

**Protestant Work Ethic Endorsement and Social Justice
Values in Developing and Developed Societies:
Comparing Jamaica and New Zealand**

Rosemary Frey
University of Technology, Jamaica

Lawrence Alfred Powell
University of the West Indies-Mona

Abstract

Taking Weber's *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* thesis as the point of departure, this paper compares work ethic endorsement patterns and social justice correlates in a developing society, Jamaica, and a developed society, New Zealand. A condensed version of Mirels and Garrett's (1971) Protestant work ethic scale and related demographic and social-values-related measures were administered at Jamaican and New Zealand universities. High and low PE clusters were isolated, within each culture, among comparable samples of undergraduate social science students, and MANOVA applied to test effects of culture, protestant religious affiliation, and related 'social justice values' variables (welfare state support, redistribution, intergenerational equity, free enterprise, social distance from the disadvantaged, social Darwinism). Results suggest that there are significant cultural differences between high and low PE scorers on key justice-related societal values often seen as being associated with the Protestant work ethic. Possible reasons for the differences are advanced in the light of Jamaican and New Zealand social and political conditions.

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Values in Developing and Developed Societies:

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Within the Western-individualist model that has dominated approaches to 'development' in most contemporary societies, an emphasis on personal ambition and individuated rights and freedoms is usually considered to be a necessary precondition for achieving socioeconomic progress (Weber, 1904-1905/1976; McClelland, 1961; Friedman, 1962; Coase, 1976; Abbott, 1983). In a less flattering light, other analysts have observed that this individualistic emphasis can become "an invitation to a defensive, narcissistic self-infatuation" (Johnson 1985, p. 120), and that it tends to promote obsessive consumerism and commodification of social life and the natural environment. (Fromm, 1947, 1955; McPherson, 1962; Slater, 1970; Lasch 1979; Kovel, 2007.) The 'Protestant ethic,' as described in the writings of Max Weber (1904-1905/1976), is commonly associated with these ascendant ideals of individuality, asceticism and hard work in modern industrial societies. In the *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Weber traced the birth of what he called rational capitalism to values imbued by the teachings of the leaders of the reformation of Christianity, particularly Calvinist doctrine. The Protestant ethic acted as "a unique set of moral beliefs about the virtues of hard work and economic acquisition, the need

for individual entrepreneurial initiative, and the rewards of a just God. Its specific values emphasized self-discipline, hard work, the prudent reinvestment of savings, personal honesty, individualism, and independence, all of which were thought to generate the cultural conditions most conducive to market economies, private enterprise, and bourgeois capitalism in the West.” (Norris & Inglehart 2004, p.2).

Weber argued that endorsement of these ‘Protestant ethic’ values was historically associated with the rise and success of modern capitalism, creating new social norms that helped justify its practices and associated inequalities of resource distribution among the emergent social strata. In describing the Protestant ethic (PE) as a component of the rise of capitalistic societies, he also addressed the question of the wealth and poverty of nations. Protestant, individualist societies were seen as likely to be wealthy, whereas non-protestant, collectivist societies were seen as likely to be poor. The communitarian ethos of Catholicism was seen as having impeded educational and economic development, whereas the ascendant inner worldly asceticism of Protestantism, with its greater emphasis on individual achievement, facilitated development and modernization. (Greeley 1989, p. 485).

Does personal religious identification with Protestantism necessarily lead to increased subscription to these values associated with the Protestant ethic? And does this tendency differ between economically underdeveloped and developed societies? According to Hofstede (1991, 2000), Jamaica is usually regarded as being somewhat more collectivist in its orientation than New Zealand. More recent studies by Frey & Powell (2005), and Powell (2008), have also found this to be the case. Does this, then, possibly provide a partial explanation for some of the differences in development, given their otherwise similar commonwealth past as former British

protectorates? Are the societal values associated with PE the same, or different, for New Zealanders and Jamaicans, or, do high PE scorers within both societies demonstrate unique value configurations? Some researchers (e.g. Buchholz, 1978) have argued that the societal values from which PE is derived are distinctly 'Western' historically in their individualistic emphasis on personal achievement, while others have suggested that domestic culture may provide an indigenous analogue to the Protestant ethic (e.g. Bellah, 1957; Furnham, 1990). For example the strong productivity norms that fueled rapid socioeconomic development in the United States as a post-colonial society can be interpreted historically as being either an extension of European Protestant norms into the New World, or alternatively -- as Toqueville and others had observed -- as constituting a distinct, new, indigenous "civil religion" of American-style individualism that provided the dominant cultural narrative and ideological justification for status and resource distribution patterns in the United States over the course of several centuries (Tocqueville, 2000; Hartz, 1955; Burnham, 1965; Parenti, 1994) .

