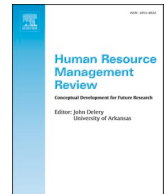




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Coping with dirty work: A meta-synthesis from a resource perspective

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ABSTRACT

There is now a substantial body of literature on the coping strategies used by workers employed in stigmatized dirty work. However, there is insufficient knowledge about what resources they use while employing these strategies, what factors impact resource availability and utilization for coping, and how the utilization of resources leads to differential coping. Our study fills these gaps. First, using meta-synthesis of 39 qualitative studies, we consolidate the resources these workers use to cope into six categories. Second, the study discusses what factors impact resource availability and utilization by proposing the role of occupational prestige as a determining factor. Third, borrowing from conservation of resources theory and self-affirmation theory, this study proposes resources as facilitators of self-affirmations leading to differential coping. Finally, we propose a conceptual framework along with propositions depicting how dissonance, caused by inconsistency in self-integrity, leads to the use of various resources for differential coping.

1. Introduction

Work is an integral part of human life, as it helps create one's identity and develop a sense of self (Kira & Balkin, 2014), but that is not true for all kinds of work. Dirty work, acknowledged as a necessity for societal effectiveness, is still perceived as disgusting or degrading, undignified or immoral, and demeaning (Douglas, 2002; Hughes, 1951). This is because the symbolic nature of dirt pervades beyond its material boundaries and has a social and moral significance (Simpson & Simpson, 2018). While all types of work have some aspects which are considered dirty, the extent to which the work is considered dirty depends on the centrality and intensity of the dirtiness and its associated stigma (Kreiner, Ashforth, & Sluss, 2006). Workers engaged in dirty work face identity-threatening circumstances (Kreiner et al., 2006), such as not being valued and considered unimportant (Bickmeier, Lopina, & Rogelberg, 2014; Douglas, 2002), or being socially excluded (Rabelo & Mahalingam, 2019), which affects their mental state (Bosmans et al., 2016). Thus, it is important to understand the nuances of workers' coping processes so that better support can be provided to help them build a positive sense of self.

Studies have found that even when people doing dirty work face the loss of core personal resources such as self-esteem and self-worth (Lopina, Rogelberg, & Howell, 2012), which leaves them in a state where they are mistrusted, humiliated, and unrecognized (Sayer, 2007), they can regain their dignified identity (Grandy & Mavin, 2014) with the help of coping strategies. Adopting various

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coping strategies, workers engaged in dirty work maintain a positive identity even when facing the harsh realities of occupational stigma. For instance, garbage workers affirm their identity by associating their work with heroism (Hamilton, Redman, & McMurray, 2019); likewise, domestic workers strengthen their sense of self by mastering their cleaning skills (Bosmans et al., 2016). Mechanisms such as reframing the nature of the job, identifying and building its meaning, acquiring autonomy at work, developing strong network support, and confronting society, help the workers maintain their dignity and self-respect (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). Although such coping mechanisms used by workers have gained a great deal of attention in the literature, research into these strategies is scattered throughout the dirty work literature without a sufficiently strong theoretical framework, thereby inhibiting a focused and systematic investigation (Kreiner, Ashforth, & Sluss, 2006; Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2006). Moreover, the coping strategies identified in the literature are mainly interpreted through ideologies, tactics, and social weighting, thus explaining the phenomena only in terms of how coping is undertaken, without investigating the resources used in this process. Since workers use resources to implement a coping strategy, it is important to understand the role of resources in achieving specific coping outcomes.

Being employed in a stigmatized occupation threatens the workers' personal resources and causes stress. While encountering such resource loss, as per the resource investment principle of conservation of resources (COR) theory, workers invest in other resources to protect or regain the lost resources (Hobfoll, Halbesleben, Neveu, & Westman, 2018). Since coping strategies can be adaptive or maladaptive (Bosmans et al., 2016), the success of stress resolution depends on which coping resources are used to regain the lost resources. For instance, Ito and Brotheridge's (2003) study shows how using varied resources with coping strategies can lead to different outcomes. Based on this, we assume a resource perspective and argue that personal (i.e., personal characteristics) and contextual (i.e., supportive employment relations) resources of individuals are great sources of strength in coping with such adversity (Kira, Van Eijnatten, & Balkin, 2010), and influence adaptive coping strategies, such as a feeling of pride in assisting grateful clients (Bosmans et al., 2016). The coping processes involve intra-psychic or behavioral actions (Taylor & Stanton, 2007), so it is vital to study the resources used by the workers while engaging in coping strategies, given the lack of clarity in extant literature. Utilization of coping resources in the context of dirty work may vary depending on their availability due to social, psychological, and economic reasons, making it critical to understand what factors impact resource availability and utilization in coping. To understand the resource perspective of coping strategies, we draw upon COR theory (Hobfoll et al., 2018) and explore how the use of differential resources causes differential coping outcomes. Further, we borrow the concept of occupational prestige, which is defined as a composite of status, power, quality of work, education, and income (Treiman, 1977), to shed light on factors that impact resource availability and utilization in various dirty work occupations.

Along with studying which resources are being used by the workers engaged in dirty work, it is also important to understand how workers use these resources to maintain a positive sense of self, despite the identity-threatening circumstances. To understand this phenomenon, we borrow from self-affirmation theory (Steele, 1988), which suggests that when individuals face a threat to self, they focus on non-threatening aspects of self to cope. In the context of dirty work, as the identity threat is arising from the societal perception of dirt, which is difficult to change or modify, studies have found that workers employed in dirty work focus on other aspects of self, work, and social environment to cope with this threat (e.g., Rabelo & Mahalingam, 2019; Sadl, 2014). For instance, paramilitary fighters face identity threats due to the violent nature of the work; however, to cope with this stigma, they affirm themselves by focusing on the work resource, i.e., the objective of their work involving safeguarding the citizens (Rueda, 2020). Accordingly, we integrate self-affirmation theory with COR theory to propose that workers affirm their self by focusing on non-threatened aspects with the help of existing resources rather than mitigating the threat itself.

To summarize, through our study, we elaborate upon: (a) how workers face dissonance arising from their employment in dirty work; (b) how resources enable differential coping with this dissonance; (c) how workers use the non-threatening aspects of their self, work and social environment in the form of resources to cope from the identity threat; and (d) how workers' occupational prestige varies the availability and utilization of resources. We provide a conceptual framework based on propositions drawn from the aforementioned theories. The primary research question guiding this study is:

What are the resources used by the workers engaged in dirty work to cope with their occupational stigma?

To answer this research question, we use a meta-synthesis approach by distilling qualitative empirical findings into a conceptual framework to understand dissonance, differential coping strategies, and resource implications in the context of dirty work. To consolidate the coping strategies used across dirty jobs, we incorporated them into the resource framework suggested by ten Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012). Our study provides a new direction to the literature on coping in the dirty work context by introducing the resource perspective using COR theory. Understanding the resources used while engaging in coping strategies will help appreciate the nuances of the coping process. Such understanding of the coping process has implications for human resource management (HRM) in terms of raising awareness and broadening the understanding of "dirty work" and indicating what organizations can do to facilitate employees engaged in this type of work to improve their sense of identity and well-being, particularly in the COVID-19 context and beyond.

2. Coping with dirty work from a resource perspective

2.1. Dirty work and occupational prestige

Society relies on various jobs that people perceive as dirty, such as slaughterhouse workers, correctional officers, and garbage collectors (Hughes, 1962). The societal perception that equates clean with good and dirt with bad leads to the perception of these jobs as "dirty" (Douglas, 2002). The stigma attached to the work can be derived from any person, process, place, or object possessing

specific characteristics that society interprets as a threat to them (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990). This leads to society outsourcing dirty yet necessary work to certain people (van Vlijmen, 2019) and distancing the mainstream from the dirt and from those who deal with it (Simpson, Slutskaia, Lewis, & Höpfl, 2012). Although such work is important for effective societal functioning, stigmatizing it as disgusting threatens an individual's basic need to feel respected and included through the work that they do (Rabelo & Mahalingam, 2019).

Research has proven that workers engaged in 'dirty' professions are well aware of the stigma attached to their jobs (e.g., Tracy, 2004). This stigma is inherent in their jobs and is not due to the individual's characteristics or the group engaged in this work (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). Kreiner, Ashforth, & Sluss, 2006, Kreiner et al. (2006, p. 621) define a stigmatized group as "one whose identity or image calls into question the full humanity of its members; in the eyes of others, the stigmatized group and its members are spoiled, blemished, devalued, or flawed to various degrees." Dirt becomes a central part of this stigmatized group members' image and identity, which leads to a significant part of their life being engaged in creating an identity separate from their noble yet dirty work (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). This constant struggle to feel valued and significant hampers their self-esteem, and also deprives them of intrinsic rewards like job satisfaction and engagement (Simpson et al., 2012). A preoccupation with the thought of how their work stigmatizes their personal identity causes distress (van Vuuren, Teurlings, & Bohlmeijer, 2012).

Four types of taint stigmatize dirty work and the workers engaged in such professions: (a) physical taint, when the tasks involve trash, bodily fluids, death, or other dangerous conditions (e.g., soldier, miner); (b) social taint, when the task involves contact with stigmatized communities (e.g., social worker, police detective); (c) moral taint, when the task requires a violation of ethical, social and religious norms (e.g., exotic dancers, psychics) (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999); (d) emotional taint, where the emotion associated with the work is considered to be dirty (e.g., border patrol) (Rivera, 2014). Research on dirty work has used these four types of taint interchangeably. However, as Ashforth and Kreiner (2014) state, it is necessary to understand the differences in order to understand the stigma and countering strategies. Dirty work is perceived as a "necessary evil," with the jobs associated with physical and social taint considered more necessary than the morally tainted occupations. Due to this, morally tainted dirty jobs are perceived as dirtier and pose serious identity threats compared to other dirty jobs.

