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Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do

How religious beliefs and a sense of chosenness actuate and inform an individual's motivation in
the workplace

Dissertation
for obtaining the degree of Doctor of Business and Economics
(Doctor rerum politicarum - Dr. rer. pol.)

at WHU – Otto Beisheim School of Management

06 May 2020

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Dedication

To my children who have encouraged me onwards through their unstinting affection and devotion. To my wife who so kindly and lovingly shared every step of the experience with good grace. Finally, to the journey itself: γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος.

Acknowledgements

This result would not have been possible without the help and support of numerous people who have appeared at various points in my life.

To my friend and *Vorbild*, Erwin Sicher, I would never have dared to step away from the accustomed to embrace my love of the social sciences were it not for your shining example.

To my supervisor and friend, Jochen Menges, you have my utmost gratitude for yielding to a cycle-ride induced serendipity and extending the invitation to work together.

To my friend and thought-stirrer, Franz Fürst, my thanks for setting me on the path with your succinct encapsulation of what I was clumsily flailing around.

To Leander, my colleague and friend, your patience and statistical prowess helped make the dissertation a success, and your willingness to foray culinarily endeared you all the more to me.

To Valdas Noreika, for sharing the light and fire with me, though initially my sight was dim.

Sharon Fujimoto-Johnson, dear friend, thank you for helping me to shift my paradigm, even though it must have been a heavy task.

Finally, to and for my parents, for always accepting and never rejecting, even when I must have sorely tried you and your patience. Thank you for your love.

ABSTRACT

What is it that actuates a person to really engage with their work instead of simply going through the motions? Through what means can an individual become involved and immersed in their appointed task? A textbook definition of motivation proposes it to be the sum of ‘the processes that account for an individual’s intensity, direction, and persistence of effort towards attaining a goal’ (Robbins & Judge, 2015), and adjudges it as a ‘psychological process resulting from the interaction between the individual and the environment’ (Latham & Pinder, 2005). Since the 1940s a succession of theories has interrogated the interaction of the various needs and values of the individual with those of the organisation, with a theoretical cleft lying about the origin of the motivation, hypothesised as springing from an external or from an internal source (Ryan & Deci, 2000a), with external motivation arising from incidentals associated with but outside the work itself while internal motivation emerges from the enjoyment that the worker derives from the task. A third very important type of motivation, prosocial motivation, taps into the desire to protect and care for others (Grant & Berg, 2011).

However, one particular class of influential values that have the potential to motivate has hitherto been ignored: that of one’s religious beliefs. This is especially puzzling as religiosity or religiousness has experienced a recent surge, especially during the past decade. For example, in 2014 around 41% religiously affiliated American adults affirmed that they rely mainly on their religion’s tenets to guide them morally, a startling increase from the 34% who answered accordingly in 2007 (Pew Research Center, 2015). Closely associated with and reinforcing this motivational source is a second unexplored possible wellspring of motivation: one’s sense of chosenness in the religious sense. Present mainly in the Abrahamic religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam), chosenness is the feeling that one has been selected, or elected by a supernatural entity, often for a specific reason or a special mission.

Thus, drawing on theories of prosocial and family motivation, I postulated the existence of a novel phenomenon, religious motivation, which I define as the impulse to work to the best of one's ability in order to honour or bring happiness to someone the worker cares about, in this case, God. I conducted a study to examine if the postulated motivation could be distinguished from other motivational types, whether it had any effect on working behaviour, and if so through what means. Therefore, I designed a two-phase study. In Phase 1, I conducted a survey to develop the model and a new instrument to measure religious motivation. In Phase 2, I then evaluated the model and examined how well the instrument performed by looking at religious motivation's effect on work performance on people engaged in remunerated employment on the crowdsourcing platform Prolific Academic. During the second phase, I conducted a two-part survey to establish several points: just how central religion was to the respondent's life, whether respondents viewed what they did on Prolific as work, and what impact religious motivation had on their objective performance. The results of Phase 1 showed that my model of religious motivation was distinct from the other types of motivation, accomplished through running a four-step process: a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) establishing whether religious motivation is distinct from the other types of motivation, a nested model comparison to check if religious motivation is actually unique, a test of convergent and discriminant validity comparing the average variance extracted (AVE) and shared variance (SV) of the constructs, and the final test of measurement invariance, to check that, religious motivation is understood in the exact same way by both religious and non-religious individuals. The results of Phase 2 showed that objective performance was indeed marginally significantly affected by Religious Motivation, but only when a key three-way interaction occurred between Religious Motivation, Prolific as Work, and Centrality of Religion.

Religious motivation was thus shown to be of statistical significance to the objective performance of a small but notable group of religious individuals. I suggested that this exceptional group is in fact experiencing religious chosenness, and subsequently conducted a second study to define chosenness, and explore its effect on working behaviour. I first ran an exploratory study in a

grounded theory framework, interviewing members of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church, a small Protestant denomination that has historically been distinguished by their self-designation as chosen by God. The results showed several surprises. Most fundamentally, chosenness did not exist as a simple unchanging monadic designation but consisted of three phases: the incipient chosen phase of attraction, the decisional phase, and the exhibition phase. Additionally, while all interviewees were deeply acquainted with the concept of chosenness, some denied that it applied to them, or claimed it to be solely a historical artefact with no contemporary relevance. However, those who self-described as having religion as a core of their identity, or who claimed to enjoy a close relationship with God exhibited traits associated with chosenness, such as a Mission Orientation, a Constraint to Duty, and a heightened Group Orientation. Furthermore, respondents who exhibited the traits of chosenness reported decreased stress in the incipient phase of attraction, subsequently propelling them into the decisional phase where they chose God, or as several put it, where they could choose to be chosen. The final phase was the exhibition phase, resulting from being chosen, and led to them exhibiting several resultant traits that then led to greater perceived work results. These arose primarily through a self-perceived increase in their social and mental stability as a result of a perceived greater social and emotional support, as well as through a self-perceived increase in their motivation springing from having a sense of greater purpose and meaning at work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	CHAPTER 1 - MOTIVATION: WHAT IT IS AND THE ROLE RELIGION CAN PLAY IN IT	12
1.1	Introduction	12
1.2	Motivation.....	15
1.3	Religion in Economics and the Workplace.....	19
1.4	Research Questions.....	26
1.5	Chapter Structure	27
1.5.1	Chapter 1	27
1.5.2	Chapter 2.....	27
1.5.3	Chapter 3.....	29
1.5.4	Chapter 4.....	29
1.5.5	Chapter 5.....	30
2	CHAPTER 2 - THE RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD: COMPARING AND CONTRASTING CHARACTERISTICS, EXPLORING THEIR APPLICABILITY TO MANAGEMENT	32
2.1	World Religions in Comparative Contexts	34
2.1.1	The Abrahamic Religions	34
2.1.2	The Dharmic Religions	43
2.1.3	The Daoic Religions.....	48
2.2	Comparing Religious Content Among Religions.....	52
2.2.1	Unique ideas in the Abrahamic religions: chosenness and supersession.....	52
2.2.2	Unique ideas in the Abrahamic religions: the Triune God	53
2.2.3	Unique ideas in the Dharmic religions: <i>karma, dharma, samsara</i>	54
2.2.4	Unique ideas in the Daoic religions: <i>yin</i> and <i>yang</i>	54
2.2.5	What distinguishes the various broad religious systems?	55
2.3	Revival: The Growth in Religion’s Importance in Practice and Research	57
2.3.1	International political developments and holdovers: the past.....	57
2.3.2	International political developments and holdovers: the present	60
2.3.3	The significance of religion for the individual.....	62
2.3.4	Religion and organisational management research: a dearth	63
2.3.5	Religion and organisational management research: reasons in favour.....	64
2.3.6	Religion and organisational management research: increasing interest.....	65
2.3.7	Spirituality and religion in the workplace: two sides of the same coin	66
2.3.8	Reviewing the recent state of organisational management research and religion ...	67
2.3.9	The current state of organisational management research and religion	68

2.4	Mining the beliefs of specific religions in organisational management research.....	69
2.4.1	Hinduism	70
2.4.2	Daoism	72
2.4.3	Confucianism.....	76
2.4.4	Buddhism	79
2.4.5	Judaism	81
2.4.6	Islam	84
2.4.7	Christianity.....	88
2.5	Conclusion.....	93
3	CHAPTER 3 - RELIGIOUS MOTIVATION - A NOVEL SOURCE OF INCENTIVE AT WORK? CONCEPTUALISATION AND PERFORMANCE ASSESSMENT	95
3.1	Religion in the workplace: a rise in interest	95
3.2	Religiosity and motivation	96
3.3	Religious motivation: reasons to believe	97
3.4	Religious motivation: testing the waters.....	99
3.5	Phase 1: Scale Development and Validation Study.....	103
3.5.1	Study Purpose.....	103
3.5.2	Sample and Procedure	103
3.5.3	Measures.....	104
3.5.4	Analytical Strategy	105
3.5.5	Results.....	106
3.5.6	Conclusion of Phase 1	113
3.6	Phase 2: Hypothesis Testing Study.....	114
3.6.1	Study Purpose.....	115
3.6.2	Sample and Procedure	115
3.6.3	Measures.....	115
3.6.4	Analytical strategy	116
3.6.5	Results.....	118
3.6.6	Conclusion of Phase 2.....	119
3.7	Overall Discussion	120
3.8	Limitations and Future Research	124
3.9	Conclusion.....	127
4	CHAPTER 4 - RELIGIOUS MOTIVATION AND CHOSENNESS	140
4.1	Introduction	141
4.2	Chosenness as Religious and Theoretical Construct	143
4.2.1	Background.....	143

4.3	Chosenness: a qualitative study based on grounded theory	152
4.3.1	Study Subject: Seventh-Day Adventists	152
4.3.2	Methods	153
4.3.3	Books, electronic data, and written materials	154
4.3.4	Interviews	154
4.3.5	Data analysis	156
4.3.6	Findings	157
4.4	Discussion	165
4.5	Limitations and future research	175
4.6	Conclusion	177
5	CHAPTER 5 - DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	190
5.1	Differences in world religions	190
5.2	Religious motivation: theory, model, and verification	193
5.3	Chosenness: theory, model, and verification	194
5.4	Religious motivation and chosenness	195
5.5	Practical implications	197
5.6	Future research directions	205
5.7	Final Conclusion	209
6	REFERENCES	211

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Figure 3-1 CFA results	134
Figure 4-1 Final general conceptual model of chosenness: 3 phases	188
Figure 4-2 Final detailed conceptual model of chosenness with subcategories	189
Graph 3-1 Objective performance under increasing Religious Motivation	138
Graph 3-2 Objective Performance under increasing Religious Motivation and Centrality of Religion: Prolific as Work vs. Prolific not Work.....	139
Table 3-1 Factor Loadings: Phase 1.....	128
Table 3-2 Comparison of measurement models for main variables: Phase 1	130
Table 3-3 Descriptive statistics and correlations among study variables: Phase 1 (CFA).....	131
Table 3-4 AVE and SV among study variables: Phase 1 (CFA).....	132
Table 3-5 Measurement invariance for religious vs. non-religious employees	133
Table 3-6 Centrality of Religion 5-item survey	135
Table 3-7 Descriptive statistics and correlations among study variables (CFA)	136
Table 3-8 Regression coefficient comparison of measurement models for main variables.....	137
Table 4-1 Interview and Participant Data	179
Table 4-2 Interview questions	181
Table 4-3 Quotes illustrating facets of chosenness.....	183

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADRA	Adventist Relief and Development Agency
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AME	Average Marginal Effects
AVE	Average Variance Extracted
BCE	Before Common Era
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CFA	Confirmatory Factor Analysis
CFI	Confirmatory Fit Index
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
MNC	Multinational Corporation
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCCC	National Center for Cultural Competence
NIV	New International Version
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
PRC	People's Republic of China

RMSEA	Root Mean Square Error of Approximation
SD	Standard Deviation
SDA	Seventh-Day Adventist (Church)
SE	Standard Error
SRMR	Standardized Root Mean Square Residual
SV	Shared Variance
UK	United Kingdom
US/USA	United States of America
WWII	World War 2

CHAPTER 1 - MOTIVATION: WHAT IT IS AND THE ROLE RELIGION CAN PLAY IN IT

1.1 Introduction

If we are to hope to understand what makes an organisation function, we must be able to distinguish what matters, not only to the corporate body but also to the individuals that compose the corporation. We must take into account all factors, free from any preconceptions and evaluate them in a clear-minded and logical manner, in order to supply ourselves with a complete and unbiased picture, and then focus in on what is fundamental. Only then can we hope to delineate which factors lead to success, and which to mediocrity or organisational demise.

One of these factors, that of motivation, is perhaps the most central construct in organisational theory, and is defined as the ‘internal processes that activate, guide, and maintain behaviour (especially goal-directed behaviour)’ (Baron, 1991). Clearly, without motivation, there could be no way of maintaining organisation of any kind, nor of even initiating any semblance of working behaviour. However, motivation arises through several pathways from various antecedents, with the family, remuneration, interest in the job itself, or concern for others all serving in this capacity. A potential source of motivation has however been overlooked until now: that of religious motivation, or motivation arising out of a person’s religiosity. In fact, religion has heretofore often been viewed as a work distraction at best, and a pernicious influence at worst.

Shunning the study of religion in the intersection with organisational theory or labelling it as an outright hindrance to working behaviour is to stray into ignorance, given how important religion remains to the majority of the world’s population, with an estimated 74% of the world’s population self-identifying as religious in 2015 (Hackett & Stonawski, 2017). In several countries around the world, the popular sentiment has become increasingly favourable towards religion and religious groups, not least in the US (Pew Research Center, 2017a), but also in some countries previously viewed as officially atheist, such as Poland or Lithuania (Bullivant, 2018). Furthermore, institutional socio-political structures that reinforce religious influence or mores remain extant across the globe,

even in Europe, evidenced by the legal codes dealing with blasphemy that countries such as Greece, Russia, and Denmark still adhere to (Theodorou, 2016).

In the world of business, religion also assumes a position of major importance. The prevailing notion, that religion often serves as a source of discord, is indeed borne out in several instances, for example, in the case of a cake bakery refusing the business of a homosexual couple on grounds of religious beliefs (Heckstall, 2016). However, researchers have emphasised that religion contributes more to society, even in economic terms, than it disrupts. Thus, a recent study has estimated that religion's annual economic contribution to the American economy ranges between \$378 billion - \$4.8 trillion, depending on whether the parameters include the revenues of only faith-based organisations, of affiliated associations such as private hospitals and universities as well, or of as the previous two factors along with the household incomes of religiously- affiliated Americans (Grim & Grim, 2016).

It is difficult to overstate the impact that religiously affiliated organisations, particularly locally focussed ones, can have on their community. This can be seen, for example, in programmes run by almost 26,000 congregations across the US to minister to those affected by HIV and AIDS, resulting in a ratio of one outreach ministry covering 46 HIV-affected people (Grim, 2017). This impact can also be seen at an international level: relief agencies set up by various denominations often cooperate with national governments to alleviate suffering, such as the Adventist Relief and Development Agency (ADRA) of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church's cooperative effort with the German government in Yemen (Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany, 2018).

In the area of business management and organisation studies, there is evidence of a growing desire by professionals to live out the whole of their selves, including religiosity, both at home and in the workplace. Executives in particular seem desirous of allowing the transcendent comfort that religion itself provides, and the moral guidance and spiritual support that religious beliefs supply to inform their working life, and research shows that the emphasis on kindness and

love that most religions preach can affect the outcome of several aspects of running a business, from deal negotiations to employee satisfaction (Lagace, 2001). Furthermore, religious traditions also often possess extensive writings on matters germane to business such as organisation, administration, employer-employee relations and fair labour standards (Epstein, 2002).

We can thus see that religion has a potential impact on business and organisational management. In almost every sector, religion can provide a sense of meaning and transcendent comfort while religious beliefs can spur organisations as well as individuals on to extraordinary efforts, although the greatest effects seem to be in areas that touch directly on the ethical and moral dimensions of the faith systems. Thus, faith appears to be more visible in organisations that help the less advantaged, such as hospitals, charities, and schools. Individuals working in these organisations, particularly those that are affiliated with a religious denomination, would probably be more susceptible and likely to be influenced by religious values. However, the influence of religion is clearly not confined to institutions with a religious affiliation. In fact, certain career paths seem very likely to be highly suited for the religious, notably those again that deal with interpersonal power and/or health differentials, such as the healthcare profession, education, disaster relief, and social welfare. Furthermore, religiosity in employees might very well prove to be an advantage that organisations may select for: research has established a strong correlation between religiosity and several traits that are viewed as positive in the context of management: high orderliness, methodicalness, self-control, high conscientiousness, and low impulsivity (Saroglou, 2015). Other studies have established a positive link between religiosity and customer loyalty (Li, Tang, Zhang, & Li, 2014; Tang & Li, 2015) that might have ramifications for organisational fidelity as well.

Consequently, we see that the *precepts* of religion can and do actuate organisations and motivate individuals in their objective performance. We have also seen that possessing *religiosity* seems to entrain several characteristics that might prove favourable for an individual in the workplace. However, there has as yet been little to nothing written on how the *practice* of religion

itself can serve as a motivation. It is therefore the aim of this dissertation to trace as much as possible how religion and its practice can act as a motivation.

1.2 Motivation

The topic of motivation in organisational theory is one of the most fundamental, dealing as it does with the basics of human performance (Naylor & Briggs, 1966) and affecting the very survival of the organisation and its growth and development (Katz, 1964), and is one area with which this dissertation concerns itself. How then are we to know what motivates workers to perform well, to give their all, and to sustain this over a period of years?

The question of what motivates people at work has long been studied, with researchers often looking at individual factors. However, the 1940s witnessed the first systematic attempt to explain the phenomenon, with Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs proposing a needs-based framework with two main groupings: deficiency needs and growth needs. Deficiency needs were the most basic needs, e.g., personal safety and security, motivating people to take action to meet them when they were unfulfilled, and which were satisfied once met. Growth needs could only be met once deficiency needs were, and consisted of higher-order needs such as personal growth and creative expression (Huitt, 2007). Unfortunately, no empirical evidence exists to back up Maslow's theories, with an attempt by Clayton Alderfer to rework the theory foundering on the same lack of evidence (Schneider & Alderfer, 1973), with the shift away from broad need theory sealed by (Wahba & Bridwell, 1976). Other early theories such as the Douglas McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y (McGregor, 1960), Frederick Herzberg's Two-Factor Theory (Herzberg, 1964), and McClelland's Theory of Needs (McClelland, 1988) also attempted to explicate what motivates people, with relatively low degrees of practical success and scientific support.

The advent of contemporary theories of motivation signalled a change, as constant research occurs in order to investigate their validity, or to attempt to coordinate various theories,

or to develop theories attempting to unify prevailing motivation constructs with cognitive psychology, thus ensuring that theories employed today have empirical backing (Kanfer, 1990). Some of these extant theories are less prominent than others but may provide the intellectual foundations of more-referenced theories. Among the list of contemporary theories, we can find self-determination theory (with a subset of cognitive evaluation), self-efficacy theory, and expectancy theory. Other theories are reinforcement theory (with operant condition theory the most important component for managers), job engagement theory, goal-orientation theory, and equity theory (with organisational justice theory as an outgrowth, and distributive, procedural, informational and interactional justice as subdivisions of organisational justice) (Greenberg, 1987; Kanfer & Chen, 2016; Kanfer, Frese, & Johnson, 2017; Rich, Lepine, & Crawford, 2010). Two of the newer of these prominent contemporary theories that draw from the aforementioned theories and that are especially relevant for this paper are prosocial motivation, drawing from self-determination and expectancy theory (Grant & Berg, 2011), and family motivation, which draws from prosocial motivation (Menges, Tussing, Wihler, & Grant, 2017).

Self-determination theory, developed from Deci's earlier cognitive evaluation theory (Deci, 1972), concerns itself with the benefits of intrinsic motivation and the disadvantages of extrinsic motivation and differs from its earlier incarnation in accounting for why extrinsic rewards do not always produce a negative effect on employees' intrinsically-motivated performance (Kanfer & Chen, 2016). Its subset, self-concordance, looks at how strongly people's pursuit of a goal meshes with their core values and interests. The more that intrinsic interest plays a part, the more likely the individuals are to experience a higher quality of learning, creativity, felt competence and coping with success and failure (Ryan & Deci, 2000a). Job engagement theory, originally introduced by Kahn, focuses on how much a worker gives to their job in terms of their physical, emotional and cognitive resources (Kahn, 1990), and depends on value congruence between individual and organisation, perceived support by the organisation, and how an individual evaluates their core self (Rich et al., 2010). Goal-setting theory, proposed by Locke, puts forward the proposition that

workers who are given challenging and specific goals as well as feedback on their performance will in turn perform well at their jobs (Locke, 1968). Self-efficacy theory's main emphasis is on the value of persistence and is influenced by four major performance experiences: accomplishments, vicarious experience, verbal persuasion, and physiological states. This theory speaks to an individual's response to a challenge, with those having high self-efficacy expending more effort to surmount the challenge, and those with lower self-efficacy slacking off in their efforts (Bandura, 1977). Reinforcement theory, arises from operant conditioning, and ignores the internal mental and physical conditions of an individual, postulating that behaviour arises from and is reinforced by consequences of the action itself and that an undesired or inappropriate target behaviour will be followed by removal of a positive/pleasant stimulus or the addition of a negative/aversive stimulus (Huitt & Hummel, 1997). In other words, people's behaviour is a learned response in order to obtain something desired or avoid something unpleasant.

Equity theory proposes that workers look at what they put into their job (energy, skills, effort) and compare it with what they get out (salary, career advancement, perquisites), after which they then compare their resulting ratio with those of others, being more content if theirs is higher (Adams, 1963). Unfortunately, equity theory's propositions have not all endured scientific scrutiny, although they did serve as a springboard for the launch of the study of organisational justice (with its four subcomponents of distributive, procedural, informational and interactional justice), which concerns itself with employee perceptions of fairness in the workplace (Greenberg, 1987). Distributive justice concerns itself with perceived fairness of outcomes, procedural justice looks at the perceptions of the processes produce those outcomes, informational justice centres on how fair the information is in events concerned with justice, and interactional justice reflects on whether one is treated with dignity and respect in interpersonal relations. Research has shown that these areas of justice are predictive of work- and worker-related outcomes (Rupp & Thornton, 2011).

Expectancy theory, first articulated by Victor Vroom and expanded by Porter and Lawler among others, states that people act rationally: they believe that the effort they put into their work directly affects the performance they achieve from that effort, and that this effort and subsequent performance is reflected in the rewards they receive (Lunenburg, 2011). In essence, workers will be more motivated to achieve a high level of performance if they believe that it will result in a good reward that satisfies an important need. The theory bases itself on the following components: valence, expectancy, and instrumentality, with valence referring to the extent the individual values the reward received, expectancy to what the individuals expect to achieve when they believe certain performance levels are attainable, and instrumentality to fulfilment of promised rewards if performance is optimal (Isaac, Zerbe, & Pitt, 2001; Wahba & House, 1974).

Prosocial motivation arises from the desire to care for others and promote their well-being (Grant & Berg, 2011), with this concept being distinct from both altruism and empathy. Key antecedents include relational job design, collectivistic norms and rewards, and individual differences in other-oriented values, agreeableness, and conscientiousness. Prosocial motivation differentiates itself from altruism in that it, while concerned with others, does not abnegate self-interest (Grant & Berry, 2011). It can also be distinguished from empathy, which is a separate construct that actually acts to strengthen prosocial behaviour at lower levels, while diminishing at higher levels (Grant & Schwartz, 2011). This phenomenon arises from the difference between self-concern and other orientation, which appear to work on different systems or levels of an individual's identity. Self-concern in the workplace thus affects individual-level variables, while other-orientation moderates group-level variables, for example as perceived justice (De Dreu, 2006). Prosocial motivation enhances job characteristics such as creativity (Grant & Berry, 2011), persistence, performance, and productivity (Grant, 2008), and can enable meaningful work, strengthen social bonds at work, suscite citizenship and proactive behaviours (Grant & Berg, 2011), and animate employee psychological thriving and psychological safety (Frazier & Tupper, 2016).

Family motivation, as its name suggests, arises from an individual's desire to care for and advance one's (nuclear) family and is a special case of prosocial motivation (Menges et al., 2017). The predominant trend in organisational theory views the relationship between work and family as intrinsically inimical as a result of the individual's resources being finite (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). The vast bulk of the literature designates work-family conflict as an increasingly serious social problem for the great majority of workers, who experience work interfering with their time with the family and vice versa (Kinnunen, Vermulst, Gerris, & Mäkikangas, 2003; Kossek & Lee, 2017). Most solutions for the problem are focussed on balancing the two parts of an individual's life (Chang, Zhou, Wang, & Heredero, 2017; Kalliath, Kalliath, & Chan, 2015), primarily through organisational initiatives and measures (Moen et al., 2016) such as schedule control (Kelly, Moen, & Tranby, 2011). In contrast, family motivation focusses on the family as a positive resource at work that can potentially increase performance, particularly when intrinsic motivation is lacking, and can positively mediate higher work performance if employees are actually given the opportunity to increase the salience of their family in the workplace (Menges et al., 2017).

1.3 Religion in Economics and the Workplace

The second area with which this dissertation concerns itself is the issue of religion, and the possibility that religious belief may actually be a vector of motivation in the workplace. This topic is an especially interesting one currently, as one can observe an increase in the role of spirituality and religion throughout the world today, from international politics, socioeconomics (Iannaccone, 1998) and finance (Callen & Fang, 2015; Parboteeah, Walter, & Block, 2014) to simple matters of daily life (Ammerman, 2014). The influence of religion outside of the personal sphere has long been recognized, and research has subsequently uncovered the important role that religion and other cultural values play in political life and economic development, with current studies endeavouring to show the effects that different religions have on these processes. Although it appears to some

researchers that ‘no unambiguous conclusions can be drawn from these studies’ (De Jong, 2008), religion nevertheless continues to be regarded as a topic of great interest and high value.

More germane to our purposes, however, is the fact that religion is becoming of increasing interest to organisational theory scholars in such areas as diversity management (Day, 2005), liberation of conventional management (Dyck, 2014), strategic management (Filistrucchi & Pruffer, 2014), or decision making (Fernando & Jackson, 2015). Although there exists a difference between spirituality and religion (Hicks, 2002), they are often confounded for each other (Epstein, 2002), with both viewed as a means of helping workers stay motivated through possessing sense of purpose and meaning at work, inner life, and a sense of connectedness and community (Ashmos & Duchon, 2000), and also through focussing on the metaphysical or ‘a unique focus on the domain of the sacred — transcendence, ultimate truth, finitude and deep connectedness’ (Pargament, 2013). The National Center for Cultural Competence at Georgetown University acknowledges that both terms are often used interchangeably, although spirituality is a broader term ‘encompassing religion for some, but able to stand alone for others without attachment to a particular faith group’ (National Center for Cultural Competence, 2016). Furthermore, both spirituality and religion, can and often do provide a source of direction in life and of solace during times of disaster, illness and stress (Pargament, 2013), and several lines of research caution that treating both constructs in isolation would paint an incomplete picture, as ‘the two are inextricably linked, and to separate them is to fall prey to artificial reductionism, false tolerance, or both’ (Bailey, 2001).

The interest in religion’s influence is increasingly seen in academic literature, although it appears rather more in the context of politics, sociology, and economics than in business management. Religion or its misuse has been linked to a wide variety of social phenomena, ranging from terrorism and violence (Pratt, 2006) to economic growth and development (Barro, 2003). The latter phenomenon leads onto the topic of this dissertation, and began in 1905, with the publication of Max Weber’s, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. This event engendered a period during which Weberian determinism explained why it was that some

(Protestant) countries developed economically while others (all the rest) languished. Weber's thesis, that the adoption of Protestantism was the decisive reason for Northern European and North American societal, political, and economic success, became an article of faith for some economists. Modern capitalism, so the thinking went, only became possible because the psychological sea-change of the Reformation placed an especial emphasis on virtues conducive to social, political and economic development, virtues such as personal diligence, frugality, thrift, and individual responsibility (Iannaccone, 1998).

From the time of its appearance until today, Weber's assertion has exerted a large influence, with never a shortage of studies engaging with his thesis in the hopes of finding supporting evidence (Basten & Betz, 2013). While some researchers continue to asseverate that an effect exists, results at times seem to contradict Weber's emphasis on Protestantism as being particularly conducive to capitalism. An example of this is a study which found that a higher density of religions in a given geographical area leads to a population with significantly higher religious participation, and thus to better outcomes in economic indicators such as higher levels of education, income, and marriage, as well as to lower levels of welfare, disability, and divorce (Gruber, 2005). Another study found that when one takes into account the effect of various religions in China, one finds that it is Christianity itself (instead of just Protestantism) that catalyses the most significant effect on economic growth (Wang & Lin, 2014). Yet another study, focussing on Islam, found that the religion promotes growth (Noland, 2005).

Furthermore, doubts have arisen about Weber's original hypothesis of Protestantism being the direct progenitor of modern capitalism. A study has postulated that although Protestantism may indeed have led to higher economic prosperity, it did so indirectly, through the encouragement of universal literacy in order that all believers would be able to read the Bible, instead of causing a direct effect through following the purportedly Protestant injunctions of thrift and diligence. The result was that Protestants acquired a higher level of literacy, which could subsequently be used to advantage in other more mundane pursuits, such as acquiring better and

more specialized education, thus leading to an increase in economic prosperity (Becker & Woessmann, 2009). Other research, however, has supported a completely diametrical point of view, casting doubt on the existence of any religious effect on institutions and economic development (De Jong, 2008).

Although the manner of religion's influence on economic development, supposing that there actually is an influence, is in dispute, a quick look at the world today reveals that religion still holds significance for a plurality of people, particularly in the realm of personal life. This is especially true in the world's largest economy, the United States of America, with the Pew Research Center's 2014 Religious Landscape Study showing just how important it still is (Smith, 2015). The total share of American adults who say they believe in God is around 89% while those who are 'absolutely certain' God exists remains around 63%. Of this latter group, consisting of more than three-quarters of the population, 77%, identify with a religion and two-thirds of these self-identified religious punctiliously pray every day, with 60% of them attending services at least once a month (Smith, 2015).

The emphasis on spirituality is also of interest, with both so often confounded with each other and connected by their focus on the metaphysical, 'a unique focus on... the sacred, transcendence, ultimate truth, finitude and deep connectedness' (Pargament, 2013). Nowadays, interest in their role in the organisations, particularly that of spirituality and its relationship to facets of the workplace such as leadership, seems to be high, and viewed as 'a compelling issue for management practitioners and researchers', although still in an incipient phase and therefore potentially lacking in rigor (Dent, Higgins, & Wharff, 2005). As previously explained, a combined treatment is necessary to paint a complete picture, and thus both concepts will be subsumed into a greater whole for the purposes of this dissertation.

Religiosity has shown itself to still be highly relevant in the world within the past decade, with 41% religiously affiliated American adults in 2014 saying that their main moral guidance comes

mainly from what their religion tells them to do, compared to 34% in 2007 (Pew Research Center, 2015), and with half or more of American adults viewing religion as a positive force in society, i.e., doing more good than harm (55%), strengthening morality in society (53%), or acting to mostly bring people together (50%) (Pew Research Center, 2019a). Spirituality too has proven to be of high importance, with around 60% of American adults reporting that they regularly experience a deep sense of 'spiritual peace and well-being,' up from 53% in 2007, and 46% of them saying they experience a deep sense of "wonder about the universe" at least once a week, up from 39% in 2007 (Smith, 2015): the group most particularly affected appear to be very conservative Americans, with 38% citing it as providing meaning and giving fulfilment to their lives, as opposed to 8% of very liberal Americans (Pew Research Center, 2018).

Could one then surmise from this that the strong current of religiosity and spirituality in Americans could also show itself in a major way in other aspects of life, perhaps even in the workplace? After all, America is still quite a religious nation, as well as still quite a Protestant one, with 43% of all adults surveyed reporting themselves as adherents (Pew Research Center, 2019b), albeit it down from the 46.5% of all adults surveyed reporting themselves as adherents only four years earlier (Smith, 2015). Furthermore, it is true that the past couple of decades has seen increased interest in improving the workplace by exploring the benefits to be obtained from traditionally overlooked or excluded behaviour. Thus there is an increase of interest in spirituality in the workplace (Burack, 1999), spiritual beliefs (Phipps, 2012), spiritual leadership (Fry, 2005), or even in traditionally non-Western religions such as Daoism (Hennig, 2016) and Confucianism (Hennig, 2010).

There was until recently a large dearth in the research on the effects of religion in an organisational setting, with management research only conducting superficial and highly selective studies in this area (King, 2008), despite garnering attention in the media (Lund Dean, Fornaciari, & McGee, 2003). This reluctance has been attributed to a historical academic and professional antipathy to the subject (Mitroff & Denton, 1999), primarily based on organisational culture. This is

because religion has long been regarded as belonging to the private and not the corporate sphere, with an explicit general injunction to avoid the topic at all costs, for all levels of the organisation (Morgan, 2005).

A second, related, reason is the current stricture that the field of management should not be unduly influenced by religion (Ewest, 2017). This is known as secularization theory, the idea that the role of religion in society has declined, with the focal point ranging from a ‘loss of individual piety’ to the ‘decline of the social power of once-dominant religious institutions’ thus allowing other social institutions to function free from overweening religious influence (Dobbelaere, 2008). Although the theory itself is increasingly considered as irrelevant and outdated, the presence of the institutional inertia of not researching religion’s role in management means that management scholars may just not regard the issue as being of pressing importance, or may see it as a poisoned chalice which would detract from their reputation and would waste their time should they decide to research the topic (King, 2008).

A third reason for this lack of interest arises from the fact that religion today, or at least its politicized manifestation, is closely associated with and sometimes implicated as the main cause of various social controversies and upheavals throughout the world (King, 2008). There are several incidents fuelling this phenomenon of distrust, primarily found in the political sphere. One is the recent rise of terrorism claiming inspiration from radical Islam (Onuoha, 2012) as well as the increasing Islamisation of Southeast Asian countries such as Indonesia (Lahoud & Johns, 2005). Another is the coming to power of parties and people pushing a conservative or even Dominionist¹ version of Christianity in the US (Fernando & Jackson, 2015), while a third example is the Buddhist pogrom against the Muslim Rohingya of Myanmar (Green, MacManus, & de la Cour Venning, 2015). The various scandals that the Catholic Church has found itself embroiled in have also contributed to

¹ Dominionism is the teaching seen in some Christian circles that the kingdom of God, proclaimed in the New Testament, must be founded as ‘a literal and physical kingdom to be ‘advanced’ on earth in the present age’. A variant in this line of thought designates this New Testament kingdom as the successor to Old Testament Israel – thus enabling the justification of ‘taking up arms or exercising repression in the fight against their enemies.’ (Leslie, S. 1970. Dominionism and the Rise of Christian Imperialism, *Evangelical Times*, 1970 ed. Darlington: ET Ltd.)

this distrust (Turpin, Andersen, & Lanman, 2018), while in Europe, Catholicism has become a politicized religion, with Poland featuring as the most prominent example. With 82% of young adults (16-29) identifying themselves as Catholic, 39% attending religious services on at least a weekly basis, and 50% admitting to praying at least once a week (Bullivant, 2018), Poland can be considered as staunchly religious. There is an explicit connection drawn between Polish Catholicism and ethnic identity, exemplified by the saying 'a true Pole is a Catholic' (Stetkiewicz, 2013), and borne out in the course of a Pew study that found that 64% of Poles believed that being Catholic is rather important in order to be considered a national of Poland (Pew Research Center, 2017b).

However, there is more to religion than just the preceding negative examples. For instance, at the organisational level, it is easy to be struck at how easily religious beliefs could reinforce corporate governance mechanisms or even function as a replacement for them (Callen & Fang, 2015; Li & Cai, 2016). On the individual level, religious beliefs might often serve to push people to extraordinary and philanthropic efforts. There are quite a few examples, but four will have to suffice. First is Daniel Truett Cathy, founder of Chick-fil-A, who funds foster houses and provides a familial and supportive company working atmosphere (Steger, 2012). Second is Daniel P. Amos, CEO of American Family Life Assurance Company, who promotes a progressive corporate social responsibility profile and is involved in community and humanitarian causes (Lebowitz Rossi, 2014). Third, we have Timberland's CEO Jeff Swartz, who also promotes corporate social responsibility and cut ties with a factory that allegedly engaged in human rights violations (Nisen, 2013). Fourth, on a less elevated though just as significant level, is Uriel Burwell, a graduate of a faith-based preparatory school that admits mostly poor minority students, who, upon graduating from university, returned to the neighbourhood in order rejuvenate the area, building new affordable housing, and rehabilitating old buildings, and eventually attracting more than \$3 million funding for the project (Grim, 2017). If religious beliefs can inspire organisations as well as their leaders, what might they do to ordinary workers who hold firmly to their religious beliefs, whose motivation to perform their tasks stems from a desire to validate their religious beliefs?

1.4 Research Questions

It is likely then that religious beliefs, along with spirituality, have an effect on working behaviour. It is worthwhile asking if different belief systems cause an effect differential on working behaviour, if only because particular religions may enjoy specific practices on their adherents that may impact on their working day in terms of time, interpersonal and social interaction, or business practices. To this end, I propose to examine this topic in my dissertation through the lens of three research questions in order to examine the topic more profoundly.

The first research question consists of two parts. The first part conducts a review of the various world religions in the context of their larger groupings, delineating their various characteristics, and comparing and contrasting certain salient precepts. The second part relates the religious characteristics by religion, to the world of work, examining how they might enhance or affect objective job performance, and then delves into the current state of the management research for each belief system in the study. The question to be researched then is thus: What are the defining traits of each of the major world religions, in what way could these traits possibly affect organisational behaviour, and what is the current state of research at the intersection of each religion and management studies?

The second set of research questions, delineated in the third chapter of this dissertation, concerns itself with whether the novel construct I propose of religious motivation actually exists, and if so, how it could be defined. Furthermore, I query whether or not it actually is a distinctive and novel construct, and if it actually does affect the objective job performance of individuals.

My third and final research question focusses on scrutinising a particular religious characteristic that is most visible and perhaps most familiar in the Abrahamic religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. This is the concept of chosenness, defined as the state of feeling selected, or elected by God, often for a specific reason or a special mission (Smith, 2008). Is this feeling

extant in ordinary believers, and if so, what are its antecedents and the effects it has on working behaviour? What effect does chosenness have on the performance of an individual who is religiously motivated? Thus, I ask my third research question: What does chosenness consist of, how is it related to religious motivation, and is it a distinctive construct that motivates individuals in the workplace?

1.5 Chapter Structure

This dissertation is organised into five chapters that delve into and examine several themes in increasingly greater detail and profundity.

1.5.1 Chapter 1

The present chapter announces the general topic for the dissertation, introduces the particular themes to be covered, and delineates the manner by which they will be appraised and investigated.

1.5.2 Chapter 2

The second chapter is comprised of three parts. The first part systematically conducts a review of the main world religions according to their larger groupings, and examines the characteristics of each single religion, emphasising just how each achieves its distinctiveness. The first grouping to be examined, the Abrahamic, is composed of religions characterised by monotheism and by the claim of the mythologised patriarch Abraham as progenitor. For the purposes of this dissertation, they will be confined to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, with the chapter listing their unique characteristics, and acknowledging the various sects and denominations of each religion. However, the chapter only deals in detail with the various main groupings of the Christian religion, delineating the differences between Protestantism, Catholicism, and Eastern Orthodoxy.

Following on from the Abrahamic religions, I analyse the Dharmic group, consisting of Hinduism and Buddhism, religions that focus on the tenets of *karma*, the belief that at one's death, all of one's deeds, thoughts, intentions, etc., are weighed up and determine the form that the individual will assume after their rebirth, with the less worthy assuming forms further down the tree of life, with exemplary individuals having their soul liberated from this endless cycle of rebirth to achieve the stasis of *nirvana*. Hinduism's characteristics will be delineated first, as it served as the progenitor and counterfoil of Buddhism. Owing much to the Dharmic religious system, Buddhism espouses the fundamental and central idea of *karma*, but then also draws from the next grouping of religions, that of the Daoic.

I then examine and trace the characteristics of the religions in the Daoic grouping, consisting of Confucianism and Daoism for the purposes of this dissertation. Confucianism, often characterised as a code of ethics describes an ethic that places an emphasis on a prescriptive plan for interpersonal relations between humans, with only a secondary focus on the metaphysics. Daoism, the eponymous belief system of this grouping, is better thought of as a collection of doctrines sharing a similar focus on mystical religion. I describe its characteristics and how it, along with Confucianism as well as Buddhism, work together to inform the worldview of the East Asian region. The concluding segment of this section then examines several unique ideas in the context of the various religious groupings and conducts a short discussion of how each grouping distinguishes itself from the others.

The second section of this chapter examines the growth in the perception of religion's importance in the world of work as well as in the academic sphere. The analysis starts with the history of religion during the past half-century, particularly in the context of international politics and socioeconomic history. The use of religion by Western societies as a counterweight to the allure of Communism during the Cold War is covered, as well as the subsequent increase in influence in various societies across the world, catalysed by governments intent on retaining traditional structures against any attempts at reform or change, or conservative elements of

society intent on resisting a liberalising government's mandate. This section then traces how this increasing social religiousness then brought about a corresponding rise in a personal piety and religiosity that holistically impacts the individual, including their working life, a trend seen not just in developing nation but in countries across the spectrum of economic development. Finally, the state of research on the impact of religion on organisational management is examined, and reasons in favour of a more profound and wide-ranging engagement with religion are discussed.

The third and final part of this chapter seeks to reinforce the point that religion should be of primary importance when discussing management. It draws on extant academic scholarship to point out how present research examines each religion for compatibility with organisational management, discusses which characteristics might be of advantage in the world of work, and then analyses how they might enhance or affect objective job performance.

1.5.3 Chapter 3

The third chapter of this dissertation introduces the concept of religious motivation, seeks to examine how it affects working behaviour, and if so through what means. In order to examine the concept more deeply, this chapter is divided into two phases. Phase 1 uses a survey to develop a model of religious motivation, and a new instrument to measure the concept. Phase 2 then evaluates the convergent validity of the religious motivation scale by assessing its relationship with objective performance, and subsequently tests a full-hypothesized model, incorporating the two factors of Centrality of Religion and Prolific as Work, in order to fully outline any interaction effects between the various factors.

