

LITERATURE REVIEW ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WORK ETHIC AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

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Abstract:

In this paper, I am classifying empirical research work from 1974 to 1994 dealing with the relationship between work ethic and religious background. The classification is based on three categories: In the first category, I am presenting empirical results which support that there is a significant and positive relationship between religious background and work-oriented behaviours, and hence Weberian Protestant ethic is still alive. In the second category, I am showing the opposite results of the first category. Finally, in the third category, I am introducing some results which are closely related to the topic.

Özet:

İŞ AHLAKI VE DİNİ İNANISLAR ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİ ÜZERİNE BİR LİTERATÜR TARAMASI

Bu makalede, çalışma ahlakı ve dini inanışlarla ilgili olarak 1974 ve 1994 yılları arasında yapılmış ampirik araştırmalar sınıflandırılmaktadır. Bu sınıflandırma üç kategoride yapılmaktadır; Birinci kategori Weberyen Protestan iş ahlakının hala geçerli olduğu ve dini inanışlar ile işe yönelik olma tutumları arasında olumlu ve anlamlı bir ilişkinin varlığını öne süren sonuçları içermektedir. İkinci kategoride birinci kategorinin içerdiği sonuçların tersi olan sonuçlar yer almaktadır. Son olarak üçüncü kategoride, konuyla yakından ilgili sonuçlar sunulmaktadır.

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Protestan iş ahlakı, Max Weber, iş tutumları, iş ahlakı

Is the Protestant work ethic (PWE) still alive or it is just a historical phenomenon? This is the most important question of the historical controversy on Weber's theory, which argues that Protestantism, particularly Calvinism had a crucial role in the development of capitalism. The question can be extended :Is there any significant differences among Protestants, Catholics and Muslim believers on the PWE endorsement? If the PWE endorsement of Protestants is not higher than non-Protestants then, how can we define work oriented attitudes as the PWE? It would be true to name it as 'the historical PWE. Although there are some findings indicating positive correlation between Protestantism and the endorsement of the PWE, correlation is not the same as causation.

Research on the relationship between the PWE and religious background has been criticized regarding to be too simplistic and not testing the links in the detailed causal chains. G.Bouma (1973) underlined that, although lip service is often paid to the Weber thesis, no researcher has taken it seriously enough to measure actual beliefs and to then determine the impact of these beliefs on behaviours. It has not been established that Protestants actually hold stronger PWE beliefs than do Catholics.

Kim (1977), discussed extensive but highly equivocal literature on religion and occupational success. He has pointed out that these studies looked at religious denominational identification rather than specifically Calvinist beliefs and values and their effect. Therefore a measure of the PWE values (the Calvinist index) which he found, correlated significantly positive with occupation and education. He also found that father's occupation constitutes a significant variable, intervening in the relationship between Calvinist beliefs and values, and occupational states, while the Calvinist beliefs and values have an independent effect on occupational status. Yet his results showed that there is no significant difference between Protestant denominations, Catholic and Protestant sects, and was forced to conclude that the use of religious affiliation as a measure of the PWE 'is less than adequate' (Furnham 1990). Consequently, Kim's point of view supports the hypothesis of my own study. In addition, it is necessary to describe and explain work attitudes in Islam and differences or similarities among Protestant, Catholic and Islamic work ethic.

Cohen (1985) argued that although Protestants' religion may well provide them with various socio-economic advantages, those advantages may be neutralized, or even reversed by socio-economic, non-religious factors. In a large, careful, longitudinal study he sought to provide a good test of the PWE in current America. He found a weak but significant relationship between Protestant background and occupational attainment. Using a regression analysis he found that the work ethic effect on economic success is slight and indirect. For instance, the PWE appears to affect educational attainment and 'grade-point average' which, in turn, affects the PWE. He argues that his results have three solid conclusions: Firstly, the Protestant ethic affects early status-attainment; secondly the Protestant ethic affects educational performance and attainment; and thirdly, the Protestant ethic can be tied to religious beliefs on the one hand, and to economic success on the other.

Thus, support can be obtained for the American Protestant ethic hypothesis despite the absence of socio-economic differences between Protestants and non-Protestants. Some empirical results about the PWE are equivocal. Ray (1982) in Australia, Belt-Hallahmi (1979) in America, and Ma (1986) in Taiwan found no significance between the PWE scores of Protestants and Catholics.

Apart from the research work which have been mentioned above, there can be found approximately more than one hundred researches about the PWE or related to the PWE from 1974 up to 1994. I classified the results into the following three categories:

1- Some are in favour of the Weberian theory and, support a positive relationship between work ethic and religious affiliation.