Several researchers have acknowledged that all occupations face the stigma of being dirty to varying degrees. The type, scope, and intensity of the dirty work vary, as well as the taint associated with the jobs. One such classification on which dirty work can be classified is occupational prestige (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). Occupational prestige is a composite of status, power, quality of work, education, and income (Treiman, 1977). It captures societal perceptions of work and describes how occupations are valued in terms of reputation or honor (Treiman, 1977). While dirty work explains tasks with the societal perception of dirt, occupational prestige explains the social status of the work. Both these factors are not independent of each other (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999) and play a crucial role in making the stigma more or less prominent. For instance, a garbage collector's work is considered dirty work due to the physical stigma of dealing with garbage; it is also considered low prestige due to the lack of education, income, status, or power involved in the job. However, in situations where occupational prestige is high it acts as a status shield (Stenross & Kleinman, 1989), due to which even when the stigma is high, the job holder does not feel a threat to their identity (e.g., a physician). This high and low occupational prestige determines resource availability for the workers working in that occupation. For example, for occupations with low prestige (i.e., butchers, correctional officers, and exotic dancers), most of the condition resources that are derived from work, such as occupational benefits, good working conditions, are absent compared to higher prestige jobs (e.g., social workers, dentists, and funeral directors) where more resources are available (Hochschild, 2012). So, the social status and prestige of the jobs together shape the sense of self (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2014).

Accordingly, for our study, we focus on the dirt in terms of physical, social, moral, or emotional taint, as suggested by Hughes (1951), rather than the stigma caused by the lack of education, income, status, or power (which is low prestige). Also, to understand how workers engaged in these dirty jobs utilize resources to cope, we argue occupational prestige as a determining factor for differential resource availability and utilization.

2.2. Self-affirmation theory

Working on a stigmatized job creates a threat to one's personal identity, which defeats the expectation of respect that one might have from the job (Bosmans et al., 2016; Rabelo & Mahalingam, 2019). In such a situation, where the identity threat originates from an uncontrollable factor (i.e., societal perception towards one's job), it becomes necessary to find other non-threatened positive aspects to cope with it. To explain this phenomenon, we borrow from the self-affirmation theory.

Self-affirmation theory (Aronson, Blanton, & Cooper, 1995; Sherman & Cohen, 2002; Steele, 1988) is based on the premise that the overall goal of an individual's self-system is to protect one's self-integrity. Integrity is defined as "one is a good and appropriate person" (Sherman & Cohen, 2006, p. 7); "appropriate" is understood as being compatible with the cultural norms. Individuals are vigilant towards any threats to their integrity, and in such a situation, the self-system gets activated to restore the desired self-worth by using self-affirmation (Sherman & Cohen, 2002). These psychological threats do not arise from cognitive inconsistencies but from a perceived "environmental challenge to the adequacy of the self" (Cohen & Sherman, 2014, p. 335); that is, behavior that threatens one's moral and adaptive integrity (Steele, 1988). Such behavior causes a state of dissonance due to psychological discomfort (Harmon-Jones & Mills, 2019). This dissonance carries on until the threats are explained away, and the sense of one's adaptive and moral adequacy is restored (Heine & Lehman, 1997).

According to the theory, self-systems engage in continuous rationalization and explanations to the self to maintain a global image of self-integrity (Cohen & Sherman, 2014; Heine & Lehman, 1997; Steele, 1988). Psychological discomfort is not alleviated by rescuing the specifically threatened self-image caused by the discrepant behavior, but rather by engaging in self-affirmation, focusing on

positive aspects of self, which helps in enhancing self-worth (Stone & Cooper, 2001). The affirmation of positive self-attributes helps overcome the dissonance without directly enforcing change to the discrepant cognition (Simon, Greenberg, & Brehm, 1995). Individuals focus on self-conception or an image that makes them feel “competent, good, coherent” or otherwise strive to possess self-integrity (Steele, 1988, p. 262) to outgrow the dissonance. Such self-affirmations provide reassurance to individuals that their self-worth is not tied to the immediate threat-provoking situation (Sherman & Cohen, 2006) and contribute to a positive self-image (Cohen & Sherman, 2014; Sherman & Cohen, 2006).

In the context of dirty work, as the stigma on the occupation is due to the societal perception that the workers cannot modify, they instead focus upon a feasible approach. Since affirmations do not focus on the event causing distress but on the positive sense of self, it helps workers cope with this stress. Therefore, this theory helps us understand how without changing the cause of the stress (i.e., societal perception against the dirty work) occurring due to the threat to self-concept, workers can regain their sense of integrity through affirmations. Based on this understanding, we draw from self-affirmation theory and propose that the dissonance arising from the mismatch between the expectation of respect and the reality of a spoiled identity due to the dirty work is overcome using personal and contextual resources as facilitators to self-affirmation.

2.3. Coping strategies and coping resources

Being employed in a stigmatized job creates a necessity to construct a positive sense of self. Several previous studies have indicated that workers employed in dirty work may retain a high level of occupational esteem and pride (e.g., Thompson, 1991). To develop such a positive state of mind, workers employ several coping strategies based on their occupation and individual characteristics (Miller & Kaiser, 2001).

Coping is a response to stressful events by regulating emotions, thoughts, physiology, and the environment (Compas, Connor-Smith, Saltzman, Thomsen, & Wadsworth, 2001). The coping efforts manage, master, minimize, reduce, or tolerate the demands created by stressful circumstances (Taylor & Stanton, 2007). Constant appraisal and reappraisal of the stressful events modify the cognitive and behavioral efforts that are used to cope (Folkman & Lazarus, 1990). These cognitive efforts influence the deployment of attention, alter the subjective meaning, or change the person-environment relationship (Folkman & Lazarus, 1990). Many studies on stress and coping have provided classifications to distinguish between the coping strategies used by members of a stigmatized group (see Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Ashforth & Kreiner, 2002; Ashforth & Kreiner, 2014; Compas et al., 2001; Suls & Fletcher, 1985 for details). For instance, the workers may choose to reframe, recalibrate and refocus to transform the meaning of their work by devaluing the negative aspects of the job and highlighting the positive ones (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999, 2002, 2014). A person may also seek to enhance his/her self-esteem by identifying and favoring their in-group rather than the out-group (Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark, & Fugate, 2007), or may accept and internalize an identity that is considered inferior and stigmatized in society (Jost & Elsbach, 2001). However, these coping strategies are employed with the support of resources. To understand the intricate mechanism of coping process, it is essential to know which resources are used while employing coping strategies (Ito & Brotheridge, 2003).

The resource-based view of coping, adaptation, and well-being came into the research field during WWII (Grinker & Spiegel, 1945). Researchers got interested when they saw some individuals handled the aftermath of wars in a better way than others (Caplan, 1964). From that observation, two key resources came to light that underlay the distinction in coping levels: a sense of mastery and social support (Caplan, 1964). From this point onwards, research into coping resources identified that being married, having a sense of belonging, and participating in group activities are critical social resources (Berkman & Syme, 1979). People who lose a sense of access to resources and social support were found to be potential victims of stress (Sarason, 1974). Resources are found to influence how individuals define and interpret a situation, assess their ability to cope, and what their likelihood is of succeeding through using a particular coping strategy (Cordes & Dougherty, 1993). In the context of dirty work, workers face the loss or a potential loss of these critical resources (Hobfoll, 2001), leading to a higher level of psychological strain (Baran et al., 2012). In such situations, other physiological, social, emotional, and cognitive resources are utilized to overcome the stress arising from the loss of resources (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2002; ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012). This phenomenon is explained by COR theory, which we explain in the further section.

2.4. Conservation of resources theory

Based on the resource perspective, one of the most influential stress models is COR theory, which explains how human behavior is based on the need to conserve and acquire resources for survival (Hobfoll et al., 2018). This makes the acquisition and facilitation of resources a central motivational construct (Hobfoll, 1989). Resources such as health, well-being, social support, self-esteem, meaning in life help individuals cope with the stressful challenges that arise (Halbesleben & Wheeler, 2008). For Hobfoll (1989), resources are defined as “things that people value” and can be classified as objects, personal characteristics, conditions, and energies (Hobfoll, 1989). The unique contributions of COR theory in the domain of resource–adaptation models are that it considers resources as the central organizing feature of the stress experience; these resources are depicted in a sociocultural context rather than an individual context, meaning the perceptions are common among people of the same culture (Hobfoll, 1988).

We adopt COR theory to identify how workers employed in dirty work utilize various resources to cope with their occupational stigma. To classify the resources, we have taken the resource categories provided by ten Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012), namely: (a) condition resources (contextual and structural resources); (b) constructive resources (personal and structural resources); (c) social support resources (contextual and volatile resources); (d) energies resources (personal and volatile resources); (e) key resources (personal and stable resources); (f) macro resources (contextual and stable resources). We selected the resource categorization given by

ten Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012) in the context of dirty work for two reasons. First, they provide more structure and clarity to the distinction provided by Hobfoll (2002), categorizing the resource based on two factors, i.e., transience and source. This categorization helps us allocate the resources used for coping by workers in dirty occupations in a distinct manner, such that we can evaluate their individual impact on coping. Second, in addition to Hobfoll's early work on resources, ten Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012) included two overarching resource types i.e., macro and key resources (Halbesleben, Neveu, Paustian-Underdahl, & Westman, 2014), that help facilitate the implementation of other resources (Thoits, 1994). These additional resources helped us to understand how they work along with other resources to help in coping.

3. Data collection

We followed the meta-synthesis approach proposed by Hoon (2013), which is based upon interpretive synthesis. Insights or metaphors from various qualitative studies are integrated or combined in an interpretive meta-synthesis (Clemmens, 2003). Formally, meta-synthesis is defined as “an exploratory, inductive research design to synthesize primary qualitative studies for the purpose of making contributions beyond those achieved in the original studies” (Hoon, 2013, p. 527). The term ‘meta’ here indicates the analysis of the analysis, i.e., a cumulative synthesis of the qualitative evidence from the prior studies (Hoon, 2013). The insights gathered from prior studies identify the emerging themes while preserving those studies' integrity (Hoon, 2013). We follow Hoon's (2013) position that interpretative meta-synthesis is appropriate because it considers the context of variables and relationships of the studies (Miles & Huberman, 1994), for instance, the type of dirty work.

The qualitative approach provides specific insights into how people deal with stigma as well as how they overcome it. The integration of the various coping strategies spread across the literature and identifying coping resources from these studies help build a better understanding of how varied resources help in dealing with stigmatization. Thus, the meta-synthesis will bring about a more systematic understanding of the coping resources used in the context of dirty work. Explained below are the six guiding steps for synthesizing the qualitative literature (Hoon, 2013; Lazazzara, Tims, & de Gennaro, 2020).

