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**LABOR CULTURE AND RELIGIOUS
DISCOURSE IN DIFFERENT
COMMUNITIES OF GEORGIA**



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INTRODUCTION: SOME PECULIARITIES OF RELIGIOUS LIFE IN POST-SOVIET GEORGIA

In the golden age at the end of Genesis when heaven and earth created one context and earth was solely populated by the first human couple, work did not exist as a means for humans to support their lives or to cover their 'metaphysical nudity,' so to speak. Nor was there, in the Judaic-Christian tradition, an obligation to care about work, which is a kind of continuation of divine creation in the form of cultivating land and giving names to living beings. The Lord imposed this duty at the peak of Genesis with His image and likeness - man. 'The Lord God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to work it and take care of it.' (Genesis 2: 15).¹ 'The Lord God said, "It is not good for the man to be alone. I will make a helper suitable for him." Now the Lord God had formed out of the ground all the wild animals and all the birds in the sky. He brought them to the man to see what he would name them; and whatever the man called each living creature, that was its name.' (Genesis 2: 18, 19).² According to a number of other mythological conceptions, man was also free of such obligations in the golden age. Only God (or gods) was busy with His eternal heavenly games and inexhaustible creations. Fruits of the earth were accessible to everyone.

Numerous mythological systems, whether the Vedantic oral tradition, Greek and Judaic-Christian traditions, African and North and South American narrations and others, confirm the universal nature of

¹ <http://www.biblegateway.com/versions/New-International-Version-NIV-Bible/#books>

² Ibid

this initial state. As a rule, it is an indispensable part of the eschatological narrative. Almost everywhere, the loss of this Edenic life is linked to a mistake or a human choice based on some selfish aspirations and results in nudity, fallout from cosmic harmony, loss of immortality, emergence of the life-and-death cycle, and the punishment, which is expressed in the inevitability of hard work in order to sustain life. 'Our days may come to seventy years, or eighty, if our strength endures; yet the best of them are but trouble and sorrow, for they quickly pass and we fly away,' says the Old Testament (Psalm 90: 10).³

Interpreters often compare this state with the life of Sisyphus, who put extreme effort into rolling a huge stone up to the top of a hill to attain peace and riddance, but is unable to achieve the goal and remains eternally involved in this useless task. This is how work becomes a most important aspect of human history. Work as punishment points to man's distance from the cosmos and the universal entirety of the cosmos. He is constantly banished, trying to restore initial entirety by means of endless work. Correspondingly, work is both punishment and an intrinsic inevitability. Both exist because there is a rift between man and objective reality arising from the primary act (primary sin) he committed. In the Judaic-Christian tradition, this act is linked to tasting the fruit of the tree of the knowledge. In this context, 'knowledge' means 'distancing.' You can learn what is isolated from you. As Max Scheler said, 'man lost his ecstatic involvement in the universe which was initially ensured' (Scheler 1928: 37-38). It follows that work is synonymous to the attempt to restore the primary state and return to the golden age.

I would like to stress that as the quoted passage from Genesis clearly states, the initial sacral context of man's life did not at all rule out work in the Judaic-Christian tradition. It is not about the emergence of the phenomenon of work, but the loss of its sacral context that transforms it into a manifestation of the tragic nature of human life in general. The Bible expresses this state in the following manner: 'To Adam he said, 'Because

³ <http://www.biblegateway.com/versions/New-International-Version-NIV-Bible/#books>

you listened to your wife and ate fruit from the tree about which I commanded you, ‘You must not eat from it,’ ‘Cursed is the ground because of you; through painful toil you will eat food from it all the days of your life. It will produce thorns and thistles for you, and you will eat the plants of the field. By the sweat of your brow you will eat your food until you return to the ground, since from it you were taken; for dust you are and to dust you will return.’ (Genesis 3: 17, 18, 19).⁴

At a glance, work, after such an eviction, seems to be nothing other than a de-sacralised phenomenon that is necessary to sustain life. However, it is more than this. Various religious practices, particularly the Abrahamic religions, constantly thematised it in order to restore the sacral context of work. What can the sacral context of work mean? Is it possible for man to find such forms of making efforts in his own living environment, which would bear supreme thought and meaning and transform what was initially a punishment into a way of regaining the initial state? These are the questions that we often encounter in all theological literature. They have also become topical in sociology, thanks to Max Weber. His astute work revealed how the religious life of various societies defines work ethics and ultimately, the quality of the living environment that humans create through common efforts.