2- Some are against the Weberian theory, and do not support a positive relationship between work ethic and religious affiliation.

3- Some are about the work ethic, but have no proof on the subject; however, indirectly related to Weber's thesis.

1. Results, Supporting the Weberian Theory

Although some of them have equivocal results, in the first category, there are some researches supporting that the PWE is currently valid and correlated positively with Protestant affiliation:

Heaven (1990) investigated the extent to which the PWE and economic locus of control beliefs were related to suggestions for reducing unemployment among 285 adults. The PWE and economic locus of control beliefs were found out to be significant correlates of suggestions for reducing unemployment.

Furnham and Qulley (1989) used the scores of 109 teenagers on the Protestant ethic scale to predict decision outcomes of the prisoner's dilemma game, and compared game play strategies on abstract lifelike prisoner's dilemma game matrices. The prisoner's dilemma game was presented in 1 of 2 played by pairs of high, low, or mixed scores on the Protestant ethic scale. Findings reveal that, as predicted, the business simulation elicited more competitive responses than the conventional matrix. High Protestant ethic scorers tended to be more competitive than low Protestant scorers.

Poulton and Hung (1989) studied the relationship between the PWE and work effort in a field setting, to test the hypothesis that high scorers on a PWE scale would work harder at their tasks, and spend less time on leisure activities than the low scorers would do. Confirming the working hypothesis of a positive correlation between endorsement of the PWE and hard work, high PWE scorers reported longer hours of study and less time spent on recreational activities during the week, but not on weekends.

Chushmir and Koberg (1988) examined the relationship of specific religions and degree of religious beliefs to job-related attitudes and values. 222 adult workers completed a questionnaire on motivational needs, job satisfaction, and work ethic, work, job and organizational commitment; and religious conviction. Although there were no significant correlations between work-related attitudes and religious affiliation or religious conviction, Protestants scored higher in the PWE than did non-Protestants. However, those who have no religious affiliation had a greater need for power than Protestants, Catholics or other Eastern religions.

Shamir (1985) examined the relationships between the degree of belief in the PWE and work involvement with the non-work activities of unemployed individuals and with their psychological state, in view of the alleged negative role played by the PWE, and work involvement in the process of coping with unemployment. Results indicate that, contrary to the expectations with the high PWE, work involvement turned to non-work activities more frequently while unemployed, and derived more psychological benefit from such activities than individuals having low scores on the PWE and work involvement. Findings suggest that the PWE and work involvement are far from hindering individuals coping with unemployment through non-work activities.

Shamir (1986) also found that, contrary to the prediction, the PWE endorsement did not moderate the relationship between employment status and psychological state.

Defrank et al. (1985) found out that US chief executive officers were less stressed and more ambitious than Japanese chief executive officers, and Japanese chief executive officers were less content in their jobs than the US chief executive officers.

Pierlot (1992) argued that modern capitalism evolved without any evidence of the PWE in Japan. However, by the time Japan was exposed to Western capitalism, the Japanese Samurai ethic had evolved into a functional equivalent of the PWE. One can still say, therefore, that the PWE 'or something analogous to it' is a necessary condition of modern capitalism.

Moran (1990) studied the notion in Irish literature and folklore, suggesting that Irish people tend to display a fatalistic outlook on life, and evaluated the extent to which Irish and American people differ in their level of fatalism or external locus of control allegiance to the work ethic and achievement motivation. The Irish who were workers had lower achievements than their American counterparts, but were not significantly different from them in other measured respects. Irish, who were students, however, scored significantly lower than American on allegiance to the work ethic and achievement motivation, but higher on fatalism.

Giorgi and Marsh (1990) reanalysed data from 1981 European values survey to determine the existence of a consensual work ethic among modern industrial societies, and examined the link between this work ethic and religion. The countries that were studied in the survey included France, Italy, West Germany, the UK, Holland, Belgium, Denmark and Spain. A general consensus was found in Western European cultures about the values associated with work. A vocational work ethic, stressing rewards of self-fulfillment and social obligation, was recognizable in all countries. This ethic was linked with religious denomination and with degree of religious fervour. People who had been educated longer had higher PWE values.

Bonett and Furnham (1991) found furthermore that the young enterprise group had a more internal locus of control and a stronger belief in hard work.

Tang and Tzeng (1992) examined the relationship between the PWE and demographic variables for 689 adults. Results show that the PWE is related to affiliation with the Republican party, young age, less education, part time employment, low income and single status in the USA.

Draguns (1974) discussed the influence of the Protestant ethic on the nature of manifestations of psychopathology. It is suggested that distinctive cultural values are expressed with appropriate and desirable behaviours.