3.1. Step 1: framing the research question

The qualitative review revealed that studies have focused on coping strategies or stigma attached to individual dirty jobs, and there is a lack of consolidated review of such coping strategies. Moreover, researchers have not integrated the coping strategies with the coping resources, which play a crucial role in restoring the lost personal resources. With the objective of synthesizing the coping literature in the context of dirty work, and guided by the seminal work of Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) and Hobfoll (1989), we conducted the meta-synthesis using the following research question: *What are the resources used by the workers engaged in dirty work to cope with their occupational stigma?*

3.2. Step 2: locating relevant research

The second step is based on identifying the relevant studies to the meta-synthesis and the research question. Studies on dirty work are spread across disciplines such as sociology, management, and labor relations, among others. Considering the vastness of the literature, we conducted our search in seven prominently used multidisciplinary databases — Ebscohost, ABI inform, Scopus, JSTOR, Science Direct, Emerald, and Sage. Guided by our research question to identify the coping strategies in the context of dirty work, we began our meta-synthesis using a combination of keywords. When identifying the keywords, our focus was on the keywords that define coping. As the term “cope” can be expressed in several forms, we used the iterative process to find new keywords from the previous search for the next search and so on. We gathered the keywords and stopped searching for more when no new results were identified (Okoli & Schabram, 2010). Finally, we conducted an abstract search with the extended list of keywords (coping OR cope OR manage OR survive OR defensive OR defense OR meaning OR meaningfulness OR deal OR deals OR sense OR purpose OR handle OR experience OR respond OR change) AND (“dirty work*”).

3.3. Step 3: inclusion/exclusion criteria

Our initial search through all the seven databases yielded 668 articles. After combining and removing the duplicates, we were left with 387 articles. Quality, relevance, and recency (Budhwar, Pereira, Mellahi, & Singh, 2019) were our prime focus while conducting the search. Regarding the quality of the studies, we limited our search to only peer-reviewed articles. Moreover, we decided to focus on journals that were listed in any of the three quality lists, i.e., SCImago Journal & Country Rank (SJR), Association of Business Schools (ABS), and Australian Business Deans Council (ABDC). Papers written in the English language were only shortlisted. To include recent papers and depict the current economic and social situation, we selected articles published in the past 11 years (2010–2021). After the preliminary screening based on the above exclusion criteria, we were left with 273 articles. Further, regarding relevance, we used the following inclusion criteria to select relevant studies: 1) studies with qualitative data analysis; 2) studies with primary qualitative data; and 3) studies focusing on particular dirty work. We have included studies with a variety of qualitative methods. Although Hoon's (2013) method was developed over case studies, it is adapted to include a variety of qualitative method-based studies, including interviews and ethnography, among others (Athanasopoulou & Dopson, 2018; Lazazzara et al., 2020). Since methodologically, the meta-synthesis process involves extracting codes from the results and discussion section of the selected studies (Hoon, 2013), it is not affected by the qualitative method followed by the papers. At the end of the screening stage, based on the above-mentioned three

inclusion criteria, we excluded 186 articles and retained 87 relevant papers.

We read the full text of these studies and selected based on one inclusion criterion, i.e., studies explaining coping with occupational stigma by employees employed in dirty work. Studies focusing only on explaining the stigma rather than coping with the stigma were excluded. After the final screening, we included 39 articles in our study (see Appendix 1 for the list of the studies and Fig. 1 for the flow diagram).

3.4. Step 4: extracting and coding data

The fourth step involves extracting, coding, and classifying the insights or evidence from the shortlisted studies (Noblit & Hare, 1988). Since our study involves the synthesis of coping resources, we analyzed the content of the evidence, which is based on various coping strategies used by the workers, and coded this evidence as per the coping resources mentioned in the strategies.

Instead of raw data, our content analysis was focused on the results and discussion sections of the studies to gather the researchers' insights. As interviews can be interpreted in varied forms and are subjected to get biased, using the evidence from the discussion section helps capture the insights that original researchers have constructed according to their understanding and interpretation of the data (Hoon, 2013). The implication of following such an approach helps researchers capture the original essence of the papers and prevent any kind of interpretation bias that can affect the objective of meta-synthesis. To understand the settings of the studies, we

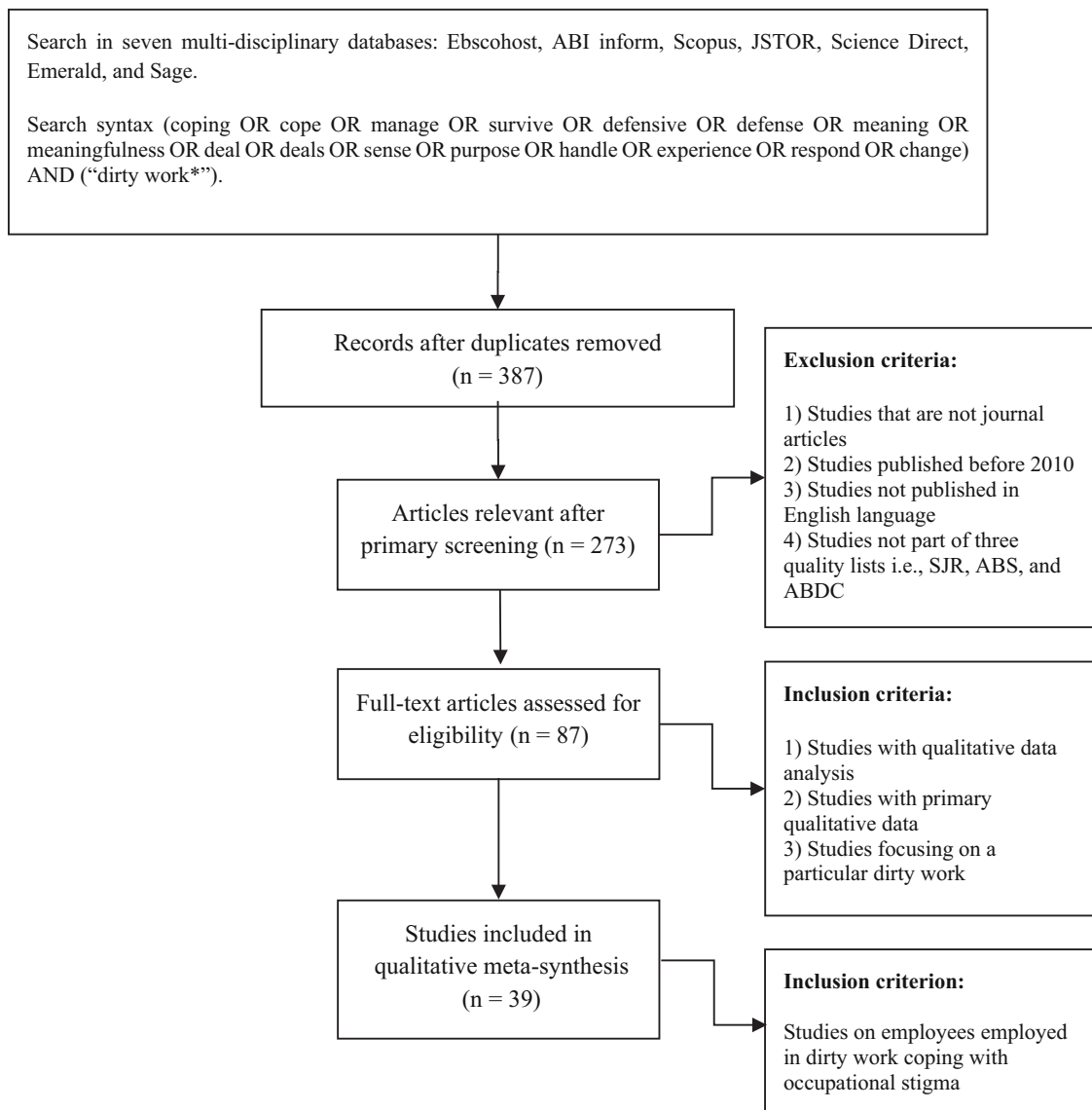


Fig. 1. Flow diagram of included studies.

coded the studies for their descriptive characteristics, such as the type of work, sample size, gender, and methodology (Appendix 1). Further, we followed the open coding approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and developed a list of open codes based on coping resources used by employees (Appendix 2). We selected three studies randomly, and two co-authors identified the relevant codes. Further, all the co-authors discussed the identified codes, and disagreements specifically about the terminology of the resource categorizations were discussed. After solving the disagreements, we finalized the initial coding. Following this, Mackey and Gass (2015) stated that coding in time 1 and time 2 by the same researcher could help establish intra-rater reliability. One author coded the rest of the articles using the finalized codes in two time periods. The resource categorization suggested by ten Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012) provided a structure to our coding process.

3.5. Step 5: analyzing different conceptualizations and comparisons

Our first order codes resulted in specific patterns highlighting the resources used by the workers. Borrowing from the resource-based theories, we moved back and forth between our data and these theories and came up with more generalizable resource categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), which formed our second-order themes. We built upon the resources suggested by ten Brummelhuis and Bakker's (2012) broader categorization of resources to create a matrix of coping resources. The two-by-two grids of resources consist of transience on one axis and source on the other axis. The source categorization explains the source of the resources, which might be from outside the self (contextual resource) or proximate to the self (personal resources) (Hobfoll, 2002). The second dimension of 'transience' categorizes resources as per the transient property of a resource. Resources may be (a) volatile, i.e., once they are used, they cannot be used for other purposes, or (b) structural, i.e., resources are more durable and last for longer. Structural resources are preferred during stressful times (ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012). Based on these categorizations proposed by ten Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012), our aggregate dimensions are embedded in six resource dimensions: (a) condition resources; (b) constructive resources; (c) social support resources; (d) energy resources, (e) key resources, (f) macro resources (see Fig. 2.) These resource categorizations are generic and applicable to any context depending on the contextual demand. For instance, ten Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012) proposed the work-home interface model, which explained that the employees select the contextual resources (i.e., autonomy or social support) to overcome the stress due to contextual demands (i.e., work overload or sexual harassment). Similarly, these resources are studied in public service administration (Bakker, 2015) and leadership literature (Braun & Nieberle, 2017), having varied contextual demands. Based on the generic nature of the resources, we have adopted them into the dirty work context where the contextual demand is the resource loss due to occupational stigma, and the resources are the contextual and personal resources that workers use differentially to cope with their stress. To allocate the data to these theoretical constructs and ensure validity, co-authors discussed the emerging patterns to reach a consensus.

