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Workplace spirituality and organizational hypocrisy: The Holy Water-Gate Case

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This paper is based on the sex scandal that enveloped the Archdiocese of Boston in 2002. In the face of increasing challenges to organizational deviance and silence, this paper showcases how the Catholic Church, entrusted with the upliftment of Christian spiritual values of its congregation and society, took the path of organizational hypocrisy. Drawing from the literature on organizational deviance and silence in profit driven organizations, we examine the practice of pseudo workplace spirituality. We argue that organizational hypocrisy is a major implication for profit driven organizations pursuing workplace spirituality for solely legitimacy reasons.

Keywords: *Workplace spirituality; organizational hypocrisy; legitimacy, Catholic Church, legitimacy*

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INTRODUCTION

For over 2000 years, the faithful followers have relied on the Catholic Church to uphold the spiritual values of its founder. The Catholic Church is a religious hierarchical institution entrusted with the development and protection of Christian spiritual values. It is administered worldwide by Bishops at diocesan level, and by Archbishops in major cities who are also appointed as Cardinals or 'princes of the church'. The United States' Catholic Archdiocese of Boston (AOB), comprising 2 million Catholics, administers to over 300 local parishes, each under a parish priest and one or more assistant priests, in 5 regions, each under a bishop, and a range of health, welfare and education agencies. As promoters of spiritual values, the Church casts the image that it engages in authentic practice of spirituality. Failure of the AOB to uphold authentic spiritual practices raises the question whether genuine spiritual practice is possible in profit driven organizations. Highlighting the sexual abuse scandal of the Catholic Church of Boston and drawing from previous contributions to organizational hypocrisy, institutional theory and organizational silence, we identify several threats for the authentic practice of workplace spirituality in profit driven organizations.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. It starts with methods used in this paper and then describes the Holy Water-Gate case. Thereafter, the discussion section includes a critical examination of how organizational hypocrisy, driven by legitimacy, threatens the authentic practice of workplace spirituality in profit driven organizations. We conclude the paper by summarizing the implications to workplace spirituality.

METHODS

The sex scandal that enveloped the Archdiocese of Boston in 2002 raised the question –'How can authorities allow this to happen?' Widely recognized as a pragmatic approach of research in management

and organizational studies (Creswell, 1994, 1998; Remenyi et al, 1998; Locke, 2001; Goulding, 2002), a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) was used to answer this question. Documents providing evidence of investigations of the deviance and the cover up by the AOB, and books on the scandal and abuse problem provided data. In addition to these written data, insight proved to be a helpful resource for theory development as the researchers were able to 'cultivate crucial insights from personal experiences' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 252) and carefully use '…mental and emotional experiences … in interpreting the emerging story' (Goulding, 2002: 63). From that personal experience and analysis of data, the phenomenon of a 'nexus of silence' in the midst of organizational hypocrisy was discovered (Gross, 2005).

THE HOLY WATER-GATE CASE: THE CONTEXT

In the United States in January 2002, the *Boston Globe* broke the story which triggered a major scandal for the Catholic Church during its 'Long Lent of 2002' (Neuhaus, 2004). This revelation of a 'holy water-gate' (Healey-Conlon, 2004), which shocked the institution and society, had been preceded by other accounts of clergy sexual abuse (Shupe, 1995, 1998; Sipe, 1995; Parkinson, 1997; Krebs, 1998). More detailed accounts followed which collectively contributed to a greater understanding of the deviance and its mishandling by the AOB and the institution of the church (Boston Globe Investigative Staff, 2002; Cozzens, 2002; Berry and Renner, 2004: France, 2004). Sexual abuse refers to the sexual exploitation in some form (verbal or physical, consensual or non-consensual) by an adult person of a child (known as pedophilia) or a submissive or vulnerable adult. When perpetrated in professional settings by medical practitioners, counselors, therapists or religious clergy, it involves a sexual boundary violation (Blaszezynski, 1996). As such, it is regarded as a form of deviance, being a violation of both societal and institutional rules and norms likely to be disapproved of or punished (Cohen, 1966; Downes and Rock, 1982).