Implications of PE for Development

There has long been recognition that values can be important determinants of behaviour within cultures (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961; Morris, 1956; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990; Schwartz, 1992, 1994, 2006). One area of particular interest has been the way in which culturally-based differences in values influence work attitudes and performance, which are in turn critical to sustained socio-economic development. The underlying premise of such research is that culturally-determined values instilled by the family, church, and other social institutions mould a person's

expectations and desires in terms of others and the society at large (Peterson, 2003). It is often argued that a key component of this values configuration in developing and advanced industrial societies is the “protestant ethic”. As elaborated in the works of Weber, the Protestant ethic is an individualistic belief system stressing successful outcomes for hard work (Katz & Hass, 1988). According to Weber (1904/1958), the defining characteristics of Calvinist teaching, including beliefs about predestination and relational asceticism, interacted with human psychology to create the conditions necessary for capitalism to flourish. Specifically, Calvinism led to diligence in the pursuit of work (as a sign of calling), and this “providential interpretation of profit-making justified the activities of the business man”(p. 163). However, Calvinists also held the belief that fulfilling God's work on earth required detachment from personal (evil) distractions. Thus, “A man without a calling...lacks the systematic, methodical character which is...demanded by worldly asceticism”(161). Successful capitalist development necessitated reliable, punctual labour -- which had not existed in traditional societies to the extent needed to reach critical mass in achieving economic growth and expansion. As Frey (2000, p.2) points out, “That *free* labour would voluntarily submit to the systematic discipline of work under capitalism required an internalized value system unlike any seen before.” The Protestant ethic provided this value system as a dominant societal rationale linked to religious imperatives.

Protestant ethic values therefore presumably provided at least part of the moral justification that facilitated the development of capitalism, allowing social and economic disparities in resource distribution to be seen as fair, legitimate, necessary, and even inevitable. The socioeconomic system was maintained by explaining and justifying inequality. Persons receiving lesser outcomes were deemed responsible for

their own fate, their disadvantaged status being viewed as a result of a lack of self-discipline, hard work, and strong moral character (Biernat, Vescio, and Theno ,1996; Furnham, 1990; Katz ,1981 ; Katz & Hass, 1988; Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Lerner & Miller, 1978; Weiss, 1969) . In short, the individual is seen as to blame, not the system. Moreover, particularly for the wealthy, there may be positive benefits to the self in endorsing PE. Kluegel and Smith (1986) found that making internal attributions for economic success was related to increased personal feelings of happiness and confidence. It follows that differences in endorsement of Protestant ethic beliefs should exist between persons based on their subjective sense of social class status. Will this be true in both the New Zealand and Jamaican samples?

Working from this Weberian approach, related literatures have often reflected an essentially untested assumption that an unambiguous positive relationship exists between these individualistic Protestant values and development. For example, early work by Macauley (1874), and later Morse (1964), argued that the Spanish region of the Americas had inherited a Catholic tradition that was less conducive to development than Protestantism. Andreski (1969) argued for a greater tendency toward communism in predominantly Catholic societies than in predominantly Protestant societies within Latin America. This assumption continues in more recent articles relating the potential for economic development of Latin America to the rise of the Pentecostal movement. Martin (2002, p. 101) argues that “there is a partial consonance between the ‘inner-worldly asceticism’ of the fast-growing Protestant movement in Latin America and the economic imperatives of the global capitalism into which Latin America has been progressively incorporated since the 1960s.” In all of these, the underlying assumption is that adoption of Protestantism has an impact

on development of a country. If one expands outward from this idea to view the Protestant ethic as part of the 'western belief system' more generally, the greater the infusion of Western ideas and beliefs, the stronger one would expect to be the values associated with PE, and in turn, socioeconomic development. Orpen (1978), for example, found higher mean scores for PE among African employees who had incorporated Western values, in comparison to employees with traditional cultural values.

Finally, *individualistic* Protestant values are typically associated with development, whereas cultures considered *collectivist* in orientation have been seen as more likely to remain poor and underdeveloped. De Long (1989, p. 241) observes: "Examine their (countries') relative per capita income levels...along with whether they went through or were predominantly settled from countries that had undergone the Reformation and were thus exposed to the virus of the Protestant ethic. And note that the seven countries with predominantly Protestant religious establishments all have higher per capita income levels than the other seven countries".