Merrens and Garrett (1975) found that the high PWE group spent significantly more time by working on the task, and produced significantly more output. It is concluded that the type of work behaviour studied is a component of the Protestant ethic personality variable.

Aldag and Brief (1975) concluded that the adherence to the Protestant ethic ideals should be associated with strong higher order needs.

Stone (1975) found out that the job satisfaction relationship was positively correlated with the PWE

Goodale and Hall (1976) observed that, contrary to predictions, students' work values did not mediate the relationship between parental background and career aspirations in Canada.

Rim (1977) investigated preferences for different work functions between men and women employees according to their Protestant ethic. Results show that men with high Protestant ethic values mostly preferred self-realizations and intrinsic work satisfaction. Women with high Protestant ethic values preferred social contact, self realization and security.

Greenberg (1977) found that reactions to negative performance evaluations were moderated by the endorsement of the PWE.

Greenberg (1978) found furthermore that the PWE endorsement was positively correlated with perceiving the commute as being part of the work day, engaging in work-related behaviour while in transit, and a stronger preference for working than for commuting. Findings suggest that work values can account for behaviour and attitudes that extend beyond the work place.

Greenberg (1979) reported on two more studies, that show how endorsement of the PWE is related to the perceived fairness of using various equity inputs. 40 male undergraduates scoring high and low on the PWE scale made salary decisions for hypothetical workers who differed with respect to their performance quantity and duration. High PWE's were eager to pay workers in proportion to their total productivity by taking into account both quantity and duration. However, low PWE's ignored differences in quantity by paying workers the same amount, but were inclined to pay in proportion to duration.

Kanungo et al. (1978) studied the psychological profiles of Anglophone and Francophone youths of Quebec to find out whether the culture-based differences between Anglophone and Francophone adults reported in earlier studies are still prevalent among the younger generation. Comparison of the two groups was made with respect to their achievement orientations, risk taking behaviour, educational and occupational aspirations and occupational values. A matched sample of 248 Francophone and 123 Anglophone final year high school students were administered questionnaires with the aim of assessing each of these variables. The internal-external locus of control scale results show that while the occupational aspiration levels of francophones were as high as those of Anglophones the former group exhibited a lesser concern to individual achievement and risk taking and a greater concern for a more secure interpersonal climate at work than the latter group.

Beit-Hallahmi (1979) reported that the Protestant ethic scores were related significantly to religious self-identification, ethnic background, political self-identification and religious beliefs. (e.g. a high Protestant ethic scorer was more likely to be affiliated with a major religious group, hold conventional religious beliefs, and be politically conservative). Scores were not related to socio-economic status. Results were interpreted for this sample, and yielded the conclusion that Protestant ethic scores do not belong to a 'personality variable', but rather reflect social and cultural background elements.

Burke and Weir (1980) found out that those who have type A behaviour were more in line with the PWE.

Staats (1981) administered the work values inventory to a total of 129 female and 84 male undergraduate at 4 times over 10 years. Data were collected in a classroom where the inventory was used for pedagogic purposes. Considering the data with respect to a cultural shift or generational difference over the decade, an increase in work valuation, especially by females, was indicated.

Maguire and Krociczack (1983) investigated attitudes of Japanese and American workers on convergence or diversity. The general finding, which was upheld when company size, type of job and educational attainment were controlled for, was that cultural diversity is still a better explanation than convergence when applied to work-related attitudes. Attitudes affected more by historical changes in work organization, however exhibited stronger cultural differences than age differences.

Worach (1980) discussed the role that an individual's attitudes toward hedonism and altruism have on his/her leisure time activities. The author suggested that there is a relationship between how a person uses leisure time and his code of work ethics. Thus, an individual's code of work ethics influences his execution of social rules.

Spence (1985) suggested that the US people form a success-oriented society, whose attitudes toward achievement can be traced to the Protestant heritage and its emphasis on individualism and work ethic. Although they are implied to have universal significance, it is contended that contemporary theories of achievement and achievement motivation are rooted in individualism, and may have validity primarily for American and similar cultures.

Ho and Jacqueline (1984) developed a scale designed to tap adherence to the PWE ideology in Australia. Those who strongly endorsed the work ethic ideology tended to stress internal causal explanation for unemployment, and were less willing to provide assistance to the unemployed. Findings seemed to be in line with the PWE ideology.

Triandis et al. (1984) investigated role perceptions of Hispanic young adults. Combined results indicate that the non-Hispanic perceived more competition than among Hispanics.

Hooker and Ventis (1984) examined relationships among satisfaction in retirement, strength of the work ethic, and daily activities. Activities listed correlated negatively with the PWE scores but positively with the life satisfaction index and the retirement description index. Results suggest that retirees with strong work values are not as active or satisfied in retirement.