We have used the ten Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012) classifications in two ways. Firstly, allocation of the second-order themes into the six resource categories was done using the above-mentioned two classifications given by ten Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012), namely: (a) source of the resource; (b) transient property of the resource. With the help of the literature, we evaluated the characteristics of the resources and allotted them respectively to the resource category. For instance, objective of work resources is sourced from the job and tends to persist as long as the person is working in that job. Based on this understanding, this resource was categorized as a condition resource. Similarly, mental resilience is sourced from the self and is also considered a stable resource (ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012), and thus we categorized it as a constructive resource (see Appendix 3). Secondly, resource categorization was used to understand further how differential coping outcomes occur due to differential resource utilization. For instance, based on the resources' characteristics, we proposed constructive and condition resources to provide permanent coping outcomes; and social support and energy resources to provide temporary coping outcomes. Thus, we used the resource classification provided by ten Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012) to categorize our findings from the review and further understand how these resources lead to differential coping outcomes.

		SOURCE		KEY RESOURCES Self-efficacy Self-esteem
		CONTEXTUAL	PERSONAL	
TRANSCIENCE	STRUCTURAL	CONDITION RESOURCES: Learning on job Nature of work Objective of work Occupational autonomy Occupational conditions and benefits	CONSTRUCTIVE RESOURCES: Personal autonomy Knowledge Skills Mental resilience Experience Exposure Gender-masculinity Gender-femininity	
	VOLATILE	SOCIAL SUPPORT: Support from clients Union support Expressive ties with co-workers Respect from society Support from managers	ENERGIES: Emotional regulation Diversion Humor	

Fig. 2. Categorization of coping resources.

3.6. Step 6: synthesizing findings

In the last phase of meta-synthesis, we synthesized the resources that emerged out of qualitative coping strategies research in the context of dirty work using the resource classifications drawn from initial analysis and self-affirmation theory. A conceptual framework (see Fig. 3) was developed that elaborated on how dissonance arises from a threat to self-integrity and how workers utilize resources to cope with this dissonance, which results in differential coping. We explain the concept of differential coping based on the longevity of the coping outcome and conceptualize the terms ‘temporary coping’ and ‘permanent coping’ as a coping outcome rather than a coping itself (see Fig. 3).

4. Findings and discussion

We identified six dimensions of personal and contextual resources from the sample studies and how individuals mobilize them to overcome the dissonance caused by the threat to one's self while working in a dirty job and to facilitate self-affirmations to rebuild self-worth (Steele, 1988). We discuss each of the dimensions, drawing on self-affirmation theory and COR theory, and present several propositions.

4.1. Condition resources

Condition resources, defined as durable resources present in the social context (ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012), have been identified as among the most popular resources to cope with occupational stigma. These resources not only help divert attention from the stigma but also help build a favorable occupational identity. We identified five types of condition resources from the sample studies: (1) learning on the job; (2) the nature of dirty work; (3) objective of the work; (4) occupational autonomy; and (5) occupational conditions and benefits.

First, learning on the job facilitated gaining new skills and helped the workers engage in a non-monotonous and relatively diverse work experiences. For instance, this condition resource made the health care professionals appreciate the specialized learning they receive while working on the job (Sanders, 2010). Similarly, learning new combat techniques helped paramilitary fighters professionalize their work of combat (Rueda, 2020). Further, while enduring the physical taint associated with their work, domestic workers focused their attention on learning new environments, the habits, and lifestyles of their patrons (Bosmans et al., 2016; Sadl, 2014). Similarly, for lawyers, learning came from taking up and solving challenging cases (Gunby & Carline, 2020). Surrogates acquired new knowledge and competencies due to their frequent interactions with doctors and agencies (Rozée, Unisa, & de La Rochebrochard,

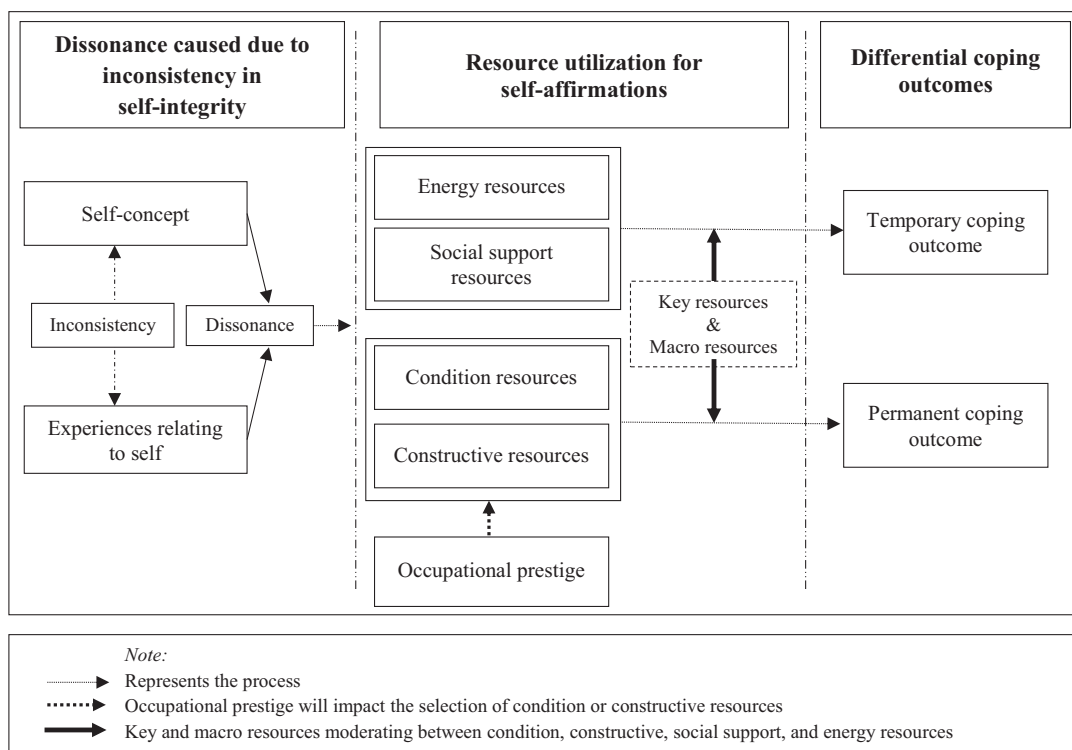


Fig. 3. Conceptual framework for coping with occupational stigma.

2020). The opportunity to engage in non-routine work and to implement a diverse set of knowledge builds a unique work experience for the workers (Bosmans et al., 2016; Deery et al., 2019).

Second, the nature of dirty work, which itself might be the reason for stigma, helped create a favorable occupational identity. To elaborate, Hansen (2016) found that when homecare work was introduced with a rehabilitation concept, the workers no longer felt they were merely care workers; instead, they began to perceive themselves as coaches. As their perception of the nature of their work was modified, they detached from the dirty part of their job and developed a sense of honor in their work. This condition resource was found to vary within an industry according to the depth of dirtiness. For instance, the study by Mavin and Grandy (2013) found that when the nature of an exotic dancer's work was compared to that of a nude dancer, the exotic dancers developed a sense that the stigmatized work was acceptable, as nude dancing was deemed even dirtier. As the job provided an opportunity to explore their sexuality within the psychological boundary of exotic dancing, they regarded their job more positively (Grandy & Mavin, 2014). Paramilitary workers drew moral boundaries to distinguish between workers involved in the actual violence and themselves who just facilitated the violence, thus preserving their moral integrity (Rueda, 2020). Likewise, taxi drivers enjoyed the experience of visiting different cities, which they would never have visited otherwise, as part of their job (Ference, 2016). In the comparison study, Phung, Buchanan, Toubiana, Ruebottom, and Turchick-Hakak (2020) found that Uber drivers perceive themselves as better off than taxi drivers as their nature of work is based on advanced technology that makes their services more transparent and safer.

Third, the objective of work is another crucial resource found to be significant in coping with the stigma of dirty work. To elaborate, irrespective of the level of prestige of the dirty work, workers appreciate the “necessity shield” that their job is necessary and critical for society (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2014, p. 84). For instance, the role of veterinary technicians in providing a peaceful death to a sick pet (Sanders, 2010), or the role of garbage workers in maintaining health and hygiene in the environment (Hamilton et al., 2019), or the job of a funeral director in helping the family to honor a dead member (Jordan, Ward, & McMurray, 2018); all are attached to a significant purpose that makes the workers feel honored, loyal, and responsible in their jobs (Bosmans et al., 2016; Cruz, 2015; Filteau, 2015; Hughes, Simpson, Slutskaya, Simpson, & Hughes, 2016; Sadl, 2014; van Vlijmen, 2019). The perceived ability to bring about change in the lives of people gives a sense of significance to their jobs (Rozée et al., 2020; Worrall & Mawby, 2013). Helping rape victims to get justice (Gunby & Carline, 2020) or guarding civilians by expelling guerrillas and regaining territorial control gives a sense of pride to the workers engaged in such work (Rueda, 2020). Similarly, when taxi drivers ensured that a passenger arrived safely home and not at a station, as compared to other modes of transport, they were able to develop a positive attitude towards themselves as “heroes” (Cassell & Bishop, 2014). These examples show that irrespective of the dirt associated with the job, workers reframe their contact with dirt in terms of its societal significance and worth. Further, in some instances, workers preferred to be identified with their jobs or the organizations providing such services due to the importance they hold for society (Ford, 2018).

Fourth, occupational autonomy, a condition resource, is defined by Turner and Lawrence (1965, p. 21) as “the amount of discretion the worker is expected to exercise in carrying out assigned work activities,” acts in varied forms to maintain a sense of dignity among the workers (Hamilton et al., 2019). To elaborate, to keep the stigma from affecting their identity, workers exercise their autonomy by maintaining physical and mental distance from the dirty tasks or from people who reinforce the stigma (Ostaszewicz, O'Connell, & Dunning, 2016; Rabelo & Mahalingam, 2019), and channel their energy into finishing the task (Gunby & Carline, 2020). Some of the jobs provide workers with the opportunity to conduct the task and divide the work independently (Deery, Kolar, & Walsh, 2019). For instance, garbage workers exercise their autonomy by deciding whether to take their wagons from the street where cars are parked inappropriately (Hamilton et al., 2019). The ability to make decisions about their job gives them a sense of status that proves successful in coping with the stigma.