If this line of thought is correct, then one would expect that members of modern industrialized societies which are predominantly individualist would record higher scores for PE than members of developing societies which are more collectivist. However subsequent empirical studies have brought this into question. Furnham et al. (1993) was able to demonstrate that, ironically, Protestant ethic (PE) was associated with *lower* economic development, and collectivism. Contrary to Weber's idea, Protestant work ethic beliefs were found to be more strongly endorsed within poorer, collectivistic and high power distance societies (Hatrup et al. 2007).

Empirical Research on Associated Constructs:

Early research by Feather (1973) found a positive relationship between Protestant ethic values and conservative social attitudes. In a study that examined the relationship between scores from the Mirels and Garret (1971) P.E. scale and scores from the Wilson and Patterson (1968) conservatism scale, Feather concluded that “It is the salvation minded and those who stress self control and respect for authority who are more likely to be imbued with Protestant ethic values and conservative social attitudes . . . P.E. and conservative personalities tend to see God as ‘being on their side’, to be somewhat ascetic and distrustful of beauty, sexual/spiritual intimacy, to place their trust in convergent modes of thought in which rules can be followed and to emphasise self-discipline, duty, respect for authority in the way they approach their goals”(1139).

P.E. endorsement was also found to be ‘internal’ in attributional locus. Research by Greenberg (1979) demonstrated that endorsement of Protestant ethic ideals was related to an increased emphasis on input dimensions which are under an individual’s control (ability, effort). It follows that supporters of Protestant work ethic values would be likely to be more ardent supporters of free enterprise (Furnham, 1987; Heaven, 1991). In contrast, individuals low in support for Protestant ethic ideals exhibit a decreased emphasis on internal input dimensions. This in turn results in a higher degree of perceived similarity of inputs, and low P.E. individuals hold a greater preference for equality, rather than equity, as the norm in societal resource allocation decisions. High PE individuals expect people to succeed by hard work, personal effort and thrift, so social programs that grant funds without specifying

repayment or that are given without requiring repayment are not likely to be supported (Silverstein et al, 2000). Thus high PE individuals are less likely to endorse the principles associated with the modern welfare state (Barker & Carman, 2000; Fischer & Schneider, 2008; Hudson & Coukos, 2005).

In terms of relations between age groups in society, high PE and low PE individuals differ in their views regarding equity in the allocation health and social welfare resources. According to Minkler (1991, p. 67), in the United States the conservative view of the elderly is that of a wealthy voting block who "mortgage our children's future and contribute to the high poverty rate among the nation's youth". A study by Sabbagh and Vanhuysse (2007, p. 1), examining the perceived justness of public welfare transfers from the young to the elderly found that support "correlates positively with a 'welfare-statist' ideological frame (the endorsement of egalitarian redistribution and broad state responsibility for welfare provision and the attribution of social inequality to external causes), and negatively with a 'market-based' frame (individualism, a work ethic, and internal attribution)".

Another values construct associated with high PE is social Darwinism. Originating in the work of Herbert Spencer (1874-1896), social Darwinism is premised on 'natural inequality' – a notion long associated with conservative, 'rightist' views of human nature. Arguing against those who would promote equality in society, the classic conservative thinker Burke (1955, pp. 56-57), maintained that, "In this you are combating prejudice, but you are at war with nature." Kerlinger (1984), in identifying key components of the conservative mindset, states that the most important difference between liberals ('leftists') and conservatives ('rightists') is that the former attempt to make all people equal while the latter insist that this is

neither possible nor desirable. According to the social Darwinist perspective the social order is organised in such a way as to take advantage of the natural distinctions that occur between people, and the outgrowth of this is a class structure in which individuals 'find their own level' socio-economically. In such a system, equality of opportunity (but not result) is seen as providing a vehicle for ascent or decline (Rossiter, 1962).

There are now numerous studies indicating that perceived similarity (a) "triggers multiple empathy-related processes" (Davis, 1996, p. 145), (b) is positively associated with a variety of helping behaviours (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987), and (c) reduces the intensity of negative attributions (Veitch & Piccione, 1978). These results converge in suggesting that low social distance (high perceived similarity) is likely to be associated with equality- and need-based distributive preferences, whereas high social distance (low similarity to self) will be associated with less generosity, merit based distributive criteria, and lower levels of perceived deservingness for societal out-groups. Following from this, persons high in PE would be expected to perceive a greater social distance between themselves and socially disadvantaged groups (Biernat, Vexcio, Theno, & Crandall, 1996; Frey & Powell, 2006).