Furnham (1983) studied the relationship between the PWE scale, and attitudes to taxation. Results indicated that who strongly endorsed the PWE were more opposed to taxation than those who did not strongly endorse these beliefs. Those who endorse the PWE appear to resist social change, and are fairly rigid and conservative in their views.

Furnham and Muhiuddin (1984) compared the PWE in Britain and Malaysia. Although there was no significant difference in the PWE scores between the 3 ethnic groups (Malay, Indian, Chinese), there were large significant differences between the British and Malaysians: The former had less belief in the PWE.

Furnham (1984) studied the work values and beliefs in Britain. Analyses showed that the PWE was positively related to conservative beliefs, but negatively related to the leisure ethic and Marxist-related beliefs.

Furnham and Bland (1983) investigated the relationship between the PWE and conservatism. The results demonstrated that there is a significant difference who score low and high on the PWE index, and their social attitudes. It is concluded that the PWE beliefs are closely related to an entire range of conservative beliefs, and that it seems unlikely that the PWE would change without the other beliefs doing likewise.

Furnham (1982) found furthermore that those who strongly endorsed the PWE stressed negative individualistic explanations for unemployment and were by and large, more against welfare payments than those who did not strongly endorse these beliefs.

Fine (1983) asserted that, because of its intolerable destructiveness, the Protestant ethic is gradually giving way to the psychoanalytical ideal as a guideline for work and society. Max Weber's conceptualization of the Protestant ethic seemed to have played a significant role in modern social and economic thought.

Sinha (1983) studied social energy for work values. He suggested that work in the West has evolved as part of a system in which industrialization and bureaucratization are bound together by the PWE, and in which workers are dissociated from their social groups and derived no personal meaning from their work.

Chonko (1983) investigated job involvement as an obsession-compulsion act. 122 purchasing managers completed a questionnaire designed to measure job involvement, the PWE, role conflict, role ambiguity and Macchiavellism. Results offer preliminary support for the fact that job involvement is actually viewed as obsession-compulsion. It was positively related to the PWE.

Williams (1983) examined attachment to the 'work ethic' and the potential for increased leisure with the coming of microelectronic technology. In a world of steadily shrinking employment, a strong adherence on the part of the young to the work ethic was noted. It is concluded that just as adherence to the work ethic is strong, so the concepts of leisure are inappropriate for the society.

Bordeleau (1985) investigated the relationship between certain aspects of a superior's personality and his or her behavioural style with regard to personnel management. Results showed that work values were related to the personnel management style. Results suggested the possibility of using work values to partially predict the eventual personnel management style of candidates for management jobs. It is contended that training should be based on to improve the cognitive interpretation of realities and should be concerned, if necessary, with changing basic attitudes.

Munroe and Munroe (1986) found evidence for the Weber's thesis among a group of East African natives, who had been converted and socialised by Quaker missionaries at the turn of the century. The Protestantized Africans tended to put emphasis on education, had socialisation practises that downplayed physical punishment, had realistic beliefs about the factors bound up with success in their socio-cultural system, and health patterns similar to those of educated individuals in developing countries.

2. Results, Against the Weberian Theory

There are also some researches which do not support that the PWE is currently valid and correlated positively with Protestant affiliation. They can be summarized as follows:

Hantrais et al. (1984) studied on time-space dimensions of work, family and leisure in France and the UK. They reported that changes in work practices and their effects on the organization of family life and leisure appear to bring the UK and France closer together.

McCarrey et al. (1984) studied work values of Anglophone and Francophone managers in Canada. Overall findings indicated that both groups were seeking the same types of job characteristics and allocating highly similar priorities to both long term work values and goals, and shorter term behavioural instrumentalities toward them: There was a strong similarity of work orientation across region, ethnicity and sex.

Maynard (1984) stressed that a new work ethic is emerging, and it is not the PWE. It is suggested that education on the nature of leisure is as necessary as education on the nature of work, and that new trends in work roles will require retraining and reeducation of workers:

Krau (1983) investigated the development of general attitudes toward work in career transitions of people at various career stages, belonging to various socioeconomic paths. Results confirm the role of expectations in attitude formation. Similar expectations as to the status and advancement lead to similar attitudes regardless of differences in age or cultural background.

Marshall (1983) reported that two basic themes of American work life are the equating of occupational success with high self-esteem, and the belief that work is meaningful. However, these two themes are becoming increasingly inconsistent with the occupational realities of many workers.