The *Boston Globe* stories throughout 2002 led the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Office of the Attorney-General to conduct an official investigation in July 2003. In what he described as a tragedy of unimaginable dimensions, the Massachusetts Attorney-General Thomas F. Reilly reported that AOB files

showed that, over six decades under the administrations of three successive Archbishops, 789 victims complained of sexual abuse by 250 members of the clergy. Authorities, only accountable to themselves, protected the reputation of their institution rather than the safety and well-being of children (Reilly, 2003). An Inquiry in 2004 by a National Review Board for the US Conference of Catholic Bishops found that the response of Boston church leaders to sexual abuse by clergy was characterized by moral laxity, excessive leniency, insensitivity for victims, secrecy and neglect (Burke, 2004: 92). As Burke reported, 'there were credible allegations that several thousand [4392] priests, comprising four percent of priests in ministry over the last half century, committed acts of sexual abuse of [10667] minors' (2004: 4).

The main context factors that influenced widespread silence in the institution of the church were its structure based on institutional homogeneity, benevolent authority with decentralized control, lack of accountability, a culture of elitism and tolerance of deviance, concern for scandal avoidance, a legalistic approach to problem solving, and lack of knowledge of pedophilia.

In this context, based on data from France (2004) and Reilly (2003), the first allegations are recorded as having taken place in 1940-1959 (24 cases), which then escalated when Cardinal Cushing was AOB trustee in 1960-1969 (163 cases), and under Cardinal Medeiros in 1970-1984 (389 cases), declining under Cardinal Law from 1984-2000 (119 cases). Silence adopted from the outset by victims, perpetrators, families, peers, bystanders and authorities continued over time as the number of reported cases grew. But as more people became aware, whistle-blowing commenced and complaints turned to allegations, civil suits and occasional criminal proceedings. Despite greater knowledge and increasing signs of widespread abuse, the 'nexus of silence' continued.

FIRST INKLINGS: INITIAL RESPONSES TO DEVIANCE (1940-1960)

Between 1940 and 1960, the conflict between the AOB and victims was characterized by avoidance behavior. The 'nexus of silence' can be explained in terms of conflict handling theory (Blake and Mouton 1964). Parties handle conflict in five ways: avoiding, accommodating, compromising, collaborating and competing. The 'nexus of silence' is associated with avoiding and accommodating approaches, and to a

lesser degree with competing and compromising approaches, while the collaborating approach suggesting many voices are heard is associated with effort to address the problem openly.

Evidence suggests that the first cases reported were met with shock and disbelief by church authorities, and reacted to by drawing on cultural practice aimed at avoiding scandal. The AOB authorities reportedly dealt with the cases in an informal, ad-hoc way, without policies, orally but sometimes in writing, using vague language in communications (Reilly, 2003: 5). They removed clergy subject of allegations for treatment in church facilities, later returning them to duty in another location after medical assessment, on the basis of their understanding of the problem. Given that external authorities did not intervene, this avoidance approach was initially successful. But it failed to provide justice to victims, to prevent recidivism by the deviant priest, and see the church adopt policies and practices to prevent more cases. In this period, avoidance basically swept the problem under the carpet.

COVER UP: RESPONSE TO ESCALATION OF DEVIANCE (1961-2002)

During this next period, when allegations increased and recidivism was evident, church authorities resorted to cover-up. Escalating commitment (Staw, 1981) and over commitment (Randall, 1987) may explain continuation with the chosen course of action around this time to hide the deviance and its handling in order to protect the institution and AOB from scandal and claims. Church authorities continued with ineffective policies and practices and established an internal bureaucracy for handling sex abuse cases under a 'cone of silence'. A common process was established for managing complaints, medically assessing, treating and supporting offending clergy, reassigning them to other parishes and dioceses, and handling legal claims. This system failed to seek the assistance of or notify external authorities of abuse allegations and admissions (Reilly, 2002: 52-57).

