferences listed on the WU Management Department conference list. Paper 3 reached R&R in the Journal of Business Ethics, an A-journal listed on WU Management Department's Journal Ranking, but was

rejected in the second round of review. In addition, I wrote Paper 2 during my doctoral study, which counted as an additional project in this dissertation. Consequently, this dissertation satisfies the cumulative dissertation requirements of WU Department of Management, as described in Appendix A.

#	Short Label	Title	Author(s)	Туре	Dissertation
#					Outlet
1	Workplace Discrimination Paper	A Relational Perspective Comparison of Workplace Discrimination toward Muslims in Muslim-minority and Muslim-majority Countries.	Linando, J. A.	Conference Article	37 th EGOS Colloquium, (2021)
2	Employment Struggles Paper	Employment Struggles for Muslims: A Systematic Review.	Linando, J. A.	Journal Article	Additional project
3	Career Success Pattern Paper	'To be Rich but not Only for Me': A Career Success Pattern of Religious Individuals?	Linando, J. A. & Mayrhofer, W.	Journal Article	R&R at Journal of Business Ethics – rejected in the second review round (2022) ('A' Journal)
4	Spirituality - Religiosity Paper	Workplace Spirituality Meets Religiosity: Affective Commitment, Minority- Majority Statuses and Diversity Management.	Linando, J. A. & Mayrhofer, W.	Conference Article	37 th Workshop on Strategic HRM, EIASM (2022)

Table 1. Cumulative Contributions Overview

State of Research on Religion in the Workplace

Workplace Religious Struggles

Religion is often the source of workplace struggles for religious individuals. As each religious community faces different characteristics of workplace struggles, I only focus on Islam in this dissertation project to explore the phenomenon optimally. Islam is the most burgeoning religion worldwide (Lipka & Hackett, 2017) and is often misinterpreted and disregarded (Bastian, 2019;

Pemberton & Takhar, 2021), making the exploration of Muslim workplace struggles a concern for the scholarly community.

However, it is also worth noting that there are various ways scholars define and set boundaries on 'Islam' and 'Muslim' terms. Despite the common conception that Muslims are those adhering to Islamic teachings, some scholars (e.g., Fadil, 2013; Salahshour & Boamah, 2020) argue that it is also essential for studies on Islam and Muslims to take into account those who identify as Muslims yet do not practice the religion. Such a statement illustrates the complexity of conceptualizing 'Muslim' and 'Islam' as scientific objects (for a more detailed review, see, for example, Asad, 1996; Rippin, 2016) and further adds the necessity to examine Islam and Muslims.

Religious communities frequently struggle when they bear minority status in society and the workplace. For this reason, most past literature suggested that religious communities, not only limited to Islam, face struggles in the place where they withstand minority status. For instance, literature recorded that non-Muslim believers (e.g., Christians, Hindus, Buddhists) face discrimination in Muslim-majority countries (Akbaba, 2009; Fox, 2013). In line with that, Muslims also face workplace discrimination in Western countries, such as European countries (e.g., Baldi, 2018; Golesorkhi, 2017) and the United States of America (e.g., Robinson, 2016; Sekerka & Yacobian, 2018). Particularly for Muslims, an initial observation of this topic made me realize that workplace discrimination cases toward Muslims have also been recorded in Muslim-majority countries (e.g., Afiouni, 2014; Vidyasagar & Rea, 2004), illustrating the complexity of workplace struggles faced by Muslims.

'Discrimination' is described using various terms. For instance, scholars employ 'formal' - 'interpersonal' (Ghumman & Ryan, 2013; King & Ahmad, 2010), 'subtle' - 'blatant' (Hendriks & van Ewijk, 2017; Pasha-Zaidi, 2015), and 'direct' - 'indirect' (Baldi, 2018; Golesorkhi, 2017) terms. Further, Syed & Ali (2021) conceptualize a pyramid of hate toward religious minorities, where the degree of hatred may range from what is termed as 'biased attitudes' at the lowest level to 'genocide' at the top level. Nevertheless, since each Muslim may have a different sensitivity level to discrimination (Connor & Koenig, 2015; Padela et al., 2016), setting the boundaries of discriminatory actions is bewildering.