Finally, occupational conditions and benefits also act as a condition resource that helps the workers refocus their attention towards the favorable part of the jobs. To elaborate, cleaning workers embrace isolation at work, where they can do their job independently without being continuously monitored (Rabelo & Mahalingam, 2019). Similarly, garbage workers compare their working environment of working out in fresh air with a desk job (Hamilton et al., 2019). In addition, re-focusing on the non-stigmatized elements of the jobs, such as flexible working hours (Bosmans et al., 2016), financial benefits, time off, and full medical care, help them see their work in a positive light (Filteau, 2015; Grandy & Mavin, 2014; Rozée et al., 2020). Accordingly, this resource helps workers have a positive outlook on their jobs.

In sum, these condition resources engage the individuals' self-affirmation, helping them to realize the intrinsic value and meaning attached to their job (Yeoman, 2014). Thus, they develop a positive attitude towards the job and regain their self-worth, leading to a reduction in dissonance.

4.2. Constructive resources

As defined by ten Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012), constructive resources such as knowledge, masculine/feminine traits, and mental resilience are individual personal resources that can help in affirming one's self-adequacy by perceiving that one is engaged in a worthwhile occupation (Harris et al., 2019) and thus viewing oneself in a positive light.

From the current meta-synthesis study, the data revealed several instances of constructive resources being used by the workers engaged in dirty work. For example, workers use personal autonomy, defined as a behavior that a person willingly endorses (Ryan, Deci, Grolnick, & La Guardia, 2006), as a resource, and engage in selective disclosure of information about their job to outsiders (Montebancho, 2018; Rozée et al., 2020). Workers engage in framing their jobs as socially accepted careers, thus projecting themselves as socially acceptable (Shigihara, 2018). They substantiate their engagement in a dirty job with personal autonomy, considering it only as a job, not as their career (Mavin & Grandy, 2013; Phung et al., 2020; Shigihara, 2018). They reclaim their worth by accepting their involvement with dirty work as a temporary arrangement while they work to develop another profession as a career (Löfstrand, Loftus,

& Loader, 2015; Mavin & Grandy, 2013). The temporality of the dirty work helps the workers segregate themselves from the people who are permanently engaged in the work and are considered dirtier than the temporary ones. Further, personal autonomy is used to determine for whom the workers would like to work (Sadl, 2014).

Moreover, to directly challenge the social disapproval of outsiders regarding one's profession, workers educated them about the importance of the job, using knowledge as a resource (Bachleda & El Menzhi, 2018). In some professions, workers cope with the stigma by adding a personal aspect to their work that acts as a "badge of honor" (Bosmans et al., 2016; Hughes et al., 2016; van Vlijmen, 2019). Showcasing their skill in the work acts as a resource that helps the workers identify with their tasks and develop their own unique identity. In contrast to this, for certain jobs where the dirt associated with the tasks is very high, workers use their ability to be resilient as a resource by normalizing the taint (McLoughlin, 2018; Ostaszkievicz et al., 2016). They normalize the stigma by justifying themselves that the job they do and the stigma associated with the job is a common thing and is no different from any other job (Monteblanco, 2018; Tyler, 2011). Further, workers engaged in dirty work for a prolonged period gain the experience of handling physically and emotionally intense tasks by working on a routine basis. This experience normalizes the dirt to the extent that they become immune to the stigma (Jordan et al., 2018). For instance, constant participation in fighting a battle involving shooting and killing banalized the violence for the combatants and made them habituated to such battles (Rueda, 2020). Similarly, workers mentioned how they had been exposed to their work since childhood through talking about it and practicing the fringe tasks associated with the job. Early socializing with the dirt of the work made the workers less susceptible to the stigma (Jordan et al., 2018). Both the experience and exposure are constructive resources that normalize the taint by making the worker accustomed.

It is interesting to note that several studies have acknowledged the critical role of gender in dirty work. Being "masculine ready" to perform strenuous tasks has historically provided working men with self-esteem (Willis, 1977). In the studies, working-class men handled the stigma by relying on masculine ideals of being physically resilient and emotionally detached, which helped them to maneuver the bodily demands and dirtiness of the job (Bosmans et al., 2016; Johnston & Hodge, 2014; McLoughlin, 2018; Simpson, Hughes, Slutskaya, & Balta, 2014; Slutskaya, Simpson, Hughes, Simpson, & Uygur, 2016). For instance, a butcher's use of masculine traits to handle the physically strenuous working condition helps him maintain his self-concept and improve his perception of himself on the job (McLoughlin, 2018). Also, combatants assume their gendered role as the protectors of the group (Rueda, 2020). Working-class men focus on their traditional masculine roles to cope with the stigma, whereas working-class women cope by redefining the gender roles in dirty work. Being able to leverage their femininity in a largely male-dominated work makes them feel worthwhile. Their equal contribution to the dirty work, as well as providing economic support to their families, reinforces their sense of empowerment (Cruz, 2015; Ference, 2016). For instance, during post-conflict times, men stayed home to take care of the children while women went out to earn their livelihood (Cruz, 2015). Such instances redefined their identity in the contexts of both home and the larger society.

4.3. Energy resources

Energy resources serve temporary adjustment of dissonance by acting as buffers instead of changing the attitude or belief of the individual. Energy resources are highly volatile and are personal to individuals (ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012). These resources help in detaching one's work-self from one's personal-self (Tracy & Trethewey, 2006), thereby preserving a sense of inner self.

The most common energy resource found in our sample studies is emotional regulation. Workers utilize this resource in various ways to cope with the occupational stigma. For instance, workers are provided with a professional code of conduct, which also mandates the emotional conduct expected from the worker. However, this emotional conduct itself acts as a stigma to the workers, leading them to be identified as inhuman. To conquer this stigmatized identity, workers deliberately engage in feminine emotions to humanize their job in front of others (Rivera, 2014). Engaging in emotions helps the workers make society better understand their jobs and improve their work identities. Workers develop custom-made emotional scripts to match their emotions with the situation (Lemmergaard & Muhr, 2012). For instance, Rivera (2014) found that to maintain their professional self, workers engaged in emotionless behavior at work but showed emotional vulnerability outside their work to be at par with the social norms. Also, rape barristers maintain a balance with their emotions such that they are emotionally detached from the case yet are able to use emotions to convince the jury (Gunby & Carline, 2020). Another way in which workers utilize this resource is by seeing their work as a commercial activity (Rozée et al., 2020). The feeling norms at the workplace help the workers engage in their highly stigmatized work-related activities while not perceiving them as dirty (McLoughlin, 2018). For instance, while being engaged in their work, butchers regulate their emotions by seeing the whole process of killing the animals as a food processing activity. These feeling norms reframe a butcher's work and help them overcome the stress from their physical taint (McLoughlin, 2018). Workers also normalize their occupational stigma by engaging in a hobby (Jordan et al., 2018) or by using humor as a resource that helps them handle the dirtiest tasks with much ease and to feel normal about being associated with them (Gunby & Carline, 2020; Ostaszkievicz et al., 2016; Sanders, 2010).

4.4. Social support resources

As the self is also understood from the outsiders' perspective, especially through significant others (Yeung & Martin, 2003), social support resources play a critical role in shaping the self-concept. Social support resources are received from others and are volatile (ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012). These resources can be either an emotional or a practical aid given by others, enabling a perception that the person is loved and cared for by others (Taylor & Stanton, 2007). As suggested by attachment theory, such social support builds self-esteem in individuals (Harris et al., 2019). Thus, social support resources help individuals engage in self-affirmations to overcome

the dissonance and regain their self-esteem.

In the context of dirty work, support from others act as significant resources to cope with the stigma. To elaborate, when workers are engaged in the work to serve clients, they develop close personal relationships with them. This sense of belonging helps in reducing servility and building a positive sense of self as “a person” rather than “a servant” (Sadl, 2014, p.920). Further, it was found that, even when the workers do not appreciate the job content, they feel motivated when the clients recognize their value and their contribution in doing the work (Bosmans et al., 2016).

As well as the clients, union support proved to be significant in developing a common identity within the profession. Union membership made the workers aware of their rights, built their capability to share their bad experiences, and let their voices be heard (FERENCE, 2016; Worrall & Mawby, 2013). In some cases, just seeing their colleagues wearing professional attire to attend the union meetings could build a feeling of respect for their work (FERENCE, 2016). Most importantly, union membership for working-class women proved to be more useful, as they faced harassment and abuse more than men (Soni-Sinha & Yates, 2013). The ability to fight for better wages and dignity helps construct their identities as valuable workers (Soni-Sinha & Yates, 2013).

The most closely connected support, however, comes from colleagues. Expressive ties that a worker shares with his/her co-workers involve the exchange of social support, compassion, and friendship (Umpress, Labianca, Brass, Kass, & Scholten, 2003). In the context of dirty work, workers facing similar stress arising from their stigmatized jobs develop a sense of in-group camaraderie. For instance, women working in brothels share common emotional stressors of client aggression and assault (Wolfe, Blithe, & Mohr, 2018). Sharing these common experiences makes them feel connected to each other (Bosmans et al., 2016; Deery et al., 2019; Fontana, 2020; Rozée et al., 2020). Moreover, co-workers engaged in a dirty profession feel connected by their collective attachment to the objective of their work (van Vuuren et al., 2012). For instance, workers in occupations involving objectives such as taking care of animals, caring for elders, cleaning the streets, or preparing meat for food processing, develop a collective set of norms, feelings, and beliefs, building a strong and positive collective identity (Löfstrand et al., 2015; Sanders, 2010).

Another way of collective coping with the stigma-induced stress is seeking affirmation from others. Workers get affirmation that they belong to a group of workers when they feel welcomed in a profession, are provided with an orientation to handle the ups and downs of the job, and most importantly, are made to feel they belong (Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark, & Fugate, 2017; Löfstrand et al., 2015; McLoughlin, 2018). Many of the workers in low prestige dirty work face family disapproval, but support from their work-family helps them build a positive identity (Ashforth et al., 2017).

Extant research has found that dirty work that is considered to be prestigious attracts respect from society, which prevents the stigma from affecting their social identity (e.g., Filteau, 2015; Perrott, 2019); for example, firefighters. Dirty work with low prestige may receive support from the managers, who may orient the workers about the challenges regarding the job and normalize the stigma attached to the job (e.g., Ashforth et al., 2017; van Vlijmen, 2019). Stigma is counteracted by a realistic preview of the job from the manager, emphasizing the societal importance of the job, thus providing a significant support system (Ashforth et al., 2017).