As Argyris (1990: xi) suggests is common, organizational defensive routines to maintain morale, satisfaction and loyalty, at the expense of competence and justice, were enacted to prevent identification and correction of potentially embarrassing or dangerous errors. These routines prevented accountability for or discussion on the problem, and its 'undiscussibility [was] undiscussible' (1990: 43). Routines included communication strategies involving use of coded and euphemistic language to minimize the

problem, and confidential and secret document filing systems. Pastoral support provided to victims with counseling '[urged] them to keep silent' (Boston Globe - 24 January 2002: 3). Aggrieved families were silenced by promises of effective action, or by ignoring their emotional public allegations against individual clergy or the authority itself or suggesting they were dysfunctional (BGIS, 2002: 25). The Archbishop distanced himself from detailed knowledge of the victims and perpetrators by avoiding direct contact with the perpetrator or personally calling him to account, and by avoiding direct contact by sidestepping face-to-face or telephonic conversations with victims, by delegating the detail to loyal others. In doing so, he was able to plead difficulty in memory recall and denial of detailed knowledge when called to account, so enjoying 'ethical distance' between himself and the state of affairs (Mellema, 2003). Cases were dealt with separately rather than accumulatively, fragmenting knowledge of the problem, preventing pervasive deviance being understood as a pattern, thereby preventing a major scandal, at least in the short term. When allegations became legal claims, the church adopted a legalistic approach (Sitkin and Bies, 1994) in which a litigation mentality was used against perceived threats (Stutman and Putman, 1994; Randall and Baker, 1994). Legal strategies included confidentiality agreements tied to out-of-court settlements, and the use of statute of limitations laws to reduce claims. Church lawyers were paid 'to limit fiscal liability but create[d] greater anger by compounding clerical abuse with institutional abuse and the priority to secrecy, and authorities disregard[ed] their pastoral role and adopt[ed] an adversarial stance to victims in the face of threat' (Burke, 2004: 8-10). When lawyers representing the victims moved to civil or criminal claims, the AOB established confidential legal settlements, cynics later seeing this normal legal practice as use of 'hush money' attached to confidentiality clauses (Robinson, 2003) to secure silence in an 'unholy alliance' (BGIS, 2002: 47).

Many institutional stakeholders, including peers, staff of the diocese and medical and legal professionals, were silent. Evidence and experience suggests that internal stakeholders can be 'captured by the culture' and follow its rules and norms, in this case requiring silence. Aware of increasing signs, buzz, rumors, and allegations of deviance, but without evidence from informants and witnesses, stakeholders were discouraged from voicing the church's strong moral values (Bansal and Kandola,

2004). While most clergy and diocesan officials would not know of the deviance, others seemed to adhere to loyalty norms and 'codes of silence', as investigations of deviance in sporting teams, police, medical professions and boarding schools have shown. Burke found that, in regard to key stakeholders aware of and assisting with administration of the abuse cases, institutional concerns of their local church were placed above the concerns of the universal church (Burke, 2004: 8-10). As Bishop Oscar Rodriguez, Salesian Cardinal stated in regard to alleged failure in controlling his Salesian order clergy involved in similar deviance, '…for me it would be a tragedy to reduce the role of a pastor to that of a cop. I'd be prepared to go to jail rather than harm one of my priests.'(Callinan and Hoare, 2004), and AOB Deputy Bishop Daily remarked - 'I am not a policemen; I am a shepherd' (BGIS, 2002: 24). In addition, silence among individuals in a group may have become self-reinforcing once one or more decided to avoid upsetting the relationships among peers (Perlow and Repenning, 2004).

Deviant clergy continued to be 'coddled' in being referred for medical treatment, generally resulting in being given a clean bill of health after some time, only to revert to abuse once more with new victims. Burke expressed the view that lack of controls for 'fraternal correction' of errant clergy to prevent further deviance, and failure of Bishops to use their authority to protect children from offending clergy, were some causes of the scandal. Even judges were criticized for complicity between 1992 and 1996 (BGIS, 2002: 125), as were the US mainstream press who 'were reluctant to cover stories about priests who sexually abused children' (Quote from Healey-Conlon, 2004).

Advice to change the approach and get tough on offenders in 1986 by Father Thomas Doyle, and in 1989 by Bishop Banks, was ignored. Doyle, a canon law professor and Vatican Embassy official in Washington from 1981 to 1986, with two other experts, had initiated a discussion paper addressing the widespread problem and calling for a different approach for the US Bishops Conference in 1985, but it was removed from the agenda (BGIT, 2002: 36). Banks recommended to Cardinal Law that he "clip [a recidivist offender's] wings" (BGIT, 2002: 221). In addition, Law ignored medical and his own internal committee's advice not to reassign certain clergy. Several staff who challenged the church's approach became whistleblowers. As Miceli and Near (1992) have shown, potential whistleblowers are reluctant to

speak out because of threats to their own personal, social and economic wellbeing by those who want to maintain silence. Those who did so were punished, as in the case of Doyle for his knowledgeable whistle-blowing regarding inaction of Catholic Bishops between 1984 and 1990 (Berry and Renner, 2004; France; 2004). Doyle later became an advocate for victims.