A Muslim who experiences stereotyping in the workplace (belonging to the 'biased attitude,' the lowest level of the hate pyramid) may feel seriously discriminated against, while another Muslim who receives threats in the workplace (belonging to the 'violence,' top two in the

pyramid) may feel okay with the threat. For the sake of a more comprehensive discourse, my works on employment struggles apply the broadest possible discrimination definition that is pertinent to previous studies (Arifeen, 2020; Koburtay et al., 2020) suggestion to go beyond the overt form of discrimination to illustrate a more detailed outlook of Muslim struggles in the workplace. Such a decision also aligns with what Acker (2006) and Amis et al. (2020) pointed out. They argue that workplace struggles, based on the identity of the employee are tied closely to the discourse of inequality and discrimination.

To date, none of the extant management literature tries to portray Muslim workplace struggles from a holistic perspective. Among the works that came closest to doing so was that of Ghumman et al. (2013). However, that paper limits its scope to the United States of America with the Civil Rights Act (CRA) as its main context. Several meta-analysis studies have also tried to confirm the struggles Muslims face in the workplace. Studies by Ahmed & Gorey's (2021) and Bartkoski et al.'s (2018), which focus center on discrimination toward Hijabis and Muslims-Arabs, are examples of such studies. Nevertheless, although meta-analysis uses a relatively large amount of literature as its data source, by its nature, such studies might not be able to offer a wide-ranging depiction of the phenomenon.

Exploring the elements that constitute workplace struggles for Muslims through a systematic literature review will offer three primary benefits. First, it may delineate the different struggle patterns across societal contexts. Second, such research may also depict the interrelated factors on various levels (i.e., societal – organizational – individual) that contribute to the struggles Muslims face in the workplace. Third, this comprehensive portrait of the elements that shape the workplace struggles of religious individuals across cultural and demographic contexts might serve as the basis of diversity management design, as management scholars have long suggested (e.g., Gelb & Longacre, 2012; Syed et al., 2017).

Finally, such works align with the P-E lens by showing what workplace factors potentially dampen the fit between persons (in this case, Muslim employees) and their environment (organization). This alignment is relevant to previous works (Edwards & Cooper, 1990; Perry et al., 2012) that use the P-E lens to examine workplace struggles, stress, and discrimination.

1. What elements constitute workplace struggles for Muslims?

Religion and Career Success

Career success is among the key themes in the career field (Gunz & Heslin, 2005; Ng et al., 2005), and is defined as the sum of actual or perceived achievements resulting from job experiences (Judge et al., 1995). In the career success concept development, based on extensive multi-country research involving participants of various demographical backgrounds, Mayrhofer et al. (2016) identify seven global career success dimensions: financial security, financial success, entrepreneurship, positive work relationships, positive impact, learning and development, and work-life balance. To date, these dimensions of career success constitute the most wide-ranging career success framework (Gubler et al., 2019). These dimensions have also been operationalized, developed, and validated into the 'Dual Aspect Importance & Achievement Career Success Scale' (DAIA-CSS)' (Briscoe et al., 2021).

Despite the field's development, the understanding of career success for religious workers is still limited. Only a few studies, including Afiouni (2014), Mayrhofer et al. (2021), and Sturges' (2020) work, have examined the effect of religion on career success. Still, those works do not depict religious employees' general career success patterns. Afiouni's study particularly focuses on Muslim women respondents, and the effect of religion on their career success was not the central discussion point. Similar to Afiouni's work, the work of Sturges also focuses only on one religion—Christianity. Thus far, only Mayrhofer et al.'s work investigates career success from a multi-religion perspective.

Even so, the angle of Mayrhofer et al.'s work did not directly address the career success patterns of religious individuals. Their paper also considers other variables (e.g., age, gender, GDP) concerning religion and career success. This dissertation paper is a conceptual replication of Mayrhofer et al.'s work to complement further the knowledge of religion's effect on religious individuals' career success. In particular, this paper aims to find out whether religious individuals are interested in creating positive impacts and achieving financial success from their careers. If they do, the next aim of this paper is to see whether their aspiration to generate positive impacts is associated with their financial-success orientation.

Discovering religious employees' general career success patterns should be of concern, as it brings several benefits. First, such an effort would illuminate the effects of religion on individuals' career success definitions. Second, as the variables of interest include financial aspects, the work may also touch upon ethical issues due to financial success connections with several controversial behaviors (Cunningham et al., 2012; Gino & Pierce, 2009). Third, this

work is necessary and pertinent given the globalization effect, which brings people from different religious affiliations into the same workplace. Lastly, this work is a milestone in designing more religion-sensitive workplace policies.