Comparing PE endorsement patterns in Jamaica and New Zealand

The present study therefore proceeds from the idea that the "collective achievements (and failures) of groups, communities and societies [are] dependent on collective beliefs, attitudes, norms and values or the culture belonging to a particular region" (Hashmi, 2001). Weber (1904/1958) had made this connection between cultural values and social and economic development. The Protestant ethic and the

spirit of capitalism that it inspired were viewed as unique phenomena, that arose in a particular historical period and cultural context. But questions remain as to its applicability to the present time and to cultural and historical contexts far removed from the society in which it arose. Thus we sought to explore aspects of the cultural value complex described by Weber as the “protestant ethic” in two disparate societies, Jamaica and New Zealand, which are clearly at very different stages of development. Based on the above research priorities, the following general questions were posed:

- 1) Are there differences in PE scores based on Protestant religious affiliation?*
- 2) Do the New Zealand or the Jamaican students record higher mean scores for PE?*
- 3) Are there significant differences in PE scores based on social class in either New Zealand or Jamaica, or in both?*
- 4) Is there a commonality of associated social values between high PE scorers in Jamaica and New Zealand?*
- 5) In what associated social values do the two cultures differ?*

Following from these questions, hypotheses were:

H1 Students who self-identify as ‘Protestant’ (in terms of religious affiliation) will demonstrate significantly higher scores for PE than students who do not identify themselves as Protestant.

H2 There is a significant difference in mean PE score based on culture.

H3 There is a significant difference in mean PE score based on social class.

H4 There is a significant interaction between culture and social class in terms of mean PE scores.

H5 There is a significant difference between Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 members, with Cluster 1 members recording higher mean scores for belief in free enterprise than Cluster 2 members.

H6 There is a significant difference between Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 members with Cluster 1 members recording higher mean scores for social Darwinism than Cluster 2 members.

H7 There is a significant difference between Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 members with Cluster 1 members recording higher mean scores for social distance than Cluster 2 members.

H8 There is a significant interaction between Cluster membership (high PE, low PE) and culture for mean scores on the PE related criterion variables (free enterprise, social Darwinism, social distance)

H9 There is a significant difference between Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 members, with Cluster 1 members recording lower mean scores for welfare state support than Cluster 2 members.

H10 There is a significant difference between Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 members, with Cluster 1 members recording lower mean scores for desirability of income redistribution than Cluster 2 members.

H11 With respect to preferred criterion of distributive fairness in society, there is a significant difference between Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 members, with Cluster 1 members recording lower mean scores for 'equity' (vs. 'merit') than Cluster 2, as distributive norm.

H12 There is a significant interaction between Cluster membership (high PE, low PE) and culture for mean scores on anti-PE criterion variables (welfare state, redistribution, equity)

Method

Sample:

Data for this study were obtained using the Cross-Cultural Variations in Distributive Justice Perception (CVDJP) survey instrument, which contains a variety of attitudinal scales related to various aspects of social justice perception within cultures (Powell, 2005; Frey & Powell, 2005). New Zealand participants were 306 undergraduate students from the University of Auckland, Waikato University, and Auckland University of Technology (215 women, 91 men). In Jamaica, 201 undergraduates from the University of the West Indies (147 women, 54 men) completed the CVDJP questionnaire. In both culture samples, the majority of respondents were younger than 30 years of age (76.9% in Jamaica, 79.6% in New

Zealand) and disproportionately from middle-class backgrounds. Of the Jamaican participants, 54.5% rated themselves as middle class. In New Zealand, 30.1% rated themselves as middle class, with another 24.5 rating themselves as slightly above middle class. With respect to political ideology, on a 7-point bipolar “left-right” spectrum scale, 16.2% of the Jamaicans characterized themselves as left of centre (1 to 3), 66.2% as moderate (4), and 21.1% as right of centre (5 to 7). Of the New Zealanders, 38.4% rated themselves as left, 40.5% moderate, and 21.1% right, indicating a greater left-right ideological polarization within the New Zealand sample than within the Jamaican sample.