1.5.4 Chapter 4

The fourth chapter of this dissertation builds from the previous chapter's recognition of the statistically significant effect that religious motivation has on the performance of an exceptional group of workers high on the motivational scale. With all having religion as a central pillar of

identity, I postulate that what is actually being experienced is the phenomenon of religious chosenness, which I define as a state of feeling selected, set apart, or chosen by a deity, often for a specific reason or a special mission. This chapter narrows the focus of the dissertation down to the Christian religion found in the Abrahamic grouping, in particular the Protestant denomination of the Seventh-Day Adventists, a group renowned for their theological focus on and eschatological use of the concept of chosenness. The chapter seeks to define what chosenness is, particularly what it means in the context of religious motivation and organisational behaviour.

The first section of this chapter draws on theories of Abrahamic theology, social identity theory and religious motivation, and discusses the historical development and use of the construct in the Judaic, Christian, and Muslim faith traditions. A short introduction to the Seventh-Day Adventist faith background of the test subjects is then provided.

The second section of the chapter is an exploratory study based on a grounded theory framework and consists of interviews with members of the Seventh-Day Adventists, seeking to establish each interviewee's personal contemporary understanding of a historical concept. The resultant data is then used to explicate the antecedents, and structure of chosenness, and lay out the results of experiencing chosenness in the context of organisational work.

1.5.5 Chapter 5

The last chapter summarises all the previous sections and integrates the data to reach a conclusion about religious motivation and chosenness. Several main points are discussed at length:

- Differences in world religions: this section explains the reasoning behind the treatment of various religious groupings, and reiterates the conclusions reached in the second chapter.
- Religious motivation – theory: model, and verification: this segment explicates the reasons behind the construction of a new model of motivation centred on religion and discusses the results and conclusions of the third chapter. Several novel clarifications

and insights are expressed in the discussion, and future directions for research are pointed out.

- Chosenness – theory, model, and verification: this segment discusses the results of the fourth chapter and amplifies its conclusions.
- Practical implications and future research direction: this section discusses the possible impacts selecting for religious motivation and chosenness in an organisational context, how the traits of religious motivation and chosenness can be selected for during the recruitment process, and the directions that future research on this topic could take.

CHAPTER 2 - THE RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD: COMPARING AND CONTRASTING CHARACTERISTICS, EXPLORING THEIR APPLICABILITY TO MANAGEMENT

Abstract

Throughout history religion has been of paramount importance in people's lives, allowing humans to transcend the everyday by offering them contact with the divine. Even today religion continues to exert a strong influence on the internal life of people as well as their external actions. However, even outside the personal sphere, religion enjoys a considerable ascendancy, deeply affecting political life, economic development, and cultural norms. Academic research has long sought to examine this role of religion and trace out the differential effects that purportedly result from following the varied tenets espoused by disparate religions. Although some research suggests that 'no unambiguous conclusions can be drawn from these studies' (De Jong, 2008), the consensus of the majority in both academic circles as well as in society appears to be that of religion continues to serve some vital function, 'being an important and distinctive kind of practice in human social life' (Smith et al., 2013a).

Enfolded in this research is the study of a related concept, spirituality, with some scholars urging 'a strict distinction between spirituality and religion' (Hicks, 2002), while others argue that 'the two are inextricably linked, and to separate them is to fall prey to artificial reductionism, false tolerance, or both' (Bailey, 2001), and still other researchers attempt to elide the two concepts, proposing that the 'embodied and enacted forms of spirituality that occur in everyday life' actually represent a 'lived religion' (Ammerman, 2014). Because of their common focus on the metaphysical and their 'unique focus on... the sacred, transcendence, ultimate truth, finitude and deep connectedness' (Pargament, 2013), they will be treated as a unit in this dissertation. Interest in the possible role of the metaphysical in the context of work seems to currently be high, and is regarded as 'a compelling issue for management practitioners and researchers', although research in this

area still appears to not have reached the same amount of coverage as other topics, and therefore could still be potentially lacking in rigor (Dent et al., 2005).

There is thus a comparative dearth of research on religion in an organisational context, as opposed to its role in society and the economy, with management research only 'lightly and narrowly explor[ing] how religion's influence manifests in the workplace' (King, 2008), a situation occurring despite high interest, especially evinced in the popular press (Lund Dean et al., 2003). This apparent lack of interest in management research may result from historic reasons, including the fact that religion has served as a dividing factor in society, with the consequence that the 'very public controversies associated with it may frighten management researchers away from the study of religion in a work context' (King, 2008). However, the negative side of religion does not present the whole picture. Evidence abounds of the fact that the transcendent nature of religion and religious beliefs often serves to push people to extraordinary and philanthropic efforts, with several prominent examples abounding, as we have already seen.

To this end, this chapter is divided into two parts. In the first half, in order to acquaint the reader with the world of metaphysical doctrine, I conduct a review of seven of the major world religions: Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism/Daoism, examining their particular beliefs, then comparing and contrasting them with each other. The second section of the chapter examines the importance of religion in the various areas of human endeavour and thought and applies the principles to the workplace and draws connections to their usefulness in the organisational context.

As a rough characterisation, we can designate Judaism, Christianity and Islam as Abrahamic religions, belief systems that lay claim to the religious figure of the Patriarch Abraham as their ancestor, spiritually and/or literally, and furthermore claim his idea of the One God as their patrimony (Hughes, 2012). Hinduism and Buddhism are Dharmic religions (Nandan & Jangubhai, 2013), which emphasize a distinct moral code based around the idea of reincarnation (Nandan &

Jangubhai, 2013), with Buddhism showing a reciprocal influence with Daoic religions (Xing, 2012). Confucianism and Daoism are Daoic religions, basing themselves on the idea of following *dao*, characterised as the universal principle undergirding everything in the universe from cosmological phenomena to human interaction (Cheung & Chan, 2005; Lin, 2007). Confucianism and Daoism can be viewed as opposite sides of the same coin, with Confucianism emphasizing the practical aspect of *dao* and Daoism the metaphysical. Daoism has been characterized as ‘itself the embodiment of paradoxes and contradiction’ (Ho, 1995), with the word *dao* having several potential meanings including, ‘the path’, ‘meaning’, ‘providence’ or even ‘God’ depending on the translation (Hennig, 2016). Although all religions may affect the life and working behaviour of individuals, the different beliefs espoused by different religions most probably result in a varied set of behaviours in their adherents, which subsequently then lead to differing economic and organisational effects.

2.1 World Religions in Comparative Contexts

2.1.1 The Abrahamic Religions

2.1.1.1 Christianity

If we are to start our study by examining the largest religion in the world, we should begin with Christianity. A belief system with a steadily-increasing adherent base, around 2.5 billion adherents as of 2019 (Center for the Study of Global Christianity, 2019) up from 2.2 as of 2010 (Hackett, Connor, & Stonawski, 2015), Christianity is broadly divided into three main groups: Protestantism, Catholicism, and the Eastern churches, among which the largest is the Eastern Orthodox Church. All three major branches share the same theological and intellectual pedigree as well as a basic common system of beliefs. The most important beliefs are the existence of one true and triune God (Sokolowski, 1995), the Bible as the word of God, the existence of evil and suffering, Jesus (the Christ) as the literal Son of God and humankind’s Saviour, and belief in the afterlife (Miller, 2006). All three main groups espouse several ethical principles also common to

other religions, though sometimes only honoured in the breach, such as fair dealing, serving others as enshrined in the Golden Rule, stewardship, and following one's principles. There are, however, several difference among these Christian branches, which are distinctive and instructive to the current study.

2.1.1.1.1 Protestantism: characteristics

On examining Protestantism, we are confronted with several distinctive beliefs that can be best summed up by four principles known as *sola gratia*, *sola scriptura*, *sola fide*, (Anderson, 2005) and *solus Christus*. The term *sola gratia*, 'by grace alone', describes the belief that spiritual salvation is God's free gift that is made possible only by Christ's sacrificial death and His Resurrection. *Sola scriptura*, 'scripture alone', insists that the Bible is the revealed inerrant Word of God, and the final authority for Christians on how they should live. *Sola fide*, 'justification through faith alone', means that we are saved, not by anything we, the church or anybody else does, but only through our faith in Christ and his sacrifice. *Solus Christus* is a further elaboration of the last point, maintaining that only Christ is our saviour, mediator and the ultimate head of the church here on earth (Dengler, 2017; Patheos Religion Library). An adjunct belief to this, the *priesthood of all believers* (Crawford, 1968), posits that all believers occupy the same office and have the same status as priests before God through the great high priest Jesus Christ. Therefore, all Christians have direct access to God through Christ; meaning that there is then no necessity for any mortal mediator or intermediary. A final distinguishing belief is *knowing that you are saved*, i.e., a belief in predestination, or having the confidence that one is saved on condition of believing in the Saviour and having accepted his sacrificial death (Buis, 2007).

2.1.1.1.2 Catholicism: characteristics

The beliefs that Catholicism holds in contradistinction to those of Protestantism, though not too many, are nevertheless quite striking. A cardinal belief, *authority within the church*, claims that the authority of the church lies in its hierarchy, based on the papacy as a direct legacy from the

apostles, and thus from Christ (McBrien, 1994). This is opposed to the belief inherent in Protestantism that authority lies within the individual, based on their relationship with God, i.e., the *priesthood of all believers*. A related tenet is *mediated prayer* (McBrien, 1994), the belief that communication with God is expedited through the intercession of worthy intermediaries, i.e., the Virgin Mary and the saints, who intercede on behalf of the supplicant. A second related belief concerns the *forgiveness of sin*, which adherents of Catholicism believe is accomplished with the power of the church through an attendant priest (Ramsey, 2012), while Protestants believe forgiveness comes directly from God. A third distinguishing belief is the *infallibility of the Pope* (Powell, 2009), a concept proclaiming that the Pope can never be wrong when he is speaking *ex cathedra*, i.e., acting in his role as shepherd and guide of all Catholics: it is an article of faith that the Catholic Church requires of its believers and that Protestants strongly repudiate.

Furthermore, the Catholic teaching on the *Bible* is that though it is a source of truth, it must be interpreted solely by the church, and that an especially important source of truth is also to be found in the traditions of the Catholic church (Keeler & Grimbly, 2005). Finally, the Catholic Church's doctrine on *salvation* teaches that salvation and living in a state of grace depends on three main conditions: the person's faith, the person's works and the Church's sacraments (McCleary, 2007). This stands in direct contrast to the Lutheran doctrine of *sola gratia* or salvation through faith in Christ and his grace alone. The Protestant Calvinist point of view presents a third option wherein Christian conduct and productivity are evidence of received grace and salvation, with any resulting material success, a sure sign of salvation (McCleary, 2007).

2.1.1.1.3 Eastern Orthodox Christianity: characteristics

The third Christian group comprises the Eastern branch of belief, incorporating several strands of church traditions that developed outside of Western Europe. Among these are the Eastern Orthodox, the Church of the East (Syriac Christianity), the Oriental Orthodox, and the Eastern Catholic church, of which the most well-known is the Eastern Orthodox Church (Parry,

2007). The early Christian church had no divisions, but as the faith spread and matured, differences among the various congregations and religious leaders accumulated. The seminal event which definitively split the community became known as the Great Schism of 1054 (Frazee, 2007), originating from a push to regularise the religious rite of the Greek-speaking churches according to Latin usage. The unfortunate result was a sundering, which, although subsequently frequent attempts at mending relations ensued, developed into centuries of increasingly hostile relations, with Orthodoxy being initially based mostly in the Eastern Mediterranean, and Catholicism finding itself in the North and West of the Christian world (Jenkins, 2009). In time, two main issues came to underlie any attempt at reconciliation: first, the exact relations that the persons of the Christian Trinity had with each other, and second, the authority of the Pope in matters of clerical celibacy, confirmation of bishops, and the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist (Siecienski, 2012). Although the issue is an esoteric one, at its most fundamental level, all three Christian denominations agree that God, although one, is composed of a trinity of persons known as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; there is however disagreement on how the individuals are related to each other. The Catholic and Protestant (Western) view is that the Holy Spirit proceeds or emanates from both the Father and the Son, while the Orthodox view denies the involvement of the Son in this process (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2003).

For the purposes of this study, I focus exclusively on the largest representative of the churches of the east, the Orthodox. The differences between the Eastern Orthodox belief system and Catholicism are more of degree than of kind, however: Orthodox and Catholic believers share quite a number of common touch points (Krindatch & Hoge, 2010). Among these are the emphasis on the collective and historical wisdom of the Church being a source of truth alongside the Bible itself, the acceptance of monastic withdrawal from the world as a viable and valuable life alternative (Saward, 2000), a hierarchical structure with three levels of exclusively male clergy: deacons, priests/presbyters and bishops (Krindatch & Hoge, 2010). Nevertheless, there are several quite striking differences between the two. In the Catholic system, the Pope alone possesses the

final authority on theological matters. Eastern Orthodoxy pursues another course, boasting a confederation of ecclesiastical sees of independent patriarchs, with the Patriarch of Constantinople as a *primus inter pares*, responsible for ‘convening pan-Orthodox councils and meetings, facilitating inter-church and inter-faith dialogues, while serving as the focal point and primary spokesman for Orthodox Church unity as a whole’ (Ecumenical Patriarchate, 2017). Since Eastern Orthodoxy never developed an equivalent to the Papacy, the result was an oligarchical structure in which the political elite in Orthodox states kept control over their national churches in cooperation with their respective patriarchs, thus preventing any struggle between church and state. The Eastern churches also escaped any significant confrontations stemming from reforming or modernising movements such as beset the Catholic Church during the Reformation. And finally, perhaps the most striking difference between the Eastern churches and those of the Catholic West is the ability of married men to enter the Orthodox priesthood and serve as a ‘secular’ member, although only unmarried Orthodox priests may ever become bishops (Krindatch & Hoge, 2010).

Other characteristics further show the decentralized nature of the Orthodox confession. Orthodox churches from Jerusalem, Russia, Serbia and Mount Athos still hew to the Julian liturgical calendar, while all the rest, e.g. Romanian Orthodox, Ukrainian Orthodox Kiev Patriarchate, etc., have switched to using the Gregorian, except in the celebration of Easter and movable feasts which are regulated according to the Julian (Patsavos, 2017). In this way, the entire Orthodox *ecclesia* celebrates Easter together, the central feast of their *oecumene*.

2.1.1.2 Islam

We now turn to examining Islam, which means that while we remain within the Abrahamic spectrum of religions, we simultaneously leave the Christological realm. The noun *Islam* means *submission to Allah* (Fatoohi, 2004), the Arabic word for God. The religion of Islam is split into two main divisions, Sunni and Shia, along with several much smaller groups such as the Sufi and the Ahmadiyya (Khan, 2015); however, in the main the beliefs and the practices are essentially similar among the various sects. All Muslims believe in the five basic obligations or pillars of the faith.

These are the *Shahada*: the Muslim declaration of faith; *Salah*: the practice of five daily prayers; *Zakat*: charity or giving 2.5% of one's annual savings to charity; *Sawm*: fasting during Ramadan and abstaining from food, water, sex, cigarettes, gossip, anger, backbiting; and *Hajj*: a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in one's lifetime (Cornell, 1999). The main differences between the Shia and the Sunni lie in several areas. These are a historical disagreement as to how the leadership of the religion should be decided, the role of the family of Muhammad in Islam (Robertson, Al-Khatib, Al-Habib, & Lanoue, 2001), the validity of certain rituals, the role and advent of the Islamic messiah the *Mahdi*, and in the degree of emphasis put on certain doctrines. An example of the last point is the greater stress placed by the Shia on the doctrine of *ikhtiyar* or personal choice, which declares that while God possesses infinite omniscience (knowing the overall fate of everything at the universal level), human beings still possess the freedom to choose 'between ethical alternatives' on the personal plane (Cornell, 1999). For the purposes of this study, however, we will be considering Islam as an undifferentiated and quasi-monolithic entity, although mainly through the majority Sunni perspective, as the doctrinal differences between the various Muslim confessions do not appear relevant enough in the context of work to warrant separate treatment of each sect.

2.1.1.2.1 Islam: characteristics

Though often thought of as Christianity's inimical opposite, Islam espouses many of the same or similar beliefs as its near relative. Among these are belief in a one and only God as the ultimate moral arbiter (Hughes, 2012), belief in angels, belief in holy books, belief in prophets, belief in a day of judgement (Uddin, 2003), and interestingly enough a belief in predestination (Mohamed, 2000). However, a closer look at the details of these beliefs reveals several points of disjunction. Perhaps the main stumbling block is found in a belief that should be relatively uncontested; the idea of the one God. The Muslim formulation of this tenet is strictly and literally monotheistic, with the concept of *tawhid* expressing the 'absolute oneness of God' (Ramadan, 2004). Although Christians proclaim their belief in the one God, the triune conception with its

several persons gives cause for them to be derided as effectively practicing a covert form of polytheism (Doumato, 2003). Historically, Islam appeared at a time and place in which dualism, trinitarianism and polytheism were the dominant strains of thought and belief. The advent of Islam and the consequent elaboration of the concept of *tawhid* brought an complete upending of this order, so complete and radical that even the language which referred to God was purified, and terms such as 'father', 'intercessor', 'saviour' or 'son' were completely expunged from the vocabulary of Islam for fear of diluting the belief (al-Faruqi, 1994). A second area of contention between Islam and Christianity centres on the Muslim belief in holy books and prophets, where slight initial doctrinal differences went on to create huge theological gulfs. Although Islam acknowledges the holy books of other Abrahamic religions as a revelation from God, these books are corrupted or incomplete or superseded versions of the word of God, which finds its final, perfected form in the Qur'an , which has allegedly been preserved from all inaccuracies (Kamil Mufti, 2013). The prophets of Judaism and Christianity are all retained in the Islam canon, while the Christian figure of the Christ Jesus is demoted from the central place of being the Messiah to that of being a great prophet, subordinate to the founder of Islam, Muhammad, who is put forth as the perfect man and viewed as the final prophet of Allah (Kamil Mufti, 2013). Yet another Muslim belief, the Day of Judgement, reflects the common Abrahamic eschatological tenet of a final apocalyptic event during which the entirety of humanity past and present will submit to divine judgement and be rewarded according to each individual's righteousness (Smith & Haddad, 2002). Finally, the belief in predestination also mirrors other Abrahamic religions' conception of God being omniscient and omnipotent, with the caveat that this does not preclude one from exercising their free will (Rudavsky, 2010), nor from being included among those experiencing the state of chosenness.

Although the majority of Muslims hold beliefs that allow them to fit into contemporary society, the recent appearance of Islamism, Salafism, and Jihadism has created the impression of Muslim inimicality to modernity and the international global system. All three movements are related to each other, with all three seeking to have Islamic law, *shariah*, play a much larger role in

the political life of the nation-state, and in the personal life of the individual. Salafists are known as ultraconservatives, with the majority of them engaging in a political quietism and staying away from political activism of any sort, as they view this as a distraction from the eternal message of Islam (Wagemakers, 2016) and seeking a return to the earliest days of Islam, going so far as to practise particular rituals of and adopt the dress from this primordial period. Islamism is distinguished from Salafism by being primarily a political movement that urges a preponderant role for the Qur'an in society, often through political means. Jihadism or more properly Salafi-Jihadism is the most pernicious of the three movements, espousing an apocalyptic vision in which Islam is purified of Muslims who do not share their views, and non-Muslims are eliminated (Hamid & Dar, 2016). However, it must be emphasised that the Salafi-Jihadists are very much in the minority among Muslims, with Muslims themselves, particularly in Muslim-majority countries, as concerned as non-Muslims about extremism (Lipka, 2017), while the appeal of political Islam appears to be steadily dropping among Muslims of all stripes (Lamb, 2017).

2.1.1.3 Judaism

2.1.1.3.1 Judaism: characteristics

The third and last of the Abrahamic religions to be examined is the eldest of them all, the precursor of both Christianity and Islam. Judaism today is divided into several sects, with the Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and Reconstructionist movements comprising the largest and most easily recognizable groupings in the US, Europe and Israel (Robinson, 2016). Despite the differences between the various confessions, all of them share several common characteristics. The first and perhaps foundational tenet of Judaism is that of the One True God, a concept first originating in Judaism and defined as a personal monist and monotheist god (Gnuse, 1997), lacking any hint of the triune characteristics espoused by Christianity and thus much closer and almost identical with the Muslim conception. The second precept is the duty to keep the laws of the Torah or the Pentateuch, which are the first five books of the Bible. Further characteristics of the creed are an emphasis on ethics and social responsibility, a positive attitude towards business and

wealth, and a focus on keeping one's connection to Israel as a matter of the unique identity shared by all Jews (Judaism; Robinson, 2016). There are other distinguishing marks of Judaism. Among these is the practice of circumcision, *b'rit milah*, during which the foreskin of a male child is cut off during his eight day of life as a sign of his Jewishness, although the practice is a characteristic shared with Islam as well as some smaller Christian sects. Some further self-proclaimed attributes of Judaism are an 'emphasis on learning, duty and obligation rather than creed as the primary expression of a religious life' (Jewish Virtual Library; Robinson, 2016), the observance of the *Shabbat* rest on the seventh day of the week (again, shared with several smaller Christian denominations, keeping *kashrut*, i.e., kosher, and a belief in the Messiah or messianic age (Boteach, 1993).

The tenets of Reform Judaism, also known as Progressive or Liberal Judaism differ quite markedly from those of the more conservative co-religionists. For example, while Reform Judaism acknowledges the validity of the Torah, it also stresses that these books were written by faulty humans in the framework of their particular time, although under divine influence, with the process of interpreting the Torah is an ongoing and never-ending one (Plaut, 2015). There are other distinctive characteristics of Reform Judaism. Among these are the possibility of waiving the rite of circumcision of the foreskin in favour of alternative non-cutting rituals on the naming day of the male child (*b'rit shalom*), the acceptance of mixed-marriage families where only one partner is Jewish, inclusion of children from such marriages where the mother is non-Jewish, promotion of gender equality in all areas of Jewish life, encouragement of sexual identity equality so that LGBT individuals are able to fully participate in synagogue life, and the principle of *tikkun olam*, i.e., repairing the world, which is nothing less than a commitment to active social justice (Jewish Virtual Library; Kaplan, 2013).

2.1.2 The Dharmic Religions

2.1.2.1 Hinduism

2.1.2.1.1 Hinduism: characteristics

We leave the Abrahamic belief system with our next religion, Hinduism, a Dharmic system of belief, with several key principles that developed from a precursor religion, Brahmanism. This precursor originated sometime between 2000 and 1500 BCE, and was a sacrifice-based elitist religion mainly built on Vedic, i.e., proto-Hindu, ideology, focused on the purifying and transformative qualities of fire as well as appeasing a huge pantheon of gods, called *devas* (Nath, 2001; Patheos Religion Library). Brahmanism evolved slowly into Hinduism to meet changing conditions during a time of social, political and economic change, and grew into a system of belief which became the essence of syncretism and synthesis (Nath, 2001).

There are several beliefs that are unique to Hinduism. The first principle, *dharma*, is defined as the power that underlies all the universe (Harvard Divinity School Religious Literacy Project, 2012). It can also be viewed as an all-pervasive divinity, a Supreme Being both the creator as well as inchoate or unmanifest reality. *Dharma* is also defined as the power that maintains society and that allows people to act morally. Being virtuous is, however, a relative thing, dependent on the obligations, duties, social position, gender and even age of the person, a second tenet of Hinduism called *Purushartha* (Flood, 2009). This also means that people are obliged to be sorted into different classes that fulfil different functions in this life, a doctrine called *varna*. This sorting mirrors the belief that existence is divided into three planes: the physical, astral and causal, with the universe undergoing an unending cycle of creation, preservation and dissolution, a process called *samsara*. This relativism is mostly found on this earthly plane because our true essence, called *atman*, dwells on a spiritual plane, from which it is from time to time reborn, i.e., another incidence of *samsara*, into the level of life that one deserves, calculated by one's conduct in a previous life. This cycle of *reincarnation*, sees a person's soul live on through several lifetimes until all their *karma*,

i.e., the weighing up of one's deeds, thoughts, intentions, etc., has been resolved and the soul is liberated from this cycle (Flood, 2009).

Hinduism is not a polytheistic religion per-se, but insists that there is only one true God, Brahma, who can however be worshipped under his different manifestations which are found everywhere in creation (Whitman, 2007). Another idea unique to Hinduism is its particular idea of hierarchy and social order, expressed in both the caste system and the *ashrama* system, which proclaims that each caste is necessary, but not equal, thus creating a discriminatory system (Sharma, 2007). At the personal level, Hindus believe that each person's life is composed of a series of stages during which a person has obligations particular to that stage (Sharma, 2007). Hinduism shares some common aspects with other religions, such as reverence for their revealed scripture, the *vedas*; belief in divine beings, an emphasis on compassion and non-violence, i.e., *ahimsa* (Dwivedi, 1991); prizing truthfulness, *satya*, and honesty, *asteya*; sexual moderation, *brahmacharya* (Gandhi, 2016), and purity, *shauca*; and surrendering to God, or *ishvarapranidhana* (Suresh & Duraisami, 2016).

2.1.2.2 Buddhism

The next religion that we examine, Buddhism, serves as an illustrative example of how a system can act as a cultural bridge. Buddhism, instead of being monolithic, is in essence more of an umbrella term for various belief systems and fragments that have been influenced almost as much by Daoic precepts as by Dharmic ideas and then absorbed into the corpus of Buddhism (Gethin, 1998). However, for the purposes of this study, we classify it as Dharmic, particularly as at its origin Buddhism springs from a Dharmic belief system and the terminology employed is mainly dharmic, due to its origin in northern India in the 5th Century BCE (Gethin, 1998). The prevalent religion of the time, Brahmanism, may be said to be the common ancestor of today's Hinduism as well as of Buddhism, and involved the worship of the deities of the *Vedas* (Nath, 2001). The ostensible originator of Buddhism, Siddhartha Gautama, has historically been viewed as reacting against the

customary dharmic religious practices being practised in northern India at the time (Siderits, 2019). Although being highly critical of this prevailing religious system, he reluctantly accepted the existence of the deities, while criticizing the caste system in general and the social superiority claimed by the *brahmanas* in particular, although research has indicated that the movement did not call for the reform of the system (Krishnan, 1986). Over time, though, as Brahmanism developed into Hinduism and Buddhism, syncretisation also took place between the two, such that as Hinduism developed, it adopted a number of Buddhism beliefs and practices, with the same process occurring in Buddhism as well (Williams, 2008). An instance of this is seen in the incorporation of the Buddha himself into Hinduism as an avatar of the Hindu deity Vishnu. Buddhism itself took on aspects of the system that it was formed in reaction to, adopting aspects of Hindu ritual and beliefs to form the subset of Tantric Buddhism (Holt, 2005). Tantrism formed within Hinduism during the middle of the first millennium of the Christian era, incorporating elements from several other religious traditions and in turn exerted an influence on the development of similar traditions in Buddhism, starting in the 7th century. More specifically, tantra consists of ritual, meditative, and yogic practices including ‘distinct paths of practice (sadhana), the use of mantras and mandalas, visualization and worship of the deities, distinct initiation ceremonies, and yogic practices involving the subtle body’ (Goudriaan, 1981). Thus tantra is a range of ritual and contemplative techniques employed by its practitioners in order to achieve magical powers (siddhi) as well as liberation (Gray, 2016), practices that seem to be opposed to the aim for simplicity and peace taught by Siddhartha Buddha.

2.1.2.2.1 Buddhism: characteristics

Buddhism can be viewed as a broad designation covering a range of practices and beliefs centred around the idea of release from the cycle reincarnation, and of the Buddha as the central guide in this quest. This religious tradition is traditionally held by non-initiates to have been founded by Siddhartha Gautama, an individual born into a wealthy and privileged family in northern India sometime between the 6th and 4th centuries before the Common era (Lopez, 2017). However,

Buddhist teachings seem to counter such a simplistic view, stating that Gautama was merely one of a long line of enlightened or awakened individuals (*Buddha*) stretching from the distant past into the far future (Siderits, 2019): the function of Gautama seems then to have been not so much the founder of Buddhism as its systematiser.

The two main schools of Buddhism, *Theravada*, otherwise known as The Teachings of the Elders, and *Mahayana*, also known as The Great Vehicle, agree in essence on the core teachings of the Buddha (Williams, 2008). The *Theravada* School is considered to be more conservative and is located in Southeast Asia, i.e., Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos, and emphasizes the human characteristics of the historical Gautama Buddha. It can be viewed as using a psychological approach to assess human nature, and the use of meditation to change one's view of consciousness (Crosby, 2013). The *Mahayana* branch, found mainly in China, Nepal, Tibet, the Korean peninsula and Japan can be considered as a collection of a large variety of schools emphasizing the attainment of personal salvation, with its two main divisions being the *Madhyamika* and the *Yogacara* (Williams, 2008). The various schools of thought found in the *Mahayana* range widely in belief and practice. Thus if we start by looking at Tantra, we see that it is intended to be a secret teaching of Yoga, and thus shares commonalities with Hinduism, in particular the emphasis on the female aspect of divinity (Shaw, 1995). But we can also find a school that is quite reminiscent of Christianity, the salvation-oriented Pure Land sect (Tanaka, 1990), which teaches that salvation is only attainable through having absolute trust in the saving power of Amitabha (a reincarnation of the Persian deity Ahura Mazda) (Davidson, 2012), accompanied by a longing to be reborn in this paradise through his grace. Finally we can also include the meditation-based variants of Ch'an and Zen Buddhism, which preach enlightenment through looking into oneself (Suzuki, 1994).

Today, Buddhism in all its varieties has spread far from its place of origin and has evolved to become a religion of choice for people of varied religious and cultural origins. Despite the fact that there are several varieties of Buddhism, all of them possess the 'three jewels' of the faith: the

Buddha, the *dharma*, i.e., the teachings of the Buddha, and the *sangha*, the Buddhist community (Gethin, 1998; Patheos Religion Library). Furthermore, all sects follow the core beliefs of Buddhism, summed up in the Basic Teachings of Buddha. These are *The Three Universal Truths*, *The Four Noble Truths* and *The Noble Eightfold Path* (Saisut, 2012), and all sects furthermore hew to a code of ethics known as variously as the *Five Buddhist Commandments*, *the Five Precepts* or *the Panchsheel* (Funahashi, 2013).

The *Three Universal Truths*, also known as the *Three Marks of Existence*, are the characteristics that sum up life: impermanence (*anicca*), i.e., everything changes; second the omnipresence of unsatisfactoriness or suffering (*dukkha*); and third, not-self (*anattā*) or the lack of an unchanging essence in beings or phenomena (Conze, 1967). The *Four Noble Truths* (*Dukkha*, *Samudaya*, *Nirodha* and *Magga*) take the point further. *Dukkha* points out that suffering exists, is omnipresent and thus pleasure is fleeting. *Samudaya* points out that suffering springs from desire and emotional attachment. The concept of *Nirodha* promises an end to suffering, the concept known as *Nirvana/Nibbana*, the state where attachment and desire are finally overcome. *Magga* points the way to reaching *Nibbana*, which is The Eightfold Path (Tsering, 2005).

The *Eightfold Path* focuses on practicing non-harm. The key precepts are as follows. *Samma Ditthi*, i.e., Perfect View; *Samma Sankappa* or Perfected Emotion/Aspiration; *Samma Kammanta*, also known as Right/Integral Action; *Samma Vaca*, Perfected/Whole Speech; *Samma Ajiva*, or Right/Proper Livelihood; *Samma Vayama*, Complete/Full Effort; *Samma Sati*, aka Complete/Thorough Awareness; and lastly, *Samma Samadhi* or Right Concentration (Tsering, 2005). Perfect View translates as seeing reality as it really is, Perfected Aspiration refers to acting from love and compassion and using one's emotional intelligence. Right Action is the follow-through to Right Intention, ensuring that one minimises suffering and engages in non-exploitation, of both oneself and of others. Perfected/Whole Speech refers to saying the truth in a beneficial manner, while Right/Proper Livelihood is a commitment to a non-harming and non-exploitative life. The next three precepts encompass the higher mental and spiritual realm. Complete/Full Effort refers to a commitment to exert oneself in

continuous improvement and wholeness, Complete/Thorough Awareness aims at paying attention and being aware of one's thoughts and actions and being present in the here and now, and Right Concentration/Meditation enjoins complete focus, thus encouraging meditation in order to progress spiritually (Saisut, 2012). Finally, Buddhists reaffirm their beliefs in general through a canon that looks quite similar to that of the Abrahamic religions. These are known as the Five Precepts or *Panchsheel*: 1. Do not kill/harm; 2. Do not to steal; 3. Do not misuse sex/commit adultery; 4. Do not lie/gossip; 5. Do not consume liquor or other intoxicants.

2.1.3 The Daoic Religions

2.1.3.1 Confucianism

The next religious tradition that we will examine comprises religions which are commonly labelled Daoic, which for the purposes of this study will be confined to Confucianism and Daoism, but also otherwise includes other related extant belief systems such as Shintoism, as well as formerly competing but now extinct socio-religious movements like Mohism (Kirkland, 2004). It is difficult if not impossible to examine either Confucianism or Daoism without also examining the other, as they can be seen to be almost perfect opposites religiously and philosophically.

Confucianism arose in the 6th-5th century BCE and can best be characterized as a system of teachings or a code of ethics. The emphasis in traditional Confucianism is not so much on a relationship with the gods, although due respect is to be paid to them, but instead, on a system or an ethic that governs how humans should interact with each other (Chen, 2012). The most important part of this set of instructions are the Five Cardinal Relationships. These are between ruler and subject or master and follower, between father and son, between husband and wife, between older and younger brothers, and finally between friends (Ho, 1995), with these instructions extrapolated to govern not only relationships between two people, but also between the person and the larger collective. The founder of Confucianism, Kongzi, i.e., Confucius, while not explicitly denying the existence of the supernatural, proclaimed that precepts laid down by people

would provide sufficient guidance, without recourse to theological belief, in ethical matters in order to make people and the world they live in a moral ecosystem (Sun, 2015). Adherents of Confucianism thus believe that activities which belong in the realm of the human, such as literature and music, also serve as methods to bring us into contact with the transcendent, thus creating a ‘deep connection between the cosmic order and ordinary life’ (Groves, 2014; Richey).

2.1.3.1.1 Confucianism: characteristics

The heart of Confucianism can be found in the two intertwined concepts of *jen* (Archie, 2000; Chan, 1955) and *li/lee*. *Jen*, often defined as benevolence or good-heartedness, is what makes all people human. It is a sense of fellowship towards other humans and self-esteem for oneself: it prizes the act of being human as well as human beings themselves. *Li* is its intertwined opposite and is perhaps the most complex principle in Confucianism. It focusses on ceremonies or rituals, propriety or code of proper conduct, and rules of social conduct, and it also stands for the principle of gain and order, thus ends up being used in two basic ways: as a guide to what actions are proper for humans, and as a general principle for ordering one’s life (Nilar, 2011). The first principle of *li* enfolds among other things the use of language according to the truth of things, the Doctrine of the Mean (perhaps the central teaching of Confucianism), the Five Cardinal Relationships, and finally, Respect for Age, in that it gives a sense of worth to all things. The second principle of *li* covers social order and the ordering of life (Nilar, 2011). In essence, this concept prizes a circumscribed view of individuality, for the reason that each action affects not only oneself but others as well. Thus life has to be ordered and not left to improvisation, lest one be at a loss on how to behave properly (Archie, 2000; Nilar, 2011). Furthermore, Confucianism explicitly espouses the Five Constant Virtues of benevolence/humanity, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and fidelity/faithfulness (Jacobs, Gao, & Herbig, 1995). It is thus relatively easy to draw the conclusion that several particular historical characteristics of Chinese culture are rooted in Confucianism. These include a strong sense of hierarchy among social classes, but egalitarianism among social equals, a very particular view of law and ethics agnatic gavelkind inheritance or equal distribution of social

wealth among male heirs, the importance of the extended family or clan, an emphasis on and promotion of agriculture and a concurrent discouragement of trade, and a code prescribing certain responses to for all situations.

2.1.3.2 Daoism

2.1.3.2.1 Daoism: characteristics

The final religious tradition that we will examine is that of Daoism, accounted one of the two indigenous religious/philosophical systems of China. Often viewed as the Confucianism's great opposite in terms of belief, Daoism may actually be thought of as a collection of doctrines that share a similar focus and ideology, closely associated with naturalism or mystical religion (Hansen, 2007). Its two core texts, the *Laozi*, and the *Zhuangzi*, are a compilation attributed to the teachers Laozi/Lao Tzu and Zhuangzi/Chuang Tzu. The *Laozi*, also called the *Daodejing*, meaning Scripture of the Way and Virtue, serves as a set of instructions for those aspiring to lead a virtuous life, which stresses following The Way, i.e., *dao*, or Path, that conforms to the cosmic natural order. Following this path allows the adherent to gain enlightenment, which results, in the best of cases, in longevity and possibly immortality: in practical terms, the *Daodejing* advises non-assertion and softness (Miller, 2001). *Dao*, however, cannot be really defined: it is ineffable and shapeless, and contains in itself the dualism which its adherents believe is inherent in the cosmos, exemplified by the two complementary forces, *yin* and *yang*, which when balanced bring about cosmic harmony (Augustin, 2011). *Yin* is associated with a plethora of characteristics: things such as shade, water, the western direction, and the tiger, and feminine attributes (softness, flexibility, creativity), while *Yang* is associated the opposites such as, light, fire, the eastern direction, the dragon, and supposedly masculine attributes (hardness, logic, science). In contrast to Confucianism, Daoism eschews viewing oneself, the world, or the cosmos through a hierarchical lens. Instead of placing people in social relationships, it situates them in the *dao*, viewing them, as well as everything else, as an emanation of the cosmos (Ho, 1995).

In another contrast to Confucianism, which mandates a strict code of behaviour, Daoism is seen as 'naturalistic and anti-authoritarian', a reaction against the official Confucian ideology. Thus, 'Daoism' grew to include and assimilate local religions, beliefs and deities (Hansen, 2007). Daoist practice focuses on three virtues above all else: spontaneity, transformation, and flow (Hennig, 2016). The Daoist ideal is in stark contrast to that of the Confucian ideal: instead of a cultivated man, Daoism proposes the one who is naïve and childlike, free from cunning and lust, one who follows the natural, universal way of Nature. This follows from the belief that human beings have the same status as all other things in nature; all are children of 'the same Mother Tao' (Shen, 1995). This natural and universal way prizes the two values of flexibility and reversion. The Principle of Flexibility points out that everything changes, and nothing is ever absolute: alternative opportunities always exist. The Principle of Reversion tells us that anything can possess or gain the attributes of its opposite: thus water, which is formless and puts up no resistance, can nevertheless be strong, breaking down the hardest stone (Cheung & Chan, 2005).

There are some other concepts that set Daoism apart. The first consists of the interlinked concepts of *Wu*, or non-being/limitlessness, and *Yu*, i.e., being. A second concept is that of *Te*, synonymous with a non-Confucian conception of virtue: it is the awareness of *Dao* as well as the capacity for following it. *Ziran* is the condition of being what one naturally would be when allowed to develop without interference, and connected to this is *Wuwei*, a concept that entails passivity, non-coercive action, and letting things take their natural course and not interfering with *Dao* (Nelson, 2009). Additionally, Daoism emphasises the concept of *Qi*, the energy of the cosmos that enables one to survive and to connect with the universe: a tightly connected Daoist belief is that of the body's essence a miniature adumbration of the universe. Just as the body is always in motion and developing, so too is the universe, signifying that there can never be true knowledge, as knowledge always changes and develops. Finally, the concept of Daoist immortality means that as the believer follows *Dao* throughout life, they draw closer and closer to what is natural, with death

being only the final step to being one with the universe, viewed by some believers as an immortality of one's 'real self' and by others as corporeal immortality (Mou, 2012).

2.2 Comparing Religious Content Among Religions

How do the characteristics of the different religions then affect the way they influence behaviour at work? What can we learn by comparing the various religions and their tenets? Is there a real difference in the effects that different religions have or is it rather between the broader groupings? Examining the differences in content between religions can serve to point out ideas unique to a particular belief system that may affect motivation, as well as enable the recognition of functional similarities between religious beliefs that may interact in a similar manner with motivation. Let us start by looking at the main differences between Abrahamic, Dharmic and Daoic religions.

2.2.1 Unique ideas in the Abrahamic religions: chosenness and supersession

To recapitulate in general terms, we place Judaism, Christianity, and Islam into the category of Abrahamic religions. The hallmarks of this grouping are: belief in being the chosen people through claiming the Patriarch Abraham as a spiritual, and sometimes literal, ancestor; and the theological patrimony of monotheism, belief in the One True God (Hughes, 2012). Another characteristic that Abrahamic religions share, especially Christianity and Islam, is connected with the idea of being the chosen people: supersessionism. This is the idea that although the original chosen people were the Jews, their claim to be the chosen people was superseded and rendered void by the later covenants allegedly made by God with the Christians and/or the Muslims (Hughes, 2012).

The idea of the chosen people has its origins in the Hebrew Bible. The original designation applied to the grouping known to us as the Twelve Tribes of Israel, i.e., the Hebrews, the people

who originated in the hill country area of the Near East, and who ostensibly kept the Ten Commandments while worshipping Yahweh as their deity (Novak, 2007). Later, because of migration and proselytization, the designation was extended to include whoever practiced Judaism. Through supersessionism, this designation of being the chosen and definitive people of the One True God passed from the Jews as a nation or was given by God to another people. For most of Christianity's history, this doctrine has been at the heart of its theology, espoused and expounded by people of every Christian denomination. After the founding of Islam, the doctrine also became ensconced in the Islamic world-view. Perhaps inevitably, those who believed themselves to be the new chosen and definitive people of God, acquired the conviction that those who had earlier held this designation and then lost it had been dispossessed by the deity and were thus impostors, and worthy only of extirpation, expulsion, or in the best case, conversion (Hughes, 2012). This tendency theologically manifested itself most strongly in Christianity, and though it did appear to some extent in Islam, it was mitigated by the Islamic belief that Jews and Christians were 'People of the Book', believers in God who adhered to earlier, imperfect revelations of the truth, giving them a legally-protected standing as *dhimmi*s (Hughes, 2012). Logically, this same belief in supersessionism means that Muslims believe themselves to possess the final and ultimate truth as codified in the Qur'an, though it also led to the development of other Abrahamic religions claiming a further revelation, such as Baha'ism, and a consequent animosity from the followers of Islam.