Regarding the P-E lens, this work unveils religious individuals' career success patterns which help explain 'person' characteristics. Consequently, organization as the 'environment' could design its policies in accordance with those career success patterns. For instance, if the findings suggest that religious individuals value financial success highly, an organization may want to retain financial elements in its reward mechanism.

2. What is the general career success pattern of religious individuals like?

Religiosity and Workplace Spirituality

This work concerns workplace spirituality, (intrinsic) religiosity, and affective commitment as the outcome. 'Workplace spirituality' in this work represents three constructs: corporate ethical values, meaningful work, and workplace acceptance of religious expression by the organization (OWARE). Many scholars (e.g., Ashmos & Duchon, 2000; Milliman et al., 2003) suggest that corporate ethical values and meaningful work constitute workplace spirituality. As for OWARE, Giacalone & Jurkiewicz (2010) argue that allowing employees to implement their agency is a gesture indicating spirituality in the workplace. On the other hand, religious activities and expression are part of religious employees' agency (Leming, 2007). Henceforth, it is sensible to include OWARE for religious employees as a part of workplace spirituality.

This work positions individual (intrinsic) religiosity as the moderator in the relationship between workplace spirituality constructs and affective commitment. This work also frames comparative perspectives of the examined effects on religious minorities and religious majority. As the study was conducted in Indonesia, most participants were Muslim, and the minorities were believers of other religions. Such an approach is arguably novel as most religiosity studies, especially regarding workplace religious accommodation, have occurred in secular Western countries (e.g., Bader et al., 2013; Cintas et al., 2020; Gebert et al., 2014).

Consequently, this work makes several layers of contributions. First, the work adds to the debate of spirituality–religiosity interrelation. Second, this work's results may be of interest to diversity management discourse, as the results may clarify whether religion should be considered an aspect of workplace diversity. Third, while most studies position Muslims as the

minority, this study works the other way around; the results might subsequently add to the knowledge on this particular front.

Concerning the connection with the P-E lens, this work examines both aspects of P-E: person and environment. On the one hand, it holds religiosity as a personal characteristic; on the other, it embraces workplace spirituality as an environmental characteristic.

3. Does the interaction of intrinsic religiosity and workplace spirituality lead to employees' affective commitment to organization?

Contributions to Research on Religion in the Workplace

Comprehensive Portrait of Muslim Workplace Struggles

Paper 1 and Paper 2 tackle the first raised question of this dissertation, which concerns the elements that constitute workplace struggles for Muslims. Paper 1 focuses on characterizing the form of workplace discrimination toward Muslims based on societal context, and Paper 2 makes an extensive list of the struggles Muslims face in the workplace. The findings of Paper 1 imply that the religious composition of the society influences the forms of discrimination Muslims face in the workplace. In addition, Paper 1 analyses the discrimination cases on each interrelated level perspective: macro-societal, meso-organizational, and micro-individual.

Generally, workplace discrimination toward Muslims in Muslim-minority countries comprises blatant and subtle forms of discrimination, as seen on meso and micro levels. The different pattern arises at the macro-level in Muslim-minority countries, which tend to discriminate against Muslims blatantly. This is arguably due to the countries' characteristics, as most Muslim-minority countries are Western countries that promote freedom of speech. That opens the way for people to publicly criticize a religion's sacred values (Clarke, 2007).

On the other hand, workplace discrimination toward Muslims in Muslim-majority countries occurs specifically toward women. Those discriminations are practiced subtly on all levels, possibly due to the lack of democratic values within most Muslim-majority countries (Karatnycky, 2002), leaving discriminatory practices based on religious teaching uncontested. It is also worth noting that there might be different conceptual interpretations of gender equality, and consequently gender discrimination, between Islamic and non-Islamic perspectives. Badawi (1971) asserts that Islam regards a woman's roles in society as a mother and a wife as sacred and essential; from the Islamic perspective, these roles are noble duties

women play to shape the future of nations and society. Such positioning is far from the negative images occasionally stereotyped upon stay-at-home wives. It is also far from the view that sees the low employment participation for women as a problem to be solved. Therefore, what is perceived as 'subtle discrimination' toward women from mainstream management discourses could be interpreted from Islamic perspectives as managing roles responsibly. These are among the suggested works to learn more about gender equality conception from Islamic perspectives: Al-Lail (1996); Metcalfe (2006); Sidani (2005); Syed (2008); and Syed (2010).