Based on the above analysis, we propose that condition, constructive, energy and social support resources facilitate self-affirmations and help workers gain back their positive sense of self.

Proposition 1. Condition, constructive, energy, and social support resources will help workers engaged in dirty work to generate self-affirmations to overcome dissonance.

As discussed above, ten Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012, p. 548) categorize structural resources as distinct from volatile resources, as they last for a longer period. The differentiation of structural resources from volatile resources is essential because they determine the nature of coping, i.e., differential coping. Structural resources such as condition and constructive measures to overcome dissonance involve changing attitudes and perceptions of the job and towards one's relationship with the job. Condition resources are inherited in the job and make several job-related resources available to the workers employed in that job. For instance, a clear understanding of the objective of the work helps the workers employed in the job understand the true purpose of their work (Bosmans et al., 2016; Cruz, 2015; Filteau, 2015) and provides a sustainable way to cope with the stigma attached to it. Market women selling vegetables during wartime understand their purpose of buying fresh vegetables and selling them to the village people (Cruz, 2015). Such a clear understanding of why they do what they do (Duncan, 2018) derived from this resource helps bring long-term comfort from the occupational stigma. Similarly, occupational benefits attached to the job, like favorable working conditions (Grandy & Mavin, 2014) or work-life balance (Bosmans et al., 2016), also provide constant support while being engaged in dirty work.

In addition, constructive resources include personal traits and attitudes which provide prolonged and constant support against any external threat to the self. For instance, being skillful in doing dirty work helps workers build their unique identity, divert their attention from the stigmatized aspect of their work, and focus on their positive self-created identity (Bosmans et al., 2016; Hughes et al., 2016). Similarly, being involved in the same dirty work for a prolonged period builds experience that normalizes the taint for them (Jordan et al., 2018). Thus, based on the above discussion, we propose that such dissonance-provoked attitudinal change, through the utilization of condition and constructive resources, is a long-term change (Sénémeaud & Somat, 2009), leading to permanent coping outcome defined as long term outcome of stress/dissonance reduction strategies (see Fig. 3).

Proposition 2. Conditions and constructive resources will help workers engaged in dirty work towards permanent coping with dissonance.

ten Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012) categorized energy and social support resources as volatile due to their transient nature, which makes their impact on coping temporary; that is, such resources will provide support for coping, but the impact will not last long. For example, humor used by nurses or caretakers to overcome the stress from dirty tasks (Ostaszkievicz et al., 2016) provides a momentary relief and will not provide long-term relief (Sanders, 2010). Similarly, constantly having to engage in emotional regulation by

controlling the emotions (Rivera, 2014) or following the emotional scripts of the job (Lemmergaard & Muhr, 2012) deplete this resource, leading to chronic emotional exhaustion (Troughakos, Beal, Cheng, Hideg, & Zweig, 2015). For social support resources, one appreciative comment from the manager may help the individuals gain a sense of worth for themselves (Ashforth et al., 2017), but only for the short term (Rich, 1999). Also, as highlighted by brothel workers, the social support from their co-workers sharing similar experiences helps control the job's stress; however, this support is limited due to internal competition and rivalry. In such a context where workers need to compete for their earnings, the emotions of anger, jealousy, and disgust become prominent, limiting their opportunity to develop a group-level identification (Wolfe et al., 2018). Thus, social support resources are only able to provide support for a limited time. In light of the above observations, we propose that the utilization of social support and energy resources will lead to temporary coping outcomes defined as short-term or momentary outcomes of stress/dissonance reduction strategies.

Proposition 3. Social support resources and energy resources will help workers engaged in dirty work towards temporary coping with dissonance.

Our meta-synthesis in this study shows that only workers in high prestige jobs use knowledge as a personal resource to cope with their stigma (Bachleda & El Menzhi, 2018). Workers in low prestige jobs were more inclined to rely on masculine and feminine traits to help them accept their jobs since low prestige jobs are more gender-specific than high prestige jobs (McLoughlin, 2018; Simpson et al., 2014). Accordingly, we propose that since individuals in jobs with higher occupational prestige possess a protective shield of social status (Stenross & Kleinman, 1989), they will use fewer resources and focus more on work conditions. Resources associated with conditions are related to occupation, and workers employed in prestigious work will tend to utilize more of these resources, enabling them to overcome dissonance. By contrast, workers in low prestige jobs will tend to utilize more personal constructive resources such as knowledge, experience and skills, because their jobs do not provide many condition resources to help them to cope with the dissonance. Based on these points, we propose the following:

Proposition 4a. Workers in high prestige jobs will use condition resources to reduce dissonance.

Proposition 4b. Workers in low prestige jobs will use constructive resources to reduce dissonance.

4.5. Key resources

Key resources facilitate the selection, alteration, and implementation of other resources (Thoits, 1994). These resources explain why one person copes with a stressful situation better than others (ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012). From the studies in the context of dirty work, self-efficacy and self-esteem were found to be the prominent key resources. Contrary to common beliefs, dirty work involves technical tasks that require specialized skills. Workers engaged in these jobs take pride in calling themselves authentic practitioners who possess the unique skills needed to conduct the job (Bosmans et al., 2016; Simpson et al., 2014). Their ability to handle the physical and mental demands of the dirty work boosts their identity and develops a positive view towards their jobs. The utilization of key resources by workers often involves in-group and outgroup comparison (Löfstrand et al., 2015). Studies have mentioned that workers perceive out-group members as being physically deficient and incapable of performing the strenuous tasks of dirty work (Cruz, 2015; Deery et al., 2019; Gunby & Carline, 2020; Hamilton et al., 2019). For instance, butchers compare themselves with street vendors based on their ability to kill and process an animal instead of the vendors who merely pack and sell (Hamilton et al., 2019). Social comparisons based on the capability to handle dirty work are a strong coping mechanism.

Moreover, the worker's engagement in dirty work to support their family and to equip their children with necessities plays a significant role in developing their self-esteem (Rueda, 2020; Sadl, 2014). Dirty jobs with low prestige face more intense stigma and threaten the workers' identity. However, workers may maintain a high level of self-esteem by comparing themselves to someone who does not even have a job. By emphasizing continuous employment, economic independence, and self-reliance, workers esteem themselves as dignified individuals who cope well with stigma (Bosmans et al., 2016; Hamilton et al., 2019; Sadl, 2014; Slutskaya et al., 2016).

4.6. Macro resources

Macro resources are features of a larger economic, social, and cultural system and thus are not in the control of an individual. While these resources are relatively more stable, they are also specific to contexts (Halbesleben et al., 2014; ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012). In the dirty work context, societal and cultural resources play a significant role in overcoming the stigma attached to dirty work. Even though working in a stigmatized job affects their identity, being part of an acceptable ethnic group helps the workers get respect (Rabelo & Mahalingam, 2019). Workers in a paternalistic culture may view themselves as responsible for protecting their clients. Appreciation of their work based on their cultural values gives them a sense of importance and responsibility (Löfstrand et al., 2015). When faced with social disapproval of their work, religious values may help the workers justify their work to others and even to themselves (Bachleda & El Menzhi, 2018). In addition, corporate social responsibility (CSR) workers in Japan use their philosophy of Shoganai, which translates into 'it can't be helped' Chikudate (2015, p. 78), to rationalize their boring, mundane, and uninteresting tasks perceived as useless by the fellow employees (Fontana, 2020). In sum, macro resources such as cultural and religious values can frame the work through positive values, thus giving the workers the mental strength to carry out the work despite the stigma.

As given by ten Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012), key resources represent a person's characteristics, and macro resources represent the context in which the person is living. Both these sets of resources lead to optimum use of other resources. While key resources help in effective resource deployment and in resisting demands, macro resources are culturally shared and context-specific (Halbesleben

et al., 2014). For instance, a worker from a developed nation (macro resource) has better condition resources, which significantly impacts coping (Lambert, 1999). Countries with efficient labor policies have better wage systems, working conditions, and social protection. Similarly, people with higher self-efficacy (key resource) are intrinsically motivated and have higher mental resilience (Bender & Ingram, 2018), leading to more efficient coping. Therefore, workers possessing key resources such as optimism or self-efficacy have an active coping style that leads to better coping and are also able to source more job-related resources to handle the stress (ten Brummelhuus & Bakker, 2012). In brief, both the key and macro resources are known to limit the effect of stress-causing contextual demands and enhance the effect of resources that are being used. Thus, we propose that both the macro and key resources will moderate between the condition, constructive, social support, and energy resources:

Proposition 5a. Key and macro resources will moderate the relationship of condition and constructive resources with permanent coping outcomes.

Proposition 5b. Key and macro resources will moderate the relationship of energy and social support resources with temporary coping outcomes.

5. Limitations and future research directions

This meta-synthesis study has several limitations with implications for future research. First, the sample size of relevant studies is relatively small. Many occupations and workers' coping strategies may not have been captured by extant studies and our review; for instance, salon workers, disaster management workers, police officers, and lift operators. Future studies may look into a wider range of occupations in different societal contexts to widen the scope of dirty work literature and to bring more appreciation to their challenges. Equally, occupations are gendered, as are ways of coping with job-related stigma. The same is true for workers of different ages and career stages. Future research can examine in greater depth how individual characteristics (e.g., demographics, type of job, the personality of the worker, previous experience), and the intersection of these individual factors and other occupational and social factors, may influence their coping strategy.

Second, in this study, we use COR theory as a theoretical framework, and we classified the resources based on ten Brummelhuus and Bakker's (2012) classifications. Further, we have tried to classify how these resources differ across high and low occupational prestige; however, no clear distinction emerged. One of the reasons might be the way resources were classified. Future studies may bring in different classifications for dirty jobs (Kreiner et al., 2006) or classifications of resources to understand which category of resources are preferred by which category of dirty work employees. For instance, Kreiner et al., (2006) have proposed a typology of dirty work based on the breadth and depth of the dirt in work, namely: pervasive stigma, compartmentalized stigma, diluted stigma, and lastly, idiosyncratic stigma. This typology can be used to investigate the variation in resource utilization across the dirty work. Future research needs to investigate further whether the categories of dirty work vary the utilization of resources, or the resources are utilized equally irrespective of the type of dirty work. Also, the association between coping resources and coping strategies may be investigated. Specifically, researchers may investigate whether the availability of a certain category of resource influences the preference for a specific coping strategy.