Weiner and Hunt (1983) studied work and leisure orientations of American university students. 517 university students from the USA completed measures of work and leisure orientation, and thereby indicated their willingness to trade future earning for increased leisure time. Results showed a stronger leisure than work orientation, and differences between work and leisure scores were related to academic majors, but not to sex, age or class standing.

Ray (1982) investigated the PWE in Australia. Results showed that Catholic/Protestant differences were not significant. Unbelievers were those with especially high achievement motivation rather than Protestants; they were also more Macchiavellian and less authoritarian.

Ganster (1981) examined the relationship between endorsement of the PWE and work performance and satisfaction, by using the PWE scale. Results did not confirm earlier findings of Mirrel-Garrett despite high statistical power. Findings question the interpretation of the Protestant ethic scale as an indicant of work attitudes and behaviour.

Buchholz (1978) identified 5 sets of common beliefs about work (humanistic, Marxist, organizational, leisure ethic and work ethic) by factor analysing questionnaire responses made on a 5 point Likert-type scale to a series of belief statements. Questionnaires returned by 366 blue and white collar workers, and 72 union officials were also analysed. The traditional work ethic beliefs - stressing the values of individualism and hard work- received the least support in all occupations surveyed from hourly union workers to managers and professionals. The belief system with the strongest support was the humanistic, stressing the value of work that is personally fulfilling. Intermediate levels of support were shown for the 3 systems stressing the value of leisure, organizational life and Marxist-related views.

Buchholz (1977) studied on the belief structure of managers relative to work concepts measured by a factor analytic model. The study, based on a sample of 366 managers, showed that they had an orientation to work that was based upon humanistic beliefs rather than on the traditional work ethic position. Thus the new management style exemplified in the human resources development movement may not simply be a push for increased performance, but may also be supported by a set of beliefs regarding the nature of work that is consistent with this style.

Albee (1977) investigated the Protestant ethic, sex and psychotherapy. He suggested that the resulting decline of religious values creates a paradox. The ethics underlying the survival of capitalism is disappearing as the system struggles to create an impulse-indulgent society of consumers, and psychotherapists have become the new gurus explaining life's elusive purpose.

Maurer and Oszustowicz (1994) investigated gender and attitudes toward work. Findings did not support Weber's and McClelland's PWE theory.

Niles (1994) examined the belief in a PWE in Australia and Sri-Lanka. Results indicated that Sri Lankans have as strong a belief in a work ethic as Australians have, when work ethic is defined as a belief that hard work will lead to success. When work ethic is defined as a need for mastery, however, Sri Lankans seem less committed. This finding suggests the need to redefine the concept of work ethics to reflect differences in beliefs in varying cultures.

Furnham et al.(1994) investigated national attitudes to competitiveness, money and work among young people. Results showed that the European nations had never lower scores on work ethics, achievement through conformity, money beliefs and attitudes to saving than the non-European nations. Countries from North and South America scored highest on work ethic and mastery, while Far and Middle Eastern countries' young people reported highest competitiveness and acquisitiveness for money.

Berniker (1993) investigated productivity and its rewards toward a new work ethic. He suggested that a new American work ethic, needed to effectively compete in global markets, might develop if the wealth created by increased productivity is invested in creating open, mutual obligations within organizations, and socially significant roles for employees beyond organizations. The proposed gain-sharing allocation supports participative work organization.

Furnham and Rajamanickam (1992) examined the PWE and just world beliefs in the UK and India. Results showed that generally females more than males, Indians (nearly all non-Christians) more than British and children more than adults endorsed the PWE and just world beliefs.

Davies (1992) analysed the evidence from humour during the 19th and 20th centuries to discuss Weber's thesis about the affinity between the PWE and the spirit of capitalism. Weber contended that the link between Protestantism and capitalism provided joketellers a target of humour (i.e. jokes at the expense at groups strongly committed to the PWE). The very existence and vitality of modern humour casts doubt on Weber's view that the spirit of neo-Calvinist religious asceticism is no longer significantly present. Joke tellers may see themselves as free individuals enjoying the fruits of an increasingly hedonistic, mature capitalism when they depict the butts of their jokes as trapped within the cage-like moral compulsions of the Protestant ethic.

Furnham and Reily (1991) administered 7 measures of the PWE to a matched group of 67 Japanese and 67 British college students in their respective countries. In addition, several sociodemographic measures and the just world scale were administered in an attempt to ascertain whether the differential determinants of the PWE beliefs were comparable across cultures. Results revealed significant differences in leisure endorsement. The Japanese scored more highly, and in the emphasis placed on independency (the Japanese professing a stronger belief) scores for both nationalities were comparable on the just world scale. In both groups, religious believers expressed stronger just world endorsement than non-believers. The PWE results were not related to religious affiliation, indicating that the PWE represents a general work orientation, independent of religious affiliation.