In terms of a broader point of view, Paper 2 lists all aspects of workplace struggles for Muslims from 134 papers. The list starts with the reasons Muslims face struggles in the workplace. The findings suggest that Muslims face workplace struggles either because of their religious identity or their religious practices and principles. Religious identity means Muslims, regardless of their degree of religiosity (i.e., whether they practice their religion or not), may experience workplace discrimination. Scholars (e.g., Connor & Koenig, 2015; Lindley, 2002; Miaari et al., 2019) call this the 'Muslim penalty.'

Muslims may also face difficulties in the workplace whenever they want to practice their religion, especially if they live in Muslim-minority countries. People may view women who wear hijabs as strange (Abdelhadi, 2019; Robinson, 2016), or the workplace might not provide the time and space to pray (Fadil, 2013; Sekerka & Yacobian, 2018). The existence of alcohol in workplace-related networking sessions (Arifeen, 2020; Malos, 2010) also adds to Muslim struggles as it is against Islamic teaching. Additional forms of non-discriminatory struggle include work-life balance (Achour et al., 2014; Sav et al., 2014) and having to work against common societal norms, such as when Muslim women work in the mining industry, an occupation that is stereotyped as being for men only (Behzadi, 2019). Nevertheless, the main remark regarding the forms of struggle is that the struggles Muslims face in the workplace often arise as intersectional rather than standalone phenomena (Ali et al., 2017; Syed, 2008; Tariq & Syed, 2018).

Paper 2 also summarizes the emotional and practical implications of the workplace struggle for Muslims and coping strategies for Muslims experiencing workplace struggle. The emotional implications of the workplace struggle for Muslims are mostly negative, as anticipated. Nevertheless, the hardships Muslims face in the workplace could also trigger positive emotional outcomes. Among those positive outcomes are the strengthening of Muslims' self-

development and resilience (Tariq & Syed, 2018), religious faith (Scott & Franzmann, 2007), and feelings about their agency and autonomy (Warren, 2018).

Practical consequences are divided into two streams based on whether the employees or the employers decide on the practical implications. Employee-decision implications include voluntary turnover (Lovat et al., 2013; Rootham, 2015) and filing a complaint in court (Baldi, 2018; Ball & Haque, 2003). On the other hand, employer-decision implications include involuntary turnover (Ball & Haque, 2003; Frégosi & Kosulu, 2013), restrained career advancement (Arifeen, 2020; Shah & Shaikh, 2010), and those applying for a job not getting hired (Casimiro et al., 2007; Hou et al., 2020).

Lastly, Muslims use three coping strategies to deal with workplace struggles. The first is to vent their emotions by opposing their organization's unfavorable policies toward Muslims (Kinnvall & Nesbitt-Larking, 2011). The next is to focus on the emotional aspects, such as seeking emotional support (Sakai & Fauzia, 2016; Warren, 2018), turning to religion (Etherington, 2019), and acceptance of the conditions they experience (Kinnvall & Nesbitt-Larking, 2011; O'Connor, 2011). The third is to cope with the problem, including seeking instrumental support (Ahmed et al., 2017), adapting to the workplace conditions (Naseem & Adnan, 2019), and implementing planning strategies so that religious and work necessities can be handled better without conflict (Fadil, 2013).

Much has been said about individual factors that should be matched by the environment (organization). Next, I would like to simplify all those insights into a few sentences so that they can fit well within the P-E lens. Through this expansive portrayal of workplace struggles for Muslims, I hope academics and practitioners can better understand the needs and challenges of Muslims in the workplace. Doing so can advance our understanding of an ideal diversity management design, especially those suitable for Muslim employees. As long as there are still factors causing employees to struggle in the workplace, the fit between person and environment will not materialize. Consequently, the positive outcomes expected from the fit of those two entities might also be unachievable.

Career Success Pattern as Influenced by Religiosity

The findings of Paper 3 suggest that religiosity positively influences perceived importance and consequently influences financial success perceived importance. These findings convey several

theoretical and practical contributions. Theoretically, this study sheds light on the linkages between career success elements. That empirically adds to scholars' (Judge et al., 1995; Ng et al., 2005) postulation that career success elements may be related to one another. Paper 3 also shows that career success is one of many other elements religion influences in the workplace.

It is also important to mention that this paper has also controlled for variables indicating socioeconomic statuses, such as income, educational background, professional group, and work location. Socioeconomic status has been found to have significant influences on career-related variables (Hsieh & Huang, 2014; Saw et al., 2018). By controlling for those variables, the findings should better illustrate the factual impact of religiosity on career success.