Between 1981 and 1990, the decline in deference and greater knowledge of the abuse resulted in complaints and allegations becoming civil law suits against the church. A legalistic approach (Sitkin and Bies, 1994) taken by the AOB, coupled with efforts to hide the scandal, saw both accommodating and competing approaches taken. Out-of-court and court-directed settlements were often coupled with confidentiality 'silencing' clauses. Statute of limitation provisions were used to defend other cases.

By the 1990s, lawyers for plaintiffs began targeting the Cardinal and authority figures rather than the diocese as a means of extracting greater compensation for victims, so the accommodation approach was coupled with a competitive approach. While these approaches and criminal actions against some offenders attracted occasional media attention, secrecy about the widespread pattern allowed the church to explain the occasional high profile case as an 'aberration' while failing to disclose hundreds of cases known to the AOB (2002: 45). Following two criminal cases, the AOB moved in 1993 to develop and publicize new but deficient policy and procedures, only effectively strengthened in 2003 after the scandal broke.

THE SCANDAL (2002-2003)

It takes the intervention of powerful external forces to break a long established 'nexus of silence' in a major organization or institution. This occurred by accident in 2001 when a routine court filing by the AOB admitting known recidivism of an alleged offender in a particular civil case was discovered by a Boston Globe reporter, leading to a team investigation as to whether the particular abuse case was an anomaly or part of a pattern (BGIT, 2002: ix). After uncovering a pattern, the story was published and the dam burst. The flood of allegations and stories which resulted saw an end to deference as an irate public demand answers from the church. The scandal which church authorities tried so hard to prevent was magnified when the extent of deviance and cover-up was exposed; the *Boston Globe's* Investigation alone

producing over 900 negative news stories throughout 2002 (Robinson, 2003). Despite efforts by the AOB lawyers to block *Boston Globe* access to documents, a court decision allowed access by lawyers and the public to church documents, later used by lawyers of hundreds of victims seeking explanations and compensation from church authorities (Depositions, 2002-3; 2002: xi).

In 2002, facing state intervention, the AOB unsuccessfully sought to block access to its church files and resorted to obfuscation to ensure evidence was unavailable and unhelpful. The intervention of the Attorney-General, Massachusetts, saw an independent and open assessment of the cover up conducted (Reilly, 2002). But even in this period, to resist dissident church member activity around providing voice to victims, 'Cardinal Law in April 2002 ordered priests in his diocese not to cooperate with active groups within parishes, but groups countered citing Canon Law' (Boston Globe, 27 November 2002).

Burke later reported that 'church leaders failed to appreciate the harm to victims, the seriousness and frequency of the abuse, and so failed to act or to report to civic authorities' (2004: 93-95). Burke concluded that fear of scandal caused the authorities to practice secrecy and concealment about sexual abuse (2004: 8-10) while at the same time giving greater attention to allegations that one of the known deviant clerics was espousing views publicly on sexual behavior contrary to the church (Deposition: Bishop Daily 21 August 2002: 33). The authorities were also criticized for their apathy in allowing the problem to grow over the 50 year period. Apathy resulted in failure of authorities to act energetically, responsibly and effectively. While, in January 2002, Law admitted that his 'judgments made in good faith were tragically wrong' (Boston Globe 26 January, 2002), Reilly concluded that the AOB, even in 2002, had still to demonstrate an appropriate sense of urgency for attacking the problem, showing insufficient commitment to determining the systemic causes of clergy sexual abuse, removing offenders and holding them accountable, and full information sharing and cooperation with state law enforcement authorities concerning suspicions or allegations (2002: 16). This apathy was institutional, not confined to the AOB, nor to the Catholic Church as cases in other churches in 2002-2004 would show (Berry and Renner, 2004: 91-105). In 2005, a grand jury found a similar situation of deliberate concealment in Philadelphia from 1967 to 2002 (Cooperman, 2005).