2.2.2 Unique ideas in the Abrahamic religions: the Triune God

A further and central point of dispute among the adherents of the various Abrahamic religions concerns the oneness of God. In this area, it is the Christian doctrine of the Trinity that sets it apart. For although Christians regard themselves as strict monotheists, their adherence to a doctrine that forces a view of God that must be engaged with on seemingly counter-rational and philosophical terms instead of just simple belief mean that other Abrahamic faiths may view them

quite simply as polytheists. Thus, one can see why conflicts between the three religions in this belief system have often been quite violent and fractious.

2.2.3 Unique ideas in the Dharmic religions: *karma*, *dharma*, *samsara*

When we turn to the Dharmic religions in our study, Hinduism and Buddhism, we see belief systems that share some common traits such as belief in *karma* and *dharma*, *samsara* (reincarnation, or the belief that a person's soul lives through several lifetimes until it can attain release from this cycle), and an emphasis on detachment and non-possession of material things (Whitman, 2007). Hinduism has historically been accommodating enough that it can be characterized as multifaceted, although current political movements have wanted to render it monolithic (Mittal & Thursby, 2009), including deities that developed from Brahmanism but whose avatars can be viewed as represented by the various deities of other religions. As for Buddhism, despite the fact that it has several varieties, we can probably state that all of them adhere to the three main essentials: the Buddha, the *dharma*, i.e., the teachings of the Buddha, and the *sangha*, or the Buddhist community. In addition, all Buddhists follow the core beliefs found in the Basic Teachings of Buddha: The Three Universal Truths, The Four Noble Truths and The Noble Eightfold Path. Furthermore, all Buddhists follow the code of ethics known as the Five Precepts or *Panchsheel*. The various cross-influences between Buddhism and Hinduism have produced syncretic schools of belief such as Tantric Buddhism and one could possibly view Buddhism and Hinduism as part of a continuous spectrum of belief. This, plus the lack of an equivalent doctrine to supersessionism may explain the paucity of conflicts between Hindu and Buddhist adherents.

2.2.4 Unique ideas in the Daoic religions: *yin* and *yang*

Turning to the Daoic religions, Confucianism and Daoism, we emphasize once more that these two can be viewed as opposing though entwined religious schools, a symbol of the principle

which underlies both of them, that of *yin-yang* (Li, 2016a). This concept envisages reality as composed of two forces that act in both opposing as well complementary ways. *Yin* represents the ostensibly feminine qualities such as softness, flexibility and creativity, while *Yang* is held to stand for hardness, masculinity, logic and science (Coll, 2016).

Confucianism can be envisaged as a code governing the social response for every situation through the setting up of a hierarchical system: it is thus about a strict system of governance. Though it neither explicitly discounts the existence of the supernatural nor denies its importance, Confucianism proclaims that it is people themselves who create the rules by they are to live, and that this should prove of sufficient moral worth to create a morally just world. Daoism, on the other hand, looks at the individual in the context of the metaphysical, serving as a set of instructions for those wishing to conform to the cosmic natural order. Thus, the Daoist ideal is often in direct opposition to the Confucian one: instead of cultivation and structure, Daoism emphasizes childlikeness, naturalness, universality, insisting on the superiority of the natural to the man-made. This natural, universal way prizes the two values of *flexibility* and *reversion*.

2.2.5 What distinguishes the various broad religious systems?

When comparing the religions overall, it might be most instructive to look at the differences between the different religious systems. Thus, when looking at the broader picture, it could be thought that the characteristics which the Daoic religions Daoism and Confucianism possess set them strongly apart from all the others. In the case of Daoism, its tenets place a premium on naturalism, seen as following the path, i.e., *dao*, which conforms to the cosmic natural order. Furthermore, it advocates for spontaneity, transformation, and flow, and places the wisdom of nature over that of humans.

The other Daoic religion under consideration, Confucianism, also presents a system that seems to contrast strongly to all other religions, with its defining characteristics. These include the discounting of the relevance of the supernatural in human affairs, the code prescribing certain

responses to for all situations and the very strong sense of hierarchy, seemingly belonging more to a code of governance than a religion. These examples especially stand out as they seem to lack an essential components found in the other religions under consideration in this study, namely a prescriptive code of conduct for adherents based on a strong belief in a parallel metaphysical reality.

Hinduism's great distinctiveness seems to lie in its unrelenting metaphysical view of reality and its seeming willingness to view other religious traditions as also being repositories of truth. Contrast this with the hard exclusivity of the Abrahamic religions in which there is only One True God and one true way, or with the more naturalistic but no less adamant Daoic view that only one particular way is right, be it the path of cosmic natural order or a code of governance. The other Dharmic religion in this study, Buddhism, centred as it is around the idea of release from reincarnation and the emphasis on a messianic Buddha as the central guide in this quest, appears to already be quite some distance from Hinduism and closer to Christianity, or indeed the Abrahamic religions in general.

It is then the Abrahamic religions that have the distinctiveness of being metaphysically exclusionary, as by definition monotheism and its practice automatically mean that only one true deity exists and is to be worshipped. Following from this reasoning is the conclusion that since there is only one true God, then there also must be only one true way of worshipping. The Abrahamic religions combine this rigid monotheism with the concept of a chosen people, an idea seen across Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The combination of all these characteristics appears then to serve to distinguish Abrahamic belief systems, even more so than with the Daoic religions, by the strict boundaries in identity and practice that they enjoin.

Whether or not the theological strictures and metaphysical structures of the various religions effect a corresponding behavioural result in its adherents remains to be seen. After all, belief systems are not static and immutable, and local conditions and socio-environmental factors may and often do affect the way in which a person enacts their beliefs on a daily basis.

2.3 Revival: The Growth in Religion's Importance in Practice and Research

2.3.1 International political developments and holdovers: the past

Religion plays an important role in our world, affecting multiple facets in all contemporary societies. These range from international political, economic, and cultural relations to interpersonal relations in organisational contexts. The long shadow caused by the (mis)use of religion in all areas of civilisation, but in particular the political realm, still affects the readiness or lack thereof with which the role of belief in organisational theory is examined. Furthermore, the way in which religion has developed, particularly in response to political developments, has a distinct and direct bearing how it is perceived in the economic and organisational sphere. A quite striking example of this effect is the impact of the Protestant movement of Pietism, which defined true godliness as living 'a pious, moral, devout life, and Christian wisdom referring to an ability to work hard according to the Protestant ethic (Anweiler, 2019), which produced in Prussia a politically-conservative aristocratic political culture, a result quite at odds with that achieved by the religiously quite similar British Nonconformist and American evangelical movements (Wolffe, 2015), thus contributing to the gulf in outlook, political development, and social traits between the three nation-states. The contemporary resurgence of the perceived importance of religion, or perhaps even of its continuation, is thus logically a vital part of personal and corporate identity that has been remarked upon in a wide variety of academic disciplines, ranging from political economy to organisational theory (Gibbons, 2000; King, 2008; Lund Dean et al., 2003). The formerly dominant idea of an increasing enfeeblement leading to the eventual extinction of religion in the face of an ever-expanding secularization looks itself to be rather delusional in contemporary circumstances. In examining the domain of international politics, an area that so often reflects the dominant trends in international society, one often sees that the ostensibly Westphalian order seems to run according to rules other than those inherent to the system. In short, the Westphalian order was a

political system imposed on the various states of the Holy Roman Empire in 1648 in the wake of the disastrous Thirty Years War. This war originated in and was fought over the question of which was the proper religion to follow and was resolved on the basis of a compromise, formulated in Latin as *cuius regio eius religio*, roughly translated as ‘Whose realm, his religion’ (Wilson, 2016). This in effect broke the monopoly of the papacy on religious direction and ensured that the particular religion of any sub-imperial polity would be that of its ruler. It also allowed dissenters some protection, as well as the option to leave that polity instead of suffering imprisonment or death: in effect, thus institutionalising the fragmentation of church and state relations in Europe (Casanova, 2008). The principle was further adapted to the national level and adopted by nation-states in Europe, leading to the establishment of the various national churches seen today. During the era of European colonial expansion, this particular political idea spread throughout the world, fervently espoused by those wishing to overthrow their imperial masters. Some colonial powers however often reinforced the prevailing religious systems and their strictures, going so far as to institute even greater religious restrictions in their territories, such as the British did in Pakistan when they introduced penalties for homosexuality or for insulting any religious beliefs (Theodorou, 2016). After independence, Pakistan’s government adopted them and periodically increased their severity. In other instances, however, former colonies set up systems which were secular or even anti-religious, such as the Ba’ath states of Syria and Iraq, and founded on a mix of Western ideologies, including fascism, communism and nationalism (Berman, 2012).

A look at the overlapping eras of decolonisation and the Cold War shows that issue of religion became increasingly instrumentalised both by the Western Alliance as well as by the Soviet Union and its perceived. The states of the Warsaw Pact developed programmes and created structures to fight against religion at every level and in every way, from setting up Anti-Religion Museums to holding show trials against prominent prelates (Betts & Smith, 2016). The members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, in particular the USA, in turn began to develop and in essence weaponize religion, i.e., Christianity (Kirby, 2003), staking the claim that only in the West

was freedom of religion guaranteed (especially the freedom to evangelise), whereas it was severely curtailed in the countries of the Warsaw Pact (Kirby, 2017). The effect of this propagandising was to turn the US and its clients towards a more pious path, culminating in the strengthening and spread of the evangelical movement, which in its modern-day incarnation we call the Religious Right. This turn towards religion began in 1948, when American president Truman called for Americans to meet the new evil of Communism by celebrating a 'day of prayer and adoration', with the date purposely chosen to be Good Friday, the crucifixion day of the Christian Messiah, and emphasised that America's main line of defence was spiritual. This identification of Christianity with American success and indeed its way of life deepened with each new president, so much so that Truman's successor in office declared somewhat anachronistically, 'Without God, there could be no American form of government, nor an American way of life. Thus the Founding Fathers saw it and thus, with God's help, it will continue to be,' (Gunn, 2009). This same surge in the importance of religion accompanied the involvement of NATO and the US in the various international power struggles of the era. This is seen in such varied contexts as the use of Korean Christian pastors to exhort South Koreans to resist the Communist propaganda coming from the North, as well as the establishment of closer ties with Islamic countries in order to unite Muslims worldwide to wage a jihad against the Soviets (Muehlenbeck, 2012). This emphasis on and alliance with overtly religious entities by the US vastly encouraged their growth and led directly to the great increase in religiously-motivated actions and results, interpersonally as well as at the corporate and international level, often with unintended consequences. An example of this was the reaction of Catholics and Jews to the increasingly strident (Protestant) religiosity of the US during the Cold War: as a consequence, Catholics strongly reaffirmed their commitment to creating and enrolling in Catholic parochial schools, while Jews pioneered the inclusion of Hanukkah in the holiday calendar of various academic systems throughout the US (Schultz, 2013).

2.3.2 International political developments and holdovers: the present

In looking at current conditions in these states, we often see a re-evaluation or revamping of the political and social structure, accomplished often-times through top-down initiatives but also just as likely to originate ostensibly at the level of the populace. Among the main pillars of the old order that appear to be the most queried is the present form of the state, in particular its nominal secularism (May, Wilson, Baumgart-Ochse, & Sheikh, 2014). The phenomenon affects even nominally Western(ised) states, long considered the preserve of a marked separation of the church from the state. Now, religion (especially as a marker of identity) plays an ever-greater role in the public life of states that belong to this camp, such as Poland, the United States or even Switzerland, through an increasing use to create or bolster a national and political identity, and as an exclusionary delimitation to exclude any elements that could be potentially subversive. An example of this can be found in the case of blasphemy laws, codes that are almost exclusively associated in the popular perception with developing countries or the Global South: the truth, however, is strikingly different. An analysis by the Pew Research Center in 2014, found that 26% of the world's countries and territories had anti-blasphemy laws or policies, and that 13% had laws or policies penalising apostasy, carrying with them punishments ranging from fines to capital punishment (Theodorou, 2016). Even the United States, renowned for its emphasis on religious liberty, still makes use of legal codes tainted with these laws, although not at the federal level. However, at the state level, several entities such as Massachusetts and Michigan continue to have extant legislation. This is also evident when looking at Europe as well: Russia, Poland, Greece, Italy, Ireland and Denmark all have statutes dealing with blasphemy, and all continue to enforce them on occasion (Theodorou, 2016).

Other factors, often of a negative nature, have contributed to the re-assertion of the pre-eminence of religion in contemporary life. Conspicuous among these is the steady increase in American conservatism, stemming (as we have previously seen) from religion's instrumentalization

during the Cold War and eventually resulting in the advent of the Religious Right in the political arena. The outcome was the strong and steady growth of evangelicalism in the US, with the attendant result of a rollback of social progress in some areas of socio-political life (Fernando & Jackson, 2015; King, 2008; Leib & Warf, 2016). This same phenomenon can also be observed elsewhere in the world. In Latin America, for example, one finds an explosion in evangelical Protestantism over the last few decades (Clarke, 2006; Dow & Sandstrom, 2001; Stoll, 1993). In Africa, there has been a rise of new Islamic movements, sometimes accompanied by terrorism (Onuoha, 2012), as well as a proliferation of evangelical Christian sects (Clarke, 2006; Sanneh & Carpenter, 2005). In East and Southeast Asia one again sees the same phenomenon of increasing Islamisation in some states, particularly Indonesia and Malaysia (Lahoud & Johns, 2005; Salim, 2008), and a rapid and strong growth in some form of Protestantism in others, e.g. South Korea, Philippines (Clarke, 2006; Park, 2009). It is important also not to forget the rise of Buddhist identity politics, the effects of which are seen in the persecution of Myanmar's Rohingya Muslim minority (Green et al., 2015; Zami & Cowley, 2014), as well as the upsurge in Hindu nationalism (Hindutva) espoused by the Indian state. Perhaps most visibly and anxiously immanent is the rise in a combination of movements centred around Islam: political Islam, Salafism, and jihadism/Islamic militancy and terrorism. This phenomenon, originating during the Cold War at the behest of the Americans (Dreyfuss, 2006), became increasingly aggravated particularly during the last few decades, engendering contemporary fears of the destruction of the present global order (Pratt, 2006).

One might very well conclude from the foregoing litany that the practice and perhaps even the very idea of religion are inimical to social peace or even progress of any sort. However, it would probably be a mistake to think so. The point can be made that much of what the West views as its socioeconomic birthright of constant progress, growth and development (Barro, 2003), has had its origins in actions brought about by religiously-motivated impulses (Tracey, 2012). An example of this can be seen in the involvement of religious figures in the rise of the fair trade movement

(Clarke, Barnett, Cloke, & Malpass, 2007), or in the social enterprise and social business movements (Spear, Cornforth, & Aitken, 2007), or in the tendency for institutional investors to consider focussing their investment strategies on social problems (Tracey, 2012). Furthermore, in a relatively new phenomenon, the rise of the Religious Left in the United States is proving a vigorous antidote to the Right's hitherto uncontested stranglehold on the use of religion in public life. The Religious Left, although not as organised as its conservative opposite, formed in a seemingly spontaneous reaction to the Religious Right's advocacy for the election of Donald Trump to the presidency (Malone, 2017). In addition to seeking to counter the Right's monopoly on the religious conversation, this movement supports upholding the current status quo of a separation of church and state as well as advocating for a socially progressive society.

2.3.3 The significance of religion for the individual

Thus, we see that religion retains its salience for corporate bodies in societies. Turning to the individual sphere, we find that research shows that religion also still holds a high amount of significance in people's personal life. In the USA, the largest Western democracy, the 2014 Pew Research Center's Religious Landscape Study in the United States of America showed that 89% of all American adults say they believe in God, 63% of them are 'absolutely certain' God exists, and 77% identify with a religion (Smith, 2015). Two-thirds of these self-identified religious people punctiliously pray every day, with 60% of them attending services at least once a month. The past decade has seen increasing religiosity in the area of morality, with 41% of religiously affiliated American adults admitting that their religious beliefs serve as their main guide to morality, up from 34% in 2007 (Pew Research Center, 2015). The role of spirituality also seems to have increased, with around 60% of American adults regularly experiencing a deep sense of spiritual peace and well-being, up from 53% in 2007, with 46% of these apparently experiencing a deep sense of 'wonder about the universe' at least once a week, up from 39% in 2007 (Smith, 2015). In Europe, this same trend is also evident throughout the continent. One particularly apt example is the situation in

Poland, where a survey run by the Polish government's Central Statistical Office/Główny Urząd Statystyczny in 2015 confirmed the strong religiosity of the population, with 92.8% of the population adhering to the Catholic Church. Furthermore, almost half of the respondents claimed that they attended church on a weekly basis, with 40% praying almost daily (Fejfer, 2017), and with women more likely to do so at 52% compared to men with only 28%, accompanied by a steady rise in incidence in direct relation with increasing age (Bieńkuńska et al., 2017).

2.3.4 Religion and organisational management research: a dearth

As was the case in the sphere of international relations as well as in the case of the individual, the role of religion has become increasingly important during the last decade or two in academic discourse as well as in the workplace itself. Secularization is being increasingly seen as a myth of sorts at worst, or a worthy if somewhat distant goal at best (Casanova, 2012), and organisational academic interest in the metaphysical realm looks to be rising. Relatively recent articles have lamented the fact that management research has only 'lightly and narrowly explored how religion's influence manifests in the workplace' (King, 2008) and that there remains a lack of significant engagement in researching the intersection of religion with organisation and management theory. Several possible reasons for this lacuna in the research have been bruited about. One particularly convincing one is that for some researchers, religion might be considered 'too far removed from the commercial organisations that form the empirical focus of much work in the discipline, or simply because it is deemed too sensitive' (Tracey, 2012). Other rationales often stem from the present Western mind-set itself, a product of both the Reformation and the Enlightenment, that perceives religion as no longer weighing that much in today's world, or as a continuing reaction against the perceived overweening role played by religion in the past with a consequent fear of a return to this state of affairs. All this of course pushes the continued uncoupling of religion from public life (Slattery, 2003). All this reinforced the already dominant

tendency among academics and intellectuals to consider religion as a private affair, to believe that it to be of declining importance, or even to proclaim it as simply not a matter for serious research by the academic community (Tracey, Phillips, & Lounsbury, 2014). Indeed, Tracey's 2012 review of the management literature from 1950 to 2011 found that in the 21 of the main management journals, only 86 papers were published dealing with the notion of religion during these 61 years (Tracey, 2012).

2.3.5 Religion and organisational management research: reasons in favour

Despite the fact that the study of the role of religion in organisational identity still lags behind, or even perhaps because of this lag, there do seem to be quite a number of reasons to begin researching the topic. First, even though nominally religious organisations, for example Catholic schools, Islamic banks, or Buddhist Yoga and meditation centres, are not exclusively defined by their religion, yet they are fundamentally marked and intrinsically shaped by their adherence to the particular creed that they profess, with its attendant cultural norms and structures. Organisational research incorporating this foundational component can only benefit from a more rounded assessment. Secondly, religion and religious values imbued through founder effects may be imbedded in a subconscious manner, and thus of high importance to an organisation's identity, even those that are currently avowedly non-religious. Adjunct to this is the effect that the religious beliefs of organisational members has, particularly those in positions of influence: the organisation unconsciously incorporates the values embodied and practised by its founder and/or other influential leaders (Tracey et al., 2014). Thirdly, a possible feedback loop exists due to religious preferences of the customers to which the organisation caters, as research has shown that consumer religious commitment affects their store/brand loyalty as well as their complaint intention (Swimberghe, Sharma, & Flurry, 2009).

2.3.6 Religion and organisational management research: increasing interest

A perusal of contemporary journals gives the impression that although academic interest already seems to be increasing, it is at a relatively slow pace and with a scattered focus. The initial impetus appears to have been the 2008 conference of prominent management researchers and practitioners meeting to discuss how to transition from the current conventional approach to management, known as Management 1.0 (focusing on centralised planning and control), and bring about Management 2.0 (emphasizing decentralisation and the use of the web) (Levitt, 2011). The main result was the drafting of a charter enumerating what they believed to be management's grand challenges and suggesting recommendations to overcome them. Among the latter was the strong recommendation insisting on creating anew the field's 'philosophical foundations' and founding 'organisations that are more than merely efficient', with the strong condition that it would be wise to 'draw lessons from such fields as biology, political science, and theology' (Hamel, 2009).

Currently, this interest in religion is in evidence throughout the spectrum of work-related topics. Most prominent, perhaps, is an area traditionally associated with the confluence of work and religion, that of lived religion, i.e., expressing one's religion when on the job, and the resultant discrimination that may result from it (Alidadi, 2010; Scheitle & Ecklund, 2016). In the USA, this especially affects employees from non-Christian and non-Jewish religious backgrounds who allege experiencing religious bias at their workplaces, with the trend exacerbated by the tendency of some organisational leaders to promote their own religion, particularly Christianity, as part of the organisational culture (Day, 2005). Even in Western Europe, long considered a 'post-Christian' society (Tracey et al., 2014), religion seems to be resurgent, or at least regaining its prominence. This time, however, it may be in the context of religious traditions that are relatively new to the social context such as Islam or Sikhism, and may deal with seemingly peripheral matters such as grooming and sartorial display (Hamblen, 2016).

We are also witnessing growing research interest in more esoteric and novel areas. One such area examines how a purported emotional variance that apparently exists between Protestants and Catholics results in a difference in creativity between the two (Kim & Cohen, 2017). Another area examines how a non-Western religio-philosophical tradition such as Daoism can grant us a new perspective on management theory (Hennig, 2016). Yet a third area is the use of religious movements and processes in examining micro-level organisational processes, such as a qualitative study of the Alpha Course, an evangelization movement designed to convert agnostics to Christianity (Tracey, 2016). To cap it off, this growing interest is underlined by the fact that the Academy of Management created its 'Management, Spirituality and Religion' interest group already before the turn of the millennium, ostensibly to meet the growing interest in the academic area (Dyck, 2014).

2.3.7 Spirituality and religion in the workplace: two sides of the same coin

Closely associated with this growth in interest of religion's role in organisational behaviour is an increased scrutiny of the role that spirituality (Burack, 1999), spiritual beliefs (Phipps, 2012), and spiritual leadership (Fry, 2005) can have in the workplace. Although spirituality and religion have been viewed as separate and distinct concepts (Benefiel, Fry, & Geige, 2014; Epstein, 2002), with spirituality 'encompassing religion for some, but able to stand alone for others without attachment to a particular faith group' (National Center for Cultural Competence, 2016), spirituality and religion share several useful similarities, e.g. giving people a sense of purpose and meaning at work, enriching their inner lives, imbuing them with a sense of connectedness and community (Ashmos & Duchon, 2000), and providing people with solace during times of disaster, illness and stress (Pargament, 2013). In fact, religion and spirituality can be seen as composing two parts of a greater whole (Lynn, Naughton, & VanderVeen, 2009), and need to be studied together to be truly meaningful (Wuthnow, 1998).

2.3.8 Reviewing the recent state of organisational management research and religion

It appears, however, that a significant portion of the recent research has focussed, not on researching the effect of religion and spirituality on individuals in organisations but on applying management theory to religious organisations. Thus, if we look at Tracey's recent survey of organisational management articles on religion, we see that approximately 32 out of the 86 articles followed this pattern. Four papers examined the relationship between religious organisations and their environment, nine looked at the organisational effect of strategic management of religious organisations, seven scrutinized the organisational restructuring of a Catholic order, two studied the organisational culture of religious organisations, and a further ten covered power, authority and discrimination in the context of religious structures (Tracey, 2012). Of the remaining 54, ten investigated the importance of religion in believers as they manage their social identity (an effect that isn't necessarily salient in organisations), while eight articles assessed religion in the context of different national cultures and how they affect behaviour, for the most part at the individual level. This then leaves us with 36 articles that reviewed the effects of religion on organisations. Of these 36, eleven assayed the role of religion in the behaviour of individuals in organisations, two focussed on business ethics, and nine researched spirituality, as opposed to religion, at the workplace. A further six enquired into how ideas and practices that have their origin in religion might be used in secular contexts, while the final two were unclassified (Tracey, 2012).

We see this pattern again with Dyck's (2014) paper, in which he performed a similar review of the currently extant literature, which he divided into three sections. In the first part, he examines the secular management literature on religion in general, and its intersection with organisational management. With the second part, he expands the search to include journals dealing explicitly with religion and management, such as the *Christian Scholars Review* and the *Journal of Biblical Integration in Business*, a move that differentiated his survey from Tracey's. Next, Dyck looked at what the five largest world religions, i.e., Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, and

Islam, have to specifically say about management. The third section examined empirically measured effects of 'spiritual' practices such as mindfulness, prayer, and meditation. The paucity of his results, as well as their focus, recalled that of Tracey's. The first search saw 39 results, with almost half of them only mentioning religion in a superficial manner, with the remaining 22 results focussed on examining religious organisations through the lens of conventional organisation and management theory, and not specifically religion's effects on organisations in general. The second search included journals that explicitly examined religion and management, and yielded 83 articles, with more than half found in ethics journals, and 46 focussed on Christianity while 21, surprisingly, looked at Confucianism. Finally the third search, looking at empirically-measured effects of spiritual practices on organisations, returned only 11 results (Dyck, 2014).

2.3.9 The current state of organisational management research and religion

In the years since Dyck's paper appeared, much the same patterns appear to still hold in academic research around the topic, although with the occasional exception, such as a recent paper exploring the link between organisational culture traits and workplace spirituality dimensions in primary public schools in a mostly agricultural Egyptian province (Alas & Mousa, 2016). It seems however that most of the articles examining the topic only investigate the influence of religion on management in an incidental manner. Thus we find articles mentioning the effect of Muslim migration and Muslims' higher birth-rate on their host's countries and the subsequent effects on global business (Chand & Tung, 2014), or articles citing the influence of religious fundamentalism on managing corporate social responsibility (Scherer, Rasche, Palazzo, & Spicer, 2016). Or else we see interest in the obverse phenomenon, when organisational and management theory is applied to religious organisations, e.g., exploring institutional identity in religious communities (Giorgi & Palmisano, 2017), or examining organisational micro-level processes when introducing people to an institutional innovation in the context of religious conversion (Tracey, 2016).

Despite the relative scarcity of extant analysis investigating the influence of religion on organisational behaviour, there is some interesting research nevertheless being done, both in management as well as in adjunct areas such as social and personnel psychology. A sterling example of this is a study that explores the question of how belief in an interventionist deity could help people in their pursuit of goals, a topic quite pertinent to organisational management. The researchers found that under conditions of low self-efficacy, participants who were religious, who were given material to read about a controlling God, or whose strong beliefs in a controlling God were made salient, reported higher goal commitment than others. The researchers theorize that this God-based belief in turn strengthens people's beliefs in the world's contingencies (Khenfer, Roux, Tafani, & Laurin, 2017).

2.4 Mining the beliefs of specific religions in organisational management research

We turn next to investigating what effects particular religions have on certain facets of organisational behaviour, with a quick perusal of the literature actually turning up quite a few studies examining this general research area. A salient example of a facet of organisational behaviour that has been examined in the light of religious beliefs' effects is that of stakeholder theory. A study comparing all three Abrahamic religions in this context found four common touch points among them. The first characteristic emphasises the common concept of community as located at the centre of all human activity, including that of business. The second attribute is a feeling of scepticism about economic power and the associated worry about the potential for its misuse. The third trait is the calling into question of contemporary society's view of individual liberty as the highest normative good. And the fourth is the re-affirmation of the dignity of the individual and also of the obligation of reciprocity between the individual and all sections of society (Ray, Berman, Johnson-Cramer, & Van Buren, 2014). Another study performed a comparative analysis between Buddhism, Christianity, Judaism and Islam (Phan, Miller, Lapin, Zakaullah, &

Erismán, 2015), in which several precepts of the various religions were juxtaposed and commonalities and distinctions sought.

Another example of the effect of religion on certain facets of organisational behaviour is that of extrinsic and intrinsic work values. A recent paper with an interreligious focus examines the influence of Christianity, Buddhism, Judaism, and Islam on extrinsic and intrinsic work values. Extrinsic work values refer to the external outcomes of doing the job, including such things as job security and success, and preference for less demanding work. This contrasts with intrinsic work values that refer to the outcomes that transcend the job itself, such as contributing socially, having a meaningful job, and being able to grow and take initiative at work. The authors found that all religions in the study, except Christianity, show a positive relationship with extrinsic work values, while all four religions show a positive relationship with intrinsic work values (Parboteeah, Paik, & Cullen, 2009). This was hypothesized to be the result of the fact that most Christians live in affluent post-industrial societies, where discipline and hard work are discounted while quality of life and self-actualization are prized.

As the forces of both globalisation and localisation become ever more pervasive and intertwine more closely, regional customs and religions are being more closely scrutinized in order to look for guidance on how to best manage local workers (Logsdon & Wood, 2007)

2.4.1 Hinduism

The beliefs of Hinduism and the ways in which they influence behaviour at work are varied. Some, such as the respect for all religions as facets of the One Truth, may allow for a willingness to embrace new practices that lead to the present position of India as one of the world's great emerging economic powers. Others, such as the premium placed on truthfulness and honesty, are consonant with the values prized by organisations, thus potentially leading to a congruence with modern business culture for those espousing Hinduism. The *caste* and *ashrama* system too may

jibe with traditional organisational behaviour, with its emphasis on hierarchy and specific obligations for specific life stages. The more esoteric beliefs such as a belief in *karma* and *dharma* could also potentially lead to a positive outcome, acting as moral constraints in organisational behaviour as well as giving impetus to proactivity in order to positively influence one's fate. Other characteristics that Hinduism shares in common with other religions, such as reverence for revealed scripture or belief in divine beings, could act as a bridge to adherents of other religions who also hold such beliefs. However, the practical reality of the *caste* system's social inequality may well overshadow all the benefit derived from the positive aspects of Hinduism.

Recent research has shown this newly awakened interest in the possible ways in which Hinduism and its tenets could be used in contemporary management, particularly in the context of dealing with workers from the large Indian diaspora throughout the world, as well as with international companies and managers located in the Indian subcontinent. The business studies handbook, *Managerial Strategies and Solutions for Business Success in Asia*, contains a chapter exploring *Vedanta*, a philosophy that emphasises developing emotional awareness, selflessness and clarity in thinking (Kanji, 2010). *Vedanta* asserts that spiritual development is just as necessary as physical and intellectual development are, in order for a person to fully reach their potential in all aspects of life, a need which proponents of Hinduism say is ideally filled by their religion (Muniapan, 2017). This new, holistic 'Indian way of management' that acknowledges the importance of spirituality and religion is lent credence to by several recent articles that acknowledge the limited success of 'Puritan-inspired capitalism'. This point of view imputes multiple faults to our current model of capitalism, among them the single-minded fixation on short-term profits and enhancing shareholders' wealth, the failure to integrate 'plurality, inclusivity, and ethical conduct', and the simplistic and standardised processes and solutions that lead to inability to deal with ambiguity. The solution then, according to these researchers, is a closer look at what Hinduism in particular has to offer on the subject. Instead of the traditional exploitative profit-orientation of 'Puritan capitalism', Hinduism's concepts of *karma* and *samsara* posit that every action ultimately has a

direct and indirect effect on a person, and entrains consequences that sooner or later take effect (Köllen, 2016). The antidote that Hinduism purportedly contains lies in its opposition to the linearity, inflexibility and simple profit-orientation of the present system, as the Indian system functions more in the way of a 'process of selection from amongst the myriad choices along multiple levels... mostly devoid of any absolutes or singularity in process' (Sur, 2017). Interestingly enough, the intellectual ground for the advent of this system might already be prepared, as other works posit that Indian philosophy and religion have had a significant impact on Western economic and management thinking. This point is perhaps best exemplified by the writings of the economist Ernst Friedrich Schumacher, whose work is held to have been strongly influenced by Gandhian points of view (De Vylder & Opdebeeck, 2016). Among the many ideas propounded by Schumacher that were directly influenced by Gandhi's thought was the urgent necessity for a non-violent (Ishii, 2003) intermediate economic system and theory that took stock of what worked best in a particular country instead of wholesale adoption and importation of the systems and practices of advanced economies (Weber, 2011). All in all, the present state of research on the intersection between Hinduism and management seems to be growing and active, examining both future possibilities as well as past interactions.

2.4.2 Daoism

How can the principles of Daoism apply to organisational behaviour? The main concepts that appear most useful are those of Naturalness, Flexibility and Reversion. Instead of conforming to a one-size-fits-all model of working behaviour, the principle of Naturalness suggests that a person should find the one area for which they have the most aptitude. The idea of Flexibility also seems to be consonant with the needs and demands of the modern working life: being open to new possibilities instead of being so fixated on one single thing that a person fails to spot an opportunity. The idea of Reversion looks at first glance to be rather counter-intuitive, as it appears

to teach that for leaders the most effective method is to gain followers' support in a non-coercive, non-demanding way. In fact, however, this seems to suggest that the leader, rather than engaging in threatening power displays to overawe and intimidate followers, should instead win them over through simply carrying on, and through the natural force of following what is right and universal. This viewpoint is backed up by some scholars who posit that the perception of *wuwei* as a call to a passive, worldly indifference could be misinterpreted, and may in fact be a positive action (Nelson, 2009).

Organisational management scholars have evinced an interest in Daoism that is increasing. The remarkable economic growth and development of the East Asian economies has precipitated a re-examination of this belief system in hopes of explaining this success in terms of management and organisational research. This scrutiny is particularly apposite, as most of the crop of current theories seem to embed viewpoints incorporating a solely Western slant and its resultant evidence and values, a complaint already voiced by proponents of *Vedanta*. In their turn, researchers examining the role of Daoism in East and Southeast Asia posit that it may be necessary to build a new syncretistic theory built up from local cultural elements (read East Asian) and combined with facets of the previous model, or even to replace and supersede the current, Western-centric theories (Li, Sekiguchi, & Zhou, 2016a). Articles focussed on the special qualities of the East Asian system acknowledge the fact that Chinese organisational culture shows remarkable longevity and foresight. Research in this area has shown that the qualities of leadership espoused in these organisations seem to have passed down remarkably intact from even the earliest periods for which we have written records, into contemporary Chinese management culture, with Western organisations in China even adapting these qualities and incorporating them (Jansson & Drew, 2016).

Additionally, the Asian region is growing increasingly dominant in the world's economic sphere, with some pundits predicting the relative imminence of China's surpassing of the US as the world's largest economy (Clark, 2019; Kennedy, 2018; Martin, 2019). In order to capitalise on this,

Western companies and academic institutes are searching through East Asian religious, cultural, and philosophical practices to an ever-greater degree, to glean any insights into this new world. New approaches are also being promulgated that involve a blending of cultural systems, such as the grandiosely-named Global Oriental Management, blending hitherto little-examined belief systems such as Daoism and Confucianism with the latest advances in Western management science (Coll, 2016), in order to achieve a sort of management Esperanto. Others focus on particular aspects of these systems, such as the concepts of *yin-yang* and the Five Elements, or particular practices such as Tai Chi (Autru, 2017; Swain & Lightfoot, 2016).

Research on Daoism has revealed principles that can be readily applied to today's business environment. As previously mentioned, Daoism's two central principles, Flexibility and Reversion, are based on the idea of existence being in a state of constant flux (Cheung & Chan, 2005). Likewise, a business culture based on a Daoist philosophical foundation would most probably keep the Daoist virtue of Flexibility as a foundational characteristic, producing a possible tendency to be ready to meet constant change. The Daoist view on change is that it is not to be avoided nor is it to be feared, as it creates change that brings opportunities in its train, in a never-ending cycle: maintaining a stable order is inimical Daoist principles (Hennig, 2016).

Daoism's central text, the *Daodejing*, even contains admonitions which appear to be seamlessly applicable to risk and crisis management, as well as to corporate social responsibility in the contemporary environment (Zu, 2016). Other tenets seem to dovetail easily with the logic of open innovation, using an emphasis on the Daoist concept of emulating water: thus to 'vacate oneself and fill the space with others to create paradoxes, thereby filling oneself with a more creative method' (Yun, Park, Yang, & Jung, 2016). Daoism also proclaims the absolute necessity of following the ways of Nature, placing great emphasis on the concept of *yin-yang*: the inherent sexism in the Daoist dichotomy between *yin* associating feminine qualities with softness, flexibility and creativity, and *yang*'s masculinity comprised of hardness, masculinity, logic and science (Coll, 2016) is a bit of a problematic stance in contemporary Western society. While Western thinking

represents this duality as an opposition, Daoist adherents view this as complementary manifestations of the same phenomenon in a dynamic relationship (Coll, 2016). This very property of a unified dualism is touted by Daoism's adherents as being the ideal thought system to for paradox management (Li, 2016a).

Daoism's emphasis on nature includes the precepts of the Five Elements, also known as the five energetic phases or dynamic processes, Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal and Water (Coll, 2016). As I have mentioned previously, the concept of being like water or the sea particularly appeals to those who would use Daoism's precepts in management, particularly in light of Laozi/Lao Tzu's proclamation that 'the highest virtue is like that of water. Water benefits everything in the world without contending' (Xing, 2016). An additional view of the virtue which Daoists ascribe to water is illustrated by the story of Haier, a Chinese multinational comprising one of the world's largest home appliances companies (Vasishtha & Arora, 2015). Haier's avowedly Daoistic spirit is exemplified by its CEO, Zhang Ruimin, who more than twenty years ago wrote a philosophical treatise that is still quoted today as it sketched out the vision of what Haier has become (Li, Zhou, & Zhou, 2016b). Entitled 'Haier is the Sea', the treatise makes extensive use of Daoist imagery and envisages a 'sea culture'. This was taken to mean, among other things, that a sea of entrepreneurs would achieve the goal of 'management without leadership, and organisation without borders' (Chen, 2016), thus leading to an almost spontaneous and quasi-organic development that would be unstoppable.

Additional research dealing with the intersection of Daoism with management is focused on *taijiquan*, a concept appearing in both Daoism and Confucianism, with several studies suggesting that its use in global project teams reduces stress, improves decision-making, and helps practitioners develop more cohesive strategies and improve soft skills (Swain & Lightfoot, 2016). A final area of research that is becoming of increasing importance in light of the rapid development of the Chinese economy and the equally rapid deterioration of its natural environment: the rich philosophical tradition of conservation and sustainability articulated in both Daoism and Confucianism (Guo, Krempl, & Marinova, 2017).

2.4.3 Confucianism

Confucianism is a system that equates human virtue with correct human behaviour, positing it as the one necessary condition and prerequisite to a socially harmonious and well-functioning hierarchical state and society. This contrasts strongly with Daoism's focus on nature, flexibility and reversion. Confucianism furthermore encourages benevolence and hierarchy, but does not engage with the abstract, as does Daoism, focusing instead on creating a practical, rational, and humanistic guide in order to bring about this society. This brings it into a complementary, symbiotic, and synergistically enhancing relationship with Daoism (Coll, 2016).

How could the characteristics of Confucianism affect organisational life? The strong sense of hierarchy found in the Confucian imperative for order might favour a steeply hierarchical system with strong leaders who set policy and command, while those of lower rank only follow (Rarick, 2007). The Chinese sense of law and ethics was historically different from the Western sense in two main ways: firstly, ancient China had only criminal law and imperial decrees but lacked a civil code, and secondly, the debate between Confucianists advocating for 'rule by man' and legalists promoting 'rule by law' was won by the 'rule by man' party (Wang, 2010), although recent scholarship has suggested that the term 'rule of man' in Confucianism might more accurately be seen as 'rule of a moral man' or even 'rule of morality' (Yang & Rutgers, 2016). This meant that an emphasis on an immutable law obligatory to all was rejected in favour of an emphasis on being ruled by a 'righteous man'. The resultant system presupposed that the decision makers would be intelligent, capable, and honest and that the decisions reached would therefore be the best ones. This presumption also grew to include the idea that these decisions would be final, unchangeable, and unquestionable (Jacobs et al., 1995). The historical Chinese sense of egalitarianism actually served to reinforce the strong sense of hierarchy, bringing inertia through attenuating motivation and creating a culture of shared instead of individual responsibility (Ho, 1995). This trend was also reinforced by the characteristics of gavelkind inheritance and clannishness. The promotion of

agriculture and discouragement of trade can also be seen as weakening a basis for initiative (Suen, Cheung, & Mondejar, 2007), as agriculture is necessarily conservative in its practices, while trade involves risk-taking and innovation. Finally, a code prescribing a pre-defined response to a particular situation also tends to reinforce an unchanging system.

In the personal realm, Confucianism envisages the creation of the *chun-tzu* or the virtuous man of noble character, one who engages in self-cultivation and self-realization. However, in Confucian thought this self is a rather subdued one, 'conditioned to respond to perceptions, not of its own needs and aspirations, but of social requirements and obligations (Ho, 1995).' Studies have amassed empirical evidence that shows that the practices enjoined by Confucianism led to a dysfunctional society. Among other things, the relationship of the Chinese father to his child is by often characterized by 'sectional distance, even tension and antagonism... and that filial piety led to the development... of [an] authoritarian moralism (Ho, 1995).'

The state of current research on Confucianism and management still often sees a large overlap with research on Daoism, as the idea of *yin-yang* is the basis of every single Chinese traditional philosophy (Li, 2016a). However, present investigation focuses on examining the various styles of management that are purportedly indigenous to Asia (Li et al., 2016a), in particular picking through and differentiating out the varieties of Chinese management (Li, 2016b), or examining the unique characteristics of the traditional Chinese leadership style (Jansson & Drew, 2016). This has led to the development of indigenous all-encompassing leadership system such as the Global Oriental Management, claimed as having been 'built from ancient Asian thinking systems... and rooted in Daoism, Zen Buddhism and Confucianism' (Coll, 2016). A stated aim of this process is to create a new paradigm for China to develop a sustainable approach to development, combining economic prosperity, social justice, and environmental protection (Guo et al., 2017), drawn from indigenous Chinese belief systems.

On the other hand, some research has questioned whether 'Confucian management' can still rightfully be viewed as the main cultural influence in China (Warner, 2016). Other research queries the contention that Confucianism is inimically against modernism in the management area (Allen, 2017; Nielsen, 2016), or suggests that viewing it solely in terms of capital stimulus is intellectually impoverished (Zurndorfer, 2004). Yet other recent studies have postulated that Confucian culture may actually be more dynamic than previously thought and may serve as a stimulant to entrepreneurship thus helping to explain the strong development of the information and communication technology sector in Taiwan and the PRC.