There are at least three major practical implications arising from this study. First, organizations with religious employees should ensure they can exercise their religion in the workplace. This implication is in line with the findings of Paper 3 that religious employees 'bring their religion at work,' as can be seen from the significant positive relationship between religiosity and career success elements. Second, despite some belief that religious individuals are not concerned about money and wealth (Smith, 1991), the results suggest otherwise. Organizations might want to ensure they set the financial rewards at rational degrees. This paper is not the first to negate the assumption that religious individuals are unaffected by materialistic assets. Other studies (e.g., Luna-Arocas & Tang, 2004; Vitell et al., 2006) have also demonstrated how religious individuals are attentive toward money.

Third, given that the careers of religious individuals are influenced by their religions, career counselors might want to also incorporate religious viewpoints upon delivering career advice, especially if the advisee is religious. There are complexities of a faith-driven career that most traditional career counseling is unlikely to be able to assist with (Hernandez et al., 2011) easily. In addition to those implications, some ethical conundrums are related to the findings of Paper 3, as elaborated below.

Since the career orientation of religious employees is impacted by religion, how far should religious leaders endorse financially successful living in their congregations? Should they only state that being wealthy is authorized by religious texts, or should they give more push so that all congregants aspire to gain wealth? In which social contexts will each option be fitter than another? What about the possibility of a Robin Hood-like tale, wherein religious individuals may gather financial wealth by all means necessary, including some unethical ways? How would religious communities perceive such a Robin Hood-like tale in terms of whether or not

the actions it endorses are justified in some circumstances? Apart from all these questions, future studies might also want to reemphasize and develop ethical wealth-earning and ethical wealth-spending models, especially for religious individuals.

In addition to the results of all religions combined, the present paper also examines the results of each religion. All five religions' intrinsic religiosity positively relates to positive impact importance, meaning all religions inspire believers to generate goodness out of their careers. It is also noteworthy that the correlation between religiosity and financial success importance in Abrahamic religions are similar, except for Protestantism. One possible explanation is the Protestant Work Ethic (PWE) that encourages Protestants to aim for prosperity, as wealth is believed to be a sign of God's favor (Light, 2010). Nevertheless, these results are subject to the limited sample size of other religions except Islam. Hence, these interim results should be seen as a call for future studies to further illuminate the career success orientations of each religion.

Paper 3 deliberately scrutinizes the career success patterns of religious employees, representing the 'person' characteristics. Also, Paper 3 elaborates suggestions for the implications succeeding Paper 3's findings, and provides hints for the 'environment' to enhance the P-E fit. This work has also touched upon several ethical issues relevant to further investigation.

Organizational Affective Commitment of Religious Individuals

The findings of Paper 4 suggest that meaningful work and corporate ethical values correlate positively to affective commitment to organization. In addition, Paper 4 also reveals two unexpected findings: (1) workplace acceptance of religious expression by the organization (OWARE) does not relate to affective commitment to the organization, and (2) religiosity does not moderate the relationship between workplace spirituality elements and affective commitment to the organization.

These findings lead to some intriguing discussions. Among other places, in countries like Indonesia, where public religious expression (including in the workplace) is taken for granted, there is no pressing need to pay much attention to that aspect in the workplace. This notion adds to my earlier message in Paper 3 about ensuring employees can exercise their religion in the workplace. Apparently, contextual understanding is essential to organizations making suitable policies. Another plausible explanation to complement the argument about societal context is the Two Factor Theory from Herzberg et al. (1959).

Acceptance of religious expression in the workplace may act as hygiene rather than a motivator factor. Its existence does not increase individuals' motivation to work, but its absence might disrupt the harmony in the workplace and consequently decrease individuals' motivation to work. This supposition also calls for future studies to clarify this claim, using some constructs indicating religious expression suppression in the workplace. Through such an approach, studies might conclude whether or not religious expression acceptance is a hygiene rather than a motivator factor in the workplace.

In addition to the main hypotheses, Paper 4 provides an exploratory analysis. The exploratory analysis tested a similar model by separating the religious majority (Muslims) and religious minorities (Protestants, Catholics, Hindus, and Buddhists). The analysis suggests that for religious minorities, intrinsic religiosity negatively influences affective commitment to organization, both directly and when religiosity plays a moderating role in the relationship between meaningful work and affective commitment to organization.