Third, studies have shown that the perception of dirt is a social construct, and the extent to which a job is considered to be dirty varies with the context (Dick, 2005) and over time. As the external environment is dynamic, the stigma attached to specific occupations may also change. For instance, in the present context of the COVID pandemic, health workers are now facing severe physical taint as they treat COVID patients. Cases have been reported in different countries where the COVID health workers were denied entry into their housing estate or own house, and in extreme cases, were even asked to vacate the house (e.g., *The New Indian Express*, 2020). Such situations change the societal perception of dirt associated with the jobs. Further studies should look into phenomena where there is a change in the perception of dirt in a job and how it impacts the workers engaged in the work tasks. The COVID-19 pandemic also offers useful research setting to compare and contrast across countries different perceptions and reactions towards the frontline workers who are exposed to this high-risk work environment and their strategies for coping with stigma.

Fourth, from our meta-synthesis, it is found that studies regarding the workers engaged in dirty work are scarce in the global south and south Asian countries (Adamson & Roper, 2019). Workers, especially in developing and emerging countries, lack social protection and decent working conditions, which further adds to the stress caused by the taint associated with their jobs (Kühn, Milasi, & Yo, 2018). Future studies need to investigate the impact of developing countries' cultural, economic, institutional, and social structure on workers' efforts to cope with occupational stigma in order to improve their job quality. Moreover, studies have extensively discussed the issues of international migrant workers; however, there is a dearth of research into domestic migration (Villarreal & Blanchard, 2013) or non-migrants coping strategies, as this is also found in our meta-synthesis study, where the majority of the respondents are international migrant workers.

Finally, to study the resource perspective of the coping strategies, we incorporated COR theory and identified the resources utilized for coping. Future studies may look into other prominent identity theories such as boundaries and identity at work (e.g., Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2006), optimal distinctiveness (Brewer, 2003), coping with threatened identities (Breakwell, 2015), and positive work-related identity construction (Dutton, Roberts, & Bednar, 2010). For instance, Dutton et al. (2010) provide pathways to achieving a positive identity. Using their framework, it will be interesting to study how work identity and personal identity that are generally in conflict due to the occupational stigma can be developed into a complementary identity using coping strategies.

6. Theoretical contributions

Our study makes four related contributions to the literature on dirty work and stigma coping. First, we contribute to the knowledge base of dirty work by introducing the resource-based perspective using COR theory. Although COR theory has been used in a few past studies of dirty work, these studies have only used the theory in a limited manner rather than conceptualizing it in an overarching framework. Our contribution involves identifying and classifying the resources used by workers while engaged in coping with occupational stigma. By incorporating [ten Brummelhuis and Bakker's \(2012\)](#) classification of resources, we established that the workers across the dirty jobs use six resources while engaging in coping. This new perspective provides us with a lens to build a comprehensive understanding of the coping strategies and appreciate how resource loss can lead to retrieval by using the existing resources. Further, our study introduces self-affirmation theory to understand better the underlying mechanisms that motivate a person to cope with identity threats arising from occupational stigma. Thus, drawing on these two seminal theories, we provide an enriched conceptual framework to explain how dissonance due to identity threat is created and how the resources used for coping act as facilitators of self-affirmations.

Second, we contribute to COR theory by employing the resource classification given by [ten Brummelhuis and Bakker \(2012\)](#). While COR theory explains how individuals regain lost resources with the help of existing resources, it does not elaborate on how the use of different resources may lead to differential outcomes. We extend COR theory by emphasizing the resource characteristics to propose how the structural resources v/s the transience resources lead to differential coping outcomes. Specifically, structural resources, i.e., condition and constructive resources, involve a change in attitude and perception towards one's job and oneself on the job and are proposed to have a long-term impact, resulting in a permanent coping outcome. In contrast, we propose that transient resources, i.e., energy and social support resources, will help in temporary coping outcomes, as they are classified as volatile resources ([ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012](#)) and have a temporal nature.

Third, our study contributes to self-affirmation theory by establishing that resources are facilitators of self-affirmation. According to the theory, to regain or preserve their integrity, an individual may focus on positive self-attributes to regain self-worth. Previous studies using self-affirmation theory have mentioned self, social, and work affirmations; however, they did not elaborate upon what constitutes each one of them. For instance, [Jiang \(2018\)](#) studied the impact of job insecurity on creativity and the role of self-affirmation and work affirmation as the interventions, but did not specifically test which affirmations in these two categories helped. Our study contributes by suggesting that four types of resources—condition, constructive, energy, and social support resources—will help individuals view their job and themselves in the job in a positive light, consequently leading to self-affirmation. Therefore, through this research, we contribute to self-affirmation theory by incorporating the role of resources in facilitating self-affirmations.

Fourth, our study contributes to the knowledge of dirty work by addressing a pertinent question: What factors impact resource availability and utilization for coping? [Morelli and Cunningham \(2012\)](#) argued that a person's values determine the importance of resources each person holds that consequently lead to differential coping. Similarly, we propose occupational prestige as a moderator; if low, it will direct workers towards coping by using constructive resources, and if high, to coping by using condition resources. Jobs low in occupational prestige lack upward mobility and intrinsic and extrinsic rewards, in addition to being socially disapproved of ([Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999](#)). This makes it difficult for workers to gain resources from their job, thus they rely on constructive resources. This contribution opens up avenues for researchers to further explore the question of how individuals select and utilize the resources to cope.

Finally, our study contributes methodologically by providing a meta-synthesis approach to organizing and consolidating the qualitative studies by using COR as a theoretical framework in the context of coping with dirty work. Unlike meta-analysis, which combines the studies to provide an overall effect, meta-synthesis “develops and expands the results by evaluating the uniqueness of a study within a comprehensive and interpretive whole” ([Lazazzara et al., 2020](#), p. 116). Drawing on this approach, we not only identify the various coping resources used by workers in dirty work literature but also embed these in a conceptual framework using self-affirmation theory.

7. Management implications

This study contributes to HRM practice by making organizations aware that stigma which may attach to a range of occupations, may cause stress and harm to individual workers. Our study shows what coping resources individuals may draw on and their underlying mechanisms and effects. This will facilitate organizations to design HRM policy and practice to provide better support to the workers. From a resource perspective, employing organizations will know what personal and structural resources workers are using to make these resources more accessible to workers to ease their coping. Moreover, the segregation of resources into temporary and permanent coping outcomes helps to understand which resources can provide long/short-term coping. Accordingly, organizations employing workers in low occupational prestige jobs can make provisions to put workers' constructive resources to use and also develop their condition resources.

8. Conclusion

The proliferation of stigmatized work in the labor market has generated a growing interest in this research area. However, knowledge of what resources workers engaged in dirty work use to cope, what factors impact their resource utilization, and how the utilization of resources leads to differential coping is still limited. Our meta-synthesis of qualitative studies in the dirty work literature

fills this gap. Our study contributes by bringing in the resource perspective to the coping literature, based on resource classification given by [ten Brummelhuis and Bakker \(2012\)](#). Moreover, incorporating COR theory and self-affirmation theory, we contribute to the dirty work literature by providing a process model depicting workers' dissonance and how they cope differently by utilizing several resources that act as facilitators to self-affirmation.

Conflicts of interest

The authors have no conflicts of interest to declare that are relevant to the content of this article.

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Appendix 1. Studies included in meta-synthesis

Study No.	Authors (year of publication)	Sample size	Type of dirty work	Gender of workers (respondents)	Method	Region
1	Ashforth et al. (2017)	54	Managers of workers employed in 18 dirty work occupations	14 females and 40 males	Semi-structured interviews	
2	Bachleda and El Menzhi (2018)	49	Health professionals involved in HIV/ aids care	30 females and 19 Males	Semi-structured interviews	Morocco
3	Bosmans et al. (2016)	43	Domestic workers	43 females	Semi-structured interviews	Europe
4	Cassell and Bishop (2014)	24	Taxi drivers	One female and 23 males	Semi-structured interviews	UK
5	Cruz (2015)	40	Market women during wartime	40 females	Ethnography	Liberia
6	Deery et al. (2019)	38	Cleaners of abandoned social or public housing apartments in high crime areas	38 Males	Interviews and field observations	UK and USA
7	Ferenc (2016)	100	Taxi drivers		Ethnography	Africa
8	Filteau (2015)	22	Itinerant energy workers	22 males	Semi-structured interviews	USA
9	Fontana (2020)	34	CSR workers	17 females and 17 males	Semi-structured interviews	Japan
10	Ford (2018)	37	Volunteers at an animal shelter	28 females and nine males	Interviews and field observations	USA
11	Grandy and Mavin (2014)	21	Exotic dancers	21 females	Case study	
12	Gunby and Carline (2020)	39	Barristers/advocates	21 females and 18 males	Semi-structured interviews	UK
13	Hamilton et al. (2019)	51	Garbage workers	51 males	Semi-structured interviews	UK
14	Hansen (2016)	30	Homecare workers		Ethnographic case studies	Denmark
15	Hughes et al. (2016)	21	Street cleaners and refuse collectors	21 males	Two-tiered ethnographic approach	UK
16	Johnston and Hodge (2014)	8	Security guards at hospital/morgue	Eight males	Semi-structured interviews	Canada
17	Jordan et al. (2018)	1	Funeral directors	1 Male	Narrative method	UK
18	Lemmergaard and Muhr (2012)	4	Correctional officers	Two females and two males	Case-study research	Denmark
19	Löfstrand et al. (2015)		Private security officers		Ethnography	Sweden and UK
20	Mavin and Grandy (2013)	21	Exotic dancers	21 females	Case study	UK
21	McLoughlin (2018)	16	Butchers	Four females and 12 males	Ethnography	
22	Montebianco (2018)	30	Midwives	30 females	Semi-structured interviews	USA
23	Ostaszewicz et al. (2016)	18	Nurses and caretakers		Interviews and field observations	Australia
24	Phung et al. (2020)	55	Uber drivers and cab drivers		Interviews and field observations	Canada