Increased investigation is also occurring in areas of organisational theory involving social responsibility. We see an example of this in a recent study that showed that among Chinese workers, observing the tenets of Confucianism 'significantly and positively affect sustainable marketing but [does] not affect customer equity drivers directly' (Sun, Garrett, & Kim, 2016). The same study found that a belief in a Confucian form of benevolence encourages the practice of sustainability, but also concomitantly brings about an increasing distrust of authority, thus explaining the negative and seemingly counterintuitive effect of Confucian beliefs on equity.

In the field of diversity, research suggests that Confucianism is significantly and negatively associated with board gender diversity, with significant knock-on effects seen in the areas of business ethics and corporate governance (Du, 2014). This is postulated to directly result from the Confucian view of the lesser status of women and the concomitant emphasis on wifely virtue, as well as from Confucianism tenets strongly enjoining tradition and conservatism on its adherents. However, this finding is called into question by other analyses that, though acknowledging the darker side of Confucianism, still argue for it as a solution to the contemporary ethical problems seen in China, though only if applied in the correct context (Liu & Stening, 2015).

Another area of management research in which Confucianism may play a key role is that of spiritual leadership and organisational behaviour. Study results suggest that spiritual leadership,

defined as a holistic approach to leadership, is effective in helping one to sort through complexity of organisational communications, as this type of leadership facilitates increased ‘communication, understanding, and collaboration of employees beyond formal roles and responsibilities’ (Benefiel et al., 2014; Hunsaker, 2016). When spiritual leadership is present, organisational citizenship behaviour, characterised by helping behaviour, sportsmanship, organisational loyalty, individual initiative, civic virtue, and self-development (Organ, Podsakoff, & MacKenzie, 2006) increases and can very well lead to the creation of a learning organisation (Sung & Joo, 2011).

These various socio-political and –economic changes have certainly catalysed a significant cultural change particularly among the young in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, (Lin & Ho, 2009), but have done so, not through the adoption of foreign mores, but in the context of traditional Chinese culture, a system that still significantly resonates with the majority of people in the various Chinese societies.

2.4.4 Buddhism

Buddhism, often classified as a Dharmic religion, nevertheless also possesses characteristics of the Daoic group, and is one of the three central schools of thought in Chinese culture (Sun et al., 2016). In fact, many ideas that are thought to come from Confucianism may actually have their origins in Buddhism (Liu & Stening, 2015). Buddhism is often one of the founding philosophies that is chosen in the establishment of Eastern-oriented management models constructed by Western scholars (Coll, 2016).

Traditionally, Buddhism has been seen in the Western tradition as a hindrance to development, a trend begun by Weber, who proclaimed that Buddhism suffered from an excess of otherworldliness, a condition supposedly stifling to capitalism, which purportedly flourished in cultures that ‘emphasise asceticism without an accompanying otherworldliness’ (Allen, 2017). Some contemporary research on management still espouses a traditional view of Buddhism as

encouraging its adherents to keep silent and withdrawn, viewing adherents of Buddhism, such as the Chinese, on the whole as ‘calm, silent, united and obedient people who have strong and close knit families and help each other to overcome difficulties’ (Li & Moreira, 2009).

The prevailing consensus however considers this view as outdated. Instead, Buddhism is seen as overwhelmingly consonant with contemporary management needs, in particular Buddhism’s ethics and mindfulness, composing a moral, ethical, value-based, scientific, and educational system of belief, with compassion lauded as the highest good. Buddhism is also viewed as offering an alternative way of leadership, in stark contrast to the current corrupt environment which spawned the disasters of Enron, WorldCom, Tyco, HealthSouth, Freddie Mac, American Insurance Group and Lehman Brothers (Marques, 2017). Buddhism is imputed with placing an emphasis on the individual, as opposed to on the group, espousing accountability, and proclaiming that humans control their own actions and are thus responsible for their own destiny. Not divine intervention, but cosmic retribution or *karma*, is the main moral guardian of accountability (Perry & Ahmad, 2016). This leads to an emphasis on responsible individual conduct.

A recent study on the impact of Buddhist ethics on the performance of employees through individual behaviour and ethical leadership in a Vietnamese enterprise sheds light on the organisational effect of this belief system. The study found that when individual adherents practised the core Buddhist values of honesty, fairness and equality, humanity, and cooperation, a positive impact appeared on individual behaviour and ethical leadership, with most of these values having a significant impact, which in turn led to better employee performance (Luong & Nguyen, 2017). Studies show too that Buddhism’s influence has not been limited to the level of the individual but also impacts the group as well. One study examining corporate social responsibility focussed on a single case of a small family company in Thailand and found that the Buddhist belief in *karma* was influential in shaping the owner’s business philosophy. This directly led to his participating in several external and internal stakeholder initiatives for corporate social

responsibility, and also contributed to improving his company reputation, lowering employee turnover, and reducing competitive intensity (Chou, Chang, & Han, 2016).

Buddhism's impact on corporate social responsibility is seen as being mostly affected by the concepts of *mindfulness* and *inter-being*. Inter-being is the view that all issues and entities are ultimately linked together, with humans sharing a collective, unavoidable responsibility for the state of the planet and for each other (Oppenheim, 2017). Mindfulness, along with other Buddhist qualities such as non-attachment, consciousness and mindfulness, have been reported to lead to creating meaningfulness at work and happiness in organisations (Vu, Wolfgramm, Spiller, & Kriger, 2016).

Sustainability is also another area germane to intersection of Buddhism and management. One recent study, however, performed with managers who were involved with sustainability initiatives in Sri Lankan organisations, sounds a note of caution, as it found that although Buddhism has potential to inform sustainability, the actual enactment of one's beliefs may be a bit more difficult. One reason for this is that individual moral positions are not directly transmuted into a group context, even if one is a Buddhist living in an environment surrounded predominantly by one's co-religionists (Abeydeera, Kearins, & Tregidga, 2016). Thus, not only sustainability but also all other areas may be vulnerable if one cannot transmit the pertinent individual belief to the wider group.

2.4.5 Judaism

How do the tenets of Judaism influence the way its adherents view and interact with the world? Unlike Christianity and Islam, Judaism has a relatively small amount of adherents: the figures for the 2010 Pew Research Survey of World Religions show that while Christians numbered around 2,173,180,000 or 31.5% of the total number of adherents, and Muslims 1,598,510,000, or 23.2%, Jews only had 0.2% or 13,850,000 adherents (Hackett & Grim, 2012). However, despite being in the

minority, Jewish economic prosperity has been attested to, both by adherents to Judaism as well as by Gentiles (Smith, 2008).

The conundrum of success has long been wondered at and studied, with several factors being proposed to account for it. The first and perhaps most telling factor is that of education. This emphasis on learning starts with the ancient Hebraic requirement for the observant Jewish male to be literate in order to be able to read the *Torah* and teach it to his sons (Becker & Woessmann, 2009). This ability to read the holy books, as in the case of Protestantism, has been postulated to have led directly to an increased ability to acquire new skills entraining better job performance, giving the literate a comparative advantage, especially in urban, skilled occupations during the historical period when most people were illiterate (Botticini & Eckstein, 2005). This advantageous trait became amplified when Jews entered the labour market as merchants, 'invest[ing] even more in education—a precondition for the mailing network and common court system that endowed them with trading skills demanded all over the world' (Botticini & Eckstein, 2007). Thus, higher education led to greater success, which in turn provided the resources to invest in further education, resulting in a virtuous circle. This unique set of beliefs and characteristics have set adherents of Judaism apart since Antiquity, and Judaism's identity remained distinct even during the period of initial Christian and later Muslim ascendancy in the Near East, when so many of Judaism's precepts were adopted by and adapted to the other two Abrahamic religions (Robinson, 2016). The continued adherence by its believers during this period enabled them to act as intermediaries between Muslims and Christians. Furthermore, the literacy enjoined on them allowed Jews to change occupations to fill a comparatively better economic niche, and establish strong robust long-distance networks while constructing a strong tradition of entrepreneurship (Botticini & Eckstein, 2005, 2007).

Surprisingly, the intersection of Judaism and organisational management seems to be rather sparsely populated, even when one extends the search to the past decade, with most results not focussed on Judaism alone but actually bundled with one or two other religious

traditions. Thus, an article on contemporary management models ostensibly exploring how to create a holistic and inclusive moral vision from the perspective of both Buddhism and Judaism, turned out to have models which were similar to each other. Buddhism's concepts of engaged mindfulness and inter-being seem to correspond nicely with Judaism's values of *tikkun olam* and *tsedakah*. The first value, *tikkun olam*, means 'to repair the world' and proclaims Judaism's collective moral duty to improve the lot of humanity, while *tsedakah*, meaning 'justice and charity', is considered to be a moral obligation, not just a simple act of voluntary charity (Oppenheim, 2017), with most Conservative, Reform and Reconstructionist Jews acknowledging these obligations. An example of this is an article probing business ethics practices in Israel in the view of Jewish ethical traditions admonishing Israel to be a 'light unto the nations' and an ethical role model, and examining whether Israeli practices fulfil this directive, with the author concluding, however, that although the injunction is present, it serves more as a goal to strive towards rather than a rule that is presently lived by (Schwartz, 2011, 2013).

Another topic that researchers concern themselves with when examining Judaism and organisational behaviour is that of work ethic. As an illustration, a recent study examining the beliefs of Jews and Muslims in and outside of Israel regarding job entitlement, work obligation, and the centrality of work in one's life found that for Jews, the obligation to work and the feeling of entitlement to a job were highest among religious respondents and lowest among the secular, while the findings were reversed for work centrality. Among Muslims, the results were smoothed out because of a greater societal homogeneity, with work ethic norms unaffected by degree of religiosity or any other demographic variables for that matter (Sharabi, 2017). Interestingly, one finds the greatest similarity in the study among Muslims of all designations (religious, traditionalist, and secular) and secular Jews, with both groups contrasting more strongly with traditional and religious Jews than with each other.

An inquiry exclusively looking at Judaism's impact on management is rare, but one such is a study that trawls through Jewish religio-cultural tradition in search of practical wisdom to use in the

workplace, both as a guide for action and a method of teaching. The result points to a dichotomy when attempts are made to bring Judaism and management together, with the authors stating that Jewish wisdom ‘belongs to the field of ethics and is therefore a system that strives for the Good, while management has to do with Truth and is first of all an object of study’; apparently the Good is viewed as not necessarily in a harmonious with the Truth. The authors resolve this impasse by recalling that in ancient rabbinic tradition, it is permissible to make use of ‘intellectual gymnastics... and a rigor that together provide excellent methods to teach intellectual accuracy to trainee managers’. Furthermore, Judaism, ‘as a value system similar to Christianity, Islam or Buddhism... [even] if it cannot solve technical problems... is apt to pass moral judgments on behaviours recommended by the practice of management’, for example, how Judaism, as a moral system, might have been able to contribute to preventing the stock market crash in 2009, or Judaism’s tenets could condemn some types of work relations as simple exploitation (Kletz, Almog-Bareket, Habisch, Lenssen, & Adai, 2012).

2.4.6 Islam

The practical effects of Islamic beliefs might play out in practice in different ways. The belief in God, the holy books, the prophets, and the Day of Judgement should conceivably have had the same moral effect as the congruent Christian beliefs on society’s development. Indeed we see many of the same strictures in Islam as in Christianity: an injunction to refrain from engaging in fraud, deceit and usury, as well as encouragement towards generosity and justice (Tlaiss, 2014). However, some prohibitions are unique to Islam although shared in common with Judaism, such as the stricture forbidding dealing in items which are *haram*, i.e., forbidden, for example alcohol and pork, or the uniquely Islamic injunction against hoarding and building monopolies (Siddiqi, 2012). The vast majority of Islamic law and mores are to be found in two main sources: the Qur’an which Muslims view as the revelatory word of God, ‘dictated by the angel Gabriel to the prophet

Muhammad... recorded word-for-word in Arabic and today found in the Arabic text of the Qur'an in precisely the manner God intended' (Rippin, 2014), and the *Sunna*, a work containing Muhammad's legal pronouncements about what is required or prohibited for Muslims, but additionally denoting their behaviour in everyday situations, in order to serve as a guide for the observant, with the proviso that the strictures are not black and white requirements or prohibitions but rather couched as recommendations (Brown, 2017).

A phenomenon, which has recently been gaining in prominence and acceptance, arises from Islamism and concerns itself with the use of Islamic law and practices (in particular the injunction against hoarding and monopoly) in the areas of banking and finance, a practice that does not seem to have a corresponding equivalent in any of the other Abrahamic religions. This phenomenon appears to emphasise social justice, and finds its roots in two places: the historical desire of pious investors in Egypt to realise returns that did not contradict the *sharia*, and the efforts by Malaysian investors to raise *sharia*-compliant moneys to fund their expenditures during their pilgrimage or *hajj* to Mecca (Hussain, Shahmoradi, & Turk, 2015). The three basic principles of Islamic finance are the Principle of Equity, the Principle of Participation and the Principle of Ownership. The Principle of Equity prohibits predetermined payments in order to protect the weaker party, and it is the basis of imposing the 2.5 percent levy on cash or in-kind wealth, *zakat*, which is obligatory on all Muslims who meet specific minimum levels of income and wealth and is paid to assist the less fortunate and to foster social solidarity. The Principle of Participation is also known as interest-free financing, and it states that investment return must be earned as a result of risk-taking and not merely as a function of the passage of time. The third principle, that of Ownership, can be summed up with the phrases 'do not sell what you do not own' and 'you cannot be dispossessed of a property except on the basis of right', mandating that an asset actually should be owned before it can be involved in any transaction (Hussain et al., 2015).

In examining Islam and its impact on management, however, we find the same sort of paucity as we did with Judaism. Again, as with Judaism, we see that most of the research corpus

consists of Islam being combined with other religious traditions in examining certain fields of interest. One of the few articles solely examining Islam's impact on the field, deals with corporate social responsibility. It is important to note that according to some scholars, from the perspective of practicing Muslims, there should be no distinction between the secular and religious. This is in stark contrast to what is seen in conventional management: for a devout Muslim, everything should be an act of worship, *ibadah*, to serve the purpose of existence (Perry & Ahmad, 2016). Consequently, a person who considers themselves to be a Muslim should operate a business ethically, responsibly, and sustainably. They should hold social welfare and public interest as their highest good, in order to gain favour in the eyes of the Supreme Being and obtain his blessings or *rida'* (Rafiki & Wahab, 2014), and not in order to benefit of the inheritors of the business.

This concern with public interest and social welfare along with the corresponding lack of deep concern for passing on a legacy means that Islam bases its view of business and profit on an equitable, risk-sharing, and stake-taking economic system rather than on a debt-based one. Scholars point out that though it seems quite a foreign system to Western eyes, Islamic ethics is not inimical to business, but offers a differentiated and sophisticated outlook that views business, entrepreneurialism and profit as acceptable provided that the wealth not be hoarded but kept circulating, and that wealth accumulation be tempered with fairness and compassion (Ray et al., 2014). Islamic ethics also extends to the environment: research on the Qur'an with a view to environmental responsibility has brought to the fore many verses that support an environmentalist attitude based on the belief that humans are Allah's regents on Earth (Helfaya, Kotb, & Hanafi, 2016). A recent article on Islamic ethics examines the impact that they have on Arab women entrepreneurs, who were initially guided by Islamic principles but were subsequently able to steer their lives away from a conservative, traditional and doctrinaire interpretation of their faith (Tlaiss, 2014). Islamic ethics, although currently based almost exclusively on the Qur'an and the *Sunna*, have a rich though often under-utilized or undiscovered intellectual patrimony, and make use of differentiated codes according to the different Islamic sects, such as the distinctive Sufi perception

and understanding of reality (Sidani & Al Ariss, 2014). Another study examined the impact of the Islamic work ethic on organisational citizenship and knowledge-sharing behaviours, concluding that subjects who possessed a higher amount of Islamic work ethic evince more citizenship behaviours as well as knowledge-sharing behaviours than those with low amount of Islamic-motivated work ethic (Murtaza et al., 2014).

Interestingly, in the area of human resource management, a study has claimed that management in Arab countries is actually heavily influenced by non-indigenous and non-Islamic principles rather by those found in the Qur'an. The authors claim that it is this ideological dissonance, rather than Islam, that is the principal reason for the backward state of Arab and Islamic countries in the realm of economic development and human resource management, urging as solution for MNCs working in an Islamic context, the construction of a blended model of management incorporating both Western and Islamic elements, with a 'reverse diffusion of management knowledge and skills by managers [in order to implement] effective management of human resources in host countries with a subsequent global implementation by the company'. (Branine, Budhwar, & Pollard, 2010). The authors posit that this would then result in the further advantage of pushing forward morally- and spiritually-based decisions, replacing those made from a purely materialistic motivation.

Another article on human resource management underlines the importance of religious identity in one other area: that of Islamic banking. The conditions under which Islamic banks hire managers from the world of conventional banking are salient, as jettisoning ideological uniformity could improve a firm's ability to compete but at the cost of its identity and legitimacy among customers. The results revealed that banks that emphasized ideological purity were less prone to hire from the outside, even under conditions of underperformance. On the other hand, banks that entered a liberal market, with a low amount of polarization between secular and religious elements, were more prone to hire from the other side of the theological divide (Boone & Özcan, 2016).

2.4.7 Christianity

In examining our final religion, Christianity, we see that the research offerings are a little more generous, with most articles, even religiously comparative ones, narrowing their focus onto more specific topics. One such article examines refining normative stakeholder theory, according to insights based on the perspective of the Abrahamic religions, with the section on Christianity examining how its adherents deal with wealth, both according to Scripture and apart from it, acknowledging that while the early Christian church combined a communitarianism with a wariness of lucre, by the mediæval period, Aquinian approval of wealth and business as good for church and society led to the modern wholehearted embrace of capitalism, although always accompanied by charity and a stand for social and economic justice (Ray et al., 2014). This end result is seen, for instance, in a study about corporate social responsibility (CSR) and Dutch executives, finding that attitudes towards corporate social responsibility mediate the influence of religiosity on CSR, and that intrinsic religiosity has a negative effect on diversity and a direct positive influence on charity (Mazereeuw-van der Duijn Schouten, Graafland, & Kaptein, 2013).

The general topic of faith at work is a fruitful one in contemporary research. Spirituality in the workplace is often lumped in with the workplace expression of religious faith. This has the effect of shifting the focus on the function of the belief itself and not on the substance (Lynn et al., 2009), consequently rendering various issues invisible, such as workplace pluralism, individual or institutional faith-work integration, or the institutional roles of religion in economic activities. The researchers developed a Faith at Work scale and conducted a survey of Christian workers in the United States, with the finding those who integrated their faith at the workplace often displayed greater faith maturity, higher church attendance, greater age, and denominational strictness. However, this tendency decreased and became negatively associated with increasing organisational size, but was highly influenced by spiritual discipline and workplace mentors (Lynn, Naughton, & VanderVeen, 2011). Further research on the topic was conducted, during which

employees in the USA and South Korea who identified as Christian were questioned as to how they managed and presented their social identities to others. The main factors to identity management were how central the respondent's religion was to them, the risk of disclosure, the pressure to assimilate to organisational norms, and whether they identified as Korean or American. The risk of disclosure and the pressure to assimilate led to a strategy in which respondents distanced themselves from or affirmed their religious identity to a lesser degree when religion was not central to their identity, with national identity having a strong influence. Distancing strategies were related to negative outcomes no matter how central religion was to identity, but affirming strategies only related to positive outcomes when religious centrality was low (Lyons, Wessel, Ghumman, Ryan, & Kim, 2014).

Another topic of high concern in the intersection of Christianity and organisation management is that of business ethics. Research seems to indicate our current *Weltanschauung* is shaped by a combination of modernist thought, promoting science, empiricism, and reason, with post-modernism, which proclaims the lack of an objective basis for the nature of reality, knowledge and morality, seeing these as self-defined, subjective and self-referential. One could reasonably conclude then that our current worldview is inimically opposed to Christianity, a system based on belief or rather faith in a non-empirically proven deity, which is the adherents' basis for reality, knowledge, and morality. The various business disciplines, such as management, were created in the modern era, in the modern mould, and heavily influenced by sociology and psychology, themselves the product of the Enlightenment focus on the human individual (Kim, Fisher, & McCalman, 2009). As the Enlightenment was often defined by an active hostility to religion and to the idea of a supra-human authority, religion was (and often still is) viewed as, at worst, antagonistic to the practice and study of the business discipline, and at best as an irrelevance. A prime example of this prejudice can be found in a study examining the preferences for the business strategies, Machiavellianism, Social Darwinism, and Moral Objectivism, among French and

Romanian students, with results not surprisingly showing that religious practice did not influence which strategy was preferred (Bageac, Furrer, & Reynaud, 2010).

Entrepreneurship is a further topic at the confluence of Christianity and business management. A relatively recent article has suggested that a Christian environment plays an important role for entrepreneurship, but only in countries which invest in and produce considerable stocks of innovative knowledge (Parboteeah et al., 2014). This point of view builds on an earlier study that examined the ascent to success of a group of Chinese Christian entrepreneurs in the reform period after Mao's death as they actively sought to renegotiate their relationship with the state, concluding that capitalist development at the regional level was enabled by the post-Mao reforms, resulting in depoliticization and promotion of local practices of the Christian faith, leading ultimately to success (Cao, 2007).

A final area of interest examines how various strains of Christianity affect business practice. A recent report examined how the unique beliefs of Catholics and Protestants have influenced the differing strategies pursued by their respective non-profit hospitals. This study showed that the tendency is for Catholic non-profits to diversify horizontally and maximise the number of patients treated, while Protestant hospitals specialise horizontally and differentiate themselves vertically, focusing on greater input sophistication and producing more complex services (Filistrucchi & Prufer, 2014). A related article seeks to offer a partial explication of the difference through examining the characteristics of Catholic social teaching, which sets the religious system both against socialism as well as against many manifestations of capitalism (Booth, 2009).

Protestantism is often credited with providing the philosophical underpinning of the modern capitalist system and is strongly associated with the values composing the very fabric of Western culture and civilization. It has been suggested that the individuals who generated the schism that split the Protestants from the Catholic Church originally had only wanted to reform the church and its beliefs, returning them to the mythologised simplicity of the apostolic era. This is

reflected in one of the eponymous labels given to this movement, that of the Reformation (Reinhard, 1989). That these reformers took the foundational principles quite seriously is especially observed in the example of perhaps the most emblematic figure of the Protestant Reformation, Martin Luther. Espousing the principle of *sola scriptura* (Anderson, 2005) and believing that the Bible is the infallible word of God and thus the final authority for Christians, Luther espoused the then-radical idea that everyone should be able to read the Bible for themselves in their own language instead of relying on what the religious authorities told them (Gawthrop & Strauss, 1984). As literacy among the non-elite population during the 15th and 16th centuries was far short of universal, Luther came to believe that setting up a system of schooling was urgently necessary, which would then create the universal literacy necessary for everyone to be able to read the word of God and follow it (Gawthrop & Strauss, 1984). Perhaps more significantly, at least for the development of secular society, this increased literacy would be useful in the economic realm, increasing businesses' prosperity through building up their workers' productivity (Becker & Woessmann, 2009). The emphasis on the priesthood of all believers may have led directly to the assumption that the daily work of a believer was a calling at the same level spiritually as the work done by priests (Miller & Ewest, 2013). This is especially clear in the German word for one's occupation or profession, *Beruf*, linguistically derived from the verb *berufen*, to be called or summoned. The doctrine of Knowing that One is Saved, more often described as predestination, is seen by some scholars as having directly led to commercial success, as success indicates God's pleasure with his saved ones and a functions as a foretaste of eternal rewards (Weber & Parsons, 1930).

Two other characteristics have traditionally been viewed as marking Protestantism's relations with the world of business: worldly asceticism and a spirit of enterprise or stewardship. Worldly asceticism is a virtue most characteristic of the Calvinist branch of Protestantism, and focusses on the life here and now, a characteristic perceived to have developed as an apparent reaction against medieval Catholic monasticism's perceived fixation on the afterlife (Weber &

Parsons, 1930). As commonly seen, Protestantism emphasises the belief that ‘hard work, sober and modest lifestyles and reinvestment of profits into business led to material success’ (Bowyer, 2013; Miller & Ewest, 2013). The spirit of enterprise or stewardship appears to be derived from several Biblical admonitions and parables instructing the Christian in how to deal with money matters. As an example, we can read in Matthew 25:14-30 and 16:1-9 the Parable of the Talents (talents as a monetary unit in this case and not a personal trait), in which a rich master embarking on a voyage entrusts his house-bound servants with varying sums of money, discovering on his return that two servants have increased the amount given to them, while the third has only kept the money safe without realising any profit on it. The two entrepreneurial servants are then entrusted with greater responsibilities and sums of money, while the third servant is upbraided and cast out. The biblical foundation of Protestant financial success is thus made plain, lending strong impetus towards interpreting hard work and profit-making as being Biblically approved. However, some research seems to point out that the heady mix of capitalism and Protestantism may actually produce a system that leads to suboptimal results (Goldman & Van der Linde, 2008), with business management in thrall to the ideology of protestant success, instead of being open to new systems and theories that may lead to better practice. These researchers thus advocate a rejection of Protestant economic rigorism, of endless striving after profit as these tend to cast economics into an intellectual straitjacket and lessen the options for a holistic and optimal system (Bachmann, 2017) that would benefit human beings rather than the system.

The position of the Catholic Church is hardly more advantageous, however. Historically viewing itself as the ultimate arbiter and repository of truth, the church’s stance might have led to a delayed advent of the universal literacy that characterized the Reformation. The belief that the authority of the church rests in the hierarchy and not the believers, along with the emphasis on the mediating power of the clergy through the agency of the saints and the Virgin Mary are in stark opposition to the Protestant idea of a priesthood of believers. Another contrast centres on salvation, with Catholic belief making salvation dependent on faith, works and sacraments, while

Protestantism countered with the doctrine of surety of salvation or predestination, the status of being chosen for salvation by God. Ostensibly, the doctrine of predestination helped its believers view earthly success as a sign of God's pleasure, encouraging them to work harder. However, this latest factor is probably not sufficient reason to invoke the differential success between Protestants and Catholics that Max Weber postulates: would not the Catholic belief that salvation was dependent on works also serve as an encouragement to performance? Perhaps a more important factor could be the lack of comparative literacy that Catholics suffered in the early modern era.

The view of truth espoused by the Eastern Orthodox Church closely reflects that of the Catholic communion, seeing truth as vested in the Bible, but equally in the wisdom of the Church Fathers and church tradition, and might similarly, as in the case of the Catholic Church, have led to a delayed advent of universal literacy. However, some of the peculiarities of Orthodox practice seem to indicate an underlying pragmatism that could offset the previous tendency. One sees this in the bifurcated clergy, where married priests and their wives fulfil the same function for their parishioners that Protestant pastors and their wives do, while bishops are unmarried, ostensibly leaving them free of familial constraints that would hinder them in better serving the organisation.

2.5 Conclusion

Weber's contention that the Protestant ethic enjoys a close connection to economic success continues to exert influence on economic and organisational thought. Part of this success can in all probability be credited to the comparative advantage derived from Protestants' early and universal literacy, vis-à-vis other faith traditions. Increasingly, however, research conducted on these other confessions and systems of belief has shown that they too, under the appropriate conditions, can engender financial and organisational success. In fact, other metaphysical systems could even be postulated to be closely connected to prosperity and accomplishment, particularly in

light of the rapid ascent and successful integration of Jews into the American middle and upper classes, and the rise of the states historically influenced by Confucian and Buddhist thought and belief. It is also plain to see that each of the various religions covered in this chapter possesses characteristics that could potentially make it amenable to economic success and individual organisational advancement, that there are several commonalities shared by most if not all religions that quite probably bring economic and organisational achievement in their wake. The question remains, however, whether the practice of religion itself and the feeling of religiosity that it kindles, as opposed to any particular religious tenet, can function as a means of motivating the individual worker in an organisational setting. It is to the finding of the answer to this query that we turn next.

CHAPTER 3 - RELIGIOUS MOTIVATION - A NOVEL SOURCE OF INCENTIVE AT WORK?

CONCEPTUALISATION AND PERFORMANCE ASSESSMENT

Abstract

Drawing on theories of prosocial and family motivation, I examined religious motivation, which I define as the impulse to work to the best of one's ability in order to honour or bring happiness to God. I conducted a study to examine if religious motivation influences working behaviour, and if so through what means. In order to examine the concept, I designed a two-phase study. Phase 1 made use of a survey to develop a new instrument to measure religious motivation. Phase 2 evaluated religious motivation's effect on work performance in the context of people engaged in gainful employment on the crowdsourcing platform Prolific Academic. This was done through a two-part survey measuring how central religion was to the respondent's life, whether respondents viewed what they did on Prolific as work, and whether they were motivated by religious reasons. Phase 1 showed that religious motivation was distinct from other types of motivation, while Phase 2 results showed that objective performance was marginally significantly affected by religious motivation, when a three-way interaction occurred between religious motivation, Prolific as work, and centrality of religion.

I conclude that religious motivation is a novel and distinct construct, and that it significantly relates to a worker's objective performance, especially when they hold religion to be central to their identity and view their job as real work. This offers significant implications for motivation research, recognising and incorporating the impact that religion has on workers' performance.

3.1 Religion in the workplace: a rise in interest

Religious belief often plays a central role in the identity of a believer with its salience extending throughout all areas of life, personal as well as professional, allowing individuals to

transcend the problems of everyday life and access the divine. The potential role that religious belief can play in organisations is viewed as a compelling subject that should interest both academics and practitioners of management (Dent et al., 2005) albeit perhaps still in a relatively inchoate form lacking in scientific rigor and theoretical robustness. This point is illustrated by articles bemoaning the comparative dearth of research on religion in the workplace, with management research only slightly and superficially exploring how religion exerts its influence in the workplace (King, 2008). Religious belief itself serves as a motivation, pushing or inveigling people into actions that they might not otherwise have taken. Alternatively, religion might perhaps serve to act synergistically with other motivations. Religious motivation could then be seen to spring from, while not being synonymous with, religious belief or more generally religiosity. Thus, religious belief is simply just a particular state of internalised values or creed that centres around believing in a deity with whom one can interact and maintain a (personal) relationship (Kirkpatrick, 1997), lacking the incentive component that is incorporated in the idea of motivation.

3.2 Religiosity and motivation

Although researchers have for some time been aware that religiosity has potential to influence working behaviour (Dent et al., 2005), significant lacunae remain in what we know. To date, a systematic examination of the effects of this phenomenon on working behaviour is lacking, such that there is not even an instrument to measure religious motivation for working behaviour. Before we begin, however, we must find out what exactly religious motivation is.

In the social and organisational academic literature on behaviour, self-interest has been long been viewed as the principal reason behind people's actions (Miller, 1999). More recent research has recognised, however, that a person's actions can stem from a focus on and desire to benefit others (Grant, 2007; Meglino & Korsgaard, 2004). This phenomenon of a focus on others, prosocial motivation (Grant, 2008), has an especial salience when a person strongly identifies with

a particular group, thus designating them as a beneficiary of her actions (Terry, Hogg, & White, 1999), with family motivation (Menges et al., 2017) an especially relatable form of this.

I propose that religious motivation is another type of motivation, distinct from all other incentives to act. It shares similarities with prosocial and family motivation in its focus on acting to benefit another, in this case God, and gains its salience from the strong sense of group identity, i.e., the person's particular religious group or denomination. Thus, religious motivation is the impulse to work well in order to honour or bring happiness to the deity in whom that worker believes. The uniqueness of this motivation lies both in the centring of the action on the relationship that the worker has with their deity, a construct not perceived by ordinary senses, as well as on the recipient of the action. Though religious motivation has elements of prosocial motivation, i.e., a focus on benefiting others, yet it also incorporates a self-interested component, promising an end-reward to the believer, most often of an eschatological nature, such as eternal life and/or a final cessation of suffering. Furthermore, religious motivation also differs from intrinsic motivation, which arises from the interest inherent in the job itself, as well as from extrinsic motivation, which arises from the perquisites and external salaries consequent to the job.

3.3 Religious motivation: reasons to believe

For the individual invested in and animated by religion, i.e., belonging to a religious organisation and experiencing religiosity, religious motivation functions as an additional source of motivation, and it does so through several variables. First of all, religion and religious belief meet many of the psychological needs, such as reduction of uncertainty and behavioural guidance (Park, Edmondson, & Hale-Smith, 2013), and provide answers to our deepest ontological questions about death and justice (Nichols, 2004). This thus can potentially act as a mental stabiliser and a provider of meaning and structure to one's quotidian routine, of which work is just one part. The two-fold nature of organisational membership and religiosity is important, as religiosity by itself may

encourage a tendency to withdrawal from social participation, but when combined with belonging to a religious organisation provides the incentive to engage in action (Omelicheva & Ahmed, 2017).

Secondly, research has shown that people are willing to invest more time, emotional and financial resources in individuals to whom they are related (Antfolk, Karlsson, Soderlund, & Szala, 2017), particularly in life-or-death situations (Burnstein, Crandall, & Kitayama, 1994). Thus, employees who experience a motivation to work on behalf of their families do so because they enjoy a profound and sustaining relationship with them, leading to an increased willingness to engage in greater and more sustained effort on the job (Grant, 2007; Menges et al., 2017). Religion has been posited as performing a 'pseudokinship' function, an evolutionary artefact that convinces the brain that those who believe in the same way as an individual must be regarded as tantamount to being kin (MacIntyre, 2004). Studies have shown that emotional closeness or intimacy is a key factor in altruism (Korchmaros & Kenny, 2001), and while genetic relatedness or kinship does not necessarily immediately translate into emotional intimacy or closeness, yet perhaps the majority of people aspire to be intimate with their closest kin, such as parents and children (LaFollette, 2017). Thus, someone for whom religion is a central part of their identity might possibly benefit from the same impulse that would motivate them to work for their family's benefit, only in this case directed towards people forming part of their pseudokinship group and towards their deity.

Thirdly, the primary and paramount beneficiary of this motivation is a single entity, God. Research has shown that a person's emotional sensitivity to a phenomenon decreases with an increase in the magnitude and scale of the exposure (Slovic, 2007). Furthermore, when the beneficiary of one's action is entitative, comprising a single coherent unit, and possesses or is ascribed positive traits, they are viewed in a more favourable light, which then generates greater feelings of concern and emotional involvement with the beneficiary (Smith, Faro, & Burson, 2013b).

In all probability, therefore, religious motivation should provide a strong behavioural motivation in one's working behaviour, as religion speaks to the core of who a person is and can

provide the necessary existential structure and meaning that allow a person to successfully function. This phenomenon is strengthened by the nature of the beneficiary of the individual's efforts, an entitative deity and one's possible 'pseudokin'. Religious motivation differs from other kinds of motivation. It might have something in common with extrinsic motivation's focus on garnering rewards and avoiding remonstrance (Gagné & Deci, 2005), particularly with workers who are focused on the end-rewards, as well as in the range of autonomy it offers (Ryan & Deci, 2000a). It also shares touchpoints with family motivation, in that both focus on working to benefit or honour others while potentially serving as an important source of motivation when intrinsic enjoyment is lacking (Menges et al., 2017). This strong motivation, if indeed present, should then lead to increased scores across two of the three putative job performance components, task and citizenship, and diminished scores in the third component, counterproductive performance (Rotundo & Sackett, 2002).

3.4 Religious motivation: testing the waters

In proposing religious motivation as a novel motivation, we break new theoretical ground. In this case, religiousness is taken to include a personal sense of religiosity, evidenced by having a sense of being directed by the deity, as well as the incorporation of religion as central in one's life, evidenced by attendance at religious services or engaging in prayer. Religious motivation is the impetus to perform well arising from a need to validate one's religious beliefs or stemming from an impulse originating from one's religious beliefs. I hypothesize that this motivation is indeed new and unique, and that both religious and non-religious people will be able to conceptually grasp what it means. Because religion is such an integral part of a religious person's life and identity, it should also have an outsized effect on all fundamental aspects of that individual's life, of which work is one of the most paramount (Gini, 1998) through several means. A strong religious identity has a direct effect in that it functions to 'promote self-control in identity-relevant domains by

increasing the value of goal-relevant behavior[s] (i.e., actions, decisions, and choices) that, were they not seen as self-relevant, would be undervalued relative to alternative[s]... thus, identity can improve self-control in domains that part of one's self-concept' (Berkman, Livingston, & Kahn, 2017). Further evidence points out that religion has been consistently associated with high conscientiousness (Saroglou, 2002, 2010), and conscientiousness is linked with both objective and subjective success (Duckworth, Weir, Tsukayama, & Kwok, 2012), overall performance and attendance (Fallon, Avis, Kudisch, Gornet, & Frost, 2000), and with organisational citizenship (Hogan & Ones, 1997), meaning that the religiously-motivated person should achieve significant levels of objective performance. Therefore, religious motivation emerges as a function of one's religious identity promoting self-control in areas in which the identity is salient (such as in the workplace), as well as increased conscientiousness leading to higher performance.

- *Hypothesis 1.* Religious motivation is positively associated with job performance.

However, we should not expect that every person who claims to be religious possesses the same amount of religiosity, nor that religious motivation will affect all equally. In order to be significant, a trait must be central to a person's identity as it provides a matrix in which to perceive and organise one's own experience of life (Sedikides & Skowronski, 1993) to such an extent that it often influences the formation of how one perceives others in regards to that trait (Benedetti & Hill, 1960): in other words, it must be intrinsic to that person. Traits, goals, and aspirations can all be regarded as intrinsic. Intrinsic aspirations include such life goals normally associated with a strong religious identity such as affiliation and personal development (as opposed to extrinsic aspirations, normally castigated by religion, such as wealth, fame, or attractiveness), with numerous studies revealing 'that an emphasis on intrinsic goals, relative to extrinsic goals, is associated with greater health, well-being, and performance' (Deci & Ryan, 2008). This result goes hand in hand with the concept of self-concordance, defined as the 'extent to which people pursue their personal set of goals with feelings of intrinsic interest and identity congruence' with increasing

self-concordance corresponding with increasing goal attainment (Sheldon & Houser-Marko, 2001), and positive individual outcomes (Downes, Kristof-Brown, Judge, & Darnold, 2016).

Thus for religious motivation to play a significant role in a person's life, religion should be central or salient to that person's identity, (the trait known as centrality of religion), should hold a relatively high intensity across several core dimensions of a person's self (Cornwall, Albrecht, Cunningham, & Pitcher, 1986; Huber & Huber, 2012), and ideally inform the intrinsic goals of a person, as 'goals that are evaluated as consistent with one or more of the intrinsic needs foster well-being and are broadly more likely to endure and succeed than goals motivated by external reward' (Berkman et al., 2017).

- *Hypothesis II.* Religious motivation only plays a significant role in individuals for whom religion is central (centrality of religion).

Another important factor affecting work is the issue of the individual's identity. For most people in the Western world, work is often one of the most preponderant parts of that identity (Gini, 1998), an aphorism anecdotally proven when meeting someone new: inevitably, one of the first questions asked in getting to know that person is what kind of work they do. The sense of an individual's work identity is strongly linked to how they make sense of their work in terms of 'organizational commitment, loyalty, and the display of more cooperative and supportive behavior[s]' (Walsh & Gordon, 2008), and an individual's work identity deeply affects them in all ways, to the extent of strongly influencing their feelings, thoughts and actions (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Golden-Biddle & Rao, 1997; Walsh & Gordon, 2008). Work is so central to one's personal identity in the West that it is often conceived of in terms of moral duty, and lack of work is often taken to entail a fault in one's personal identity, as 'without a clear sense of personal identity, it is difficult to have the self-esteem we need to function well as independent people in interdependent society... [leaving] us vulnerable to psychological injury, at risk of anxiety and depression, and social disengagement... [unable] easily respond to love with love, to accept forgiveness, to start again after failure' (Fryers, 2006).

This identity is formed and reinforced at various levels in a person's job. First and foremost at the individual level, but is also influenced by interpersonal work relations, identification with the organisation one works for, and identification with one's particular occupation (Miscenko & Day, 2016). Social identity theory furthermore states that individuals engage in activities that are coherent with the identity that they have adopted and that this engagement in turn further reinforces this identity (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Furthermore, the manner in which an individual views their organisation affects the way the strength of their identity (Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994) leading to that individual experiencing positive outcomes such as greater commitment to the organisation and an increase in cooperative behaviour (Adler & Adler, 1988).

I thus propose that only individuals who display a loyalty to their workplace, however that particular workplace might be defined, will exhibit an increase in objective performance stemming from religious motivation. In my survey, the workplace is taken to be the Prolific Academic survey platform, and the taking of surveys as the job: thus, only those individuals who view the taking of surveys on Prolific as a real job instead of a pass-time will likely show the desired effect.

- *Hypothesis III.* For religious motivation to take effect on individuals working on the Prolific platform, they must view what they do as real work (Prolific as Work).

In sum, I propose that for Religious Motivation to push the individual into achieving high levels of objective performance, religion must be central to that individual's identity. Furthermore, the individual must view their job as real work. Thus, there must be an interaction of three proposed factors: Religious Motivation, Centrality of Religion, and Prolific as Work, before a significant effect in objective performance occurs. Interaction effects between various motivation variables exist, creating different outcomes from those seen when only single (or even double) factors in isolation are considered (Haar & Roche, 2013), and often play an important role in various facets of an individual's work and personal life (Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, & Crouter, 2000). I therefore propose a three-way interaction model to fully examine the effects on objective performance of an individual (Dawson & Richter, 2006), instead of examining the effects of single isolated factors.

In order to examine how these three factors can be positively associated with objective performance, I have designed a two-part study to explore this phenomenon of religious motivation. In Phase 1, I will introduce the concept of religious motivation and assess the distinctiveness of a new religious motivation instrument. In Phase 2, I will evaluate the convergent validity of the religious motivation scale by assessing its relationship with performance, and test a conceptual model, incorporating the factors of Centrality of Religion and Prolific as Work, in order to fully delineate any interaction effects as well.

3.5 Phase 1: Scale Development and Validation Study

3.5.1 Study Purpose

The purpose of this study was to establish the distinctiveness of religious motivation as another source of motivation in organisational workers.

3.5.2 Sample and Procedure

In this study, I recruited 200 English-speaking working adults through Prolific Academic. I chose Prolific because it specifically allows researchers to collect higher quality data than other alternatives such as Amazon's Mechanical Turk (Peer, Samat, Brandimarte, & Acquisti, 2015). This has to do with the fact that it offers hitherto untapped and more naïve populations than other more established services. This solves the potential problem of prior exposure to research, as well as that of long-established participant pools that could share information with each other. This is important as there is evidence that previous exposure of a participant to research materials might impact findings (Peer et al., 2015). The sample consisted of 103 women, 95 men with two people not indicating their gender. On average, respondents were 33.6 years old ($SD = 11.8$), worked 5.28 years ($SD = 6.6$) for their current job, and had an average organisational tenure of 5.33 years ($SD =$

6.53). There were 97 religious people, and 101 who classified themselves as non-religious, with two missing responses.