Such a remark gives the nuance that loyalty to the religion and the organization seems positioned at different ends for religious minorities. While certainly future studies are expected to clarify this unanticipated finding, there are at least two possible rationales to justify this finding for the time being. First, the determination that religiosity deflates the relationship between meaningful work and affective commitment to organization echoes Steger et al.'s (2010) notion of work 'calling.' Work calling may be sourced from God and religious belief or secular sources such as meaningful works. The moderating effect of religiosity makes the initially positive relationship between meaningful work and affective commitment to organization turn negative. That observation indicates that work 'calling' for religious minority samples of this study mainly comes from their religion and God, not their work.

As for the negative relationship between intrinsic religiosity and affective commitment to organization, the interplay of 'secular versus sacred' spaces might offer some explanation. In Paper 4, whether or not the respondents work in a faith-based organization has been controlled for, giving the impression that these religious minorities in the societal setting also bear religious minorities' status in the workplace. Studies on minority-related matters (e.g., Allport & Ross, 1967; Meyer, 2003) contend that people who identify as minorities commonly incur societal pressures. In light of that finding, religion might provide a 'safe area' for religious minorities where they can live their 'sacred lives,' free from the stress of the minority status they endure in the workplace.

Besides the explanations focusing on status, the results might also be due to each religion's characteristics. For instance, Muslims see all aspects of life as sacred. Everything they do should be considered religious duty (Aldulaimi, 2016). On the other hand, other religions do not contain similar sentiments. The separation of religious and worldly life, known as secularism, exists in four other religions (e.g., Cantoni et al., 2018; Hicks, 2003).

All in all, this work contributes to several management discourse fronts. First, Paper 4 shows that minority and majority statuses demonstrate different attitudes toward similar organizational practices. This work reemphasizes the importance of diversity management, as religion negatively influences the desired organizational outcome for religious minorities. This remark also calls for future career counseling scholars to propose the best way to give career counseling to religious minorities who supposedly situate religion and work at opposite ends.

Second, scholars and practitioners should contextualize the organization and societal environment before deciding whether religious accommodation in the workplace is a matter of high interest to their organization. The results suggest that in places like Indonesia, where religion is perceived as an essential part of individuals' lives, religious accommodation does not stand as something of interest. The results also indicate that religious accommodation does not constitute workplace spirituality in religious settings like Indonesia, unlike meaningful work and corporate ethical values.

Further, the present study also sheds light on the relationship between individual religiosity and workplace spirituality. The two constructs are distinct, and considering the societal settings, the two constructs may not correlate with one another. Lastly, from the P-E perspective, organizations must maintain their ethical values and ensure their work is meaningful. By doing so, the employees will repay with an affective commitment to the organization.

#Branch	Research Question	Dissertation's Contributions		
1	What elements constitute workplace struggles for Muslims?	There are four main elements: - The bases of struggles: religious identity, religious practices, and principles - The types of struggles: discrimination, working against societal norms, intersectionality, and work-life balance - The consequences of struggles: emotional consequences consist of		
		negative and positive emotions. Practical consequences consist of employees' and employers' decision consequences.		

	- Coping strategies: problem-focused, emotional-focused, and venting						
	of emotion						
	What is the general	In general, religious individuals' career priorities are to generate					
2	career success pattern	positive impacts, and considering higher income could let them create					
2	of religious individuals	greater positive impacts, they will also aim for financial success. As a					
	like?	note, there are varieties of patterns among religions.					
3	Does the interaction of intrinsic religiosity and workplace spirituality lead to employees' affective commitment to organization?	No. Religion does not moderate the relationship between workplace spirituality and affective commitment to the organization. Only two out of three workplace spirituality elements, namely 'meaningful work' and 'corporate ethical values,' positively influence affective commitment to organization. As a note, there are different relationships among constructs between religious minorities and the religious majority.					

Table 2. Summary of the Synopsis

Dissertation Contributions to the P-E Fit Framework

As explained earlier, this dissertation is framed within the P-E fit perspective. Those four cumulative papers that fall into three branches present the nexus of religious individuals' circumstances ('person') and organizational circumstances ('environment'). The main emphasis of my work concerning P-E Fit theory is on how religious individuals fit or misalign with their organization. In this section, I will summarize the main aspects organizations should consider if the fit between religious individuals ('person') and organizations ('environment') is to be materialized.