In regards to the sacral, the notion of work itself may have various meanings, starting with physical work, which is morally neutral and profanatory in terms of its numerous interpretations (but if we recall that it is a form of punishment, such neutrality becomes suspicious, although in certain conditions, we can regard it as such). Intellectual work comes next. This is morally more valuable, as it is directly linked to spiritual life. Spiritual work expressed in prayers, meditation, the practice of religious rituals, and asceticism as a supreme form of work for man, is a direct expression of the attempt to return to the divine context. Of course, this division is often conditional, even within the frameworks of the same religion. It was Martin Luther who made the first attempt to sacralise

⁴ <http://www.biblegateway.com/versions/New-International-Version-NIV-Bible/#books>

any form of work. He regarded earthly activities not only as a necessary foundation for divine service, which was a common belief in traditional Orthodox and Catholic churches, but as a direct form of divine service. Ultimately, this led to the sacralisation of work and profession, a characteristic of the entire Protestant philosophy and it led to the emergence of a kind of 'worldly asceticism' and to the rejection of the phenomenon of monastic asceticism. (M. Бебep 1990: 97-98).

We must highlight that this introduction provides just a general religious background of the issue considered in our study.

We believe that it is impossible to study the relation between work culture and religious discourse without taking into account the unique experience of the post-Soviet area. The 'return to history' of post-totalitarian societies and the search for forms of accommodation have created a very peculiar situation in religious life. The existential and cultural shock, plus the adaptation crisis viewed in light of religious perception, have had a significant impact on ordinary people's attitudes towards the 'return to history' process and directly or indirectly, to the fundamental phenomenon of work.

By referring to the classification of US researchers Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge (1979), we can say that religious organisations which were oppressed in the Soviet era were so-called 'client cults' by nature. They had organised structures and their relations with believers were limited to associations, much like those found between consultants and clients. Believers were deprived of the opportunity to create socially articulated religious movements and of having any influence on the quality of public life. Western countries in the 19th and 20th centuries experienced a natural process of secularisation, which had been preceded by major historic and philosophic changes (the defeat in the Crusades, great geographic discoveries, emergence of sciences free of theological and theosophical discourse, and so forth). This did not occur in the Soviet sphere where forms of religious life were abolished abruptly and by force. Work as a form of an individual's activities aimed at creating an environment for his own life, and particularly the theological context where the activities could be manifested, were radically rejected and replaced by a

certain abstract idea of 'the working agitation of masses.' In this shape, it became an inalienable and central element of the Soviet civil religion.

A civil religion emerges where civil life and civil ideologies are placed in religious morphological forms. The emergence of such parareligious phenomena has been under discussion in Western religious studies for quite a long time now. (On this issue, see Bellah and Hammond 1980). This phenomenon was a natural process in the countries of Western civilisation and it became one of the major indications that secular societies were emerging. The extremist idea of building an atheist society preceded this phenomenon in Soviet reality. Atheist ideology was forcefully placed in religious forms and religious categories and matrixes were radically replaced by Marxist categories and matrixes. Old cultish places were replaced with new ones, a new hierarchy of saints emerged in the form of 'heroes of work and war,' while labor occupied a central place in the permanent Marxist liturgy (like the struggle against world capitalism in the initial years of the Soviet Union).

We should recall the artificial and violent methods that were used to instigate working enthusiasm in ordinary people and to lead them towards the Soviet utopia. In these conditions, work could maintain a real sense only if it was directed at organising people's own households, as it had lost the aim of creating a living environment for the public. However, when you consider that the government totally regulated the use of work products to achieve social equality, people really weren't even free to create their local living environments. To do so, meant they had to be in constant conflict with law, which explains their passive attitude towards crime and work. People could freely maintain their living environment only to the extent that they were able to coordinate their actions with the ideological doctrines and express their identity in the tensions of permanent social idealism. The only thing that could have real meaning was the interests of individuals or small groups, which were often in conflict with legal regulations.

Secularisation traditionally implies the liberation of work, decision-making, social and interpersonal relations, legal procedures, economy, healthcare, politics, education, the socialisation of personality and so

forth from the religious matrix. However, Bolshevism replaced one ideological matrix with another. The idea of the salvation of the soul, which is the foundation of every major religion, was replaced with the abstract idea of a happy future for humankind.

The most obvious result of all this was the marginalization of a religious worldview and religious organisations. The discussions in the 1920s of the lamentable role of the Orthodox Church in the Russian conquest of Georgia also facilitated the process. This cleared the way for atheism even in intellectual circles. A kind of ethno-cultural nationalism used the main religion of the country - Orthodox Christianity - as a certain historic decoration and assumed the role of an ideological alternative. In its radical manifestations, this form of nationalism bore the idea of mono-ethnic and mono-cultural statehood.