Procedure

In terms of the first research question, univariate analysis of variance was utilized to assess differences across cultures in terms of mean PE scores between Protestant and non-Protestants, and to assess differences in PE scores based on subjective social class and culture. In order to address the remaining questions, a cluster analysis of the participants, separately within each of the two culture samples, Jamaica ($n = 201$) and New Zealand ($n = 306$) was conducted. This was done to determine if, using the PE scale items as the criterion variables, a clustering of participants within each of the culture samples would reliably locate two well-defined clusters (High PE and Low PE). These parallel cluster analyses, conducted within each culture separately, yielded four distinct types—two within each culture: 96 Jamaican High-PE, 105 Jamaican Low-PE, 155 New Zealand High-PE, and 151 New Zealand Low-PE. Differences between types, and across cultures, were assessed utilizing factorial MANOVA.

Measures

A 'P.E.' scale designed by Mirels and Garret (1971) measures the extent to which the Protestant ethic ideals are endorsed. Initially, Mirels and Garrett (1971) focused on developing a measure of the extent to which respondents endorsed Protestant ethic ideology. In their instrument, Mirels and Garrett had 19 questions scaled on a six-point Likert-type format with no neutral position. Furnham et al. (1993) reported reliability coefficients for the Mirels and Garrett instrument as follows: (a) Spearman-Brown reliability, .67, (b) Kuder-Richardson reliability, .79, and (c) Cronbach's alpha, .67. In addition Furnham and colleagues (1993) indicated that the Protestant Ethic Scale demonstrated both concurrent and predictive validity. The present study utilised a reduced version of the Mirels and Garrett scale, consisting of six of the strongest items from the original scale. The reduced scale recorded a Cronbach's alpha of .53, and contained the following items:

1. The person who can approach an unpleasant task with enthusiasm is the person who gets ahead.
2. Most people spend too much time in unprofitable amusements.
3. A distaste for hard work usually reflects a weakness of character.
4. Any person who is able and willing to work has a good chance of succeeding.
5. I often feel I would be more successful if I sacrificed certain pleasures.
6. People who fail at a job have usually not tried hard enough.

Protestant Ethic Related Constructs

A trait profile of the high-PE and low-PE clusters was constructed by comparing scores of the students in each cluster on three key variables associated with Protestant ethic endorsement. These variables were measured using the following scales:

BELIEF IN FREE ENTERPRISE (Verba et al, 1985; Free & Cantril, 1967)

1. The private enterprise system is generally a fair system for working people. / Under private enterprise working people do not get a fair share of what they produce. (bipolar)
2. This country would be better off if business were less regulated. (Likert)

BELIEF IN SOCIAL DARWINISM (Powell, 2005; Frey & Powell, 2005)
(alpha = .49)

1. Social reformers who want to make us all equal just don't understand that people are by nature unequal. (Likert)
2. The fittest members of our society naturally rise to the top; the least competent and least motivated tend to settle to the bottom. (Likert)
3. One reason that poor families stay poor is that they pass down weak character traits from one generation to the next. (Likert)

PERCEIVED 'SOCIAL DISTANCE' OF SELF FROM THE SOCIALLY
DISADVANTAGED/UNDERPRIVILEGED (Powell 2005; Frey & Powell 2005)
(alpha = .81)

Social distance was operationalized using four semantic differential style, bipolar items. Respondents were asked to "picture an average person on social welfare assistance" and to rate them on the following characteristics:

1. bad example in teaching my children / good example in teaching my children (bipolar)
2. similar to myself / different from myself (bipolar)
3. kind of person I rarely associate with / kind of person I associate with often (bipolar)
4. has little in common with persons in my social group / has a lot in common with persons in my social group (bipolar).

The clusters were also compared using three key variables known to be negatively associated with protestant ethic endorsement. These scales, and items, included:

SUPPORT FOR BASIC POLICY GOALS OF THE 20TH CENTURY WELFARE
STATE (INDIVIDUAL VS GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY) (Powell, 2005;
Frey & Powell, 2005) (alpha = .88)

"Below is a list of things people typically need at different stages of their lives. For each item, indicate whether our government should provide it to all as a basic citizen benefit, or individual citizens should be responsible for providing it for themselves..."

Respondents rated items 1 through 14 on 7-point bipolar scales, ranging from “individual citizens should be responsible for providing this for themselves” to “our government should be responsible for providing this to all citizens”.