Branch #1	Branch #2	Branch #3
Understanding the input –	Organizations that employ	Organizations must maintain
process – output of the	religious employees should	their ethical values and ensure
elements causing workplace	ensure such employees can	their work is meaningful. By
struggles is a step forward for	exercise their religion in the	doing so, the employees will
organizations in managing	workplace. Further,	repay with an affective
their religious employees.	organizations might want to	commitment to the
	ensure they set financial	organization.
As long as there are still factors	rewards at rational degrees.	
causing employees to struggle		As an additional note, there are
in the workplace, the fit	Lastly, organizations might	different relationships among
between person and	want to provide religious	constructs between religious
environment will not	career counseling, especially if	minorities and the religious
materialize.	there are many religious	majority. Organizations might
	employees in the workplace	want to consider this when
		making policies.

Table 3. Dissertation Contributions to the P-E Fit Framework

Dissertation Positioning in the Social and Economic Sciences Field

The present section portrays the dissertation's contributions to the broader social and economic sciences field. Such an illustration should be expected as the title I am about to receive by finishing this dissertation is 'Doktor/in der Sozial- und Wirtschaftswissenschaften,' translated as 'Doctor in Social and Economic Sciences.' The doctoral program in social and economic sciences I participated in within the past three years revolves around the discourses of management in general and organizational behavior in particular. Therefore, the present section will focus on this dissertation's contributions, particularly to organizational behavior, management, and, consequently, the larger social and economic science fields concerning religion in the workplace.

An Overview of Religion in Social Science Discourses

The discourse of 'social science' as a scientific field is rooted in the long-existing philosophical question of whether social science is even a science, and if it is, in what way? Circa the nineteenth century, the rise of social science offers a new branch of science alongside natural science; as Williams (1999) puts it, social science is about how the world 'ought' to be, while natural science is about how the world 'is.' Furthermore, social science is drawn from the laws of the mind, whereas natural science is formed from physical laws (Thomas, 1985). As social science studies both individuals and groups of individuals, this field covers various disciplines, such as psychology, sociology, and economics (Bhattacherjee, 2012). On the other hand, the 'economic science' definition accepted by many is 'the study of the causes of material welfare' (Robbins, 1932, p. 4).

Religious positioning in social and economic science discourses began with cynical views. Many influential social scientists, like Hume in the 18th century and Freud in the 20th century, perceived religion negatively and did not guarantee its place in the scientific field (for a detailed review on this matter, see, for example, Stark et al., 1996). Nevertheless, proponents of acknowledging religion as a part of scientific, social science study are also many. For instance, Barker (1995) posits that religion is a secondary construct of social reality. Thus, no matter if scholars perceive religion negatively or positively, true or false, so long as religion impacts individual lives, the study of religion should always be justified as a scientific, social science object.

Mugambi (1996) supports this proposition and further elaborates the philosophy of religion as a social scientific discipline into ten main themes, including religion-culture, interreligious relationships, and religion-ethics. For the time being, religion permeates many, if not all, aspects of social science disciplines. That phenomenon is understandable, considering religion's impact on family, politics, social class, gender, education, race relations, and all other social aspects of life (Ebaugh, 2002).

The 'East meets West' lens upon contextualizing religion as a social science object is also appealing to discuss. Pondering upon this matter would bring social scientists into 'Orientalism' discourses, a term made popular by Edward Said in 1979. Orientalism is defined as a created body of theory and practice that constructs the Eastern portraits, which, shortly speaking, are deemed as inferior compared to their Western counterparts. Among the debatable issues on this front is how one should set boundaries of which religions belong to the East and which belong to the West. It is easy to answer for some religions and arduous for others. For instance, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism could easily be categorized as Eastern religions, considering their history of origin (Fischer-Schreiber et al., 1989; Morgan, 2014).

The case is somewhat more perplexing with Abrahamic religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Some believe these Abrahamic religions belong to the Western world (e.g., Sharma, 2012). Nevertheless, many others assert that the Islamic worldview is incompatible with the Western world's way of living (Mansouri & Marotta, 2012; Roy, 2004). As for Christianity, while it is true that the Western world is more affected by Christianity than other religions, the history of Christianity is rooted in Asia, which belongs to the Eastern part of the world (Vyas & Murarka, 2020). Beyond those demarcation lines, the 'East meets West' discourse is an intriguing avenue to embrace, both from the broader social science and management perspectives.

I do not deny that most of the literature I cited while finishing this dissertation is from Western-oriented viewpoints. Nevertheless, in my argument, I already incorporated several Eastern-oriented perspectives in my works, such as in Paper 1 and 2, upon highlighting the discrimination phenomenon toward Muslim women in Muslim-majority countries. I discuss the papers' findings by explaining the arguments typically used by Western scholars. In addition, I propose alternative explanations for such cases by asserting that Islam might have a different worldview of women's unemployment from those of the Western world.