Participants accessed the platform website and, after agreeing to the informed consent, completed a survey regarding their motivation in doing their work. They first answered demographical questions, and subsequently answered questions regarding their motivation to work for their current job. All motivation measures were preceded by the question: 'Why do you...'

3.5.3 Measures

Demographics. This part of the questionnaire inquired about age, gender, years spent in their current job, years working for their current organisation, and whether they identified as religious or not.

Religious Motivation. In order to measure religious motivation, I drew upon family motivation theory. In line with this theory, religious motivation also concerns itself with working well in order to bring happiness to someone whom the worker cares deeply about, i.e., God. In an analogous way, religious motivation arises when the worker also performs his or her duties in order to serve their deity, whom they also regard with an emotion akin to love. I then adapted the validated intrinsic motivation measure developed by Hoge (1972) and the family motivation measure developed by Menges et al. (2017) to develop a [4-item religious motivation scale](#). The four items on the scale are: 'Because my religion motivates me to do my best at work,' 'Because doing a good job here is a way to practice my religion,' 'Because my religion is affirmed by my doing a good job,' and 'Because I believe that doing this job is in line with my religion.' The reliability was .98.

Intrinsic Motivation. I measured intrinsic motivation with a [5-item measure](#) derived and expanded from the scale developed by Ryan & Connell (1989) on a 7-point Likert scale, from 1 = completely disagree to 7 = completely agree. The items are 'Because I enjoy the work itself,' 'Because it's fun,' 'Because I find the work engaging,' 'Because I enjoy it,' and 'Because I find the work interesting.' Reliability was .94.

Extrinsic Motivation. For each of the three different types of extrinsic motivation (external, introjected and identified), I used a 4-item measure, also derived from the scale developed by Ryan & Connell (1989). In responding to the initial question, I again used a 7-point Likert scale from 1 = completely disagree to 7 = completely agree. The items for [extrinsic external](#) are: ‘Because I need to pay my bills,’ ‘Because I need to earn money,’ ‘Because I have to,’ and ‘Because I need the income.’ For [extrinsic introjected](#), the items are ‘Because I want to avoid feeling guilty,’ ‘Because I’ll feel bad about myself if I don’t,’ ‘Because I want to avoid looking bad,’ and ‘Because I’ll feel ashamed if I don’t.’ Finally, the items for [extrinsic identified](#) are ‘Because I think it’s important,’ ‘Because I don’t want to cause harm,’ ‘Because it’s satisfying,’ and ‘Because I want to do a good job.’ Reliability for Extrinsic External was .86, for Extrinsic Introjected was .92, and for Extrinsic Identified was .64, and overall reliability was .78.

Prosocial Motivation. As I did for the previous motivations, I also used a [4-item measure](#) in this case, derived from Grant (2008), with the same 7-point Likert scale as previously. The items are ‘Because I care about benefitting others through my work,’ ‘Because I want to help others through my work,’ ‘Because I want to have positive impact on others,’ and ‘Because it is important to me to do good for others through my work.’ Reliability was .95.

Family Motivation. I used a [5-item measure](#), derived from Menges et al. (2017), with the same previously-used Likert scale. The items are ‘Because I care about supporting my family,’ ‘Because I want to help my family,’ ‘Because I want to have a positive impact on my family,’ ‘Because it is important for me to do good for my family,’ and ‘Because my family benefits from my job.’ Reliability was .95.

3.5.4 Analytical Strategy

As the purpose of this study was to establish the distinctiveness of religious motivation as another source of motivation in organisational workers, I ran a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) using the *lavaan* package (Rosseel, 2012) in R software (R Development Team, 2017) to test the

proposed measurement model in four ways: by assessing its fit-indices, comparing nested models, examining shared variance, and assessing measurement invariance between religious and non-religious people. I tested in particular for invariance between the religious and the non-religious in order to ensure that the same psychological construct was being measured in the two groups, i.e., that both religious and non-religious individuals understood religious motivation in the same way.

3.5.5 Results

Confirmatory Factor Analysis. In order to test that there was indeed a relationship between the observed variables and the proposed latent constructs, i.e., whether religious motivation was actually a motivation and was distinct from the other types of motivation (i.e., intrinsic, extrinsic, prosocial, and family motivation), I conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). The fit indices that I looked at were the $\chi^2 + df$, χ^2/df , CFI, RMSEA, and SRMR. Concerning these indices, it is important to keep two things in mind: first that these indices are complementary to each other, and second, that in assessing the model, all indices should be taken into account.

Each of the fit indices measures and describes several different aspects of fitness. The χ^2 measures deviation from the null hypothesis. Therefore, if the χ^2 calculated is larger than the critical value, then the data does not fit the model, resulting in a rejection of the null hypothesis. Thus, when comparing variations of the same model, a rough rule of thumb is that the larger the χ^2 value, the less good the fit. It is also important to note that the χ^2 is influenced by data non-normality, and model complexity (Nye & Drasgow, 2010). The CFI or Confirmatory Fit Index compares the fit of one model to the data with the fit of another model to the same data, examining a relative goodness of fit, with a range between 0.0 to 1.0, with an ideal number being .95 or higher (Iacobucci, 2010; Schreiber, Nora, Stage, Barlow, & King, 2006). However, some researchers have found that even with a CFI \geq .90 (Dimitrov, 2006), the fit of the model under consideration can be regarded as good.

The RMSEA is the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation and deals as well with goodness of model fit. It is affected by small *df* and can be ‘potentially misleading unless the sample size is very large’ (Kenny, Kaniskan, & McCoach, 2014), and is also affected by model complexity (Cook, Kallen, & Amtmann, 2009). The RMSEA should ideally be < .06 (Schreiber et al., 2006), but again, research has found that even with an RMSEA below .08 (Dimitrov, 2006) the fit of the model can be considered good.

Finally, the SRMR or Standardized Root Mean Square Residual is a badness-of-fit index, where the higher the value, the worse the fit. Like the CFI, the SRMR ranges from 0.0 to 1.0, and the closer the value is to 0.0, the better the fit, with the ideal value number being $\leq .08$ (Nye & Drasgow, 2010). SRMR is improved when the model has high factor loadings (Iacobucci, 2010).

I initially ran the model with a second-order extrinsic motivation factor that consisted of the three components of extrinsic motivation: *External*, *Introjected*, and *Identified*. However, the output of this model was not reliable because the program was not able to compute standard errors. Therefore, I did not include this second-order factor in my model. Consequently, however, I went about determining how I should treat the three components of extrinsic motivation: as one *Extrinsic Motivation* construct, or as three distinct constructs. I tested the distinctiveness of the three components by comparing two measurement models: a seven-factor model where I treated the three components of extrinsic motivation as separate factors and a five-factor model where I combined them into one extrinsic motivation factor. The seven-factor model had a better fit ($\chi^2(df) = 858.11 (384)$, CFI = .916, RMSEA = .082, SRMR = .086) than the five-factor model ($\chi^2(df) = 1832.40 (395)$, CFI = .745, RMSEA = .140, SRMR = .178, $p < .001$). Therefore, I decided to treat the components of extrinsic motivation as three distinct first-order constructs. Furthermore, although this seven-factor model had a good fit, I decided to omit one item of extrinsic identified motivation because this item had a very poor factor loading of .07 (see [Table 1, Model 1a](#)). The final model with this item omitted (see [Model 1b, Table 1](#)) was used as the baseline model in further analysis. Results showed that my full model had an adequate fit ($\chi^2(df) = 751.87 (356)$, CFI = .929, RMSEA = .078,

SRMR = .068), with good factor loadings (see Tables 1 and 2). The factor loadings of religious motivation were very high. We can see that for the item ‘Because my religion motivates me to do my best at work’ the factor loading is .950, while for the item, ‘Because doing a good job here is a way to practice my religion’ it is .938. For the item, ‘Because my religion is affirmed by my doing a good job’ the factor loading is .946, while for the item, ‘Because I believe that doing this job is in line with my religion’ it is .956. This indicates that the items in fact function well at reflecting the latent construct.

Model Comparison. In order to see whether religious motivation was actually unique, I decided to create nested models by combining religious motivation with another motivational construct, and then compare these models to my 7-factor baseline model. Thus, if one of the nested models fit as well or better than the original 7-factor model, it would indicate that religious motivation was in fact similar to or the same as that other motivation that I nested it with. The results showed that the proposed seven-factor model ([Model 1](#); see Table 2) also had a significantly better fit than any of the six-factor models where religious motivation was combined with another type of motivation ([Models 2 – 7](#); see Table 2), as well as the one-factor model where all items are were combined into one factor ([Model 8](#)). Additionally, I tested a one-factor model in order to address the issue of common method variance, which is variance that arises from the measurement method rather than from the constructs that the measures represent. In order to prevent this, I performed Harman’s single-factor test, a technique in which all of the variables in the study are loaded into an exploratory or confirmatory factor analysis. The theory states that if a substantial amount of common method variance is present, it will be revealed through one of two occurrences: either (a) a single factor will emerge from the factor analysis, or (b) one general factor will account for the majority of the covariance among the measures (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). As the fit indices show in [Table 2](#), this was not the case and common method variance was negligible.

Average Variance Extracted vs. Shared Variance. As an additional evaluation, I proceeded to test convergent and discriminant validity by comparing the average variance extracted (AVE) and shared variance (SV) of the constructs. Average variance extracted represents how much of the latent construct is captured by the observed variables (i.e., the items). This is calculated by summing up each squared standardized factor loading and then divide this sum by the number of indicators. Shared variance (SV) is the amount of variance that one factor, such as prosocial motivation, explains in another one, such as intrinsic motivation: thus it shows how much of the variance of one variable explains that of another variable. It is the correlation between two constructs squared and is thus calculated by squaring the Pearson correlation between variables.

If the AVE is higher than .50, convergent validity is achieved (Fornell & Larcker, 1981). Furthermore, if the AVE is found to be higher than the shared variance (SV), this would then show discriminant validity (Farrell, 2010; Fornell & Larcker, 1981), which means that the variables are indeed distinct from each other. When we refer to [Table 4](#), we can see that this is clearly the case across all variables, with religious motivation having the highest AVE of all.

Again, looking at [Table 4](#), we see that for most variables, the SV is significantly lower than AVE, particularly so for religious motivation. We can thus conclude the items of religious motivation show convergent validity with each other and show discriminant validity in relation to the other motivations. An anomaly is present, however, in that unusually strong correlation of .74 between *intrinsic* and *extrinsic identified* motivation, represented graphically in [Figure 1](#) (See also [Table 3](#)). We can also see in [Table 4](#) that the AVE of *extrinsic identified* is the same as the SV between *intrinsic* and *extrinsic identified* (.55). This result might be due to the way in which *extrinsic identified* and *intrinsic* motivation are respectively viewed, with definitions that sound similar to each other. *Intrinsic* motivation has been defined by (Ryan & Deci, 2000a) as engaging in an activity for the inherent satisfaction derived from it, rather than for some separable consequence. *Extrinsic identified* motivation is defined as being a more autonomous and self-determined form (compared to *extrinsic external* and *extrinsic introjected*), with the person identifying themselves with this

behaviour, 'accept(ing) its [*extrinsic identified* motivation] regulation as his or her own' (Ryan & Deci, 2000a).²

Measurement Invariance. In order to clear up any doubts about the robustness of the measures and their distinctiveness, I engaged in an additional test: that of measurement invariance. Attaining measurement invariance suggests that group comparisons of factor variances and covariances are justified. To reiterate, this test checks that the psychological construct that is being measured is the same for the different subject groups; that is, that for both religious and non-religious individuals, religious motivation is understood in the same way. Thus, in order to check whether or not the measurement of the constructs is the same for both the religious and non-religious, it is necessary to run invariance checks, as interpreting the comparison between groups may be problematic (Vandenberg & Lance, 2016). In other words, it is necessary to establish whether or not factor loadings, intercepts and residual variances are actually equivalent in a factor model that measures a latent concept in order to ensure that when we make comparisons on the latent variable, they will be completely valid across all groups as well as time (van de Schoot, Lugtig, & Hox, 2012). Therefore, in accordance with the procedure outlined by Davidov, Schmidt, & Schwartz (2008) I followed a step-wise progressive procedure for assessing measurement invariance, from the least demanding category to the most. This condition must be established in order to ensure that the construct is stable across groups, which, if these conditions of invariance are met, allows us to truly compare the means (Bialosiewicz, Murphy, & Berry, 2013). The condition is fulfilled if three conditions are met: if the model fits the data well across all groups, if all item loadings are substantial and significant, and if the correlations between the factors are less than one (Davidov et al., 2008).

Configural invariance. The first step in checking measurement invariance is to establish the most basic or lowest level, which is configural invariance. If this condition is met, it means that the same

² The potential for confounding the two constructs and the higher autonomy of *extrinsic identified* motivation compared to the other *extrinsic* motivations was confirmed after I ran a CFA model combining *extrinsic identified* motivation and *intrinsic* motivation together, which resulted in a worse fit than the baseline 7-factor model, with a $\Delta\chi^2$ of 55.344, $p < .001$.

items measure each construct or latent variable in all the groups covered in the study, in this case in both religious and non-religious participants. Configural invariance means that the very same configuration of factor loadings (between the latent/unobserved variable and the items) must be present in each item of the measure (Ariely & Davidov, 2011). Thus, after having calculated the various levels of invariance, I evaluated them according to the recommendations of (van de Schoot et al., 2012). To reiterate, a CFI \geq .90 means that the fit of the model under consideration with the baseline model is considered adequate, and for the RMSEA, an ideal level would usually be below .08 (Dimitrov, 2006), although other authors find that even an RMSEA lower than .1 is acceptable (Browne & Cudeck, 2016; Weston & Gore, 2006). The results from [Table 5](#) show that the CFI is .90 and the RMSEA .09, thus establishing configural invariance and indicating that the configuration of the measurement model does not differ between religious and non-religious people.

Metric invariance. However, having configural invariance is not a guarantee that religious and non-religious people comprehend the items or concepts in the same way. In order to check whether they do or not, I performed the next step in testing invariance: examining metric invariance. Metric invariance is at a higher level and is an attempt at ensuring that the concept is understood by different people in different circumstances and at different points in time. It requires that the factor loadings themselves, and not just their configuration, be equal, and it is tested by restricting the factor loading on each item on the construct so that they are equal across the groups in the study. Metric invariance can then be shown to have been achieved if no significant improvements can be made to the model by removing any of the constraints (Ariely & Davidov, 2011). Specifically, this means that the configural model does not have a significantly better fit. Our results showed that there was no significant difference between the configural and measurement models (see [Table 5](#)), with the CFI at .90 and the RMSEA at .09. Thus, we can safely conclude that religious and non-religious people interpret the proposed measurement model – that includes religious motivation – in the same way.

Scalar invariance. The third highest level of invariance is scalar invariance. The two previous levels of invariance, configural and metric, only required information about the covariation of the items in different groups: however, it is also important to conduct mean comparisons across these groups. In order for these comparisons to be considered meaningful and valid, scalar invariance of the items is required (Steenkamp & Baumgartner, 1998). This level of invariance ensures that cross-group differences in the means of the observed items are due only to differences in the means of the underlying, corresponding construct (with the items being proxies for the constructs) and not to differences in factor loadings or indicator intercepts. Scalar equivalence is assessed by holding constant both the intercepts and factor loadings of the underlying indicators equal across the various groups (i.e., they are constrained), and is supported if the model explains and fits the data well and cannot be improved by removing any of the constraints used in this test (Ariely & Davidov, 2011). Once again, our results show that scalar invariance was achieved, with no significant difference between the measurement and scalar models, and with a CFI of .9 and an RMSEA of .09 (see [Table 5](#)). Therefore, with these results, we can then explicitly compare religious motivation between religious and non-religious people.

Strict invariance. The fourth, most stringent, and final level of invariance is strict invariance, calculated by fixing residual variances to be equal across groups. This means that, in addition to having equal factor loadings and intercepts, the explained or residual variance (the specific factor plus its error variable) for every item must be the same across groups, thus leading the latent construct to be measured identically across groups. Results show a notably worse fit when we constrain the residual variances between groups, with the CFI being .89 while the RMSEA remains at .09 (see [Table 5](#)), and with a significant difference between the scalar and strict models. However, it is important to note that this full measurement invariance is rarely achieved in practice nor is it considered necessary by several authors (Boeve-de Pauw, Jacobs, & Van Petegem, 2012; Dimitrov, 2006).

Thus, we can see that measurement invariance is present up to the scalar level. This indicates that both the religious and non-religious respondents interpret our full measurement model, including our construct of religious motivation, in the same way, thus allowing us to make meaningful comparisons between the two groups. Religious motivation is thus invariant between both religious and non-religious participants and understood as the same concept by both sets. This serves to show that not only can we use the measure to make comparisons between groups, but we can also see that it is a stable, robust and valid measure. In light of our findings showing religious people as being more likely to be religiously motivated than non-religious people (as one would indeed expect), the fact that we reached scalar invariance underlines the validity and meaningfulness of our results.

3.5.6 Conclusion of Phase 1

In summary, Phase 1 consisted of four steps. To begin with, I ran a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) in order to examine whether religious motivation was distinct from the other types of motivation (i.e., intrinsic, extrinsic, prosocial, and family motivation). The results of the CFA showed that my full model had an adequate fit, with good factor loadings.

The second step was model comparison, which checked whether religious motivation was actually unique. I accomplished this by creating nested models and then comparing them with the results, showing that the proposed seven-factor model had a significantly better fit than any of the other models, meaning that religious motivation was unique.

The third step was an additional test where I proceeded to test convergent and discriminant validity by comparing the average variance extracted (AVE) and shared variance (SV) of the constructs. The results clearly show the case for both convergent and discriminant validity existing across all variables, with religious motivation having the highest AVE of all.

The last step consisted of running a final test, measurement invariance, in order to clear any doubt about the robustness of the measures and their distinctiveness. This test checked that the

psychological construct being measured is the same for the different subject groups; that is, for both religious and non-religious individuals, religious motivation should be understood in the exact same way. Results showed that our model reached scalar invariance, indicating that we are able to make valid and meaningful motivational comparisons between religious and non-religious people. Furthermore, the outcome showed that religious people were more likely to be religiously motivated than non-religious people were. There were no differences between religious and non-religious people when we look at the other types of motivation, thus showing the possibility that this very construct might possibly explain outcome differences between these two groups. We will be able to further examine the relevance of this difference in Phase 2.

3.6 Phase 2: Hypothesis Testing Study

In order to do this, I examined its influence in the context of ‘Prolific workers’, defined as people who engage in gainful employment on the crowdsourcing platform Prolific Academic. The study was divided into several components and consisted of four measures. More specifically, I utilised a two-part survey (consisting of a Centrality of Religion in Life component and a Work Experience Motivation component), and then subsequently three measures: a letter-detection task (which was used as a way to operationalize performance effort and accuracy), attention checks, and the performance data of the participants, which was retrieved from Prolific Academic. The first part of the survey made use of the Centrality of Religion in Life measure originally developed by Huber & Huber (2012), while the survey’s second part used the fully-developed and validated scale from Phase 1.

3.6.1 Study Purpose

The purpose of this study was to test the full hypothesized model with the use of a different sample of participants on Prolific Academic from those used in Phase 1.

3.6.2 Sample and Procedure

In Phase 2, I tested the validity of religious motivation by looking at its effect on work performance. To accomplish this, I started by initially recruiting 267 participants who were English-speaking working-age adults on Prolific. Our sample consisted of 181 women and 86 men who were required to be UK residents, with one respondent currently residing in Austria being subsequently excluded and four other respondents for incomplete or anomalous information. On average, respondents were 37.80 years old ($SD = 12$), with 98% having English as their first language and 50% in full-time work. There were 195 religious people (of whom 183 were Christians, 11 Muslim, and 1 Jewish), and 67 who classified themselves as non-religious.

On choosing the survey, participants were informed that they would answer questions and perform a small task, with an estimated completion time of 11 minutes and a remuneration of £1. After accessing the survey, participants had to read through various statements which ensured that they understood the conditions of the survey that they were participating in, that they were in full agreement with these conditions, and that they gave their full consent to participating in the study.

3.6.3 Measures

Centrality of Religion. After giving their informed consent, participants completed the five-item Centrality of Religion in Life Survey (see [Table 6](#)) originally developed by Huber & Huber (2012). This survey examines the frequency with which the respondent engages in a certain religiously-connected action, e.g. ‘How often do you think about religious issues?’. The answer scale goes from 1 = “Never” to 7 = “Several times a day”.

Motivation. Next, I used the same measures as I had already used in Phase 1 to evaluate work motivation. However, in contrast to Study 1, the statements were adjusted to the context of working on Prolific. Thus, they probed participants' motivation for completing studies on Prolific. Each statement started with 'I complete studies on Prolific because...', but otherwise they remained unchanged. All answer choices ranged from 1 = "Completely disagree" to 7 = "Completely agree".

Performance. Participants then proceeded to work on a performance task, which was based on a letter detection task used in prior research (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Muraven, & Tice, 1998; Job, Dweck, & Walton, 2010). Specifically, participants had to click on each letter 'e' on a page of typed text in a task lasting 2 minutes. The number of 'e's' that were clicked served as my behavioural performance measure, as it indicates how much effort the participant puts into the task.

Demographics. After completing the performance task, participants were directed to the demographics section. This part of the study inquired about the participants' age, gender, whether they identified themselves as religious or not and if so what religious affiliation they had, and the ethnicity they most associated themselves with.

Work perception. The survey also asked whether or not participants considered doing studies on Prolific as a form of work (Prolific as Work): thus, with either 'yes' or 'no' as an answer, this is a dichotomous condition. With the completion of this section, the respondents were thanked and then compensated for completing the study.

3.6.4 Analytical strategy

In line with Burke, Snir, Berge Matthiesen, and Pallesen (2006), I ran a step-wise hierarchical regression analysis to test my proposed three-way interaction model (see [Table 8](#)). Control variables (age and gender) were entered in Model 1 (Step 1). The direct main effects of Religious Motivation, Prolific as Work, and Centrality of Religion were entered in Model 2 (Step 2) as the predictor variables. To test for moderation, in Model 3 (Step 3) I held the two-way interactions

between the three predictor variables in three two-way interactions, Religious Motivation and Prolific as Work with each other, Religious Motivation and Centrality of Religion with each other, and Prolific as Work and Centrality of Religion with each other. In Model 4 (Step 4), I added the three-way interaction between Religious Motivation, Prolific as Work and Centrality of Religion. Subsequently, in Model 5 (Step 5), I included the six other types of motivation that we had previously examined in order to assess the robustness of our findings. In Model 6 (Step 6), I tested only the three predictor variables Religious Motivation, Prolific as Work and Centrality of Religion, both as main effects and in interaction with each other.

The dependent measure, the objective performance of the individual on the letter detection task, was highly positively skewed. This was to be expected as the measure consists of count data. Therefore, I opted to test the model with a negative binomial regression with robust standard errors, and not traditional OLS regression. As explained by the previous research of Karazsia & van Dulmen (2008), successfully analysing count outcomes often entails meeting a particular set of conditions (Atkins & Gallop, 2007) not met by OLS regression. As skewed distributions 'violate fundamental assumptions of OLS regression, most notably normality of residuals' (Karazsia & van Dulmen, 2008: p.2), sample statistics diverge from the correct population parameters (Hammer & Landau, 1981), and entrain inaccurate standard errors and produce a greater amount of both Type I and Type II error rates (Gardner, Mulvey, & Shaw, 1995). To explore the relation between centrality of Religious Motivation, Prolific Work, and Centrality of Religion, I opted to use negative binomial regression rather than Poisson regression because each outcome represented a count of the number of motivators experienced, and because analysis revealed that the distribution of count outcomes was over-dispersed (Cameron & Trivedi, 1999; Long, 1997; Wooldridge, 2002).

3.6.5 Results

Means, standard deviations (SDs), reliabilities (Cronbach's alpha) and zero-order correlations of all study variables are shown in [Table 7](#). I conducted a step-wise hierarchical regression analysis to test all study hypotheses variables (see [Table 8](#)) and then each significant three-way interaction was subsequently graphed by inserting the high (1 SD above the mean) and low (1 SD below the mean) values for the three variables into the regression equation. The simple slopes for the three-way interactions are reported in [Graph 1](#).

I found that the three-way interaction between Religious Motivation, Prolific as Work, and Centrality of Religion was significantly related to performance (H1; $b = 4.32$, $SE = .02$, $p = .05$; [Table 8](#)), so I subsequently investigated the nature of this three-way interaction ([Graphs 1 and 2](#)). I decided to examine Model 6, as it takes into account all the variables in my study.

Results show that when Centrality of Religion is high (i.e., a value of 6) average marginal effects (AME³) demonstrate that Religious Motivation has a significant effect on performance when Prolific is seen as work, ($AME = 3.14$, $SE = 1.59$, $p = .05$), but not when it is not seen as work, ($AME = -3.57$, $SE = 2.64$, $p = .18$). The difference between these two AME's was significant, ($\Delta AME = 6.70$, $SE = 3.06$, $p = .03$). We can see a visual confirmation of this in [Graph 2](#). This shows that our first hypothesis, i.e., *religious motivation is positively associated with job performance (Centrality of Religion)*, is supported.

In contrast, Religious Motivation did not have a significant effect on performance at low levels of Centrality of Religion, (i.e., a centrality value of 2), supporting our second hypothesis, i.e., *religious motivation only plays a significant role in individuals for whom religion is central*. In this case, marginal effects analysis show that Religious Motivation is not related to performance regardless of whether Prolific was seen as work, ($AME = -2.08$, $SE = 2.30$, $p = .37$), or not ($AME = -0.34$, $SE = 2.20$,

³ Also commonly referred to as dy/dx .

$p = .88$). The difference between these two AME's was not significant, ($\Delta\text{AME} = 1.74$, $SE = 2.92$, $p = .55$), again visually confirmed by [Graph 2](#).

3.6.6 Conclusion of Phase 2

In sum, our findings show that religious motivation has a positive effect on performance, but only when Prolific is seen as work and when religion is central to the subject's life. When Prolific is seen as work, the effects of Religious Motivation on Objective Performance increase as religion becomes more central. Then and only then do the results reach significance, and then only at a very high level of centrality, i.e., point 6 on our Centrality of Religion scale and above, which accounts for 3.6% ($N=9.4$) of the sample population. Thus, our third hypothesis, i.e., *for religious motivation to take effect on individuals working on the Prolific platform, they have to view what they do as real work*, is supported.

[Graph 1](#) shows a more differentiated picture of these effects. When examining people for whom Centrality of Religion is low and Prolific is not seen as work (i.e., the blue line), we see that this line is flat, indicating that for this group Religious Motivation has no effect.

For subjects for whom Centrality of Religion is high but Prolific is not seen as work (i.e., the green line), and subjects for whom Centrality of Religion is low but Prolific is seen as work (i.e., the red line) religious motivation seems to have a negative effect. That is, performance starts out at a relatively high level at the outset but decreases quite quickly as Religious Motivation increases.

It is only when the Centrality of Religion is high and Prolific is seen as work (i.e., the orange line) that we get a significant upward slope with increasing Religious Motivation. In this condition, at low levels of Religious Motivation, performance starts out at the lowest level of all but increases steeply, reaching the highest predicted performance levels when Religious Motivation is high. One must bear in mind, however, that this very high level of Centrality of Religion (6) was only experienced by about 3.6% ($N=9$) of the subjects. As previously mentioned, at low levels of Religious Motivation, this group performs the worst (i.e., the orange line has the lowest intercept

of all four groups). However, this is to be expected for the reason that since the motivation to perform for religious reasons is very low at that point, workers in this group may not want to invest as many resources in the task as the other groups do.

3.7 Overall Discussion

The main reason for undertaking this research was to examine whether or not religious motivation actually was another type of motivation that could help explain the working behaviour of a person with religious beliefs. Having defined religious motivation as the impulse to work to the best of one's ability in order to honour or bring happiness to someone whom the worker cares deeply about, i.e., the deity, I sought to define it and set it apart from all the other motivations extant in management theory. I thus focussed on the fact that religious motivation is distinct from all other motivations by virtue of centring its action on the relationship that the worker has with their deity, as opposed to being centred on any other person, or on an intrinsic or extrinsic reward. I also explained that religious motivation was not the effect of religion itself on performance, but instead was the explanation of the effect of one's relationship with the Deity on performance.

In order to examine the concept more closely, I designed a two-phase study. Phase 1 concerned the introduction of the concept of religious motivation, the assessment of a new religious motivation instrument, and the development of my model with the assessment of its distinctiveness with a four-step process (CFA, nested model comparison, AVE, and SV comparison, and finally invariance checks). In Phase 2, I evaluated the convergent validity of the religious motivation scale by assessing its relationship with performance, and tested a full-hypothesized model, incorporating the factors of Centrality of Religion and Prolific as Work, in order to fully delineate any interaction effects as well.

The results for the first two steps of Phase 1 showed that my model of religious motivation was distinct from the other types of motivation (i.e., *intrinsic*, *extrinsic*, *prosocial*, and *family*

motivation) and that it was unique and not similar to or the same as that any other motivation with which I nested it. The third step showed that the model possessed a clear construct validity across all variables, with religious motivation having the highest AVE.

The third step, however, produced an interesting anomalous finding of the unusually strong correlation of .74 between *intrinsic* and *extrinsic identified* motivation, and the fact that the AVE of *extrinsic identified* was the same as the SV between *intrinsic* and *extrinsic identified* (.55). It in fact may have showed that the constructs of other motivations might actually be less clear. As posited previously, this may be due to an epistemological issue: the definitions of *extrinsic identified* and *intrinsic* motivation sound similar to each other.

The final step, measurement invariance, examined whether religious motivation was understood in exactly the same way by both religious and non-religious people, and it showed that valid and meaningful motivational comparisons could be made between religious and non-religious people, and that religious people are also more likely to be religiously motivated than the non-religious people. Furthermore, the results showed no differences between religious and non-religious people when other types of motivation were examined, creating the very real possibility that religious motivation might actually explain the differential outcome between these two groups. This then marks my first major contribution to the state of the research: the introduction of the concept of Religious Motivation as a distinct source of motivation and the creation of an instrument to measure its effect on objective performance.

Therefore, for Phase 2, I needed to test the full hypothesized model by looking at religious motivation's effect on work performance in the context of people who engage in gainful employment on the crowdsourcing platform Prolific Academic. I therefore created a two-part survey with the first part making use of the Centrality of Religion in Life measure originally developed by (Huber & Huber, 2012), with the second part making use of the fully-developed and validated scale from Phase 1 and also determining whether respondents viewed what they did on

Prolific as work. Thus, I operationalized two concepts (Prolific as Work and Centrality of Religion) that I found impacted on but remained apart from the motivational component of the model: how central one's religion was to their life, and whether or not people who took surveys for pay on Prolific actually considered what they were doing as their job.

Thus, after conducting a step-wise hierarchical regression, I found the second major contribution of my study: objective performance is indeed significantly affected by Religious Motivation, but only when a key three-way interaction occurs between Religious Motivation, Prolific as Work, and Centrality of Religion.

It is important to note Religious Motivation alone does not positively affect objective performance to a significant degree. Thus, Religious Motivation does not have a significant effect on performance at low levels of Centrality of Religion, i.e., a value of 2, regardless of whether Prolific is seen as work. The reason for this seems relatively straightforward: if religion plays no central role in one's life, then religious motivation would logically have no effect on one's performance.

When Prolific is not seen as work, the effects of Religious Motivation on Objective Performance actually decrease as the Centrality of Religion increases, although this effect does not occur to any significant degree when Centrality of Religion is at high levels, i.e., at a value of 6 or greater. Furthermore, when Prolific is seen as work but the Centrality of Religion is low, Religious Motivation also seems to have a negative effect, with performance at a relatively high level when Religious Motivation is low, but then decreasing quite precipitously as Religious Motivation increases. The explanation for the first effect could be that for people whose religion is central to their identity, religious motivation may actually be a detractive factor for them when they perform tasks that they do not see as a job. A possible explanation for the second effect, i.e., decreasing performance with increasing Religious Motivation when Prolific is seen as work but Centrality of

Religion is low, lies in an increasing alienation that workers for whom religion is a casual matter feel when an overt Religious Motivation for task performance increasingly comes into play.

The perfect conditions for Religious Motivation to have a significant effect on Objective Performance occur when Prolific is seen as work and Centrality of Religion is at a high level in a worker's identity. The group with these characteristics actually presents a conundrum of sorts, as their performance starts out lower than all the others', but rapidly increases and progresses to outperforming all other groups when Religious Motivation as well as Centrality of Religion is high. A word of caution is in order, however, as this effect became significant only for the top 3.6% (N=9) of the sample population. What is the mechanism behind this effect? The first part of the effect, i.e., the lower start of this group compared to all others, can be readily explicated. The fact that people for whom religion is central have very poor objective performance at low levels of Religious Motivation shouldn't be surprising at an instinctive level: Religious Motivation would overwhelmingly seem to be the primary motivator of such people. This can be seen as analogous to the effect observed by Shin & Grant (2019) that employees with the highest maximum intrinsic motivation in one task showed lower average and minimum performance in subsequent, less interesting tasks: that is, at low levels of this particular motivator, people who are primarily motivated by this motivator perform poorly. Similarly, at low levels of Religious Motivation, workers in this group could logically be expected to receive little motivation if any from the other motivations. However, with increasing Religious Motivation, workers in this group naturally gain rapidly increasing objective results. The fact that this phenomenon only reaches a (marginally) significant threshold at the very highest levels of motivation may mean that it is actually this 3.6% (N=9) who experience the feeling of chosenness explored in Chapter 3.

A practical implication then of this contribution is that Religious Motivation cannot be employed exactly like other motivations examined. The three-way interaction between Religious Motivation, Centrality of Religion, and Prolific as Work means that a manager will not simply be able to increase an ordinary worker's objective performance by exposing them, à la Family Motivation,

to for instance, religious symbols or by granting that worker increased opportunities for living their faith. It would mean that the vast majority of workers, even when religious, would fail to be motivated by Religious Motivation. However, it would also mean that workers for whom religion is central in their lives and who work in a position that they consider a real job would not become distracted by an increase in Religious Motivation and produce at a substandard level: their objective performance would actually increase above all others.

3.8 Limitations and Future Research

Although I endeavoured to create a study with concepts, procedures and results that would hold true across different contexts, there are some limitations. The first deals with the generalizability of the results to different cultural, linguistic, and environmental contexts. Since I recruited participants whose native language was English and who were mainly based in the UK (a relatively open and secular society), it remains to be seen whether the model itself would hold up in different languages or in different cultures. Particularly in light of the anomalously strong correlation between intrinsic and extrinsic identified motivation that is perhaps based on a matter of definition, one wonders if there even exist adequate translations of these concepts in other languages. It might be entirely possible that key concepts might have varying definitions across different cultures as posited by Nifadkar, Tsui, and Ashforth (2012), or even that a concept might be more prevalent in one culture than in the next. As an example of this, written about by Adams and Plaut (2003), found that that in the context of personal relationships, enemyship (a personal relationship of distinguished by hatred, malice and sabotage) was more prevalent among Ghanaians than Americans. This could mean then that in a society much more suffused by religion than that in our study, religious motivation could have a weaker effect as almost everyone would to some extent be influenced by it, but consequently also enjoy a broader effect.

A second limitation concerns the issue of the particular religion itself. The study was run with participants from backgrounds in the Abrahamic faiths, i.e., Christianity, Islam, and Judaism, in the context of a mostly secular society. These faiths tend to have several distinct ideas. For example, they possess the idea of ‘chosenness’, the belief that the deity often chooses a particular person and designates them for a special task, although the idea admittedly finds its most visible adherents in modern-day evangelical Christians. Another distinctive idea is monotheism, the idea that there is only the one God (although triune in the Christian case), with his revealed sacred texts springing from divine inspiration. If this study were to be run with people from a wholly different religious background, such as Daoic, e.g., Daoism, with its emphasis on cosmic order, or Dharmic, e.g., Hinduism, with its multiplicity of deities, or if the social environment were either strongly pro- or anti-religion, would the model still show the same results?

This leads us onto a third limitation inherent in the study itself, namely the adapted five-point Centrality of Religion scale by Huber and Huber (2012). This scale seemed mostly focussed on the frequency of performing actions related more to religion than to spirituality and failed to account for the profundity of experience or to pursue what exactly it meant by divinity. How would the results change if the intensity of religious experience were focussed on and measured instead of the prioritising the presence of the various markers of religiosity?

A fourth potentially important limitation is the issue of Prolific as Work. The study was conducted on an online platform: this means that the respondents were working on their computers, most likely by themselves under limited time pressure, shut off from the hurly-burly of the workplace and not interacting with other workers, and were thus self-managing. Would the model still hold if it were transferred to an open-space office of an international bank or to the outdoors or the milieu of blue-collar workers? What effect might one’s position on the business hierarchy have on the relative weight that Religious Motivation has on objective performance? What kind of jobs do people with a high Centrality of Religion as well as high Religious Motivation

look for and how do these differ from the tasks that they performed on the Prolific Academic platform?

An additional matter for future research concerns the reason for the effects of Religious Motivation on Objective Performance actually decreasing as the Centrality of Religion increases, when Prolific is not seen as work. As postulated earlier, a possible explanation for this effect could be that being religiously motivated might actually be a detractive factor, i.e., viewed as a waste of time. This could arise from the fact that with religiosity being highly correlated with conscientiousness (Saroglou, 2002), people for whom religion is a central tenet would view doing something other than work while on the job as wasting time, and thus not perform well at it.

Lastly, but perhaps most strikingly, the fact that Religious Motivation significantly affected only such a small amount of people, even those for whom religion was a central part of their lives, seems to show that the issue is more complex than initially thought. The most obvious conclusion to draw from this result might be that religious motivation does not matter for the great mass of ordinary people: only those whose social identity is so strongly bound up with their religion and who view their job as real work benefit from this effect. However, this might be a question of organisational or work environment. This is most explicitly seen when we recall that there are organisations that tend to privilege hiring employees with just such characteristics. They might be explicitly religious such as church-associated humanitarian aid groups, e.g., Adventist Development and Relief Agency, or one of the various successful enterprises coincidentally founded by religious entrepreneurs, e.g., the many start-ups founded by Mormons, a prominent example being the Qualtrics survey platform. Thus, religious motivation might indeed have a larger role to play, depending on the organisational setting, among many other factors.

3.9 Conclusion

Motivation is one of the most salient topics in organisational management today. This study has shown that Religious Motivation is a novel and unique construct, distinct from any other kind of motivation. My research has also shown that in order for it to affect a subject's work performance in a significant manner, two other conditions must be met: religion must be central to that person's identity, and the individual must view the task that they are doing as real work. Although there are still many unanswered questions, it would be of much interest if research were to take on the limitations outlined in this study and examine whether Religious Motivation would cause a more significant increase in objective performance under different conditions.

Table 3-1 Factor Loadings: Phase 1

Label	Items	Model Loadings	
		Model 1a	Model 1b
<i><u>Intrinsic Motivation</u></i>			
IM1	Because I enjoy the work itself	0.924	0.924
IM2	Because it's fun	0.843	0.843
IM3	Because I find the work engaging	0.860	0.860
IM4	Because I enjoy it	0.891	0.891
IM5	Because I find the work interesting	0.836	0.836
<i><u>Extrinsic External Motivation</u></i>			
Ext1	Because I need to pay my bills	0.832	0.832
Ext2	Because I need to earn money	0.940	0.940
Ext3	Because I have to	0.572	0.572
Ext4	Because I need the income	0.901	0.901
<i><u>Extrinsic Introjected Motivation</u></i>			
Int1	Because I want to avoid feeling guilty	0.755	0.755
Int2	Because I'll feel bad about myself if I don't	0.845	0.845
Int3	Because I want to avoid looking bad	0.932	0.932
Int4	Because I'll feel ashamed if I don't	0.926	0.926
<i><u>Extrinsic Identified Motivation</u></i>			
Ide1	Because I think it's important	0.565	0.565
Ide2	Because I don't want to cause harm	0.072	-

Ide3	Because it's satisfying	0.905	0.905
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Ide4	Because I want to do a good job	0.720	0.720
------	---------------------------------	-------	-------

Prosocial Motivation

PM1	Because I care about benefiting others through my work	0.872	0.872
-----	--------------------------------------------------------	-------	-------

PM2	Because I want to help others through my work	0.941	0.941
-----	-----------------------------------------------	-------	-------

PM3	Because I want to have positive impact on others	0.943	0.943
-----	--------------------------------------------------	-------	-------

PM4	Because it is important to me to do good for others through my work	0.892	0.892
-----	---------------------------------------------------------------------	-------	-------

Family Motivation

FM1	Because I care about supporting my family	0.917	0.917
-----	-------------------------------------------	-------	-------

FM2	Because I want to help my family	0.946	0.946
-----	----------------------------------	-------	-------

FM3	Because I want to have a positive impact on my family	0.923	0.923
-----	-------------------------------------------------------	-------	-------

FM4	Because it is important for me to do good for my family	0.898	0.898
-----	---------------------------------------------------------	-------	-------

FM5	Because my family benefits from my job	0.818	0.818
-----	----------------------------------------	-------	-------

Religious Motivation

RM1	Because my religion motivates me to do my best at work	0.950	0.950
-----	--------------------------------------------------------	-------	-------

RM2	Because doing a good job here is a way to practice my religion	0.938	0.938
-----	----------------------------------------------------------------	-------	-------

RM3	Because my religion is affirmed by my doing a good job	0.946	0.946
-----	--------------------------------------------------------	-------	-------

RM4	Because I believe that doing this job is in line with my religion	0.956	0.956
-----	-------------------------------------------------------------------	-------	-------

Note. The questions were prefaced in the survey by the introductory statements, 'This next section will ask you questions about why you complete studies on Prolific. Please rate to what extent you agree with the following statements. I complete studies on Prolific...' The answer choices ranged from 1 (completely disagree) to 7 (completely agree).