Babu and Reddy (1989) investigated work ethic, religiosity and job involvement of employees under different managements. Scales measuring job involvement, the PWE and religion were administered to 217 clerks working for a religious institution and 228 clerks working for a secular institution. The religiosity of working for the religious institution was higher than that of working for the secular institution. Working for religious or secular management did not, however, change the PWE attitude and job involvement.

Hafsi (1987) explored the relationship between 345 adult male Muslims' religious involvement and their work centrality or the importance of working to them. To measure the religious involvement, 3 scales that were combined at the individual level for the sake of obtaining a religious index were constructed. Based on the religious index score, the subjects were subdivided into high, moderate and low involvement groups with Islam. As hypothesized, results indicated that the high religious index value attainers were more likely to have a higher work centrality than of those with the moderate and low religious indexes. Results supported the general hypothesis that someone's belief or value is interlinked to his/her attitudes.

Ma (1986) investigated the Protestant ethic among Taiwanese college students. The PWE scale developed by Mirreles-Garrett was administered along with several sociodemographic and attitudinal measures to 395 female and 312 male Taiwanese university students. For Taiwanese the PWE scores were not related to religious belief or affiliation.

Vandewiele and Philbrick (1986) administered a Protestant ethic scale to 81 female and 82 male 17-21 years old people from Dahar, West Africa. Data indicated that there were no significant correlations for demographic variables and scores on the Protestant ethic scale.

3. Results Related to the Weberian Theory

In the third category, there are some researches of which the concern is PWE or work ethics in either direct or indirect connection to the main topics.. These include the following research work:

Furnham and Rose (1987) evaluated 4 belief systems regarding how people acquire money and spend time. They were: (1) the PWE, emphasizing the positive feature of work; (2) the leisure ethic, seeing recreation as the main means to personal fulfilment; (3) the wealth ethic, stressing upon accumulation of wealth to ensure independence from others and work and (4) the welfare ethic, espousing the exploitation of state benefits as a primary source of income. The PWE was significantly negatively correlated with the leisure and welfare ethic, which were themselves positively correlated. The wealth ethic was significantly correlated with the leisure ethic.

Atieh and Brief (1987) explored the moderating affect of economic sector membership on the relationship between the PWE and conservatism. In the questionnaire responses of 155 graduate and undergraduate students, the economic sector did not significantly moderate the PWE -conservatism relationship. Results indicated a need to asses the reliance on the PWE construct to study work beliefs and values.

Ali (1988) constructed scales to measure the Islamic work ethic and individualism, and also to provide evidence of these scales' reliability and validity. Three steps were involved: a literature search to develop statements pertaining to the Islamic work ethic and individualism; screening of the initial statements by Islamic experts; and actual administration of the refined statements to a sample of 150 Arab students at five major American universities. The results of a reliability test and correlation analysis indicated that both scales were reliable, and that the Islamic work ethic was slightly but significantly correlated with the individualism.

Heaven (1989) investigated the structure and personality correlates of the PWE among women. Results supported the finding that the PWE is multidimensional. However, no support was found for the finding that women who score high on measure of the PWE are neurotic, and only minimal support was found for the hypothesis that high PWE scorers are extroverted. In addition, results showed tender mindedness, as measured by the Protestant scale of the EPQ, to be significantly correlated with certain work beliefs.

Ali and Al-Shakhis (1989) examined the managerial beliefs about work in two Arab states. Iraqi managers showed greater commitment to egalitarian and humanistic beliefs and were less individualistic than Saudi managers.

Furnham and Koritsas (1990) examined the relationship between various measures of the PWE, and the hexagonal model of vocational preference.

Furnham (1990a) studied on seven questionnaire measures of the PWE. A literature review revealed 7 quite different self-report measures of the PWE. This study set out to compare and contrast these different measures by content, and by correlational and factor analysis. Content analyses revealed 7 dimensions to the PWE measures, and correlational analyses confirmed this. Factor analyses yielded 5 readily interpretable factors. Results were discussed in terms of the multi-dimensional nature of the PWE beliefs, the psychometric evaluation of the different scales, and the difficulty of defining the PWE in current contexts.

Furnham (1990b) investigated the relationship between the PWE and Type A behaviour. Results suggested that there may be more than one kind of Type A behaviour.

Waters and Zakrajsek (1991) administered the survey of different PWE scales. The current data yielded comparable internal consistency estimates of reliability and a similar pattern of relationships among the scales. However, mean scores on the scales were significantly higher for the current sample.