What the Western perceive as 'gender discrimination' may be perceived as performing roles responsibly by Muslims. Consequently, what the Western perceive as a problem to be solved (e.g., women's unemployment), may not be perceived by Muslims as a problem from the beginning. I understand that these 'emic' viewpoints are both a threat and an opportunity for me as a social scientist. A threat because I might be biased when arguing my findings, and an opportunity because of to the prospect of presenting marginal perspectives in comprehending social phenomenon. That paradox is something I might want to contemplate deeper along my academia career.

An Overview of Religion as a Management Object

The acknowledgment of religion as a scientific, social science object also occurred in the management field. As mentioned in the introduction, the negligence of religion in management discourse was mainly due to the perception that religion was deemed unrelated to profit-making activities. Nevertheless, that perception has progressively faded with management scholars initiating the immersion of religion within contemporary business-management discourses from various viewpoints. For instance: Culliton (1959) and Cutler (1992) on the marketing management field; Leahy (1986) and Siker et al. (1991) on business ethics; Iyer (1999) on business strategy; and Anderson et al. (2000) on entrepreneurship. Some studies project religion as a utilitarian means toward business (i.e., how religion can provide more benefits for the business). Others place religion as an ontological element or the sense-making mechanism of business-related activities. In its development, other lenses of blending religion within management studies (e.g., social - religion as the means of social interaction; moral - religion as an ethical compass; emotional - religion as a conduit of emotional expression; and so on) are also appearing.

Similarly, organizational scholars are progressing in the knowledge of the connection between religion and work, with most proposing that management scholars take religion as a scientific object more seriously. Among the examples of those scholars is King (2008), who wrote a conceptual piece challenging mainstream management research to raise religion as an object of interest. Other scholars include Cash & Gray (2000), who propose a religious accommodation framework in the workplace; Day (2005), who draws attention to the correlations between religion and individual behavior in the workplace; and Benefiel et al. (2014), who summarizes the history, theory, and research of religion in the workplace.

Many phenomena trigger this 'take-religion-more-seriously' motion, such as the more globalized workplace, which necessitates that people of different religious backgrounds work toward a common goal (King, 2008). The faith at-work movement, which started in the late 19th century, continues to exist in the present day (Miller, 2007). Attention should also be drawn toward the invention of religious work ethics concepts pioneered by Weber (2005 - first published in 1904) for Protestant Work Ethics (PWE) and Ali (1988) for Islamic Work Ethics (IWE). All in all, borrowing King's (2008) phrase, "it is time, wholly appropriate, and important for the management field to apply its expertise to systematically explore the nexus of these two important and enduring human institutions, religion and work" (p. 221).

Dissertation Contribution to Organizational Behavior, Management, and Social Science

As highlighted earlier and mentioned in the introduction, the OB field has provided specific places for OB scholars interested in research on religion (e.g., MSR interest group of AoM, JMSR). I would claim that all four papers written for this dissertation advance the OB field knowledge. However, the second paper especially concretely contributes to the special platform in the OB field; the paper has been accepted by the Journal of Management, Spirituality & Religion.

As for the impact on the larger management and social science discourses, the first and second papers promote the use of a relational and comprehensive perspective. In so doing, those papers expounded on the multi-layered perceptions of religions. The argument that workplace struggles are inseparable from social struggles reflects the social aspect of religion—that is, religion as a means of socializing, albeit in a negative light, as being the main focus of both papers. These two papers potentially prolong social science discourses beyond the management field only. For instance, sociologists and anthropologists might want to examine how they could conceptualize a harmonious interreligious life in a society that might also help reduce religious-based struggles in the workplace. Psychologists might also want to make further sense of workplace struggles' impact on religious individuals' emotions. The findings of Paper 2 on emotional consequences from workplace struggles are somewhat inconclusive, with some consequences being positive and others negative. The consequent questions would be: Under which circumstances will these struggles result in positive and negative emotions?

In addition, by comparing the phenomenon from two contrasting social backgrounds (Muslimmajority and Muslim-minority countries), Paper 1 adds to the etic perspective of social

sciences. Paper 3 proposes the portrait of the ontological use of religion as a thing driving individuals' perspectives of career success. Paper 4 portrays the interactions of two institutions generally attached to individuals: workplace and religion. Altogether, my dissertation carries on the notion of 'take religion more seriously' in management—especially organizational—discourses, with many social science aspects potentially linking up with the papers I wrote.

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