When crisis hits, there is a tendency to apportion blame and enact what might be popular but unhelpful solutions. Inside the church, the US Bishops Conference in June 2002 decided to impose a 'zero tolerance' policy on abusers, including clergy, retrospectively, but to exclude bishops despite several being forced to resign over allegations in 2004 (Collins, 2005: 43). Files were examined in every US diocese and many priests removed (2005: 93). On the other hand, in late 2002 and early 2003, Cardinal Law was still obfuscating in his deposition to lawyers representing victims (Depositions, 2002-3). US Cardinals were summoned to Rome and an apology issued by the Pope on Holy Thursday, 2002 (Collins, 2005: 94).

CLEANING THE AUGEAN STABLES: 2003 TO THE PRESENT

The consequences of the cover up had to be faced. Deviance had increased and stakeholders experienced the pain and suffering of being betrayed by church authorities who failed to protect the children. The church suffered economic loss from civil damage suits, costing Boston Archdiocese US$85 million in 2003, with similar amounts in other dioceses in the US and elsewhere, particularly Canada and Ireland. The scandal reopened debates on sex and other political matters on which the church wanted unity, but the betrayal and lost reputation had ended deference to clergy and authorities, even to the great majority of dedicated clergy, and for church authorities and for the church as an institution (Collins, 2005: 91-2).

Transforming an organization caught up in scandal is akin to the Herculean task of 'cleaning the Aegean stables' by diverting a river (Sinclair, 2000: 2). Inquiries are often used to commence this process effectively or ineffectively. The Inquiry on the abuse by the Attorney General, Massachusetts (Reilly, 2003) and an Inquiry on the crisis by the US Bishops Conference of Catholic Bishops (Burke, 2004) both released their findings of the publicly. However, the Burke inquiry was not without its political problems, as the church received further criticism when the original Chair, former Oklahoma Governor Frank Keating resigned after pressure for speaking out at the early stages, suggesting 'the church hierarchy were like the mafia' (CBS News, 17 June 2003). He was given whistleblower treatment. The transformation has continued throughout 2002-2004, but may need a more transparent and collaborative approach with external authorities to prevent further deviant behavior and an end to the 'nexus of silence'. The public

jury will stay out on the clean up effort, and withhold judgment on efforts to rebuild the reputation of the church and trust in its leaders, until such measures show that new incidents of deviance are met effectively by resolute church authorities.

ORGANIZATIONAL HYPOCRISY AND WORKPLACE SPIRITUALITY

An individual hypocrite is a person 'espousing having higher standards than is the case' (Oxford Dictionary) and 'having the pretence of virtue, idealism or sympathetic concern used to further selfish ends' (Grant, 1997). Organizational hypocrisy is defined in many ways: as voluntary behavior of an individual acting as an organization trustee whose action does not meet proclaimed values which become accepted expectations (Phillippe and Koehler, 2005); theory-in-practice inconsistency by managers (Argyris and Schon, 1974); inconsistency in talk, decisions and action (Brunsson, 1989); espoused values and principles at odds with action (Kouzes and Pozner, 1993) and organization espousing a single norm system, but living with a multi-norm system (Huzzard and Ostergren, 2002).

Scandal has enveloped in many organizations and institutions in recent years when the public becomes aware through the media of ineffective action and cover up by trusted authorities. A central task of management is seen to be management of the values on which public trust is based (Griseri, 1998). When deviant activity, contrary to espoused values, is allowed, reputation of and trust in the individuals involved, and the wider organization and even institution, is damaged. Faced with deviance in an organization, the trustee's choice is between its espoused values and pragmatic values. For example, 'protect the children' vs. "protect the Church's reputation". Practicing workplace spirituality and integrity will see the choice (actioning) of the espoused institutional core value. Hypocrisy will see the choice (actioning) of the more pragmatic institutional value "protect the Church's reputation".

Organizations which fall short of an authentic practice of workplace spirituality but are publicly claiming such accommodation could be engaging in organizational hypocrisy. The role of religion appears to be a central and contentious theme in the current workplace spirituality literature (Dent, Higgins and Wharff, 2005). The spiritual revival in the workplace is attributed to a broader religious reawakening in America, which remains one of the world's most observant Christian nations. The

prevailing spirituality at work discourse within the management discipline has been primarily limited to a Christian-based inquiry. Previous empirical studies that attempted to address the enactment of workplace spirituality mainly have adopted either a Christian or secular perspective (Joseph, 2002). The majority of researchers in the field are themselves Christians and are often associated with universities espousing Christian beliefs.