1. Employment, a decent job
2. Adequate health and medical care
3. Child-care assistance for working parents
4. An adequate retirement income in old age
5. Financial assistance during periods of unemployment
6. Employment training and retraining
7. Financial assistance to poor families
8. Adequate health and medical care for the poor
9. Financial assistance to the disabled
10. Adequate health and medical care for the elderly
11. Replacement of income lost due to accidental injury at work
12. Adequate nutrition for school-age children
13. Financial assistance to college students
14. Adequate housing, a decent place to live

GOVERNMENT AS AGENT OF REDISTRIBUTION/LEVELING

(Free & Cantril, 1967)

1. The government should work to reduce the income gap between rich and poor. (Likert)
2. There should be a law limiting the amount of money an individual is allowed to earn in a year. (Likert)

PERCEIVED FAIRNESS BETWEEN GENERATIONS (Powell, 2005; Frey & Powell, 2005)

1. Taxing younger workers to help provide support for retired workers is fair. / Taxing younger workers to provide for retired workers is unfair. (bipolar)
2. The retirement pension scheme is an unfair system that benefits the old at the expense of the young. / The retirement benefit scheme is a fair system that ultimately benefits old and young alike. (bipolar)
3. The interests of the elderly and the young are basically opposed. / The elderly and the young share many interests in common. (bipolar)

Results

H1 Students who self-identify as 'Protestant' will demonstrate significantly higher mean scores for PE than students who do not identify themselves as Protestant.

In Jamaica 125 students indicated a Protestant religious affiliation, while in New Zealand 112 students indicated a Protestant affiliation. In Jamaica 54 students indicated another religious affiliation or no religious affiliation, while in New Zealand 131 students indicated another or no religious affiliation. Results of univariate ANOVA indicate no significant differences in PE mean score based on self-identification with a Protestant religion $F(1, 418) = 1.70, ns$. Therefore, the hypothesis of significant differences in PE mean scores between Protestant and non-Protestant students is rejected. There was also no interaction between religious affiliation and culture $F(1, 418) = 1.12, ns$. Although the difference was not significant, it is interesting to note that the *non-Protestant* groups within each culture recorded the higher mean scores for PE. (See Tables 1, 2 and 3.)

H2 There is a significant difference in mean PE score based on culture.

There were significant differences in PE mean scores based on culture $F(1,418) = 5.42, p < .05$ (Eta squared 1.3%). Jamaican students recorded *higher* mean PE scores ($M = 14.01, SD = 3.99$) than did New Zealand students ($M = 13.27, SD 3.70$). (See Tables 1, 2, 3.)

H3 There is a significant difference in mean PE score based on social class.

Subjective social class was divided into three categories: lower (n = 161), middle (n = 158) and upper (n = 106). There was a significant difference in PE mean scores based on subjective social class identification $F(2,419) = 4.56, p < .05$ (Eta squared = 2.1%). Post hoc test indicated that the significant difference lay between those students who indicated a lower class identification (M = 12.96, SD = 3.92) and students who indicated an upper social class (M = 14.28, SD = 3.35) (see Table 1, Table 2 and Table 3)

H4 There is a significant interaction between social class and culture.

There was no significant interaction effect between subjective social class and culture $F(2, 419) = .306, ns$. Therefore there were no significant differences in the pattern of mean PE score based on culture. A complete listing of the results for religion, culture and social class can be found in Tables 1, 2 and 3.

H5 There is a significant difference between Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 members with Cluster 1 members recording higher mean scores for free enterprise than Cluster 2 members.

H6 There is a significant difference between Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 members with Cluster 1 members recording higher mean scores for social Darwinism than Cluster 2 members.

H7 There is a significant difference between Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 members with Cluster 1 members recording higher mean scores for social distance than Cluster 2

H8 There is a significant interaction between cluster membership (high-PE, low-PE) and culture for mean scores on the PE related criterion variables (free enterprise, social Darwinism, social distance).