Furnham (1991) examined the PWE beliefs among 211 females and 277 males in Barbados by employing different measures of the PWE. The different measures were correlated in such a way to suggest that they were indicating different dimensions of the PWE. Actually there were no clear relationships between age, class position, and urban-rural residence in the PWE scores; however, girls tended to have higher scores than boys.

Heaven (1991) compared the PWE and economic beliefs. Results showed that, as predicted, the PWE beliefs correlated significantly with conservative beliefs.

Guestello et al.(1992) studied on cynicism, personality and work values. Results showed that Cynicism was positively correlated with having the PWE belief.

Mudrack (1993) explored the conceptual and empirical linkages between the PWE, and Type A behaviour pattern for two samples. Conclusively, Type A measure correlated significantly but weakly with the PWE.

Yamauchi and Li (1993) investigated achievement related motives and work related attitudes of Japanese and Chinese students. Findings indicated that Chinese displayed stronger motives and attitudes toward successful achievement than did the Japanese.

Waters et al. (1975) studied the Protestant ethic attitudes among college students. A factor analysis of the Protestant ethic scales yielded 2 factors which were interpreted on the basis of the loadings of the survey of work values scales, as representing intrinsic (work-related) and extrinsic (reward-related) aspects of the Protestant ethic.

Khalique (1975) investigated bureaucratic orientation and work values. The PWE scores were found to be significantly correlated with bureaucratic orientation in Pakistan.

Brief and Aldag (1977) found that the job involvement and the PWE attitudes differently affected the perceived leader behaviour satisfaction relationships.

Singh (1978) investigated achievement, decision making orientations and work values of fast and slow progressing farmers in India. Results did not support McClelland's hypothesis that achievement motivation is in part responsible for economic growth.

Casserly (1980) summarised the Canadian literature used in the development of the Canadian values survey, which was a part of an international project. The literature reveals that Canadians place special emphasis on such work-related values as ability development, cultural identity, risk taking and the opportunity for impact.

Kleiber and Crandal (1981) examined the relationship between locus of control and the affective domain of leisure attitude. Results indicated that, of the four groups, only female students showed a substantial relationship between locus of control and leisure ethic. In this group, leisure ethic was associated with an external locus of control, circumstances as lying outside oneself.

Hofstede (1984) investigated the cultural relativity of the quality of life concept. Research data on dominant work-related value patterns in 53 countries and regions, and the results were used to suggest how definitions of the quality of life are affected by national culture patterns.

There are also some research work that aim at testing the validity of the PWE in the modern world. In the USA Lenski (1961) hypothesized that religion plays a significant part in determining how people behave economically, politically and in their family life. The other hypothesis is that Protestants compared to Catholics are more inclined to view work as important in and of itself. Analysis of the data indicated that a white Protestant is more likely than a white Catholic to:

- Consider his work important and have a small family,
- Avoid installment buying and save money for the future,
- Vote Republican and question the welfare state,
- Take a liberal view of freedom of speech, but hesitate to push for racial integration in the schools,
- Migrate and leave close family ties in order to obtain education, a better job, and a higher position in the class system,
- Develop a commitment to the principles of intellectual autonomy.

Lenski's findings also indicate, that white Protestants are more upwardly mobile than Catholics, even when social class is held constant. Jews tend to be most successful and black Protestants the least, whilst Protestants and Catholics fall between these extremes.

These findings reveal that active middle-class Protestants were found to be most influenced by the spirit of capitalism; active working-class Catholics, being however least influenced. In addition, religiously active Protestants were more influenced than marginal Protestants; active Catholics were less influenced than marginal Catholics. Thus, being active, Protestant, and of middle-class led one to accept the spirit of capitalism, while being active, Catholic, and of working-class led one to reject the spirit.

Lenski concluded that in view of the evidence from both his study and elsewhere, apparently the strict environmental or materialist position, which explains economic, political and family behaviour solely in terms of one's social situation, is untenable. This is not to deny that social conditions, especially those of an economic nature, are powerful forces influencing one's behaviour. However, other factors (especially religion) still exercise a significant influence. In short, it still makes a difference whether a person is Protestant or Catholic, even in a modern city where secular trends should have eroded religious involvement.

Lenski also noted that ascetism is rare among modern Protestants, and the distinctive Protestant doctrine of 'the calling' has largely been forgotten. However, the Protestant concern for intellectual autonomy seems to play an increasingly important role, facilitating scientific and technical advance. The Protestant small family norm (a relatively recent innovation) provides a new end to capital formation, since when families are large, more of the income must be spent on consumer goods. The orientation of Protestants seems to facilitate the channelling of energies into the world of work. Briefly, although the primary concern of Protestantism (like Catholicism) is the attainment of spiritual values, material advance continues to be a by-product of the Protestant effort. (Furnham 1990)

Another study by Mayer and Sharp (1962) that have been performed in Detroit, appears to support the PWE hypothesis. Results implied that belonging to a Protestant sect that encourages hard work and diligence makes members more likely to achieve success. Also successful individuals convert to high prestige Protestant sects after they have achieved success.