Business Week (1999) observes that workplace spirituality is something of a replay of the spiritual movement that took place at the turn of the last century. It notes that the difference is that in those days, workers were considered extensions of machines. In the 1930s, the recognition of worker performance was born and later, in the 70s and 80s, the thinking shifted towards viewing workers not just as bodies needing sustenance but as people with minds. In 1953, *Fortune* published an article entitled 'Businessmen on Their Knees' which reported that 'American businessmen are taking more notice of God' (Gunther, 2001). The story had a remarkable similarity to the current workplace spirituality phenomenon and noted that prayer groups were forming and that religious books were climbing up the bestseller lists. The article posed the question whether 'Is it a superficial, merely utilitarian movement, or is it a genuinely spiritual awakening?'

One critic notes 'America believes that they can not be vanquished by technology or marketing, but only by faith' (Austin, 1995:27). Whilst recognizing the considerable positive potential for acknowledging spirituality in the workplace, concerns remain about possible misapplications in practice that need to be carefully considered. For example, *Business Week* (1999) warns of potential conflicts in American organizations due to widespread accommodation of workplace spirituality, and warns of skeptics who think it's yet another one of management's fads, exploiting people's faith to make another dollar. Thus, the practice of workplace spirituality poses several significant challenges to business leaders.

There are concerns both within the academic world and elsewhere in organizations that managers embrace a spiritual approach to exploit their members without any resulting personal spiritual awareness or commitment (Joseph, 2002). The top management using such approaches without demonstrating personal spiritual conviction and commitment would, sooner rather than later, be recognized as cynically

manipulative and hypocrites, and as a consequence, any transformational initiative so based is unlikely to be embraced or sustained by staff within their organizations.

The Archdiocese of Boston case demonstrates that socially beneficial outcomes could compromise the espoused values of a not for profit organization which is entrusted with the promotion and protection of Christian spirituality in its congregation and society. In the face of pressures from rising pluralism, declining membership, erosion of authoritative voice over the sexual abuse case and decline in clergy numbers, one could argue that the Church failed in its duties as the protector and authority of Christian based spirituality. In failing to practice what it preached, the Church engaged in organizational hypocrisy. Similarly, driven by a paramount need to maximise profits, for-profit organizations espousing workplace spirituality are likely to fall victim to the practice of organizational hypocrisy. In this process, legitimacy appears to be a major influencing factor.

A core assumption of institutional theory is that organizations act to enhance or protect their legitimacy (Scott, 1995). Consequently, organizations practicing workplace spirituality are likely to be motivated by legitimacy reasons and it increases the likelihood of engaging in organizational hypocrisy. When motivated by such legitimacy, the wider acceptance by the stakeholders of these organizations 'practicing' spirituality will generate economic and social benefits (Scott, 1995). Such gains in legitimacy materially benefit an organization by aiding to secure resources or external support. For example, organizational members could engage in workplace spirituality practices but in reality, those practices could have been promoted to meet various stakeholder expectations. Thus, workplace spirituality seems susceptible of being adopted without a genuine commitment to an authentic practice because it can be used as a tool to seek legitimacy with the stakeholders of the organization.

CONCLUSION

By highlighting the sex scandal that enveloped the Archdiocese of Boston in 2002, we examined organizational hypocrisy as a critical issue concerning the pseudo practice of workplace spirituality. The paper showcased how the Catholic Church, entrusted with the upliftment of Christian spiritual values of its congregation and society, was caught in a wave of deviance and silence. We demonstrated how the

Church, as the guardian and trustee of Christian spirituality, abandoned espoused values and integrity to protect its reputation, and engaged in organizational hypocrisy. Thus, we have shown how organizational hypocrisy could become a common place occurrence in profit driven organizations pursuing pseudo workplace spirituality practices for legitimacy reasons.

Future research might focus on the organizational hypocrisy-pseudo workplace spirituality relationship and explore more closely the presence of a 'nexus of silence' prior to engaging in organizational hypocrisy. Based on similar case studies across different cultural groups and industries, researchers could develop further models explaining why employees, managers and stakeholders choose to remain silent about unethical and immoral behavior in organizations.

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