Table 3-2 Comparison of measurement models for main variables: Phase 1

Table 2
Comparison of measurement models for main variables: Phase I

Model	Factors	χ^2	df	χ^2/df	$\Delta \chi^2$	CFI	RMSEA	SRMR
Model 1	Six factors: Intrinsic motivation, Extrinsic external motivation, Extrinsic introjected motivation, Extrinsic identified motivation, Prosocial motivation, Family motivation, Religious motivation	858.11	384	2.23		.916	.082	.086
Model 2	Six factors: Religious motivation and prosocial motivation were set to load onto one factor	1577.57	362	4.36	825.7***	.781	.135	.158
Model 3	Six factors: Religious motivation and family motivation were set to load onto one factor	1784.15	362	4.93	1032.28***	.744	.146	.158
Model 4	Six factors: Religious motivation and intrinsic motivation were set to load onto one factor	1764.12	362	4.87	1012.25***	.747	.145	.188
Model 5	Six factors: Religious motivation and extrinsic external motivation were set to load onto one factor	1271.51	362	3.51	519.64***	.836	.117	.127
Model 6	Six factors: Religious motivation and extrinsic introjected motivation were set to load onto one factor	1340.92	362	3.70	589.05***	.824	.121	.115
Model 7	Six factors: Religious motivation and extrinsic identified motivation were set to load onto one factor	1145.72	362	3.16	393.85***	.859	.108	.153
Model 8	One factor: all items were combined into one factor	4591.71	377	12.18	3839.84***	.241	.246	.236

*** $p < .001$

Table 3-3 Descriptive statistics and correlations among study variables: Phase 1 (CFA)

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Age	-	-										
2. Gender	1.5	.52	-.18*									
3. Religion	.49	.50	.02	.01								
4. Intrinsic Motivation	4.95	1.59	.11	-.14*	-.05	(.94)						
5. Extrinsic External	5.83	1.39	.09	.00	-.01	-.32**	(.86)					
6. Extrinsic Introjected	3.27	1.89	-.21**	.10	-.01	-.14*	.27**	(.92)				
7. Extrinsic Identified	5.26	1.43	.06	-.08	.00	.74**	-.22**	.03	(.78)			
8. Prosocial Motivation	4.96	1.62	.05	-.07	.02	.34**	-.08	.05	.54**	(.95)		
9. Family Motivation	5.73	1.47	.15*	-.10	.03	.07	.24**	.10	.23**	.30**	(.95)	
10. Religious Motivation	2.05	1.78	.11	-.01	.49**	.00	-.03	.17*	.15*	.14	.10	(.97)

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

(.xx). Alpha Cronbach reliability

Table 3-4 AVE and SV among study variables: Phase 1 (CFA)

Variables	AVE	Intrinsic Motivation	Extrinsic External	Extrinsic Introjected	Extrinsic Identified	Prosocial Motivation	Family Motivation	Religious Motivation
Intrinsic Motivation	.76	1						
Extrinsic External	.68	.10	1					
Extrinsic Introjected	.75	.02	.07	1				
Extrinsic Identified	.55	.55	.05	.00	1			
Prosocial Motivation	.84	.12	.01	.00	.3	1		
Family Motivation	.85	.01	.06	.01	.05	.09	1	
Religious Motivation	.90	.00	.00	.03	.02	.02	.01	1

Table 3-5 Measurement invariance for religious vs. non-religious employees

Model	Model			Model comparison	
	χ^2	CFI	RMSEA		$\Delta\chi^2$
Model 1: configural	1287.1	.900	.093		
Model 2: measurement	1302.3	.901	.091	Model 1 vs. 2	15.207
Model 3: scalar	1328.8	.900	.091	Model 2 vs. 3	26.464
Model 4: strict	1379.2	.893	.093	Model 3 vs. 4	50.461***

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Figure 3-1 CFA results

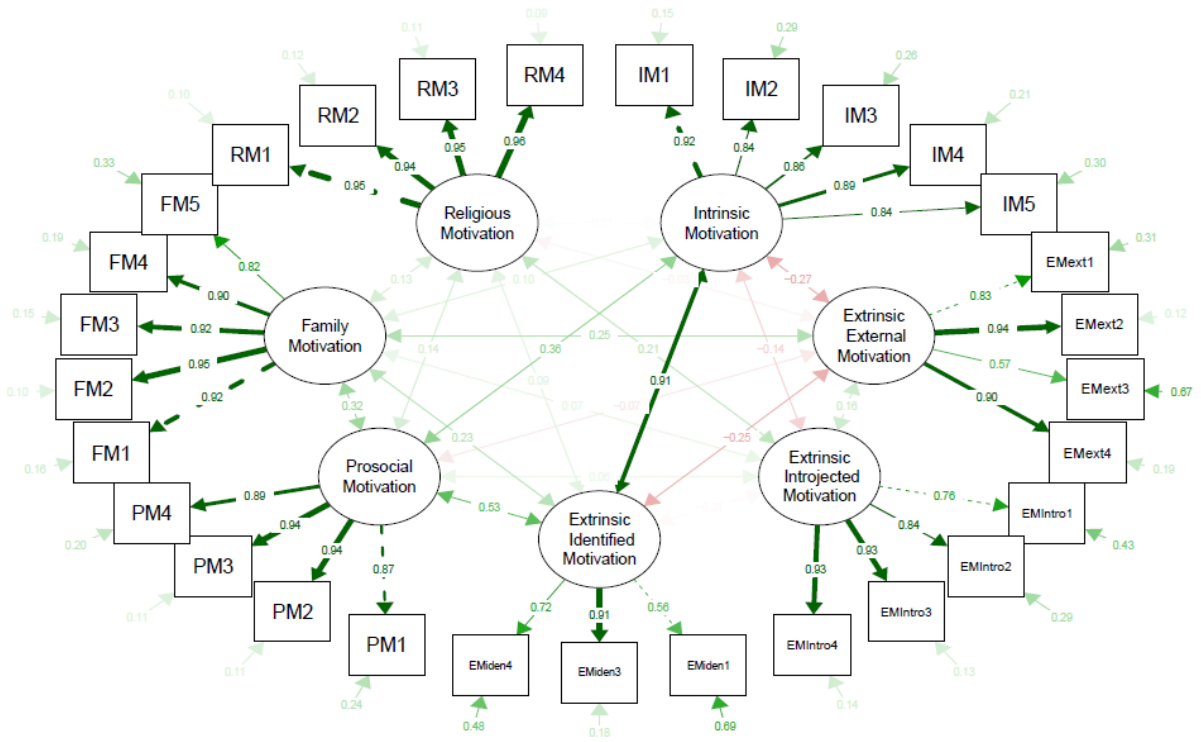


Table 3-6 Centrality of Religion 5-item survey

Variable	Question (How often...)
CR1	Do you think about religious issues?
CR2	Do you take part in religious services?
CR3	Do you pray?
CR4	Do you experience situations in which you have the feeling that something divine intervenes in your life?
CR5	Do you experience situations in which you have the feeling that something divine wants to communicate with or to reveal something to you?

Table 3-7 Descriptive statistics and correlations among study variables (CFA)

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Age	38.27	12.09											
2. Gender	1.68	.47	-.01										
3. Prolific as Work	.46	.50	.01	-.08	(.74)								
4. Centrality of Religion	2.64	1.52	-.10	-.13	.05	(.71)							
5. Religious	2.08	1.70	-.12	-.09	.01	.70	(.68)						
6. Intrinsic	5.60	1.23	.14	.13	.07	.15	.24	(.71)					
7. Extrinsic External	4.34	1.93	-.19	.09	.26	.09	.14	-.12	(.74)				
8. Extrinsic Introjected	1.77	1.28	-.13	-.10	.16	.21	.41	.1	.37	(.70)			
9. Extrinsic Identified	4.35	1.20	.04	.06	.08	.18	.30	.67	.07	.32	(.69)		
10. Prosocial	5.37	1.28	.01	.04	.06	.16	.29	.7	-.06	.13	.66	(.71)	
11. Family	4.59	1.91	-.08	.06	.22	.17	.29	.23	.54	.30	.26	.31	(.69)

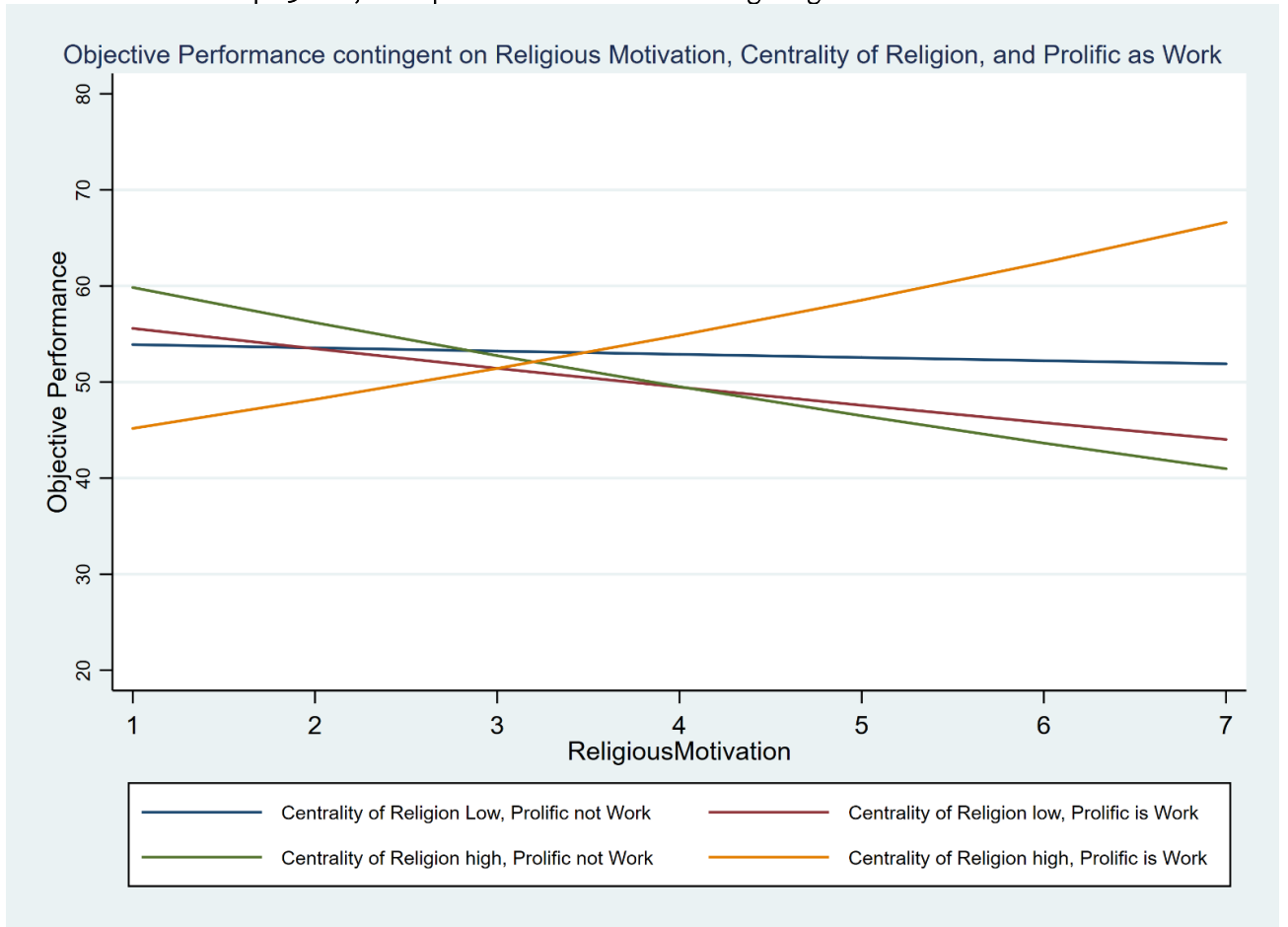
Note. **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). *. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). (.xx). Alpha Cronbach reliability

Table 3-8 Regression coefficient comparison of measurement models for main variables

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Intercept	4.35*** (.10)	4.41*** (.10)	4.44*** (.15)	4.33*** (.17)	4.32*** (.17)	3.91*** (.12)
Age	-.01*** (.00)	-.01*** (.00)	-.01*** (.00)	-.01*** (.00)	-.01*** (.00)	
Gender	-.02 (.05)	-.01 (.05)	-.00 (.05)	-.01 (.05)	-.02 (.05)	
Religious Motivation (RM)		-.03† (.02)	-.07 (.05)	-.00 (.06)	.02 (.07)	.01 (.06)
Prolific as Work (PW)		.03 (.04)	-.01 (.09)	.30† (.17)	.30† (.17)	.28 (.18)
Centrality of Religion (CR)		.01 (.02)	.00 (.04)	.05 (.05)	.04 (.04)	.06 (.05)
RM*PW			.05 (.04)	-.12 (.09)	-.11 (.09)	-.09 (.10)
RM*CR			.00 (.01)	-.01 (.02)	-.01 (.02)	-.02 (.02)
PW*CR			-.02 (.04)	-.13† (.06)	-.12† (.06)	-.13* (.07)
PW*CR*RM				.04* (.02)	.04† (.02)	.04† (.02)
Intrinsic Motivation (IM)					.05 (.03)	
Extrinsic External Motivation (EEM)					.01 (.01)	
Extrinsic Introjected Motivation (ENM)					-.04 (.03)	
Extrinsic Identified Motivation (EDM)					-.07*** (.02)	
Prosocial Motivation (PM)					.03 (.02)	
Family Motivation (FM)					-.02 (.01)	
Pseudo R2	0.010	0.012	0.013	0.014	0.021	0.003

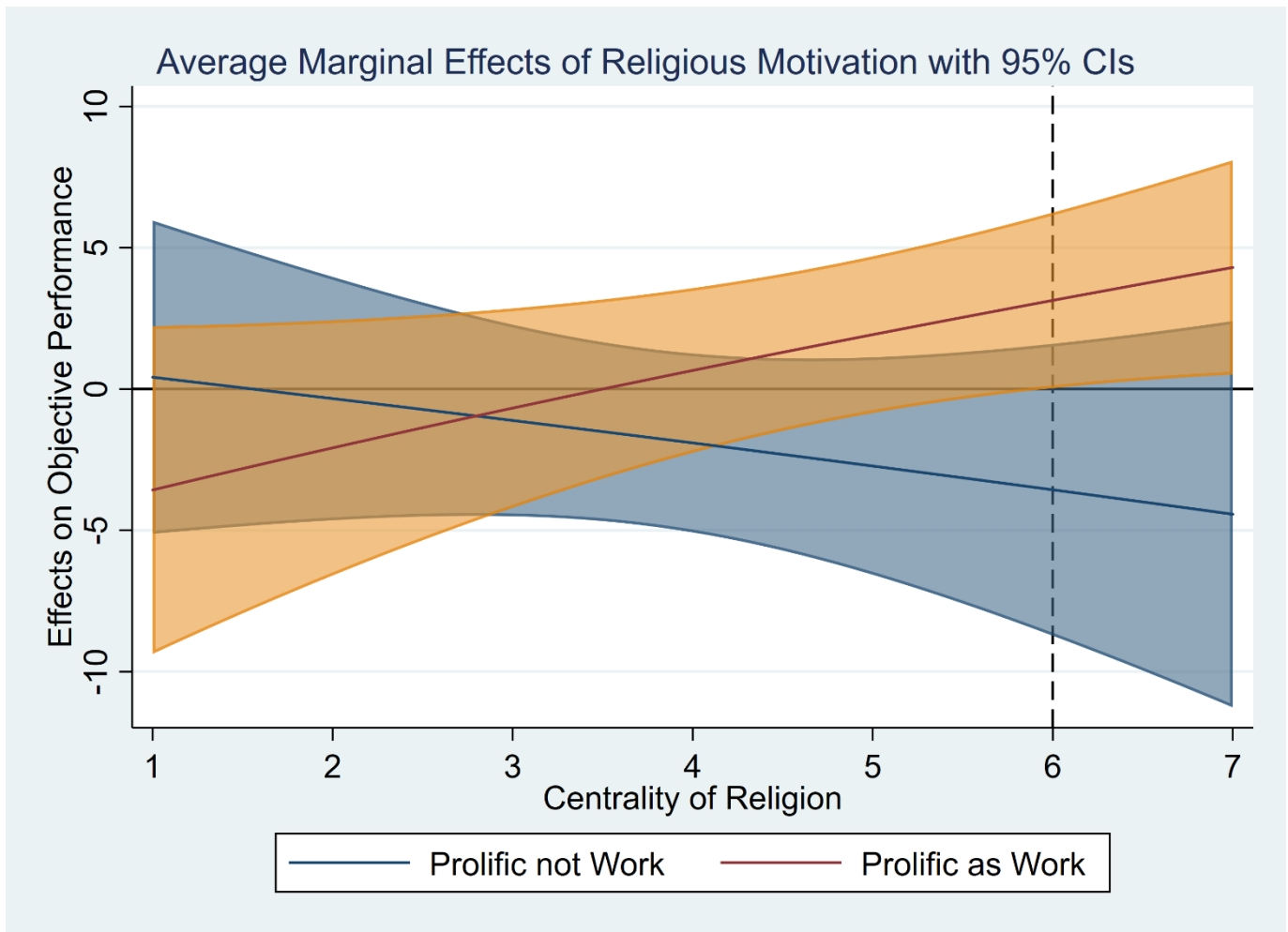
Note: † = < .10, * = p < .05, ** = p < .01, *** = p < .001

Graph 3-1 Objective performance under increasing Religious Motivation



Note. Graph represents Objective Performance with increasing Religious Motivation under four conditions. The blue line represents Objective Performance when religion is not central to the subject's identity and Prolific is not seen as work. The red line represents Objective Performance when religion is not central but Prolific is seen as work. The green line represents Objective Performance when religion is central to the subject's identity, but Prolific is not seen as work. The orange-gold line represents Objective Performance when religion is central to the subject's identity, and Prolific is seen as work.

Graph 3-2 Objective Performance under increasing Religious Motivation and Centrality of Religion: Prolific as Work vs. Prolific not Work



Note. Dotted vertical line at Centrality of Religion = 6 represents the point at which the lower bound of the confidence interval of Prolific as Work goes above zero, indicating that effects on Objective Performance reach significance

CHAPTER 4 - RELIGIOUS MOTIVATION AND CHOSENNESS

Abstract

The role of religion at the intersection of the individual and the organisation remains under-researched, and the possibility of a source of motivation springing from religion has only recently emerged. This is all the more surprising, as religion constitutes such a salient part of the identity of many workers, and its effects on their behaviour and coping strategies in their daily life outside of work is well documented. Religious motivation has been shown by previous research to be of statistical significance to the performance of a small but noteworthy group of religiously-motivated workers at the high end of the motivational scale (Chapter 3). Since these workers all have religion as a central pillar of their identity and describe themselves as being highly religiously-motivated, I postulate that what these workers actually experience is the phenomenon of religious chosenness, a purported state in which one feels selected, set apart, or chosen by a supernatural entity, often for a specific reason or a special mission. Drawing on theories of Abrahamic theology, social identity theory and religious motivation, I proposed to examine what constitutes chosenness, what chosenness means in the context of religious motivation and organisational behaviour, whether chosenness actually increases job performance, and if so through what means. I thus conducted an exploratory study consisting of interviews, in a grounded theory framework, with members of a small Protestant denomination known for their use of the term and emphasis on the designation of chosenness. The resultant data show that chosenness was not a monolithic trait, but actually consisted of three phases: the incipient chosen phase of attraction, the decisional phase, and the exhibition phase. Furthermore, although all interviewees were familiar with the concept of chosenness, some denied that it applied to them. However, those who described themselves as placing religion at the core of their lives or enjoying a close relationship with God exhibited the traits associated with chosenness. I additionally discovered that respondents who exhibited the traits of chosenness experienced decreased stress in the incipient phase of attraction, which led

them into the decisional phase to choose God, i.e., choosing to be chosen. This then led to the exhibition phase, resulting from being chosen, and led to them exhibiting several resultant traits that then led to greater perceived work results. These arose primarily through a self-perceived increase in their social and mental stability as a result of a perceived greater social and emotional support, as well as through a self-perceived increase in their motivation as a result of possessing a sense of greater purpose and meaning at work. I thus conclude that chosenness is a powerful source of motivation that can boost performance in the workplace, offering meaningful implications for research on motivation and the dynamics of work and family engagement.

4.1 Introduction

The manner and extent to which religious motivation influences individuals in the workplace is an under-examined factor in organisational life. In this paper, I investigate what chosenness is, what it means in the context of religious motivation and organisational behaviour, and how exactly chosenness increases job performance. Building on the previous chapter's research and results, I postulate that at the high end of religious motivation, one finds the phenomenon of chosenness. After engaging in a literature review of the concept of chosenness across religions, I subsequently conducted an exploratory qualitative study of 22 self-described religious employees belonging to the Seventh-Day Adventist church living in the UK, the USA and Germany, all of whom work in different organisations.

The study shows that the sense of being chosen emerges from a religious or spiritual motivation; manifests through a reciprocal relationship with the deity by which both parties chose one another; and imbues employees with (a) a mission orientation (i.e., a sense of being here for a reason, or to fulfil a certain mission/do a certain job), (b) a duty orientation (i.e., a sense of responsibility that requires the employee to give their best), and (c) a group orientation (i.e., a

sense of being part of a larger collective of chosen people). I conclude that this sense of religiously-motivated chosenness can have a profound effect on how religiously motivated people pursue their jobs.

The influence of religion and spirituality (Pargament, 2013) outside of the personal sphere has long been recognized, with research subsequently uncovering the important role that cultural values play in political life and economic development, with current studies endeavouring to show the effects that different metaphysical systems (Bailey, 2001; Hicks, 2002) have on these processes. Although it appears to some researchers that ‘no unambiguous conclusions can be drawn from these studies’ (De Jong, 2008: 25), metaphysical values nevertheless continues to be regarded as a topic of great interest and high value. Nowadays, interest in their role in organisations, and particularly their relationship to facets of the workplace such as leadership, seems to be high, and viewed as ‘a compelling issue for management practitioners and researchers’, although still in an incipient phase and therefore potentially lacking in rigor (Dent et al., 2005).

The relative dearth of research on religion in the workplace and in management, with academic studies only ‘lightly and narrowly explor[ing] how religion’s influence manifests in the workplace’ (King, 2008), in marked contrast to the popular press (Lund Dean et al., 2003), probably springs from historic reasons mentioned earlier, such as the past role of religion in dividing society, or the fears that different religions might enjoin certain practices on their adherents that could be perceived to detrimentally influence their working day in terms of time, interpersonal and social interaction, or business practices (Alidadi, 2010). This past research reticence translates into a field rich for exploration.

In this paper, I deal mostly with how religious belief framed in the context of how religion affects motivation, examining in particular that facet of religious belief most emphatically expounded upon by the Abrahamic religions: chosenness. As mentioned previously, Judaism, Christianity and Islam are Abrahamic religions, so named because they all lay claim to the mythical

and perhaps mythologised figure of the Patriarch Abraham as their spiritual, and sometimes literal, progenitor, basing their monotheism on his ostensible establishment of this particular system of worship (Hughes, 2012). I will thus focus on a specific sub-group of this larger religious array, the Seventh-Day Adventists, and will particularly examine an attribute ostensibly shared in the larger grouping, that of chosenness or the belief in being chosen especially by God.

4.2 Chosenness as Religious and Theoretical Construct

4.2.1 Background

In his book, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity*, Anthony D. Smith (2008) closely examines the phenomenon of chosenness. What exactly can be said about this phenomenon, and why is it relevant to organisational theory today?

The phenomenon of chosenness bears on organisational theory through the construct of religious motivation. The research in the previous chapter established this particular construct as a new motivation and found that it had a significant effect on Objective Performance under two conditions. First, the job in which the worker is engaged has to be seen by the individual as work (Prolific as Work): with the answer being either in the affirmative or in the negative, this is a dichotomous condition. Second, a second variable, Centrality of Religion, has to be at high levels in a worker's identity. The resultant group evincing a significant effect comprised only the top 3.6% of the sample population. Although Religious Motivation, at high levels of Centrality of Religion and an affirmative score of Prolific as Work, shows an increasing effect at increasingly higher levels, it only crosses the threshold of statistical significance at the very top end. Since religion is highly central to the identity of the individuals in this group, since they are highly motivated by Religious Motivation, and since they view their work as a real job, the subjects appear to have some of the characteristics that mark those who feel themselves chosen, at least in the context of adherents

of Abrahamic religions. But what exactly is chosenness, how can we understand it in its original context, and how do its precepts contribute to increasing objective performance?

Present mainly in the Abrahamic religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam), the concept of chosenness is defined as the status of feeling that one has been selected, or elected by a supernatural entity, often for a specific reason or a special mission (Smith, 2008), and carries overtones of missiology and messianism. This is distinct from a second, eschatologically-informed view that sees chosenness in salvific terms: mostly found in the Christian tradition, this definition propounds a deity that favours or chooses, in an inscrutable manner, certain people over others for salvation (Cary, 2008). A third manner of viewing chosenness is as a synonym for promised: thus Israel becomes the Chosen or Promised land that God promised to the descendants of Abraham (Beker, 2008a).

It should be clear that chosenness is not solely focussed on the individual but can also be experienced in a corporate manner and applied to particular sections of society, religious communities, or even entire national groups. In individuals, the feeling of being chosen can be intensely personal and overwhelming, separating out an otherwise undistinguished individual and setting them apart from their peers. An important characteristic of being chosen in the second, messianic sense is the distinct lack of a definite favourable status conferred on the holder: the chosen one may be chosen for elevation, may be set apart for suffering (as in the case of the Christian Messiah), but is always in the end entrusted with a duty or responsibility. However, this definition can only apply to an individual who feels themselves to be chosen in the context of belonging to a group that believes in and espouses the concept of chosenness: to believe without the religious context skirts dangerously close to being delusional. Furthermore, the status of being chosen is not absolute: it can be rejected. Thus, an individual may belong to a purportedly chosen group of people, but may not feel themselves to be chosen, or alternatively, they may feel chosen but wish that they were not.

Chosenness is conferred, not for any intrinsic merit of the believer, but rather for the inscrutable reasons of God, a concept that is firmly rooted in the Bible, i.e., ‘How unfathomable are his decisions and unexplainable are his ways!’ (Romans 11:33, ISV). Those who view themselves as being chosen often also feel a corresponding sense of obligation or duty, whether they view it as laid on them explicitly by their deity or implicitly adopted by themselves. To be chosen in this context is to be an agent of God for his salvation of the entire world (Smith, 2008). This is a concept which can easily be translated and applied to one’s secular endeavours, particularly in light of tendency of highly-religious people to allow religion to inform all areas of their life. The concept of ‘chosenness’ in the missiological sense was first adopted by the adherents of Judaism, who used it in the context of ‘sacred communion of the people’, and viewed it as being ‘singled out for special purposes by, and... to stand in a unique relation to, the divine’ (Smith, 2008: 48-49). The original use of the term comes from the Torah where the descendants of Abraham were designated as being chosen by God, in Deuteronomy 7:6-8, ‘The LORD your God has *chosen* you to be a people for His own possession out of all the peoples who are on the face of the earth, the LORD did not set His love on you nor choose you because you were more in number than any of the peoples...’ The concept of being set apart or separated from other people for a specific purpose is stated in several other places in the Bible, both in the Old as well as in the New Testaments. In the Old Testament, these statements contain an exhortation or even a prophecy of chosenness. Exodus 19:6 (NASB) states, ‘and you shall be to Me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation’, and in 1 Kings 8:53 (NASB) we read, ‘For You have *separated* them from all the peoples of the earth as Your inheritance...’ The Old Testament also introduces the archetype of messianic ‘chosenness’ in Isaiah 42:1 (NASB), a verse often applied to the Christ Jesus; “Behold, My Servant, whom I uphold; My *chosen* one in whom My soul delights. I have put My Spirit upon Him; He will bring forth justice to the nations.’

The same concept is echoed in the specifically Christian part of the Bible, the New Testament, in 1 Peter 2:9 (NIV): ‘But you are a *chosen* people, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's special possession, that you may declare the praises of him who called you out of darkness into his wonderful light.’ However, chosenness can henceforth also be extended to ordinary individuals as well. Romans 8:29-30 (NASB) thus states, ‘For those whom He [i.e., God] *foreknew*, He also *predestined* to become conformed to the image of His Son, so that He would be the firstborn among many brethren...’

We can also find the same concept of chosenness in the third other main Abrahamic religion, Islam. For example, in the 78th verse of the 22nd chapter of the Qur’an, ‘And strive for Allah with the striving due to Him. He has *chosen* you and has not placed upon you in the religion any difficulty. [It is] the religion of your father, Abraham. Allah named you ‘Muslims’ before [in former scriptures] and in this [revelation] that the Messenger may be a witness over you and you may be witnesses over the people. So establish prayer and give *zakah* and hold fast to Allah. He is your protector; and excellent is the protector, and excellent is the helper.’

Through all these verses of the various Abrahamic religious traditions, we see that the concept of ‘being chosen’ is held in common. However, when we more closely examine the ways in which the concept was instrumentalised by the respective religions, we can discern a difference. In the scriptural verses applying to Judaism, we can discern several distinct points: first, that the Jews were chosen despite being numerically disadvantaged, i.e., being few in number. Second, although being chosen carried with it a duty to follow the moral covenant, i.e., the Decalogue, the keeping of it was not a precondition of being chosen, but rather a result (Beker, 2008a). Third, there seem to be no conditions to be met in order for them to be chosen in Judaism to retain their status of being chosen: they are chosen whether they will it or not, whether they fail to live up to the covenant or not, whether they invest into the missiological act or not. There is however a rival interpretation of Jewish chosenness that comes from *midrashic* Judaism. In this narrative, God

offers the Torah to the nations of the earth, only to have them all reject it, except for the Jews who agree to live by its precepts, a notion which in effect signifies choosing to be chosen (Beker, 2008b). Over time, however, the religion of Judaism experienced an elision with the concept of Jews as a separate ethnicity, with the result that today one can identify as Jewish but still be agnostic or atheist (Chervyakov, Gitelman, & Shapiro, 1997). Interestingly, the view of many contemporary practitioners of Judaism (and even some secular Jews) seems to be that Jews have been placed on earth to fulfil a certain destiny (Jewish Virtual Library), to fulfil a responsibility or universal mission (Beker, 2008a), e.g. to 'heal the world' as seen in the concept of *tikkun olam*. In this last instance, the overwhelming emphasis is on the temporal, the earthly. Other practitioners of Judaism, in particular Reconstructionists (a belief self-characterised as 'Judaism without supernaturalism'), explicitly reject the very idea of chosenness as one that divides people, calling for it to be rejected out of hand (Hirsh, 1984). In any case, the separating out of chosenness from religiosity should then theoretically allow secular Jews with a strong cultural attachment to Judaism to at least match religious Jews in the effects that chosenness has on them.

In seeming contrast, the Christian strain of chosenness seems to be more purpose-driven and eschatological in character: thus, to be chosen is to be saved for the afterlife and to engage in the mission of spreading the gospel, with it being heavily implied that to falter in the fulfilment of this purpose is to forfeit one's chosenness. Thus, the state of being chosen in Christianity retains the original missiological focus seen in early Judaism. We see this in the injunction, 'that you may declare the praises of him who called you out of darkness into his wonderful light,' (1 Peter 2:9 NIV), or 'Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit...' (Matthew 28:18-20 NASB). Here, chosenness is specifically tied to a religious, Christian identity, aligning with the results from the previous study about the central role of religion in increasing religious motivation's objective results.

The Qur'an strips away the status of being chosen from both Jews and Christians because of their unbelief, and by implication gives to the adherents of Islam, e.g., Qur'an 2 (al-Baqarah): 87-97. However, the Muslim state of chosenness also appears to contain the same notion of obligation in order to remain chosen, as previously seen in Christianity. For example, we read: 'And strive for Allah with the striving due to Him', 'So establish prayer and give *zakat* and hold fast to Allah' (Qur'an 22 (Surah Al-Haj):78). Additionally, 'Those who strive hard towards Us, We certainly guide them in Our ways' (Qur'an 29:69), or 'Only those are believers who believe in Allah and His Messenger, then doubt not, and strive hard with their wealth and their lives (or selves) in the way of Allah' (Qur'an 49:15). It is arguable in fact that the much-maligned concept of *jihad* is closely linked to and grew out of the concept of chosenness, as *jihad* in its original meaning represents striving hard to attain a goal (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988). Thus, the concept of chosenness in Islam also seems to contain an exhortation to engage in achieving results for God's glory, a precept potentially relevant to an organisational environment.

In consequence, chosenness appears to differ across the Abrahamic religions in the matter of obligation. Chosenness in Judaism does not appear to be dependent on any action to confirm or sustain it, in contradistinction to that experienced by Christians and Muslims, which seems contingent on the fulfilment of certain obligations. Although it might seem that being chosen confers special privileges and power on those chosen by their deity, an alternative and increasingly salient interpretation sees chosenness as inextricably linked to bearing burdens, meeting obligations and assuming responsibilities. A prime example of personal chosenness, the Christian Messiah, is notable for just this reason, enduring hardship and suffering abuse as a result of seeking to fulfil his mission, living a life devoid of any advantage, i.e., '... I stand to this day testifying... that the Christ was to suffer...' (Acts 26:22-23 NASB) and 'The Son of Man must suffer many things and be rejected by the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed and be raised up on the third day.' (Luke 9:22 NASB). Although an extreme example, it is by no means a unique one, as a look at

other chosen characters in the scriptural record show. Two examples will suffice: the first, the case of the Prophet Jonah, thrown into the sea as a propitiatory sacrifice, i.e., ‘So they picked up Jonah, threw him into the sea, and the sea stopped its raging... And the Lord appointed a great fish to swallow Jonah...’ (Jonah 1:15-17 NASB). The second prophetic example, Ezekiel, constrained to lie on his side without moving for 430 consecutive days as a symbolic scapegoat for Israel’s sins, i.e., ‘As for you, lie down on your left side and lay the iniquity of the house of Israel on it; you shall bear their iniquity for the number of days that you lie on it. For I have assigned you a number of days corresponding to the years of their iniquity, three hundred and ninety days; thus you shall bear the iniquity of the house of Israel. When you have completed these, you shall lie down a second time, but on your right side and bear the iniquity of the house of Judah; I have assigned it to you for forty days, a day for each year,’ (Isaiah 4:4-6 NASB). The point about these examples is that their burden-bearing was not gratuitous, but served as stark illustrations of commitment, setting them apart and consecrating them to their deity.

Applied to the modern workplace, this aspect of chosenness has profound implications. For example, workers from the Abrahamic religions who experience religiously-motivated chosenness might be motivated to undertake extraordinary efforts in serving God, even at the cost of personally pernicious outcomes. They may in fact welcome the detriment as a way of proving the depth of their religious motivation and zeal or as a means of building up their religious identity. Since this population of workers appears at the high end of objective results, chances would appear to be slim that this would result in any solipsistic dysfunction at work. The problem might actually arise from two segments of the pool of workers: those for whom religious identity is not central, as well as those who do hold religion to be central to their identity but who do not view the work they are doing as a real job.

Historically, chosenness might have served as a characteristic of religious motivation, arising from an interplay of a distinct religious identity and economic success, resulting in a

particular influence on behaviour at work. Certainly, we repeatedly stumble upon the phenomenon of certain minority groups, incorporating the element of chosenness or apartness in their identity, being entrepreneurially more successful than others are. Some of these are mainly historical, e.g. the Scots, Quakers and Unitarians in 18th and 19th century Britain, Ionian Greeks in the Ottoman Empire, the German diaspora in pre-WWII Central and Eastern Europe, while others still retain their status to some extent till this day, e.g. the Chinese, Armenian, Parsee, and Jewish Ashkenazi diasporas (Rubinstein, 2000). Cursorily seen, these particular groups seem to have little in common, but a deeper examination reveals that the common trait bases itself on the issue of apartness: each of these groups evinces a stark cultural contrast to and often a strong social separation from their immediate neighbours. This difference appears to spring from not just one factor alone: although religious identity seems to play a major role in the majority of the cases, ethnic identity also looks to be a contributor to distinctiveness. The defining element, however, in every case appears to be that of ‘apartness’ from their immediate social and cultural environment, fostered by a sense of ‘chosenness’ mediated by fate, deity, or self-belief.

This apartness is not solely fostered through a unique set of beliefs but also through practices and rituals designed to reinforce distinctiveness. This we see clearly in the case of the prototypical Chosen People, with observant Jews even today practising the three main conditions that set them apart: circumcision, the observance of the Seventh-Day Sabbath, and the dietary laws of *kashrut* (Beker, 2008a). It is interesting to note that the religious group that is the subject of this study, the Seventh-Day Adventists, also observe the same three conditions, to a greater or lesser degree (Butler, 2009) for more or less the same purpose, although with an ostensibly different rationale and emphasis centred around health (Orlich et al., 2013). The end effect is nevertheless the same: a setting apart of a chosen people.

As we have seen, this sense of chosenness has been imbued with a symbolism designed to set apart and elevate the chosen believer. Being designated as a ‘kingdom of priests’, ‘a holy

nation,' or 'God's special possession' could function to elevate self-esteem and receiving promises that 'Those who strive hard towards Us, We certainly guide them in Our ways' may subsequently serve to increase effort and reduce self-questioning. Furthermore, this phenomenon of feeling chosen or being set apart is similar to the dynamic of the ingroup-outgroup bias, the systematic tendency to evaluate the members of one's own group (the in-group) in a more favourable light than non-members (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). This bias is often characterized by a preferential treatment of fellow ingroup members rather than a blatant discrimination against or hostility towards those considered to belong to the outgroup. Confirmation by studies in the US and Europe show that 'covert racism' lies not in having strongly discriminatory attitudes towards non-group members, but in lacking any sort of positive attitude towards or fellow feeling with them (Brewer, 1999). However, there may exist an effect differential between ingroup-outgroup bias and chosenness, particularly if chosenness is coupled with missiology. The fact that chosenness springs and draws reinforcement from religion results in several possible beneficial effects.

First, religious/spiritual individuals have been found to have better mental health and to display higher adaptability to dealing with health problems (Koenig, 2012), with religion functioning as a resource for coping with stress (Koenig, 2009). A cautionary note is however in order: this relationship does not seem to hold if the individual finds themselves in the invidious position of harbouring religious beliefs that stand in direct contradistinction to their personal characteristics, e.g., practicing Catholic homosexuals in a majority Catholic country (Zarzycka, Rybarski, & Sliwak, 2017). Nevertheless, under unconflicted circumstances, religious individuals already have the potential to perform better than people without recourse to the resource of religious beliefs. Secondly, this apartness may function in a synergistic manner to increase the feeling of distinctiveness or specialness already implanted by being religious, with the possible effect of leading to an even greater boost in the individual's self-confidence and performance effectiveness. Third, the initial success of religious individuals who feel chosen could lead to a positive

reinforcement cycle of success breeding more success, leading to their enjoying a large initial advantage gap (van de Rijt, Kang, Restivo, & Patil, 2014). Their accomplishments could nonetheless subsequently lead to resentment by their co-workers if the chosen workers retain an exclusivist mind-set. If the individual's designation of chosenness were to incorporate a missiological aspect, it could lead to an increased openness in order to facilitate co-workers asking for the secrets of their success, thus fulfilling a fundamental requirement of their religious identity.

Does chosenness then work in the way postulated above? Or could the belief in chosenness actually cement the solidarity between members of the same group, as well as increase the emotional and social distance to other groups viewed as explicitly not part of their chosen community? How would this mark of identity function to affect that person's working behaviour, when it seems that the two contradictory impulses, ingroup-outgroup bias as well as the call to serve the world, both inform the phenomenon? It is to these questions that I turn to next, offering preliminary answers through an exploratory qualitative study.

4.3 Chosenness: a qualitative study based on grounded theory

4.3.1 Study Subject: Seventh-Day Adventists

The research of this study centres on a group located within the Christian tradition of chosenness, a trait most clearly evident in smaller denominations such as the Latter-Day Saints (Mormons) (Ward, 2001) and the Seventh-Day Adventists (Long, 2016). The Seventh-Day Adventists are a small Protestant denomination known for several unique beliefs, among them their self-designation as a chosen people, and they appear to exhibit an outsize cultural influence compared to their relatively few numbers. They are also known for advocating a healthy lifestyle, as well as for running a successful worldwide education system and medical system, with a total of 8,515 schools from primary to tertiary levels, with an enrolment of 1,954,872, and also 681

healthcare institutions (Office of Archives Statistics and Research of the General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists, 2018). The Seventh-Day Adventist Church, through its institutions, wields enormous influence on the discourse surrounding health, having been a co-founder of the American Dietetics Association (Banta et al., 2018), initiated the focus on and mass production of breakfast cereals in the USA, and helped to push vegetarianism as a healthy lifestyle alternative (Nath, 2014). Furthermore, Adventist institutions today frequently run collaborative programmes with governmental and international agencies such as NASA (Ponder, 2013) in health research, or the Pan American Health Organisation, a subsidiary of the World Health Organisation (Pan American Health Organization/World Health Organization, 2011). All in all, the accomplishments of Seventh-Day Adventists appear to paint a picture of a successful smaller group in contemporary society, highly motivated by their religious beliefs and imbued with a belief in their chosenness.

4.3.2 Methods

My research seeks to explore what exactly chosenness consists of, how and under what conditions this feeling of chosenness arises, and what relationship might exist between chosenness and the manner in which religiously motivated people respond to the conditions of their working life. It also seeks to uncover whether any advantage could accrue to an organisation that were grant greater space to and opportunity for the expression of people's personal beliefs, including that of religious chosenness.

In order to examine the existence of the phenomenon of chosenness and how it might affect organisational working behaviour, I elected for an interpretive approach, as the concept of chosenness has never before been explored in the context of organisational behaviour and management. The use of grounded theory seemed the most promising route, premised as it is on

the inductive development of theory to explain a previously unknown phenomenon, rather than relying on stretching or distorting it into a pre-determined framework (Locke, 2001).

4.3.3 Books, electronic data, and written materials

So that I might fully understand what the concept of chosenness means beyond my own idiosyncratic knowledge, I realised that I would need to explore what other traditions had to say. To that end I read through various internet sites discussing religious organisations (e.g., www.myjewishlearning.com, www.adventistbiblicalresearch.org, www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org, www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam) adhering to the Abrahamic covenant, as these religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, have historically espoused the idea of chosenness (Beker, 2008b). Additionally, books sacred to these religions (e.g. the Bible, Qur'an, Pirkei Avot), secular books examining chosenness, e.g. *Chosen Peoples*, by Smith (2008), as well as articles from the popular press also contributed to enhancing my understanding of the phenomenon. However, I especially focussed on sources examining the Christian Seventh-Day Adventist denomination, as they are the focal group in this study.