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Study No.	Authors (year of publication)	Sample size	Type of dirty work	Gender of workers (respondents)	Method	Region
25	Rabelo and Mahalingam (2019)	199	Janitors	77 females, 108 males, and 14 others	Phenomenological analysis	USA
26	Rivera (2014)	25	Border patrol officer		Ethnography	USA
27	Rozée et al. (2020)	33	Surrogates	33 females	Interviews and field observations	India
28	Rueda (2020)	12	Violence workers (paramilitary group)	12 males	Interviews	Colombia
29	Sadl (2014)	15	Domestic workers	15 females	Semi-structured interviews	Slovenia
30	Sanders (2010)	22	Veterinary technicians	19 females and three males	Ethnography	USA
31	Shigihara (2018)	52	Bussers, hosts, food runners/expeditors, servers, bartenders, cooks/chefs, and managers,	28 females and 24 males	Ethnography	USA
32	Simpson et al. (2014)	26	Butchers	26 males	Semi-structured interviews	UK
33	Slutskaya et al. (2016)	21	Street cleaners and refuse collectors	Males	Two-tiered ethnographic approach	UK
34	Soni-Sinha and Yates (2013)	12	Janitors	Ten female and two males	Narrative analysis	UK
35	Tyler (2011)	14	Sex shop salesman	Four females and ten males	Interviews and field observations	UK
36	van Vlijmen (2019)	24	Cleaners in schools, office buildings, hotels, and hospitals	21 females and three males	Interviews and field observations	Europe
37	van Vuuren et al. (2012)	32	Miners	Eight females and 24 males	Semi-structured interviews	South Africa
38	Wolfe et al. (2018)	9	Sex workers	Nine females	Interviews and field observations	USA
39	Worrall and Mawby (2013)	42	Probation workers	33 females and nine males	Semi-structured interviews	UK

Appendix 2. Coping resources

Aggregate dimension	Second-order themes	First-order categories
Condition resources	Learning on job	Learning specialized skills (Sanders, 2010); getting familiarised with new people and lifestyle (Bosmans et al., 2016; Sadl, 2014); non-routine work (Bosmans et al., 2016; Deery et al., 2019); challenging work (Bachleda & El Menzhi, 2018; Bosmans et al., 2016); professionalizing work (Rueda, 2020; Gunby & Carline, 2020); self-development (Rozée et al., 2020).
	Nature of work	Transformative experiences (FERENCE, 2016); dangerous nature of the work (Deery et al., 2019); opportunity to explore and express oneself (Grandy & Mavin, 2014; Mavin & Grandy, 2013); out-group comparison (Grandy & Mavin, 2014; Mavin & Grandy, 2013; Phung et al., 2020; Rueda, 2020); having a separate positive work identity (Hansen, 2016).
	Objective of work	Criticality of the product/job (Bosmans et al., 2016; Cruz, 2015; Filteau, 2015; Hamilton et al., 2019; Hughes et al., 2016; Jordan et al., 2018; Sadl, 2014; Sanders, 2010; van Vlijmen, 2019); organizational identification (Ford, 2018); seeing work as "calling" (Cassell & Bishop, 2014; Gunby & Carline, 2020; McMurray & Ward, 2014; Rozée et al., 2020; Worrall & Mawby, 2013); pride in defending (Rueda, 2020).
	Occupational autonomy	Authority to modify the task (Bosmans et al., 2016; Hamilton et al., 2019); dividing work on their own (Deery et al., 2019); upward social mobility (Rozée et al., 2020); mental/physical distancing (Gunby & Carline, 2020; Ostaszkiwicz et al., 2016; Rabelo & Mahalingam, 2019)
	Occupational conditions and benefits	Supportive/favorable working conditions (Grandy & Mavin, 2014; Rozée et al., 2020; Hamilton et al., 2019); non-monetary benefits (Filteau, 2015); embracing isolation at work (Rabelo & Mahalingam, 2019); work-life balance (Bosmans et al., 2016)
Constructive resources	Personal autonomy	Distinguishing between job and career (Mavin & Grandy, 2013; Phung et al., 2020; Shigihara, 2018); working to support other careers/interests (Löfstrand et al., 2015; Mavin & Grandy, 2013); freedom to choose the employer (Sadl, 2014); framing socially accepted careers (Shigihara, 2018); selective disclosure (Bachleda & El Menzhi, 2018; Bosmans et al., 2016; Montebancho, 2018; Rozée et al., 2020)
	Knowledge Skills	Educating people about the job (Bachleda & El Menzhi, 2018) A marker of his or her identity/ mastery of skill (Bosmans et al., 2016; Hughes et al., 2016; van Vlijmen, 2019)
	Mental resilience	Normalization (McLoughlin, 2019; Ostaszkiwicz et al., 2016; Montebancho, 2018; Tyler, 2011)
	Experience	Routine work (Jordan et al., 2018); habituated (Rueda, 2020)
	Exposure	Early familiarisation with work (Jordan et al., 2018)
Gender-masculinity	Physically resilient (Bosmans et al., 2016; Johnston & Hodge, 2014; McLoughlin 2019; Simpson et al., 2014; Slutskaya et al., 2016); traditional gender roles (Slutskaya et al., 2016); being a protector (Rueda, 2020).	
Gender-femininity	Reversal of gender roles (Cruz, 2015); making space in a male-dominated work (FERENCE, 2016)	

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Aggregate dimension	Second-order themes	First-order categories
Energies	Emotional regulation	Emotion neutrality (Rivera, 2014); engaging emotions (Rivera, 2014); repression/commodifying the work (McLoughlin, 2019; Rozée et al., 2020); switching between emotion scripts (Lemmergaard & Muhr, 2012); tempered indifference (Gunby & Carline, 2020)
	Diversion	Pursuing one's hobby (Jordan et al., 2018)
Social support	Humor	Normalization (Gunby & Carline, 2020; Ostaszkievicz et al., 2016; Sanders, 2010)
	Support from clients	Appreciation by the clients (Bosmans et al., 2016); family-like relationship with clients (Bosmans et al., 2016); having a separate positive work identity (Bosmans et al., 2016; Sadl, 2014)
	Union support	Developing valuable work identities (Soni-Sinha & Yates, 2013); having a collective voice (FERENCE, 2016; Worrall & Mawby, 2013); getting aware of their rights (FERENCE, 2016); sharing bad experiences (FERENCE, 2016).
Key resources	Expressive ties with co-workers	Shared set of norms, feelings, goals, and beliefs (Fontana, 2020; Löfstrand et al., 2015; Rozée et al., 2020; Sanders, 2010; van Vuuren et al., 2012); social interaction (Bosmans et al., 2016; Deery et al., 2019); sense of belonging (Ashforth et al., 2017; Löfstrand et al., 2015; McLoughlin, 2019); shared work experiences; (Rueda, 2020; Wolfe et al., 2018); looking after each other (Tyler, 2011); support of family for the work (Grandy & Mavin, 2014)
	Respect from society	Positive public response (Filteau, 2015; Perrott, 2019)
	Support from managers	Elucidating the contribution (van Vlijmen, 2019); orientation (Ashforth et al., 2017)
	Self-efficacy	Peer comparison (Löfstrand et al., 2015); ability to handle occupational challenges (Cruz, 2015; Deery et al., 2019; Gunby & Carline, 2020; Hamilton et al., 2019); possessing authentic skills (Bosmans et al., 2016; Simpson et al., 2014); positive self-representation (Sadl, 2014)
Macro resources	Self-esteem	Possession of a job (Bosmans et al., 2016; Hamilton et al., 2019; Slutskaya et al., 2016); supporting the family (Sadl, 2014); taking pride in work (Bosmans et al., 2016; Sadl, 2014); financial independence (Bosmans et al., 2016)
	Race	White male adult (Rabelo & Mahalingam, 2019)
	Cultural resource	Paternal instinct (Löfstrand et al., 2015); Shoganai submission (Fontana, 2020)
	Religious beliefs	Treating everyone as equal (Bachleda & El Menzhi, 2018)

Appendix 3. Definition of resources and examples

Category of resources	Categorization based on source and transience of resources (ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012)	Examples of resources studied in other contexts	Resources found in the dirty work context
Condition resources	Contextual and structural resources Condition resources are durable in nature and are found outside of self in the social contexts	Work scheduling autonomy (Wayne, Lemmon, Hoobler, Cheung, & Wilson, 2017); autonomy (Xanthopoulou, Bakker, Demerouti, & Schaufeli, 2009); employment, tenure, seniority (Hobfoll et al., 2018); job Security (Selenko, Mäkikangas, Mauno, & Kinnunen, 2013)	Learning on job Nature of work Objective of work Occupational autonomy Occupational conditions and benefits
Constructive resources	Personal and structural resources Constructive resources are proximate to self and sustain for a longer period of time.	Resilience (Shin, Taylor, & Seo, 2012) Participation in Decision Making (Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Neveu, 2007), Skill variety (Wong, Hui, & Law, 1998); control (Chen, Westman, & Eden, 2009)	Personal autonomy Knowledge Skills Gender-femininity Gender-masculinity Mental resilience Experience Exposure Gender-masculinity Gender-femininity
Energies	Personal and volatile resources Energy resources get exhausted fast and are inherent in a person.	Time away from work (Deery, Walsh, & Zatzick, 2019)	Emotional regulation Diversion Humor
Social support	Contextual and volatile resources Instrumental, informational, emotional, and appraisal support provided by significant others (House, 1981). These resources are sourced from the social context and are more transient in nature.	Social support (e.g., family, friends, employers, peers) (Craig & Kuykendall, 2019; Newman, Nielsen, Smyth, Hirst, & Kennedy, 2018; Pluut, Ilies, Curşeu, & Liu, 2018)	Support from clients Union support Expressive ties with co-workers Respect from society Support from managers
Key resources	Personal and stable resources		

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Category of resources	Categorization based on source and transience of resources (ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012)	Examples of resources studied in other contexts	Resources found in the dirty work context
Macro resources	Key resources are stable personality traits. In comparison to other personal resources, these are more stable and more inherent to the person. They facilitate the selection, alternation, and implementation of other resources	Optimism (Scheier & Carver, 1992), Self-esteem (ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012); Conscientiousness (Russell, Woods, & Banks, 2017); Employees' openness to experience (Hildenbrand, Sacramento, & Binnewies, 2018); self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997)	Self-efficacy Self-esteem
	Contextual and stable resources Macro resources are characteristic of the larger economic, social and cultural system that are more stable than other contextual resources and are not under the workers' direct control.	Culture, public policies (Halbesleben et al., 2014; ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012)	Race Cultural resource Religious beliefs

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