Cluster analysis revealed that the New Zealand and Jamaica samples each

produced two clusters, one group high in PE (Cluster 1) and a second group low in PE (Cluster 2). The two clusters within each culture were then compared for differences in three key “social values” variables associated with high Protestant ethic endorsement (free enterprise, social distance, social Darwinism) and three variables associated with low Protestant ethic endorsement (welfare state, redistribution, and intergenerational equity). Results of this analysis can be found in Tables 4, 5, 6 and 7. Multivariate analysis utilizing Wilk's lambda criterion indicated significant differences based on both culture $F(3, 299) = 7.36, p < .001$ (Eta squared 6.9%) and cluster membership $F(3,299) = 12.40, p < .001$ (Eta squared 11.1%). Cluster 1 (high PE) students registered significantly higher mean scores on free enterprise, social Darwinism and social distance in comparison to Cluster 2 (low PE) students. There was a significant overall interaction effect between culture and cluster membership $F(3,299) = 6.23, p < .001$ (Eta squared 5.9%). Follow-up univariate analyses indicated that all three social values measures produced significant interaction effects. Examination of the mean scores for each cluster within each culture indicates a greater difference in mean scores between clusters in New Zealand, in comparison to the two clusters of Jamaican students. In addition, both Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 students in Jamaica registered below average scores for support of free enterprise as a value.

H9 There is a significant difference between Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 members with Cluster 1 members recording lower mean scores for welfare state support than Cluster 2 members.

H10 There is a significant difference between Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 members with Cluster 1 members recording lower mean scores for support for redistribution than Cluster 2 members.

H11 There is a significant difference between Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 members with Cluster 1 members recording lower mean scores for intergenerational equity than Cluster 2.

H12 There is a significant interaction between Cluster membership (high PE, low PE) and culture for mean scores on anti-PE criterion variables (welfare state, redistribution, equity).

With respect to the latter three measures of social value preferences, multivariate analysis utilizing Wilk's lambda criterion indicated significant differences based on both culture $F(3, 336) = 6.59, p < .001$ (Eta squared 5.6%) and cluster membership $F(3,336) = 5.60, p < .01$ (Eta squared 4.8%). In terms of culture, follow-up univariate analyses indicated that there were significant differences in mean scores for redistribution and intergenerational equity. Clusters 1 and 2 differed significantly on all three measures (Tables 6 and 7). Thus, Cluster 1 (high PE) students registered significantly lower mean scores on redistribution, welfare and intergenerational equity than did Cluster 2 (low PE) students. There was no overall interaction between cluster membership and culture $F(3,336) = 2.33, ns$. However, follow-up univariate tests indicated a significant interaction between cluster and culture for support of the welfare state $F(1,338) = 6.03, p < .05$ (Eta squared 1.8%). Interestingly, in the Jamaican sample Cluster 1 members registered above-average scores for welfare support in comparison to Cluster 2 students who registered below-average scores on that measure. The reverse held true for the New Zealand students (i.e., Cluster 1,

lower mean score; Cluster 2, higher mean score.). A depiction of the normalized mean scores for both high-PE and low-PE students on the key criterion variables within each culture is shown in Figures 1 and 2.

Discussion

Religious Affiliation and Protestant Ethic

The results of the present study, overall, are consistent with the findings of other researchers. They indicate that the Protestant ethic of today no longer has a clear empirical connection to any particular religious sect. Over time, the attitudes and beliefs which PE promoted have apparently become incorporated into the generalized norms of Western culture. Thus the PE of today is a secularized form of the original value construct described by Weber, in which the emphasis on work as a religious calling has been replaced by a drive for social mobility and material success (see Beder, 2000; Lipset, 1990; Rodgers, 1978; Rose, 1985; Brosnan, 1988). In fact Weber (1958) himself had predicted that the Protestant ethic would be stronger among the non-religious.

Protestant Ethic and Social Class

In the present study, students who self identified as being in the upper social class recorded the highest scores for PE across both cultures. Furthermore, there was a significant difference between upper and lower class in terms of mean PE scores. The findings of the present study provide support, in a cross-cultural context, for the

contentions of Mirels & Garrett (1971, p. 40) that PE “provided a moral justification for the accumulation of wealth”. The results are consistent with previous literature findings that people who score high on PE are more likely than people who score low on PE to derogate members of disadvantaged groups, such as African Americans and the obese (Biernat, Vescio, & Theno, 1996; Crandall, 1994; Katz & Hass, 1988; Quinn & Crocker, 1999).