4.3.4 Interviews

To uncover how other religious people understood chosenness and establish any connection between their experience of it and their results at work, I chose to interview and record 22 informants from the UK, the USA, Canada, and Germany, via Skype and Facebook Messenger, and face to face – see Table 1. Most of the subjects whom I interviewed were close friends and peers: I chose to interview them to overcome several potential problems inherent to qualitative research interviews, such as artificiality, lack of trust, and elite bias (Myers & Newman, 2007;

Quinney, Dwyer, & Chapman, 2016). Sometimes interviewees suggested other potential participants to me whom I then sought out, thus ensuring that the theoretical sampling was deliberate as well as emergent. The subjects came from differing professional and educational backgrounds, ranging from a laboratory support technician still in the process of finishing a primary degree to a renowned medical consultant at a top national university hospital who holds several directorial positions of organisations at national and international level. The common characteristic among all was that they overwhelmingly came from religiously observant backgrounds, meaning that they attended religious services on a regular basis, engaged in regular personal prayer, and professed a belief in God. All 22 of these participants were affiliated with a smaller religious denomination in their particular religious grouping, espousing distinctive beliefs and practices, the Seventh-Day Adventist Church. For the purposes of this study, I decided to have only participants who were Seventh-Day Adventists in order to gain a clearer and more focused picture of the nature of chosenness, by zooming in one particular religious group. The individual sessions consisted of a semi-structured interview lasting between 20 – 75 minutes. Before the interview, I sent an electronic interviewee information sheet to each participant asking them to answer questions which established their personal details and explicated their professional and social identity as well as managerial responsibility.

The interview protocol began with questions confirming the participant's role and position at work and contained questions exploring any formative influences on their life. I then sought to explore the interviewee's work environment and experiences of it, segueing into questions about their relationship with God and religious beliefs. Following this, I probed the perceived influence of these beliefs and relationship on the life of the participant, focusing especially on their work life. In the next part of the interview, I introduced the element of chosenness, soliciting the participant's thoughts of the concept and their perception of the influence that chosenness might have had on their life. My final questions of the interview asked about the participant's plans, followed by giving

subjects the chance to ask questions of their own and to clarify their earlier responses. The initial sections were to provide context to the questions that came later: not all the questions in the protocol were always asked, depending on the interviewee's responses to the depth of their religious experiences and their beliefs on chosenness.

4.3.5 Data analysis

Analysing the data occurred in several steps. The first step was to load all the recorded interviews and information sheets into NVivo 11, a data software package that facilitates the analysis of qualitative and mixed methods research. Afterwards I personally transcribed all the interviews, again with the use of NVivo.

The next step was to perform member checks, sending the completed interview transcriptions to the respective interviewees in order to ensure the reliability and accuracy of the content. On receiving confirmation from the interviewees that the transcript was to their satisfaction, I read the interviews and assigned codes to the sections of the interview that pertained to work, religion and chosenness, always keeping in mind that comments made throughout the interview, even in the introductory phase, could potentially reflect a sense of chosenness. Beforehand, however, I performed reliability and dialogic reliability checks, discussing the coding with a second coder (Melanie Leihner-Guarin) whom I had appropriately trained and instructed, and coding interviews separately, then comparing similarity and difference of the perceived themes. During the entire process, I continuously updated my reflection diary and constantly endeavoured to see whether the codes could be subsumed into higher-level nodes.

The following step of the analysis consisted of recognizing that chosenness was not monolithic and subsequently separating out its various components. I recursively considered the codes and gathered them together into higher level nodes or second-order categories that could

reflect a sense of chosenness in the subjects, continuously refining and considering my first-order categories in building up the next level, in order to come up with the best fit.

The final step consisted of recognizing that one component of chosenness served as a precursor for two further components. This precursor component concerned the *feelings* that the participant experienced in their relationship with God (incipient chosen phase of attraction), subsequently leading onto the *actions* that they undertook to show their chosenness (decisional phase of chosenness), leading on to exhibiting several traits (exhibition phase of chosenness).

4.3.6 Findings

My initial conception of chosenness before running the study was based on personal opinion and personal experiences growing up in a mix of cultural environments: the Philippines, Canada, and the USA, all while in the Seventh-Day Adventist Church (SDA), a smaller Christian denomination that holds certain unique fundamental beliefs setting it apart from mainstream Christianity. Among these beliefs is the core idea of the chosen last-day Remnant and its mission. Some other main beliefs of Seventh-Day Adventists are: keeping the entirety of Saturday as the Sabbath, the belief in the universal return of Christ (second coming) to the earth, the belief that death is a cessation of consciousness until the second coming, the belief in immersive baptism, and the doctrine of Christ's ministry in the heavenly sanctuary (General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists, 2015). The most significant belief is that of the eschatological Remnant, referring to believers, coming mostly though not exclusively from the SDA church, who will be saved from a prophesied end-time cataclysm, along with a smattering of non-Adventists who somehow manage to find the truth (Rodríguez, 2002). The Seventh-Day Adventist Church consequently views itself as being *chosen* by God and its adherents as a chosen people entrusted with the mission to proclaim

salvation to the entire world with a view to saving as many as possible (General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists, 2015).

This background fosters an eschatological view of chosenness as a designation reserved for an individual or a group of people marked by special characteristics. Those designated as one of the Chosen believe that they enjoy the surety of having divine favour in life, dependent on continuous obedience to God, granted in order that they may perform God's work within the temporal world, a situation that they believe inevitably leads to success. This is a view that is also prevalent among other groups or corporate entities that subsume chosenness into their identity, a prime example of which is the United States (Rable, 2010). Chosenness was thus, in my pre-research conception, a status one acquired after joining (whether through birth or free choice) a special group tasked with a divine mission and enjoying the privileges brought about by this distinct state: I therefore expected the participants belonging to the Seventh-Day Adventist church to have embraced and incorporated this view.

However, after analysing the data, I began to change my idea of chosenness, seeing it as something more mutable and personal rather than eternal and official. One would expect that those belonging to a group that explicitly emphasizes its uniqueness ergo chosenness, holding unique beliefs, and espousing a sense of mission, would feel a strong and permanent sense of chosenness. Nevertheless, although there were some respondents who felt quite strongly and almost instinctively that they had been chosen, the vast majority of the participants in the study exhibited some degree of bemusement and discomfort in considering the very existence of the concept, let alone viewing themselves as being chosen. Almost all subjects claimed never before to have thought about themselves in those terms at all, with a few respondents even seeking to explain the idea of chosenness as a historical artefact applying to a particular group (Jews as a chosen people, for example), or as something believed in childhood but currently no longer identified with. As the 44-year-old female associate editor expressed it: 'As I was growing up, I had

this impression that Adventists were the chosen people... but I don't believe that much anymore, which is not a very Adventist thing of me to say.' Other respondents tended either to denigrate the concept as discriminatory, thus something God would not even countenance, or to even deny its existence, perceiving it to be outdated, irrelevant or perniciously elitist. As expressed by the 41-year-old female administrative assistant: 'I've always had a little difficulty accepting the idea that certain people are chosen over others... I have a hard time reconciling that with my conception of God.'

However, during the course of the interview, subjects often revealed a hidden or underlying sense of being chosen. The key to its emergence seems to be based for the most part on the self-evaluated strength of the person's relationship with their God, the *Attraction* phase (Phase 1). This identity surfaced even for most of the subjects who felt uncomfortable with the idea of being chosen, even when they had previously claimed to not even ever have thought of themselves in those terms: in contrast, the majority of the subjects claimed that everyone could be chosen or had already been chosen by God for a certain purpose. As put by the 34-year-old male scientific researcher: 'I would say that everybody can be chosen if they want to be chosen. But you're making a choice to say yes or no, so I wouldn't see it as anything good... but there's nothing special about me, being chosen like everyone else.' This 'democratisation' of chosenness had the effect of negating the supposed elitism of the designation and placing everyone on equal footing. This state of chosenness, however, was only of value when a person chose God back, i.e., initiated a reciprocal relationship, the *Decisional* phase (Phase 2). It was this feeling of *Reciprocity* that served as clearest evidence that a person was really chosen, and that led the subject to develop traits which would further reinforce and deepen the chosen identity of the person in the second phase, the *Decisional* phase, leading to developing a *Mission Orientation*, a *Group Orientation*, and a *Constraint to Duty* – see Figure 1.

The *Attraction* phase incorporates the four main reasons participants enter into this reciprocal relationship. I have given them the labels, *Sense of Wonder*, *Sense of Well-being*, *Direct Intervention*, and *End-Reward*. The *Sense of Wonder* stands for the reaction of awe at the greatness or grandeur of the divinity, and often serves as a sufficient reason for working well, but it also often leads to a sense of well-being or mission orientation. The *Sense of Well-being* describes the peace, quietude, lack of worry and trust that the subjects feel because they have a chosen relationship with a God who ostensibly controls everything. As expressed by the 49-year-old male consultant paediatric oncologist: ‘A certainty that God is ultimately in control, a recognition that illness is not the result of something that someone has done... a grateful acceptance that God ultimately has an answer for pain, suffering and death and that it is not his plan for humanity.’ *Direct Intervention* arises when people feel that they have had a direct encounter with God, as described by the 48-year-old Senior Engineering Manager: ‘I’ve seen God’s leading in my life since I was very small. I had one experience when I was about four years old: my mother had misplaced something, and she was looking for it, and with the faith of a child, which I still hope I possess, even today... I prayed that [to God] and I said that I have the faith ... please lead me to it and let me find it. Immediately after I prayed that prayer, I felt two hands gently pushing me and guiding me from my back, and they took me exactly to where the thing was. And from that day I knew that God was real, and nobody can tell me otherwise. Because I had a personal experience that I will never forget.’

The last category, *End-Reward* describes the state of those who engage in a reciprocal relationship because of their interest in the relationship’s attendant eschatological rewards, most notably, eternal life, or being with the Christian messiah following his second advent. Most of the respondents had mixed motives for engaging in the reciprocal relationship, with the most common being the *Sense of Well-being* that they derived, and the *End-Reward* that they would receive. This was expressed by the 48-year-old senior engineering manager: ‘We can enjoy the world of eternal life and also happiness - even here on the earth as it is now. If one chooses to make the decision to

follow God and accepts his offer of Salvation, then you are chosen. There are certain benefits to be reaped.’ Several people experienced what they described as a *Direct Intervention* from or encounter with God, while there were only a few mentions of a *Sense of Wonder* as a motivating factor. In all of these last three categories, respondents mentioned that this relationship brought calmness or peace conducive to working effectively: in the words of the 38-year-old scanning specialist, ‘I think that my faith, my belief in God and his overall control of circumstances... means that I tend to approach things in a much more peaceful manner... I don’t think that I panic in the same way that the other people do.’

The presence of a reciprocal relationship with the divinity was usually, though not inevitably, a sign that the interviewee would enter into the *Decisional* phase, and then segue to showing further signs of chosenness in the *Exhibition* phase, as briefly described earlier. Of the three traits to be exhibited, *Mission Orientation* was by far the most prevalent. I define *Mission Orientation* as a sense of being alive to a certain missiological covenant. This state is awakened by the chosen person feeling a sense of obligation to God, or of thankfulness, or results from a religious injunction to disseminate their beliefs. This can manifest through preaching the Gospel directly but can also occur through the act of working well and hewing faithfully to one's beliefs. The highly successful actions taken by one would thus lead people to ask what one’s secret is, to which the answer would be ‘God’. Thus, according to the 26-year-old archaeologist, ‘So I'm not working just for myself doing what I want to do and not caring about anyone else, I'm working so that I can glorify God and that means that I need to put ten times more effort into my work than I might normally want to.’ Additionally, according to the 27-year-old male business process analyst responding to how being chosen specifically affects his work behaviour: ‘It goes back to the text I read from Galatians about the Fruit of the Spirit... I try and be as helpful as possible, you know, go the extra mile... yeah, be beneficial, and then relate to people at work... I always see how I can benefit this person's working experience.’ Even those who questioned the traditional SDA view of a

personal God still somehow felt chosen to some degree such as the 44-year old female associate editor, responding to the question, 'Is there something that you feel God has 'chosen' you for?', replied, 'On a very basic level, to mirror that type of chosenness or belovedness [that I received from God]... at least to my children... but really [on] to the people in my circle.'

Mission Orientation could also manifest in four different sub-variations, to which I have given the labels *Directed Calling*, *Pass It On*, *Prosocial* and *Role Modelling*. *Directed Calling* refers to the fact that some respondents have felt directed by a Higher Power to focus on a certain job or domain of work, which can even be something that the subject had never before considered. For example, the 48-year-old female lead clinical scientist admits, 'How I ended up where I am sort of made me think that's where God wants me to be, because... I [applied for and] got a job and it's something that I never really knew existed, so that sort of makes me think that that's the way God's been leading me.' *Pass It On* refers to the individual's wish to pass on the 'grace' and 'love' they have received from the deity, often shown them through the agency of mentors in early life, and thus 'pass it on' and show it to others in turn. *Prosocial Caring* stems from caring for a person because of their fellow-humanity in God. Finally, *Role Modelling* refers to the act of the chosen person behaving as befits someone who is chosen by God. This involves embodying and acting as a representative of the Christ, exhibiting probity and kindness, throughout all of one's persona, in both the public and private spheres. These last three variations, *Pass It On*, *Prosocial Caring* and *Role Modelling*, were often bundled together and confounded, but all were based on the fact that being a Christian, i.e., being chosen by God, obligated showing love. This was expressed in general terms by the 42-year-old neonatal practitioner: 'Well yes, I think that's our uniqueness, we definitely all have a forte, so just because you're Christian you have an innate desire to serve and love people,' and in specific terms by the 27-year-old document controller: 'There are definitely responsibilities that I have when my friends and I go out... there's the responsible part of me that's consciously aware thing to make sure that everybody is kind of like cared for.' At the workplace, these

characteristics could present themselves, for instance, as showing increased patience co-workers, or ensuring that work-mates are socially included and professionally respected.

The next most frequently exhibited trait by the chosen person in a reciprocal relationship with God was having a *Constraint to Duty*. This trait exhibits itself in working well: it is incumbent on the chosen person to do their best and see things through, both as a responsibility to oneself as well as to God. This occurs as a duty (whatever you do, do it for the glory of God), and may also spring from a sense of obligation to one's community. One can see this expressed by the 48-year-old senior engineering manager: 'My faith helped in that situation I would say a lot, because it would have been easy to give up... and maybe I'd look for something else or I'd get out of it some other way, instead of seeing it to a conclusion right.' The sub-trait of *Greater Responsibility* can result when the subject's *Constraint to Duty* results in more responsibility being assigned or taken on: it can act as a two-edged sword, because on the one hand, it entails shouldering a much greater responsibility as a chosen person, but this increase in responsibility may also bring about a corresponding rise in stress. As the 36-year-old pharmacist exclaimed, after the apothecary where she worked had been sold and she became acting pharmacy manager: 'I am now managing on behalf of the new pharmacy... it's quite stressful this year, and especially the last 2-3 months... I think to be chosen, it's always an advantage... it means, in a way good, but from the other point, oh I have more responsibilities, I have to do this, something extra, extra, and you would think why would I need this? I was happy by being ordinary, not promoted.'

The third trait, that of *Group Orientation*, is defined as a focus on performing a task on behalf of the group of chosen people of which one is a part. In this instance, the group is just as important as the individual. This trait could conceivably be tied into the ethic of putting others first, as well as to the idea of the Church as the Body of Christ (Hultgren, 2002), and is shown through comporting oneself in a way that would reflect well on the group (performing well at work, etc.) as well as in avoiding bringing shame. Its subcategory, *Group Strength*, refers to knowing that one is

part of a special group, with the result that one is strengthened by this knowledge. This category was in significantly lower evidence, appearing less than a third as often as the other two categories, although it was quite important to the few that exhibited it. We see this when we look at what the 41-year-old project manager: ‘When I do share with other believers, I get a confirmation... they do not question whether it was just coincidence or whether it was God’s doing and that encourages me to carry on. I also know that they’re there for me, they also pray for me, and they support me in whatever challenges I face... and when sometimes I don’t even have the courage to ask God for help, I know that other people are there praying for me.’

The amount of chosenness felt and evinced by respondents seemed not to be influenced by any other factors such as gender, age, level of education, job title/type of job, country of residence or whether that person was still in education or not. What seemed to solely matter was how close the subject felt in their relationship to God. Interestingly enough, as previously mentioned, there were instances of interviewees, alienated from the traditional mores and beliefs of Adventism and even putting the traditional SDA conception of God into question, who nevertheless believed in the concept of chosenness, and admitted that one could be ‘chosen’, associating it again with a relationship with ‘God’ (viewed by these respondents in less anthropomorphic terms), however tenuous that relationship might be. To be clear, they did not feel ‘chosen’ as such, but remained at the incipient chosen state of *Attraction*, without entering through the *Decisional* phase, and thus seemed to experience only surges of chosenness. For example, the 37-year-old male cognitive neuroscience research associate found himself experiencing a *Sense of Wonder* and exclaimed: ‘This feeling... directs me to God, that's one of the crucial things that supports my religiosity... this feeling of awe and at the same time, joy. It affects, it boosts my motivation... for a couple of days.’

4.4 Discussion

The subject of chosenness and religious motivation is rather an esoteric one in academia, and especially so in the context of organisational behaviour and work motivation, with a lack of research about its effects on working behaviour. On setting out to examine the phenomenon, however, I was quite sure that the idea of being chosen was a familiar one to most of my potential interviewees, although I wondered how strong a part of their identity it was. As subsequent events showed though, the concept was known mostly in a theoretical sense by the majority of interviewees or was experienced in an attenuated fashion, with a distinct discomfort felt at applying the term to themselves.

The results that I obtained point to the fact that although chosenness can mean several things, to the respondents identifying with the concept, true chosenness in this context exists as a result of first being chosen by God, and then taking the additional step of choosing God back. This seems to harken back to the strain of Judaism derived from the Midrashic tale in which the Jews become chosen because they chose to be (Beker, 2008b). Although the overwhelming majority of the respondents felt uncomfortable with the concept and label of being chosen, the majority of them exhibited the traits of chosenness established by this study. Thus, I discovered that chosenness seems to develop through three phases. The *sine qua non* of its existence is first to have a close relationship with God. This extraordinarily close relationship is what I term the *Attraction* phase of incipient chosenness and consists of four factors that push one along the path: a *Sense of Wonder*, a *Sense of Well-being*, *End-Reward*, and *Direct Intervention*.

In other words, respondents first enter into this relationship of *Reciprocity* because of experiencing a *Sense of Wonder*, having a *Sense of Well-being*, undergoing *Direct Intervention*, or possessing an *End-Reward*. The common resultant trait underpinning the exhibition or possession of these factors appears to be a decrease in stress, as a result of the realisation of the

omnipotence and the vastness of God, of a sense that everything is under the deity's control, a sense of having been noticed and attracted by God.

But just through what means do these traits push individuals into a reciprocal relationship with God? The causative factor seems self-evident in the cases of *Direct Intervention* and *End-Reward*: a direct personal encounter with one's deity would be a reason in itself to enter into a reciprocal and beneficial relationship, and having the hope of an eschatological reward, i.e., salvation and eternal bliss in paradise, would likewise be the ultimate prize for a true believer, thus serving as an overwhelming motivation. However, the pathways for a *Sense of Wonder* and a *Sense of Well-being* need to be explicated further.

The sense of wonder has been called 'the most human of all emotions,' and is linked to our identity as a species as well as the appearance of religion itself among ancestors (Prinz, 2013). In merely possessing a sense of wonder, one already garners several personal benefits: thus this trait helps to counter alienation and loneliness (Arndt, 2017), bestows epistemological surety and meaning to one's life and learning processes (L'Ecuyer, 2014), and awakes a sense of the exceptional and the extraordinary (Prinz, 2013). It would seem then that having a sense of wonder could predispose a person to enter into covenantal chosenness with God or reinforce an already incipient relationship, possibly strengthening and the sense of meaning in one's religious beliefs and imbuing a formal hierarchical relationship with a sense of personal feeling.

Being deeply involved in one's religion and possessing strong religious faith and beliefs has been shown to provide a host of individual benefits. Among these are an increase in one's 'sense of perceived internal control' (Fiori, Brown, Cortina, & Antonucci, 2006), 'fewer depressive symptoms and higher positive affect' (Patrick, 2003), and 'higher levels of life satisfaction, greater personal happiness, and fewer negative psychosocial consequences of traumatic life events', with non-traditional Christian groups such as nondenominational Protestants, or Jehovah's Witnesses 'report[ing] greater life satisfaction than do their unaffiliated counterparts, even with the effects of

other dimensions of religiosity held constant' (Ellison, 1991). This increase in perceived well-being also acts to strengthen a person's religiosity and could thus function to push certain individuals to take their relationship to the level of choosing God back, transforming a formal dutiful obedience into something more personal that could in turn bring about even more profound impacts on a person's happiness and health (Harvard Medical School, 2017).

Thus, both a *Sense of Wonder* and a *Sense of Well-being* seem to act as both initiator as well as intensifier of initiating a relationship with God. An individual possessing either one or both characteristics would not however necessarily experience the annunciation of chosenness, but the necessary conditions seem to be that people at the incipient chosen phase already find themselves at the high end of the Centrality of Religion spectrum and are driven by Religious Motivation. The individuals who, although intellectually conceding the theoretical existence of chosenness, failed to exhibit the traits of chosenness were also those for whom religion had no motivating force, who did not view religion as central to their identity, or a combination of both. If the respondents did exhibit any of these traits, they often then enter into the crucial component, the *Decisional* phase of chosenness, or choosing God back, i.e., choosing to be chosen. To exhibit a constant and true chosenness, it is vital that someone deliberately makes this decision: a failure to do so results in a theoretical knowledge of the phenomenon and perhaps occasional surges of 'chosenness', but these only entrain time-limited episodes, unlike the steady and continuous sense of subjects who have undergone the decision.

Self-determination theory postulates that humans have three innate psychological needs - competence, autonomy, and relatedness - that must be met in order for individuals to experience an authentic 'enhanced self-motivation and mental health' and that when these needs are thwarted, it may 'lead to diminished motivation and well-being' (Ryan & Deci, 2000b): in other words, in order intrinsic motivation can only develop when these three needs are met. Research has shown that a religious individual's perception of God has a direct impact on their mental health

and self-determination: failure to experience competence, autonomy, and relatedness in this relationship may lead to maladaptive interpersonal relationship with others, self-doubt, avoidance of responsibility, and truncated social networks, difficulty expressing disagreement, and compliance with unreasonable demands ‘including anti-social acts and terrorism’ (Miner & Dowson, 2008).

We can then, following on from the tenet that extrinsic rewards can undermine intrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000a), that the impetus for choosing to be chosen varies among individuals at a fundamental level: a *Sense of Wonder* and a *Sense of Well-being* seem to be closer to the intrinsic end of the spectrum, with *Direct Intervention* being possibly closely related, i.e., contact with the transcendent awakens a sense of wonder and awe, and when the experience is positive and personal then an overwhelming sense of well-being ensues, but only when that individual’s need for self-determination is met. Conversely, choosing to be chosen in order to obtain an *End-Reward* would seem to fall under extrinsic motivation, although the fact that the individuals in my study are already at the high end of religious motivation and are relatively high performers professionally would seem to indicate that this could be classified as *integrated regulation*, which could be thought of as ‘the most developmentally advanced form of extrinsic motivation... shar[ing] some qualities with... intrinsic motivation. but still considered extrinsic motivation (albeit an autonomous form of it)’ (Gagné & Deci, 2005) because the motivation arises not from interest in the activity itself but in the *End-Reward*. This all seems to confirm, however, that individuals who choose to be chosen are highly motivated in their lives, and that entering into a state of chosenness would only serve to amplify their success in the personal as well as the professional spheres.

After choosing God back, one then enters into the *Exhibition* phase, where the results of this decision are seen, grouped under the categories of *Mission Orientation* (with the sub-categories of *Directed Calling*, *Pass it On*, *Prosocial*, and *Role Modelling*), *Constraint to Duty* (with the

sub-category *Greater Responsibility*), and *Group Orientation* (with the sub-category *Group Strength*). As mentioned above, the already high motivation of these individuals would result in greater perceived work results, arising primarily through a self-perceived increase in the subject's social and mental stability, due initially to their self-determination needs being met by their relationship with God, but then being strengthened by the various factors in the Exhibition phase of chosenness. The trait with the highest incidence was *Mission Orientation*, with *Constraint to Duty* coming next, while *Group Orientation* had less than a third of the incidence of *Constraint to Duty*.

The very fact of being chosen already confers a special status on an individual, both in the context of their professional as well as in their personal life and lends meaning to the work that the individual performs. Finding meaning in one's work also can give fulfilment and global meaning to one's life (Steger & Dik, 2009) as meaningful work has been found to be a fundamental component of well-being (Allan, Autin, & Duffy, 2016). The mechanisms through which the meaning of work acts on individuals varies according to whether the focus is on oneself or on others, with 'other-oriented actions or experiences serv[ing] to broaden or expand the self in some meaningful way' (Rosso, Dekas, & Wrzesniewski, 2010), thus affirming the effectiveness of the *Exhibition* phase of chosenness.

I discovered that being chosen has several varied positive effects on the working behaviour of the respondents. For some, a *Mission Orientation* was the overwhelming manifestation; often distinguished in the form of one of its sub-categories *Directed Calling*, *Pass it On*, *Prosocial*, or *Role Modelling*. This trait seems to give one a sense of greater purpose and meaning at work, and results in a push to perform at a higher level or engage with their colleagues in a more amiable manner. The resultant professional and interpersonal success would then ostensibly and inevitably lead to others noticing the difference and becoming interested in the reasons behind it. This serves as the opening for the chosen individual to 'witness' or point to their relationship with their deity as being the inspiration or cause of their success, thus hopefully awakening an interest in their beliefs from

their co-workers. Of all the sub-categories, the least represented seems to be *Directed Calling*, with all the other three being cited with equal frequency. It is important to note that *Directed Calling* is a concept related to, though more specific than, the organisational behavioural idea of a *calling*, defined as ‘an orientation toward work motivated by a transcendent or external summons to integrate work with one’s overall sense of purpose and meaningfulness in life and with “other oriented” values and goals’ (Dik, Sargent, & Steger, 2008). Furthermore, while a *calling* engages with the idea of transcendence and spirituality, there is no mention of a *personal relationship* with God, the key facet that distinguishes this concept from *chosenness* in general, and the sub-category *Directed Calling* in particular. It is interesting and highly suggestive that *Directed Calling* is the least represented manifestation of a mission-orientated chosenness, particularly in light of the highly personal nature of this motivation. However, seen in light of the fact that chosenness only takes effect after an individual takes an active decision to choose God back, thus becoming chosen, it seems no surprise that this most passive category should also be the least populated.

For some of the chosen, a *Constraint to Duty* was the primary factor that pushed them to high performance, with the trait seeming to provide an internal impulse or increased grit towards achieving results. This reason seemed to be less about ‘witnessing’ or impressing others into asking about God, and rather more about working well out of a strong covenantal sense of obligation springing from their chosenness: they had to work well because they were chosen. This factor would seem to be related to and belong with the family of traits grouped under the term *conscientiousness*, defined as ‘the propensity to follow socially prescribed norms for impulse control, to be goal directed, to plan, and to be able to delay gratification’ (Roberts, Jackson, Fayard, Edmonds, & Meints, 2009), or as being ‘careful, responsible, and organised’ (Becker, 1998) and possessing the values of dutifulness, achievement striving, deliberation, self-discipline, being hard-working, responsible to others, orderly, and rule abiding (Jackson & Roberts, 2017; Russell, Woods, & Banks, 2017), such that the ‘the relationship between the conscientiousness factor and

job performance appears to be quite robust' (Dalton & Wilson, 2016). Conscientious individuals exhibit other highly desired traits such as putting forth an equally high amount of effort whether agency controls and incentives to alignment and performance increase are present or not (Fong & Tosi, 2016), and 'feeling less conflicted about what to do when faced with two options that might equally satisfy different trait-relevant goals' (Russell et al., 2017).. A subcategory, *Greater Responsibility*, could serve as a two-edged sword: dutifulness impelled the subjects to work at a higher level and when subsequently given more responsibility, compelled them also to accept it, but it often resulted in a higher level of stress: this stands in seeming contrast to Fong & Tosi's (2016) hypothesis that 'adverse selection of conscientious agents on capability will not occur because those who feel their abilities do not meet the principal's requirements are likely to self-select themselves out of the process'. But perhaps the difference lies in the increased motivation associated with this trait due to also having a sense of greater purpose, as well as the personal and other-directed aspect of this trait of conscientiousness.

Finally, for others, *Group Orientation* was the facet that helped them to work better, with this factor primarily focussed on belonging to a select group and seemingly associated with greater social and emotional support through a strong and sustained social support and identity. *Group Orientation* draws from the same conceptual well as *belonging*, defined at the most simple level as simply 'acceptance as a member or part' (Hall, 2014) of something greater. *Belongingness* however incorporates manifold concepts, and stems from individuals' 'pervasive drive to form and maintain at least a minimum quantity of lasting, positive, and significant interpersonal relationships... within a temporally stable and enduring framework' (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), involves the incorporation of feelings of safety within the greater community and mutual benevolence and responsiveness between its members (Allen & Bowles, 2012; Reis, Clark, & Holmes, 2004), and has been established as 'a strong risk/protective factor for depressive symptoms' (Cockshaw & Shochet, 2010) while serving as a prerequisite to the attainment of competence and motivation for

learning (Levett-Jones & Lathlean, 2009). Interestingly, in the case of religion, belongingness might actually play a greater role in membership retention than belief, with research showing that ‘although ideological belief and acceptance of metaphysical doctrines are often regarded as the essence of religious participation... [there is] considerable evidence suggesting that the need to belong may be a more compelling factor than the need to believe... [and] that movement into and out of religious groups (including cults, sects, and mainstream denominations) depends much more heavily on social ties than on ideological belief’ (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). The result of this belongingness in religion might be what gives the subcategory of *Group Strength*, its particular power to mitigate the effects of stress, especially when the subjects perceived their group as interceding on their behalf with the deity and praying for them. The psychological support of just being in the group, as well as that gained by expressions of support by the group, was then further augmented by the perceived support given by God in response to the prayers of the group. In effect, the *Exhibition* phase of chosenness not only creates an action orientation towards the deity (seen in *Mission Orientation* and *Constraint to Duty*), it also generates one towards the select group of which one is a part.

An interesting phenomenon was the fact that for several subjects whom I interviewed, chosenness seemed to be a salient variable for their identity, even when they proclaimed that they no longer believed in the traditional theology of the Adventist Church nor hewed to its missiology. These were, however, subjects who at one time or another had experienced a strong association with religion, often being raised in a strongly observant and pious environment and then later abandoning this identity for a more liberal or agnostic one. Surprisingly enough, these subjects still couched their views in one of the components of chosenness that I outlined previously, and most if not all of them retained their membership in the Seventh-Day Adventist Church and continued to formally belong to a congregation. This closely resembles the situation of non-Orthodox Jews in the United States, whose ‘patterns of religious belief and religious behavio[u]r more closely

resemble those of the religiously unaffiliated... they may believe like the religiously unaffiliated, but they belong like the religiously committed Christians' (Cohen & Blitzer, 2008), a situation confirmed by recent surveys in which 68% of non-Orthodox Jews in both the US and Israel responded that their identity was based on ancestry/culture (Lipka, 2016). Could this residual trace of chosenness in the non-believing subjects of Seventh-Day Adventist heritage then be the result of the feeling of belonging that being in a group of chosen people engenders?

Another observation to be made from this study is that even being in the incipient chosen state of attraction seemed to already offer benefits in the form of a perceived reduced level of stress. This may be the result of the fact that in order to reach this incipient state, one must already have reached high levels of religiosity/spirituality, a state that has a robust association with hearty personal well-being (Ellison, 1991; Jackson & Bergeman, 2011; Koenig, 2009; Patrick, 2003). Once the decision was taken by the subject to choose God back, the resultant benefits at the exhibition stage were even greater. Respondents felt a sense of greater purpose and meaning at work, an internal impulse to produce results or a source of increased grit, and greater social and emotional support through a strong and sustained social support and identity. Thus, even if the interviewee never took the decision to be chosen, the very fact that they were exposed to an environment conducive to the formation of the trait of chosenness already seems to confer some benefit. This finding, along with the fact that most of the interviewees are successful practitioners of their craft and that several of them excel in their work at high-end and highly-stressful jobs strongly encourages the conclusion that a sense of chosenness stemming from religious motivation can actually be of benefit in working life.

This study has thus examined the role of chosenness in the context of the work outcomes of religious people. It has established that in the subjects who were interviewed, chosenness does not manifest itself in a monolithic fashion, but in several forms and different phases. Furthermore, chosenness tended to be felt strongly by those whose relationship with God could be

characterized as close and personal. If that is the case, a sense of chosenness could then perhaps be seen as the upper tip of religious motivation. The obverse also seemed true, that those that were questioning God, tended to feel less chosen, because they chose God in some sort of lesser manner, and therefore felt less influence of religious motivation on their work.

Chosenness also may be closely tied to the concept of belonging, a state of being that has been found to be as important if not more so to retaining the loyalty of group members than the actual religious beliefs of any particular religious system, and one that has been found to engender positive outcomes in both private and professional spheres. This propinquity of the two concepts is already evident in the Bible, where the relationship of God to the believer is a salvific one of chosenness and belonging, 'Do not be afraid, for I have ransomed you. I have called you by name; you are mine' (Isaiah 43:1, NLT) comparable to a familial one, 'So then you are no longer strangers and aliens, but you are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God,' (Ephesians 2:19, ESV). Although the two concepts seem closely associated and appear to share characteristics that engender good mental health, chosenness incorporates a proactive decision to be chosen and requires that an individual be highly placed on the spectrum of spirituality and religiousness.

A further contribution of this research is the realisation that the concept of chosenness, although familiar to the interviewees as a result of their religious background, was often a deeply unsettling and provocative one and caused many participants to initially recoil, even though almost all respondents exhibited some traits of chosenness. Furthermore, although some respondents felt estranged from the religious background that they grew up in and its accompanying theology, they nevertheless often still exhibited traits of chosenness, as well as the occasional associated benefit. Thus, although chosenness might seem to be a conceptual relict in religious behaviour, the traits associated with it are ever salient. Research on religion has pointed out that religion can meet many psychological needs such as security (Saroglou, Delpierre, & Dernelle, 2004), meaning (Park,

2005) and positive social identity (Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010). The facets of *Group Orientation* and *Constraint to Duty*, found in the exhibit phase of chosenness, ostensibly fulfilled these exact needs. This research on the motivation that may result if one is religious has thus a considerable relevance for organisational behaviour, and this present research extends and adds to this list, adding the concept of chosenness to the field.

4.5 Limitations and future research

The purpose of this study was exploratory: to investigate what chosenness consists of, how chosenness arises and is experienced, whether the sense of chosenness affects individuals working behaviour, and if so how and to what extent. Although I was able to establish that chosenness does exist and trace out the manner in which this occurred, there still remain several limitations to the study. The most obvious was the issue of the sample, with sampling biased and consisting of relatively few participants, all working in a professional capacity, all coming from the same background based in a small Christian denomination with idiosyncratic characteristics, and all based in the Western world. Furthermore, I interviewed close friends, as well as people whom they in turn recommended in order to avoid potential problems. As other researchers have pointed out, the pitfalls of qualitative research interviews are several and include artificiality of the interview, lack of trust, elite bias, and Hawthorne effect (Myers & Newman, 2007; Qu & Dumay, 2011). Furthermore, the use of an internet-based communication method for the majority of interviews meant that additional issues were involved, with this form of communication possessing several advantages, namely access to international sampling, interviewee convenience, and financial and logistical savings. The disadvantages to using this method could be discomfort for interviewees due to potential unfamiliarity with technology, difficulty in building the necessary rapport, verification of identity, and missing nonverbal cues (Lo Iacono, Symonds, & Brown, 2016). By using good friends, the pitfalls encountered in qualitative electronic research are mitigated, and the advantages fully

taken on. Furthermore, interviewing further participants who were recommended to me by these friends ensured that the theoretical sampling was deliberate as well as emergent and avoided the potential problems inherent in the method employed.

Future research thus should look at the concept of chosenness using greater depth and breadth and attempt to replicate these trends in other cultural and working conditions. Would chosenness still have as much an effect on someone working in a job that needed to be performed mostly in isolation for long periods, such as what scientists aboard the International Space Station or those on Antarctic bases do, if two of its facets in the exhibition phase, e.g., *Mission Orientation* or *Group Orientation*, might be curtailed? Would a *Constraint to Duty* be enough to sustain a sense of chosenness, or put another way, is a sense of chosenness still salient if it has to solely depend on a subject's acquired inner push to serve God, or does it need a group setting to fully perform? The evidence from the quantitative study appears to indicate that this may be the case, but further research is required in order to delineate how this occurs.

Would chosenness even be present in workers coming from a Dharmic (Hinduism, Buddhism) or Daoic (Confucian, Daoism) religious background? Is there a similar construct in these religious systems that functions as chosenness does, to push the religiously motivated into achieving statistically significant work results, and if so, how is it activated? What effect or influence, if any, would religious motivation have on other motivations such as family or intrinsic motivation? Would any of these motivations tend to cancel or to amplify each other, and if so, under what working conditions? Under exactly what conditions could a sense of chosenness become detrimental in working life and work outcomes? What effects does growing up in a religious or cultural environment of chosenness continue to have, even when the person leaves or repudiates this milieu? The answers to these questions would allow organisations to refine their hiring practices, as well as give managers and executives insight as to whether or not to place workers who feel chosen in certain settings or assign them particular tasks or projects.

Furthermore, future research should also try to build a quantitative, measurable construct to assess chosenness and relate it to other work outcomes and try and tease out what chosen people do differently, and how exactly their work outcomes differ, perhaps in the context of an ethnographic study. One other area that future research could also possibly explore is the influence of culture on how chosenness manifests, and how it is perceived, as the present study did not take this particular factor into account.

4.6 Conclusion

Religious belief is a central part of the identity of those who are believers. Thus it, as well as the motivation that arises from it, has saliency for these people throughout all parts of their life, even in areas where merely discussing religion might be frowned upon, for example, in the workplace. Fortunately, the state of research in organisational behaviour has evolved from ignoring the role and relevance of religion and religious motivation in working life to acknowledging their powerful salience. Although a sustained and systematic body of knowledge is slowly being built up in this area, the state of research has now moved to acknowledging that religious belief and other cultural and social values play a huge part in all facets of life, from the political and social level to the personal and professional level.

As a contribution to this research on the influence of religious belief on working motivation, I have proposed a novel concept taken from religious belief that may have important implications for organisational behaviour: that of chosenness. Additionally, although the construct of chosenness is a novel one to this field of study, it seems to be related to other concepts from organisational theory such as belongingness, and to make use of some of the same psychological and sociological pathways to catalyse success in individuals. We are then just at the beginning of discovering how religious belief and chosenness affect people in their working life and have yet to

trace their influence on the other motivations that affect individuals at work. Additionally, we still need to examine the possible ramifications of hiring highly religious chosen people with an avowed aim of witnessing, and how best to balance and shield against possible workplace strife that may arise from a surfeit of religion and a clash of different beliefs. All in all, the concept of religious motivation and chosenness could prove an intriguing field that would help to enrich the current state of knowledge.

Table 4-1 Interview and Participant Data

Gender	Age	Job Title	Location
F	40	Project manager	Düsseldorf, Germany
F	43	English Teacher	Paris region, France
F	26	Archaeologist	Oxford, UK
F	40	Campus Ministries Staff	Oshawa, Canada
F	43	Registered neonatal nurse	Loma Linda, CA, USA
F	36	Pharmacist	London, UK
F	42	Neonatal practitioner	Cambridge, UK
F	48	Lead Clinical Scientist	Cambridge, UK
F	44	Associate Editor	Sacramento, CA
F	41	Administrative Assistant	Austin, TX, USA
F	27	Document Controller	London, UK
F	40	Critical care dietitian	Cambridge, UK
M	27	Lab support technician	Cambridge, UK
M	34	Scientific Researcher	London, UK
M	44	Information Analyst	London, UK
M	27	Business Process Analyst	Limerick, Ireland

M	37	Cognitive Neuroscience Research Associate	Cambridge, UK
M	38	Scanning Specialist	Haverhill, UK
M	40	Staff Scientist	Cambridge, UK
M	33	Bookkeeper	Düsseldorf, Germany
M	49	Consultant Paediatric Oncologist	Cambridge, UK
M	48	Senior Engineering Manager	Düsseldorf, Germany

Table 4-2 Interview questions

1. Can you give me a brief overview of what it is you do in your work?
2. What would you say most motivates you to do what you do? What are you most excited or passionate about?
3. Could you please talk to me about how you feel about your work?
 - a. Tell me about the challenges you face. Examples?
 - b. Tell me about your successes. Examples?
4. How would you describe your relationship to God? / Please talk me through your relationship with God.
5. Please tell me how you would describe yourself in terms of religion and belief?
6. Please tell me how your religious beliefs/beliefs about God influence your work? Could you give me some examples?
 - a. How do these beliefs make you feel at work? How do they make you feel outside of work?
7. Are there any particular beliefs, more than any others that help you in your work?
 - a. How do you feel that they help you?
8. Are there any particular beliefs, more than any others that hinder you in your work?
9. When we speak about our relationship with God and I say the term 'chosenness', what does it make you think about?
10. What does chosenness mean to you?
11. Tell me about your experiences with being chosen / Would you say that you feel chosen?
12. Would you say that you feel chosen by God?
13. Since when have you felt chosen?
14. Are you/Do you feel chosen because of some inherent quality?
15. Are you/Do you feel chosen to do anything in particular?
16. To what extent do you feel chosen by God to do the type of job you do?
17. Do you feel chosen for your current job or chosen for something that you haven't found about yet?

18. How do you feel about being chosen?
19. What privileges and/or responsibilities come with being chosen?
20. How do you know you're chosen?
21. How does being chosen affect your behaviour at work? Examples?
22. How does being chosen affect your relationships at work? Examples?
23. How does being chosen affect your results at work? Examples?
24. Have there ever been times in your life that you doubted you were chosen? Describe them.
25. Would you rather not be chosen?
26. Is there anything else about being chosen that you'd like to mention?
27. What's next for you in your work? What are you looking forward to?