According to Cherington (1980) the work ethic continues to be a significant force in the lives of many American workers. Pride in craftsmanship is still highly valued and generally associated with doing a good job; the road to success is still largely paved with dedicated efforts; and work is still a fairly important part of workers' life. He also found evidence that even young people shared the PWE beliefs but that younger workers, compared to older workers: were more interested in money and job enrichment; and did not believe in hard work and pride in craftsmanship as such; have less favourable attitudes to their jobs, the company and top management, are less committed but believe more in welfare, and are more concerned on whether other workers like them or not.

Nichols (1986) pointed out that there is a tendency at work among students of labour productivity to implicate British workers in deficiencies that could sometimes just as well derive from management. In addition, a cross-cultural study on attitudes toward work reveals that working people in Britain, by comparison to others in Europe, are strong on the qualities of a reliable subordinate, but weak on the critical and dynamic aspects which favour improvement in work, either as a result of personal experience or through their productivity.

Henderson (1992) argued that challenges to the PWE grew slowly and steadily. Henry Ford's automotive assembly line, for example, gathered workers who did not share the same language, let alone values. As novelty paled, the monotony of the assembly line forced workers to collect their self esteem in the paycheck. The total control by the boss was eventually challenged by labour unions. Uncertainty now characterises the work place and a new ethic has emerged. This new ethic has gotten some bad effects at workplace; for example, it is common for operative workers to balk at doing the monotonous tasks their ancestors once accepted, albeit grudgingly; loyalty to employers seems on the decline, and loyalty to fellow workers seems on the rise. Turnover rates in many industries are enough to make discontinuity an expensive problem. Organizational plans, schedules, and demands no longer carry the authority they once had; workers today often subordinate them to personal needs, which results in rampant absenteeism. Moreover, employee sabotage and violence, once unheard of, occur frequently enough to worry management. Adding to industry's woes, drug use at the office is increasingly the cause of employee theft, absenteeism, and low productivity.

Conclusion

There is a new ethic which is unrelated to religious demands of ministers and manufacturer's representatives, but is part and parcel of the individual desire for meaningful and challenging labour in which some autonomy is an integral feature. An increasingly professionalised work force will not accept a golden embrace unless it is accompanied by fulfilling jobs that have been designed for a labour force that sees work in relation to family, friends, leisure and self-development. Work for most of people in the USA, continues as an important part of our lives, but only in relation to our total experience. (Shaw and Barry 1992)

As Furnham (1990) rightly has put it, contradictory arguments such as the PWE is on the increase vs. that it is on the decline may be simultaneously true, because depending on which historical period is being discussed; which group of people are being referred to; and how the PWE is measured, it is quite possible that both positions are true. For instance, the PWE may have been in decline in the 1960s but is now showing a revival; while The PWE beliefs are declining among working class, blue-collar workers, and they are alive and well in middle-class white-collar workers; While some manifestations of the PWE are in decline as manifested by greater absenteeism and strikes, work commitment seems higher than ever.

He also underlined that, rather more importantly, rarely is reliable data forthcoming about changes in the PWE. There is now ample evidence that some golden period when the PWE beliefs and values permeated a whole society never existed. Careful historical evidence does not support that position. Not only is the evidence for change weak, circumstantial and patchy, but the theory of or for changes is often weak. People who lament the decline in the ethic blame television or Freud, fail to explain how either or both of these factors actually influenced the PWE, nevertheless people are happy to speculate, frequently in high moral tones, about the decline. It would certainly be interesting to classify optimists and pessimists and see what they had in common in terms of their personal experiences and work views. Blaming personal or national economic decline on the abandoned PWE of the workers definitely sounds like a classic attribution error.

In short, it can be seen that the results supporting the validity of the PWE or positive relationship between the PWE and religious affiliation are more than the anti-PWE results. Here it should be noted that some Protestant societies or communities may have more PWE values because of their Protestant heritage. It is however possible to see more the PWE endorsement among non-Protestants in the modern world.

In addition, the surveys have some methodological problems. Measurement of the PWE is not easy, and there are different dimensions of the PWE. Incomparable sampling can be seen in some researches. It seems necessary to keep comparable sampling and to focus on the same dimensions of the PWE for clear results. I hope, this literature review would be helpful for further and more illuminating studies in the field.

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