The Protestant Ethic and Developing Societies

The results of the present study are in a sense counterintuitive, in that they run counter to what would be predicted based on the historical origin of PE values. However, the results support findings of many other researchers. Various studies have suggested that competitiveness, internality, Protestant work ethic beliefs and work centrality are actually higher in less developed, collectivist and high power-distance cultures (Furnham, Bond, Heaven et al., 1993; Inglehart, Basanez & Moreno, 1998; Smith, Trompenaars & Dugan, 1995; Van de Vliert, 1998). One suggestive explanation regarding these findings can be found in the work of Inglehart (1997, p. 33), who states:

In advanced industrial societies during the decades since world war II, the emergence of unprecedentedly high levels of prosperity, together with the relatively high levels of social security provided by the welfare state, have contributed to a decline in the prevailing sense of vulnerability. For the public, one's fate is no longer so heavily influenced by unpredictable forces as it was in the agrarian and early industrial society. This has been conducive to the spread of post-modern

orientations that place less emphasis on traditional cultural norms.

Briefly, PE-associated values no longer take precedence in wealthy industrial countries. Thus according to Inglehart (1997, p. 35) "post-Materialists do not place a negative value on economic and physical security, they value it positively like everyone else; but unlike Materialists they give even higher priority to self-expression and quality of life."(p35).

Cultural Differences

The comparison of protestant work ethic values in New Zealand and Jamaica supports the argument for "culturally specified work ethic concepts" (Modrack, 2008), rather than the idea of an adoption, wholesale and unchanged, of a generalized western protestant ethic. The results therefore fit the pattern observed by other researchers. For example Niles (1999), in an investigation of PE in Australia and Sri Lanka, determined that both groups have similar perceptions about the nature of work. However, Sri Lankans were less supportive than Australians of the idea that hard work leads to success. Likewise, East Asia Confucianism, with its emphasis on relationships rather than individuals, has been touted as the driving force behind the economic success of countries such as Japan (see Morris, David & Allen, 1994; Turner, 1999), a pattern that is very different than one finds in, say, the United States. In a similar vein, work by Ali (1988) and Yousef (2001) points to the existence of an Islamic work ethic. This IWE places a greater emphasis on the community and social welfare than is to be found in PE (Ali 1988, p. 577).

Study Implications

The origins of these 'work ethics' remains the subject of future study. More than likely, the unique work ethics that exist today, as suggested by Inglehart and Baker (2000), are the result of both the persistence of cultural traditions and western influence. In terms of the present study, how the work ethic manifests itself differs on some key elements. For example, the 'high' protestant ethic students in New Zealand did not demonstrate such extreme scores on PE-associated measures as would be observed in the U.S. One possible explanation may be an avoidance of being deemed a "tall poppy". A "tall poppy" as defined by Ramson (1988, p. 494) is a person who is "conspicuously successful" and (often) as "one whose distinction, rank or wealth attracts envious notice or hostility". There is widespread belief within Australia and New Zealand that "tall poppies" should be "cut down to size" (see Feather, 1989a; 1989b; Peeters, 2004). Thus, as a result of this cultural distributive fairness norm, policies that appear too anti-egalitarian in their nature are likely to meet with little support from the populace. Turning to the Jamaican results, both clusters were much less supportive of 'free enterprise' than the students in New Zealand. Therefore socioeconomic development measures in Jamaica that involve excessive reliance on individual entrepreneurship and corporate expansion may meet with resistance as 'culturally incompatible policies'. Furthermore, in a cultural pattern at variance with what one finds countries like New Zealand and the USA, Jamaican students who clustered in the high-PE group registered *higher* scores than the low-PE students in terms of support for policies associated with the welfare state. Thus government policies to enhance rapid 'modernization' involving cutbacks in state funding for citizen social benefits are likely to meet with considerable cultural resistance as being

‘unfair’.

Avoiding ‘Culturally Incompatible’ Policies

In terms of broader implications for socioeconomic development strategies, the findings of this study suggest that culturally-specific differences in PE values should be taken into account in formulation of social policies related to employment / unemployment, social welfare, old age support, and aid to impoverished and disadvantaged societal groups. This is especially critical in the case of Jamaica. Weber himself referred to the perils of assuming that the values of one society can uncritically be applied as policy models for another, pointing out the error in economists’ assumptions that increasing the piece rate would increase production in certain peasant societies. In fact, the opposite occurred, because the workers -- who placed a greater value on leisure than material wealth -- seized it as an opportunity to finish work earlier in the day. (Collins, 1986; Weber, 1976). The results of the present research thus argues against naively taking for granted that the dominant social values and distributive norms that led to rapid socioeconomic development in North America and Europe will necessarily work elsewhere. Enabling development is not dependent on the import of the most “efficient” or “industrious” values from elsewhere, but rather should recognize the intrinsic worth of indigenous cultural values and priorities. In short, ‘development’ is in the culture of the beholder.

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