Table 4-3 Quotes illustrating facets of chosenness

Phase	Facet	Quote
ATTRACTION	Sense of Wonder	<p><i>'I mean that God would regard me, that he would seek to reveal himself to me, that he would sacrifice himself for me and give me an opportunity to a life that I don't deserve, yeah, this is life changing! And yes... it changes everything... Everything!'</i> - Consultant Paediatric Oncologist</p>
	Sense of Well-being	<p><i>'I think that the blessings that you experience come from the relationship... as you build that faith and trust relationship with God, and there's the blessing of peace of mind... there's the blessing of worshipping on the Sabbath and things like that which feeds into your entire well-being.'</i> – Campus Ministries staff</p>
	End-Reward	<p><i>'Are there any privileges that come with being chosen? Again, as a Seventh Day Adventist for us it's all about that relationship with God, so that's here, but also what happens in the future, so eternal life... that's the privilege as a Christian that you look</i></p>

forward to, so I guess that is the big one of being
'chosen' – Scanning specialist

Direct Intervention

'I've seen God's leading in my life since I was very small. I had one experience when... my mother had misplaced something, and she was looking for it, and... I prayed that [to God] and I said that... please lead me to it and let me find it. Immediately after I prayed that prayer, I felt two hands gently pushing me and guiding me from my back, and they took me exactly to where the thing was. And from that day I knew that God was real.' – Senior engineering manager

DECISION

'There's also, you know, a select group of people that are chosen and... essentially, those are the people that have chosen God, so we're all chosen, but we need to choose him back to be part of that group... and there's that twist at the end of the day.'
– Business process analyst

EXHIBITION

Mission Orientation

Directed Calling

'How I ended up where I am sort of made me think that's where God wants me to be, because... I [applied for and] got a job and it's something that I

never really knew existed, so that sort of makes me think that that's the way God's been leading me.' –
Lead clinical scientist

Pass It On

'We were meant to be with God and be happy and healthy and have full lives. And one day hopefully when Jesus comes then, that will be. So, I think that yeah, I think that the responsibility is there to share with those who are ready to hear.' - Critical care dietitian

Prosocial

'There are definitely responsibilities that I have when my friends and I go out... there's the responsible part of me that's consciously aware thing to make sure that everybody is kind of like cared for.' –
Document controller

Role Modelling

'I guess in the literal sense, you almost are a representative of [God]. You are tasked with that and especially in this environment, in this society, people have very strong preconceptions about religion... and therefore your responsibility is to give a good experience and it can take years to build that and it's destroyed in seconds.' – Scientific researcher

Constraint to Duty

'If we're chosen, we're also... answerable to God. So, I'm not working just for myself doing what I want to do and not caring about anyone else, I'm working so that I can glorify God and that means that I need to put ten times more effort into my work than I might normally want to.' - Archaeologist

Greater Responsibility

'I am now managing on behalf of the new pharmacy... it's quite stressful this year, and especially the last 2-3 months... I think to be chosen, it's always an advantage... it means, in a way good, but from the other point, oh I have more responsibilities, I have to do this, something extra, extra, and you would think why would I need this? I was happy by being ordinary, not promoted.' - Pharmacist

Group Orientation

'I mean again just in terms as an SDA, we have the whole health message we tend to live by, and I think it affects how I make decisions at work...' – Scanning specialist

Group strength

'When I do share with other believers, I get a confirmation... they do not question whether it was

just coincidence or whether it was God's doing and that encourages me to carry on. I also know that they're there for me, they also pray for me, and they support me in whatever challenges I face... and when sometimes I don't even have the courage to ask God for help, I know that other people are there praying for me.' – Project manager

Figure 4-1 Final general conceptual model of chosenness: 3 phases

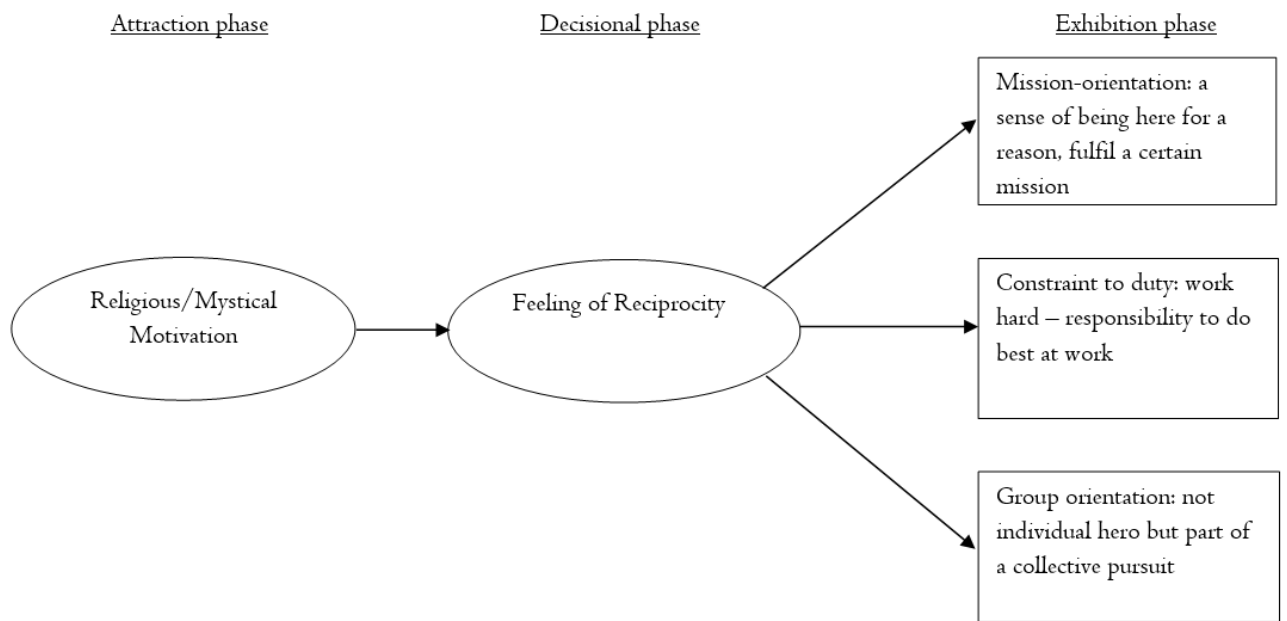
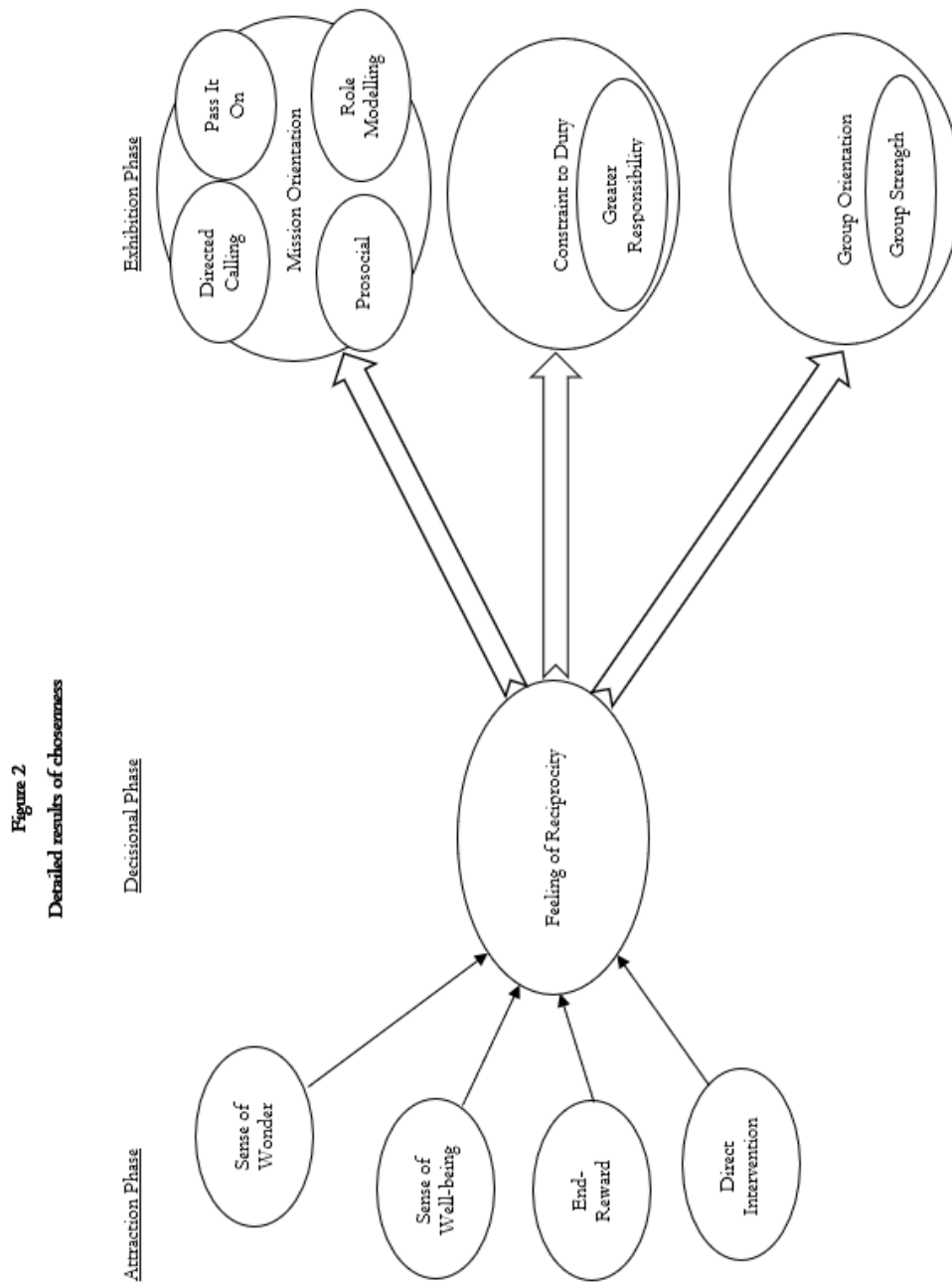


Figure 4-2 Final detailed conceptual model of chosenness with subcategories



CHAPTER 5 - DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The aim of this dissertation was to explore the topic of how religion generally affects the professional success of individuals in organisations, in particular as it relates to their motivation. In order to fully depict and outline how this might happen, I proposed three research questions and subsequently engaged in research to answer them accordingly.

The first research question deals with the wider context of the world religions and their effect on job performance, examining what the defining traits of each of the major world religions are, in what way these traits could possibly affect organisational behaviour, and what the current state of research is at the intersection of each religion and management studies.

The second research question queries whether religious motivation actually exists, how it could be defined, whether it is a distinctive and novel construct, and if it actually affects the objective job performance of individuals.

My third research question focuses on scrutinising the particular religious characteristic known as chosenness, what it consists of, how it is related to religious motivation, and whether it is a distinctive construct that motivates individuals in the workplace.

5.1 Differences in world religions

The first research question covered a wide area, in order to provide a profound and extensive foundation of knowledge to understand the topic. Thus, I queried what the defining traits of each of the major world religions were, in what way these traits might possibly affect organisational behaviour, and what the current state of research was at the intersection of each religion and management studies.

Thus, we see that religion is not diminishing in importance and salience but is holding its own or even growing, leading to an increase in interest on how it affects not only research areas traditionally associated with religion, such as politics, economics, and anthropology, but also disciplines that have traditionally shunned its study. The field of organisational and management research too has gradually come to realise the great potential for religion to impact organisational culture as well, increasing research interest on the effect of religion on organisational management in such varied areas as diversity management, strategic management, and decision making.

In examining the various denominations, I found that each broad religious group as well as each individual religion contained attributes that had the potential to enhance the economic viability of its adherents, as well as to enrich and enhance their workplace experience. The tenets of the Abrahamic group, consisting of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, looked remarkably similar, based on obeying a set of tenets explicitly forbidding socially interdicted acts such as murder, adultery, and theft, and enjoining the worship of one God. The Dharmic religions, Hinduism and Buddhism, defined their emphasis on morality based on the key idea of reincarnation, and of *dharma*, the power underlying the universe, with Hinduism emphasising order and hierarchy, while Buddhism strongly stressed ethics and morality. Finally, the Daoic religions, consisting of Confucianism and Daoism, based themselves on the idea of following *dao*, or the universal principle or force of everything in the universe, with Confucian ethics stressing the primacy of correct human interaction governed by laws, and Daoism valuing how closely an individual reflects the natural world.

In conclusion, although each system of belief differed in various ways and prescribed differential actions in response to situations, nevertheless all of them possessed scriptural texts or particular traits that could actually change organisational behaviour and act to affect the objective results of an individual in the workplace. The point of importance and differentiation seems to lie in the deficits that might cancel or etiolate the advantages of each religion's merits. We see this in

several instances. Among these are the social inequity fostered by Hinduism's emphasis on caste, Confucianism's emphasis on egalitarianism leading to a lack of initiative and a culture of shared instead of individual responsibility, or in Catholicism's interest in hierarchy and unity leading to the installation of the clergy as the ultimate interpreters of truth, thereby precluding Protestantism's feat of widespread literacy. This might not be the entire story, however. Thus, even though Confucianism (allegedly fatal to initiative) is the prevalent cultural system among the Han people, yet the Chinese diaspora is renowned for its economic and commercial success. Similarly, Hinduism's notoriously crippling caste system has not prevented the success of Indian enterprises in the global market, while the staunchly Catholic region of Bavaria is one of Germany's richest *Bundesländer* today. On an individual basis, we can see at the very highest organisational level a sample of chief executive officers who are religious, but whose religious systems range through the whole spectrum from CEO of Tyson Foods Donnie Smith's Evangelical Protestantism, through PepsiCo's head Indra Nooyi's Hinduism, to eBay's former head Pierre Omidyar's Buddhism (Lebowitz Rossi, 2014).

Furthermore, although a cursory examination seemed to indicate that various religions emphasize different traits and thus push their adherents into actions leading to different outcomes, I sensed that this was not the whole story there could be a common underlying theme. If some particular traits of a religion push people to engage in actions prescribed by that religion, and if this push occurs across the religious spectrum, would this not indicate that it is the religion itself or the observance of that religion that plays the motivational role instead of any particular tenet? I thus decided to examine to examine the conjecture that it is the presence of religion and the inspiration derived from it that serves to motivate and push devout adherents to engage in actions that bring about objective success in the workplace, a religious motivation as it were.

5.2 Religious motivation: theory, model, and verification

The second research question narrowed the focus down to concentrate on whether the novel construct I proposed of religious motivation actually existed, and if so, how it could be defined. Furthermore, I queried whether or not it actually was a distinctive and novel construct, and if it actually did affect the objective job performance of individuals.

In order to build up a proper construct, I drew on theories of prosocial and family motivation, as both types of motivation share a similar, other-centred focus with what I envision religious motivation to be. I then defined Religious Motivation as the desire or impulse to work to the best of one's ability in order to bring honour or cause joy to someone held dear, which in this case is their deity. I designed and ran a two-phase study to explicate Religious Motivation, with the results that religious motivation was shown to be a distinct and different construct from the other types of motivation and that it affected objective performance, but only if a three-way interaction occurred between the factors of Religious Motivation, Prolific as Work, and Centrality of Religion, and then only to a marginally significant degree, affecting 3.6% of the test subjects. These individuals exhibited high levels of Centrality of Religion and viewed Prolific as Work, performing worse at low levels of Religious Motivation than any other participants in any of the other three possible groups, although at higher levels of Religious Motivation they quickly showed higher objective results. I conjectured that this occurred because people for whom religion was a central part of their identity would be primarily moved by Religious Motivation, and thus at low levels would show lower results than others who were differently motivated while showing correspondingly better results at higher levels.

Upon further reflection, I formed several conclusions: first, that Religious Motivation would only ever affect a small proportion of individuals in the workplace, even ostensibly religious ones espousing an Abrahamic religion, at least those in conditions similar to the study (online, in a WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich, Democratic) cultural environment, and involving

limited physical labour or mental strain). Secondly, in comparison to similar constructs such as Family Motivation, Religious Motivation would not seem to be as readily susceptible to activation through similar simple methods such as placing a picture of the object of one's devotion on the desk, due to the three-way interaction mentioned earlier. Thirdly and more positively, the results seem to strengthen the case for not objecting to hiring workers for whom religion forms a central part of their identity for fear that religion would psychologically crowd out work concerns and lead to a decrease in company performance. This would of course be dependent on the condition that the individual possessed a high level of Centrality of Religion and regarded their tasks as consonant with real work. Lastly and perhaps most significantly, I conjectured that the fact that the objective performance derived from Religious Motivation only reaches a (marginally) significant threshold at the very highest levels suggests there might be something different about the individuals at the higher end of the scale. In my next section, I examined a concept found mostly in and common to the Abrahamic group of religions that could provide a possible explanation, that of chosenness.

5.3 Chosenness: theory, model, and verification

The third and final research question of the dissertation zoomed in on a characteristic of certain religious denominations belonging to the Abrahamic group, that of chosenness, and delved into whether it might actually prove to be a source of motivation itself, beyond the general push provided by religion. Thus, I queried what chosenness actually consisted of, how it was related to religious motivation, and whether it was a distinctive construct that actually motivated individuals in the workplace.

The concept of chosenness that I explored sprang from the sacred texts of the three main Abrahamic religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam), and was defined as a feeling of having been selected, or elected by a supernatural entity, often for a specific reason or a special mission. To

answer my third research question, I conducted a grounded exploratory qualitative study on individuals of the Seventh-Day Adventist church living in the UK, the USA and Germany, zooming in on this one particular religious group because of their strong emphasis on chosenness.

During the course of the interviews, I confirmed that the sense of chosenness emerges from religious or spiritual motivation and consists of three phases: an initial phase of *Attraction*, a second phase of *Decision*, and a third phase of *Exhibition*. Furthermore, I found that chosenness gave individuals several advantages. Among these are a sense of greater meaning at work, resulting in higher performance or better interpersonal communication; a tenacity towards achieving results; a drive to accept more responsibility; and a sense of greater emotional support and stability provided by belonging to a select and relatively closely-knit group.

5.4 Religious motivation and chosenness

What then can we conclude about the relevance of religious motivation and chosenness? There are several points that should be clear from the preceding chapters. First, although there have been claims that particular belief systems are more suitable to our present definition of success, it can be seen that among all the systems of religious belief that we have examined, none of them seems to be more advantageous in terms of possessing certain precepts that lead to economic or organisational advancement, particularly when viewed in the light of the extraordinary rise of economic systems not traditionally associated with the rise of the capital order. Secondly, we can say that sometimes it is the fact of espousing and practising a religion, a construct that I term *religious motivation*, that itself brings about objective achievement in economic and business management; a caveat to this study being that the subjects were wholly from the Abrahamic group, with the majority being Christian. Third, it has been established that the concept of *chosenness* is a construct that also produces objective results in the organisational setting, and that

it might be the motivating factor for the statistically significant group affected by religious motivation.

What does this mean then for the world of business and organisational management? First and perhaps most obviously, it means that organisational theory now has another, potentially very powerful method of motivating individuals. Seen in a wider perspective however, it portends something more significant, increasing the potential workforce for companies, resolving the quandary of how best to include and accommodate those whose religiosity precluded them from remunerative participation in the wider world of work, and in fact creating another channel of reconciliation and healing the estrangement between the secular and religiously-minded elements of society.

Focussing in on a more detailed view, one evident way in which these results may have import lies in the area of personnel and human resource management. The first and foremost effect would be the increase in the number of people available in the workforce. In stark contrast to the prevailing view that religion and its practice should be eschewed in the office, and the recognisably pious shunned, the confirmation of the efficacy of religious motivation and chosenness means that organisations not only could hire the recognisably religious without any qualms, in some cases perhaps they should actually select for them. Individuals spurred on by religious motivation might be able to perform well under conditions that might prove strenuous or demanding for people actuated by other motivations. Tasks that are viewed as impossible, disgusting, or dangerous may well prove too overwhelming for other motivations, but the transcendent and eschatological nature of religious motivation and chosenness, as well as the surety provided by belief in God could very well provide the impetus or grit necessary to achieve the goal. The distinctive characteristics of religious people strongly affiliate with an increased tendency to exhibit high orderliness and methodicalness (Saroglou, 2015), high conscientiousness, and low impulsivity (Saroglou, 2010) and high self-control (McCullough & Willoughby, 2009), and

high loyalty to the group of which they are a part (Bulbulia, Osborne, & Sibley, 2013; Graham & Haidt, 2010). These very same traits thus might also make religious people especially suitable for work in occupations that deal with the less fortunate or those more concerned with the interpersonal care, as well as in duties that demand higher attention to detail and steadiness.

The hiring of openly religious people would also likely have ramifications on the area of organisational culture. As religious people view and act differently in their professional as well as their social life, often eschewing perquisites, rituals, or characteristics that define a secular(ised) organisation (particularly during its festivities, e.g., little to no drinking of alcohol), or conversely practising customs potentially at variance with the prevailing culture, changes will most probably have to be made to existing practices, as well as to company areas and spaces. The majority of changes may be positive ones, as religiosity has been associated with positive characteristics, so that a greater amount of highly religiously-motivated people could actually bring about organisational improvement, not only directly through increased performance, but also through cultural trait change such as increased company loyalty.

5.5 Practical implications

Of course, hiring religiously-motivated people will entrain several new challenges. The first priority of any organisations is to prevent any disruption to its workflow. This could possibly be prevalent in settings where individuals of differing religious views work together; disagreements may arise as a result of proselytization, either secular or religious, and conflict ensue resulting from value clashes. The company's stance on equality and social and civil rights would furthermore need to be strongly proclaimed and affirmed, as religious conservatism has often been associated with an intolerant or repressive attitude towards people with orientations (gender, ethnic, and religious) that differ from the established mainstream: this would force the issue of diversity to the forefront,

particularly when representation on company bodies and quotas are being discussed. Furthermore, if religiously-motivated individuals were to start being favoured for certain positions or assignments, or if the company hires figures such as company chaplains to minister to the religious, the issue of favouritism and discrimination would become definitely salient.

For this very reason, the hiring process would probably need to be revamped in several ways. In order to hire individuals who would be sure to place a premium on performing at work, it might help to screen for an indication that the potential hire views their remunerated activities as real work (as in “Prolific as Work”, cf. Chapter 3), for religious workers, but perhaps for the secular as well. This could very well increase the quality of all new hires, and subsequently raise organisational performance. Furthermore, potential religious hires should then be assessed for Religious Motivation and Centrality of Religion as well. To be frank, there this could create several potential problems adding an additional layer to the hiring process. However, at the present, there is no set procedure to screen for religiously-motivated workers who would not place the propagation of their religious beliefs on an equal level with achieving high performance, particularly given the fact that one of the stated objectives of chosen people is to perform well in order to bring attention to their religious beliefs and give credit to their deity. In order to prevent potential disruption in the workplace, would it be ethically possible to sequester religiously-motivated/chosen people in their own section, or even desirable? Would it be perhaps better to select a preponderance of religiously-motivated workers for certain jobs than for others? At the very least, sensitivity training and team-building exercises would probably have to be increased, but in all probability more fundamental changes would have to be enacted, such as strengthening company culture in order to increase worker identification across religious lines, offering as-equal-as-possible advancement opportunities as well as equal access to chaplaincy to both secular and religious, and proffering perquisites and rewards that appeal equally to both sides.

A highly salient area of organisational life in which the traits of religious motivation and chosenness can be applied is that of recruitment. There are several practical implications that can be drawn from these studies, particularly in the area of hiring practices across all organisational levels throughout the entire process. The theoretical underpinnings behind employee selection traditionally fell into two schools of thought: the psychometric and the social process approaches (Bolander & Sandberg, 2013). The psychometric approach regards jobs as consisting of discrete tasks, views people as essentially unchanging and psychologically stable, assumes that the job and the worker can be examined independently, and pursues the development of tools and algorithms to enable the objective best fit of candidate to job organisation. Social process presents a more nuanced approach and places the highest emphasis on the psychological interaction and relationship between the candidate and the organisation, although the two approaches find common ground in placing the emphasis on individuals and largely ignoring social context, especially intra-organisationally, and concentrating on the algorithm of the hiring instead of examining the process of arriving at the decision (Bolander & Sandberg, 2013).

The addition of a religious context into the hiring process, particularly one based around chosenness could provide an additional and distinctive selection method, combining the assumption of a worker's essential psychological stability, strongly bolstered by their chosenness, with the psychological/spiritual interaction of the candidate with the organisation, and additionally emphasising a third area, that of intraorganizational support and interaction between the candidate, fellow-workers, and the deity.

As such, the recruitment process begins long before the employer posts an advertisement for a position in their organisation. The Society for Human Resource Management has outlined an iterative recruitment process (Breugh, 2016), consisting of four sequential broad steps, with a fifth iterative step continuously being applied.

The first step consists of establishing recruitment objectives: these must be tailored both to the culture and strategic goals of the organisation, as well as the demands of the position. In the case of an organisation wishing to make use of chosenness and religious motivation, it must first define its company culture and credo. If the organisation wishes to focus exclusively on accepting candidates who fit a certain religious profile, it will necessarily have to limit the pool of potential recruits. In contrast, choosing to pre-screen candidates to allow those who fit the company's requirements while being high in chosenness *no matter their religious affiliation* would provide the optimal solution.

Among the common recruitment objectives of an organisation, the most pertinent in would be the type of applicant sought; however, other objectives would also be important to take into consideration, particularly job performance goals, expected new-hire retention rate, and cost per hire (Breugh, 2016: 13). One thing to keep in mind is that since individuals who exhibit chosenness might be more prone to higher performance, they could be relatively more expensive to hire, particularly if directly sought out by the organisation: however, they could also lower the turnover rate in the organisation, and potentially decrease the number of workers required to run certain projects, processes, and even departments.

The second step involves developing a recruitment strategy: crafting a definite action plan and shaping it according to the type of worker desired, how the recruiting message should be broadcast, where and on what platforms it should be shared, and for how long. The message should be appropriate, realistic, specific, and important to the group(s) being targeted. During this step, the nature of a site visit for post-initial stage candidates should be decided (Breugh, 2016).

This step is one which must be also carefully considered, for although the type of worker desired is already a given, the difficulty lies in the form of the message to be broadcast and the manner in which the desired individuals are to be reached. What values should the organisation emphasise during the recruitment drive, what traits should be desired, what rewards should be

proffered or accentuated in order to attract religiously motivated chosen individuals? How important are perquisites to the desired individuals, and would offering them weaken the motivation of present employees or even cause a negative reaction among them?

The third step involves carrying out recruitment activities: the six major recruitment methods are employee referrals, using the organisation's website, job boards (virtual and physical), direct recruitment from institutions of higher learning, social networking sites, and bespoke methods (Breaugh, 2016). This step includes everything from hooking a potential candidate's interest, through constructing and administering tests for religious motivation and chosenness, and on to managing the relationship post-application (including the useful and oft revelatory organisational site visit). Although this part of the recruitment process has traditionally been conducted face to face, new methods such as a wholly integrated e-recruitment using tools such as automated interviews have begun to be used with the claim that they are more transparent, result in a wider candidate pool, aid in selecting better candidates, and saves time and costs without lowering the efficiency and quality of recruitment (Sołek-Borowska & Wilczewska, 2018).

This step may actually be innovatively reconfigured from the usual process, especially because highly-religiously motivated chosen individuals would tend to frequent venues and websites and attend activities that strengthen their religiosity. Thus, advertising could be customised so that it could be used at events connected to spirituality and religion, placed in and around physical areas and on websites with high internet religious traffic, and used in publications and groups specifically designated for the religious. Furthermore, recruiters might find it useful to pay attention to certain religious denominations that place an emphasis on their distinctiveness or adhere to a doctrine of chosenness, as well as to certain geographic locations populated by communities whose members espouse modern international values while concomitantly hewing to a sense of religious chosenness.

When potential candidates are head-hunted, pre-screening is often automatically accomplished during the initial approach by the recruiter or manager according to a checklist of characteristics for high religious motivation or chosenness. However, a thorough screening of these candidates is recommended during the interview, whilst candidates who apply on their own initiative or that submit their applications electronically, must also be screened for the desired characteristics during the interview itself. To accomplish this, a modified version of the tests for high religious motivation and chosenness that I crafted for the relevant studies could be employed.

The fourth step consists of measuring recruitment results and evaluating recruitment efforts: there are three areas or points of view to be examined in this step. The first of these is centred on the organisation itself: thus, the employment brand, the recruitment message, and the recruitment method must be evaluated. The second level focuses on the employees directly connected with the hiring process: these are the hiring manager and the recruiter responsible for the hire. The third area concerns the applicant and examines whether or not s(he) was active in applying, how attractive the position was for them, and how the entire process of recruitment was handled. We can add a fourth area that should influence the other areas, namely post-hiring performance or how the mutual perceptions of desirability and suitability between employer and candidate have been met.

Research into organisational performance has shown that it is a multi-dimensional construct, differing in meaning throughout the various levels of the organisation, with various metrics such as number of employee initiatives, social environment, overall financial performance, customer service, and number of sales being variably important to different stakeholders (Fong & Tosi, 2016). However, in order to make full use of religious motivation and chosenness, it would be wise to create an environment within the organisation that fosters and encourages religious motivation at all levels, and in all organisational processes.

In the fourth step, this would entail examining whether the employment brand, the recruitment message, and the recruitment method were in line with and fully integrated religious motivation and chosenness in an organic manner, or whether these traits were treated in an incidental or ad hoc manner. Research has shown that efforts at company branding are often confined to recruitment campaigns which make promises which the quotidian company environment fails to keep, resulting in employee disillusionment, high attrition rates, diminished reputation, and brand failure (Mosley, 2014). An effective recruitment message would need to attract the right people and discouraging those lacking the necessary traits and experience, thus saving the employer time and costs (Lacka-Badura, 2015), while promising only what it can deliver. Examining the effect of the emphasis on religious motivation and chosenness is thus necessary for two main reasons: to ensure that candidates who possess these traits do not prioritise proselytization but instead utilise them to the profit and productivity of the organisation, and to guarantee that the brand presented by the company during recruitment matches that experienced by the candidate during and after the recruitment process. It is important to remember that the personnel and experiences encountered and lived by the candidate create at least as considerable an impression of the organisation on the candidate as the initial recruitment advertisement or media offering may have done, setting the baseline for subsequent experience, hence the importance of the re-examining the recruitment process and entering the fifth step iterative process of refinement, which should be continuously carried out throughout all steps of the process: examining results in order to refine processes and activities that will lead to improved recruitment decisions and results (Breugh, 2016).

Two other things need to be kept in mind when discussing this topic. Firstly, the recruitment of religiously motivated individuals does not automatically equate to focussing on those who feel chosen. As discussed previously, chosenness in the study occurred in individuals who were at the very high end of religious motivation, but it is entirely possible that a non-religious

but spiritually-inclined candidate may evince the effects and provide the results that come with being chosen. It also may be the case that people may experience chosenness as a psychological effect of belonging to a secular group whose behaviour and social pressure act to elevate the individual to this state.

The second thing to keep in mind is the possibility of the charge of discrimination based on religion being levelled at the organisation by candidates or even employees who have been passed over for a position in favour of someone else with the desired level of religious motivation and chosenness. Care must be taken to ensure that the selection process does not discriminate in favour of a particular religion, denomination, or set of beliefs, but that the requirements remain agnostic of confessional specifics and emphasise only the level of religious motivation and chosenness.

The implementation of religious motivation and chosenness as desirable traits for candidates in the recruitment process is novel, as religion has mostly been considered relatively peripheral until relatively recently, and motivation arising from a heightened religiosity an idea that would have seemed risible. As such, embedding the search for these traits into contemporary recruitment practices may not reach optimal levels for some time, but if persevered will yield a pool of candidates with higher motivation and productivity and may even finish by refining and enhancing the company's culture, identity, and processes. Thinking outside the paradigm of recruitment, another aspect that could be examined in the context of religious motivation is how to integrate or include the highly religious in organizational life that would actually make use of this most salient aspect of their toolkit and allow them to contribute their best at work in a way that prevents discrimination.

5.6 Future research directions

Although I have explored the topic of religious motivation, providing an extensive grounding on religious tenets, establishing religious motivation as a novel and unique concept, and closely scrutinising how chosenness works to motivate individuals, there remains much to be discovered and analysed. What must we do next in order to increase and round out our knowledge of the topic and bring this idea to fruition? What unanswered questions or unexplored ideas do we still have to explore and analyse? To answer these questions, we must look at several anomalies and scrutinise some details in the dissertation.

To begin with, in my second chapter, I hypothesized that the religious motivation causing a significant effect on performance experienced by the top 3.6% of the participants was related to, or even representative of the people who actually experienced chosenness in their lives. From the results of the third study, it can be seen that all the participants who actually felt chosen could also possibly evince the characteristics that put them in the top 3.6% of those significantly influenced by religious motivation. On reviewing their interviews, I found that they all could implicitly meet the criteria for a medium to high centrality of religion, although it would have been desirable to have tested them for it using the fully-developed measurement instrument. A similar re-reading of the interviews seemed to indicate that they would also possibly have scored relatively high on viewing their job as real work (Prolific as Work). Finally, individuals whom the third study identified as displaying chosenness mentioned that their religious belief was a great source of motivation for them. This was often couched in non-denominational terms, with the respondents speaking of serving God instead of the church. However, the sub-text of their remarks always seemed to be in accordance with the tenets of their Seventh-Day Adventist faith and appeared influenced by a reading of the Bible that was clear to me, as someone brought up in the same faith tradition, as originating in a frame of reference unique to Seventh-Day Adventists. A clear direction that future research could thus take is to apply the same tests conducted in the two-part study on religious

motivation to individuals identified as possessing the 'chosen' trait. This would then strengthen the association between the top 3.6% motivated by religion and highly-motivated and successful individuals who regard themselves as 'chosen'.

A further step in this direction would be to show under what social, cultural, and environmental conditions chosenness is awakened or instilled in individuals from various religious backgrounds. For example, it would be interesting as a confirmatory study to examine other religious groups that are associated with chosenness that I have previously mentioned. At the initial stage, this would involve examining individuals with a plurality of points of affinity with Seventh-Day Adventists such as people of Jewish heritage across the religious spectrum, as well as close-knit evangelical Christian denominations such as the Latter-Day Saints (Mormons) and the Jehovah's Witnesses. A later stage could extend the study to other smaller religious denominations across the three main groupings earlier discussed.

Looking specifically at the mechanism, several questions would need to be answered. Is it necessary to have grown up in a religious tradition that espouses chosenness, among a close-knit group of individuals with traits reinforcing their uniqueness? Or is it sufficient for a person to have the three factors of centrality of religion, high religious motivation, and viewing their current job as real work? The evidence from the interviews, although sparse, inclines to tentative agreement with the latter conclusion, but it would be interesting to see if the supposition holds when applied to other faith traditions (particularly those in which chosenness is not associated with the body of a religion's adherents), cultural contexts (does chosenness still matter when one's entire environment consists of other chosen people?), and organisational environments (how does chosenness fare in companies or sectors where an entitlement to success prevails?).

Leading off from the previous point, yet another direction that future research could take on this topic is to explore whether the construct of chosenness in religious individuals also has any analogues in the non-religious that do not shade into aberrance. In the religious milieu, talk of faith,

belief, and divine inspiration is quotidian, although as my research showed, even highly devout individuals will often balk at the designation of themselves as being 'chosen'. In a highly secular environment, however, such a self-appointed designation might easily be seen as indicative of psychological instability and organisational unsuitability, resulting in the individual being stigmatised. Additionally, people with religious beliefs, even in a secular environment, might be given leeway to make pronouncements that would not be afforded to others from a secular background. Could chosenness be developed apart from religious motivation, for example through belonging to secular organisations with a similar structure and ritual as a denomination, such as professional societies or associations? Are there organisations or socio-cultural environments where a secular form of chosenness can be fostered? Could there exist ever be anything that could function in an analogous way to that of the transcendent, omnipotent, and beneficent deity of individuals experiencing high religious motivation?

Another direction of research that would enrich the topic is to conduct a more finessed study into the various facets of religious motivation and chosenness itself. As an initial observation, there are some elements of chosenness that seem to resemble a form of extrinsic motivation, particularly the end-reward motivation, while other components resemble family or even pro-social motivation: do the various constituent parts work antagonistically or synergistically? Furthermore, how does the chosenness of highly religiously-motivated individuals interact with other types of motivational drivers, i.e., extrinsic, intrinsic, prosocial, and family? Through what pathways does one type of attraction factor lead to any specific exhibition outcome or a lack of one? What are the relative strengths of these attraction factors and of the different end-effects in the exhibition phase of chosenness? What are the reasons behind chosenness progressing from the initial state of attraction into a fully developed chosenness in some individuals, while it withers and regresses in others? Does chosenness ever falter, and if so how, and can it then be subsequently resuscitated and if so, how? Does chosenness still remain even if religious motivation fades? Finally, it would be

useful to trace out if the performance of those who experience chosenness remains consistently high across different tasks, or whether there are specific ones for which chosenness is more of an asset. Would objective results be as high for a task involving long hours of drudgery, as it would be for one requiring a high degree of creativity?

A vital area that must be examined lies in the application of this new motivation to knowledge domains and geographic areas that differ from the norm assumed in the studies that I conducted. For example, although the research in this study has shown how the business world can benefit from religious motivation and chosenness, other domains of professional life have traditionally been sharply demarcated from if not downright hostile to even the slightest trace of religion, such as government and politics, academia, or even professional sports. Furthermore, the amount of acceptance or tolerance for an extroverted form of any religion is lower in certain countries, e.g., France, while in other areas only strictly prescribed forms of particular religions tolerated or encouraged, e.g., Saudi Arabia, China, Sri Lanka. These factors could thus pose challenges not only to multinational enterprises looking to expand their brand, but also to indigenous companies that may seek to make use of this type of motivation. If piety is prescribed, does this affect one's sense of being set apart by one's religious traits? If piety is proscribed, how can one even maintain a high religious motivation, let alone a state of chosenness?

We have thus seen that the possibility of religion serving as a motivating factor, and of chosenness potentially representing that part of religious motivation that achieves significant results is of interest and utility to more than just the academic sphere. It has thus been shown that religion, far from proving to be a hindrance or distraction in business, may actually contribute to producing the outstanding results that any successful organisation demands, under the right conditions of high religious motivation, centrality of religion, and viewing one's job as real work.

The unique and novel concept of chosenness, taken from the corpus of the religious texts of the Abrahamic group of religions, has proven to be of interest, strongly suggesting a relationship

with the portion of religiously motivated people that experienced a significant effect on objective results. However, the concept still remains vastly underexplored, and much more research remains to be done on it, as well as on religious motivation, in a world in which religion seems to play an ever more preponderant and vital part.

5.7 Final Conclusion

What is it that motivates an individual to give their very best in any endeavour? For some the key may lie in an external agent such as official commendation, public adulation, or financial security. Others may be moved by the innate interest of the task, the plight of common humanity, or the specific love of their family. But for a select few, the answer lies in a far more transcendent reason. In his book, *My utmost for his highest*, the evangelist and teacher Oswald Chambers neatly summed up what drives a person who finds themselves in the higher reaches of religious motivation: ‘And the only way to live an undefeated life is to live looking to God. Ask God to keep the eyes of your spirit open to the risen Christ, and it will be impossible for drudgery to discourage you. Never allow yourself to think that some tasks are beneath your dignity or too insignificant for you to do, and remind yourself of the example of Christ...’ (Chambers, 2017).

For the Christian then, the incentive to live a religious life in emulation of and communion with God is intrinsically bound with following the example of the original Chosen One, the Messiah. However, the call to emulate is the exact opposite of a retreat from life but is actually the enjoinder of the individual to fully participate in and help in the shaping of all areas of life. As such, a Christian who is high in religious motivation feels chosen to wholeheartedly engage in whatever task needs doing, without scrupling to disdain those duties that others may find lacking in prestige or dignity. They have been chosen by their deity for better things, and in gratitude and wonder they choose God back: in effect, they choose to be chosen.

The studies in this research work show that the results of choosing to be chosen include professional success but also other less pecuniary benefits, such as a sense of well-being, psychological strength, and group support leading to an overall satisfaction with life. While the traits of religious motivation and chosenness were delineated in a particular and distinct religious group, the Seventh-Day Adventists, there is no reason to think that these set of motivational factors might not also be found and be found to work as effectively in other religious groups that coalesce around the idea of chosenness. The review of world religions that this dissertation provides further underscores the broad implications that spirituality and religiosity hold for our organizational world.

This set of motivational factors are novel and add to the storehouse of organisational theory as well as the arsenal of management practice. The discoveries that this dissertation has brought to light form the base of the science of a new way of working, a way in which individuals wanting to integrate the spiritual energy they gain from a life of religious motivation can harness it to reach success in secular endeavours. It is high time that religion be regarded as a normal and essential part of a person's entirety and be given a place within which it can flourish and concomitantly be utilised to further that individual's success in the secular, organizational domain as well as in the eternal world.

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Appendix

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Affirmation – Statutory Declaration
According to § 12 part 1 no. 6 of the Doctoral Program Regulations
of ...

I hereby declare, that the

Dissertation

submitted to Wissenschaftliche Hochschule für Unternehmensführung (WHU) -Otto-Beisheim-Hochschule- was produced independently and without the aid of sources other than those which have been indicated. All ideas and thoughts coming both directly and indirectly from outside sources have been noted as such.

This work has previously not been presented in any similar form to any other board of examiners.

Sentences or text phrases, taken out of other sources either literally or as regards contents, have been marked accordingly.

The following persons helped me gratuitous / non-gratuitous in the indicated way in selecting and evaluating the used materials:

Last Name	First Name	Kind of Support	gratuitous / non-gratuitous
De Schutter	Leander	Statistical tutoring	Gratuitous
Leihner-Guarin	Melanie	Coding	Gratuitous

Further persons have not been involved in the preparation of the presented dissertation as regards contents or in substance. In particular, I have not drawn on the non-gratuitous help of placement or advisory services (doctoral counsels / PhD advisors or other persons). Nobody has received direct or indirect monetary benefits for services that are in connection with the contents of the presented dissertation.

The dissertation does not contain texts or (parts of) chapters that are subject of current or completed dissertation projects.

Place and date of issue Düsseldorf 14.09.2021Signature 