We think that the religious nationalism that replaced ethnic nationalism in the late 1990s was a direct result of the existential shock caused by a 'return to history' from the totalitarian system. New cultural and social realities, where the missionary activities (often quite noisy) of new religious organisations and a free cultural space that was often not regulated at all, proved to have sowed fears and confusion among ordinary people. By the mid 1990s, their fear of losing their own cultural identity had become stronger.

The revival of religious life and the search by clerics for forms appropriate to the new situation coincided with the adaptive crisis that was occurring throughout Georgian society and its numerous irrational fears, which were expressed in radical and fundamental manifestations. An ideologization of the adaptive crisis of society also took place within this framework. In this regard, the current socio-cultural image of Orthodox Christian religiousness is largely a product of the existential shock caused by the 'return to history' and the encounter with a fundamentally new socio-cultural context. An adaptive crisis described in religious terms has a significant impact on ordinary people's attitudes towards their own lives and living environment.

We should also bear in mind that under Soviet rule, Orthodox Christian clerics focused their attention on maintaining traditional forms, as

this was the only thing they were allowed do at that time. The religious life of the entire Soviet realm found itself isolated from the rest of the world, which resulted in an archaic rhetoric permeated with prophetic and apocalyptic discourse. The rhetoric of the Georgian Orthodox Church continues to be full of such speech. After Georgia's independence and the fall of the USSR, the Orthodox Church faced the following challenge - to either find a discourse appropriate to the era or to imitate medieval rhetoric.

This was facilitated by the fact that in addition to all the functions that religion has in specific societies, the Church had one additional function under totalitarian rule. The condition created a space where it was possible to escape the ideologized world and live in an alternative existential environment. In this regard, it was attractive even for non-believers who regarded the Georgian Orthodox Church, first and foremost, as an alternative existential space, hence a symbol of salvation. In religious circles, historiosophic conceptions permeated with naive mysticism were voiced, laying the foundations for kinds of parallel and informal subcultures and a different understanding of history in an isolated society. Of course, the sporadic nature and naive mysticism of such conceptions were largely due to the fact that the ideology ban had made it impossible to subject them to public scientific discussion. In addition, ordinary Georgians often regarded such concepts as forms of political protest that offered an alternative history, hence hope, rather than religious or philosophic doctrines. Correspondingly, any critical attitude to them was often perceived as an ideological order of the Soviet government.

These theories emerged in a socio-cultural environment where several generations had been deprived of the opportunity to receive serious theological and philosophic education and to pursue religious studies. In addition, the intellectual elite were almost completely destroyed in the 1920s and 1930s and replaced with ideologically motivated 'red professors' and 'red intelligentsia' politically guided by Bolsheviks.

The expectations that the collapse of the Soviet Union would promptly free a religious worldview of archaic forms of defense and the need of self-preservation did not come true. Due to the cultural and existential

shock, the church retained the function of an alternative historic and eschatological space in the eyes of a lot of people. After escaping Marxist historic metaphysics and eschatology, Christian Orthodoxy had to adapt to the secularised world with its liberal eschatology. The very first years following Perestroika, revealed that this task proved to be no less difficult for religious life than resistance to Marxist pressure was. In the new situation, Christian Orthodoxy was either to admit the primacy of secular ideologies and adapt to the liberal context or to continue to play the role of an alternative historic space again. During the first years of independence, we mostly had a mixture of these two trends, but today, archaic rhetoric is prevalent. In addition to other factors, archaic rhetoric has proven to be an instrument for making believers aware of the existence of an existential space that is an alternative to the existing one.

In short, traditional religious institutions found themselves facing the task of defining their civilisational context in new historic circumstances. This task was almost completely unknown and continues to be unknown to new religious movements that have entered Georgia. They came from the environment where the process of secularisation, or as Mircea Eliade said, 'the incorporation of the religious by the secular,' was almost complete. In Western religious institutions, the process was protracted in time, while natural Georgian traditional religious institutions suddenly found themselves in a world that was very different from Soviet totalitarianism. They were allowed to exist, but they were also expected to become part of a new narrative - the secular narrative - and cede their universal nature. It should be noted that a sharp reaction to a similar situation is familiar to the Protestant world as well. A drama is happening in the entire theological spectrum where there is an attempt to place the Biblical narrative into another narrative; instead of incorporating everything else precisely into the Biblical narrative (as described by American protestant theologian Hans W. Frei (1974: 236).

In other words, religious institutions have found themselves facing the threat of having their world views transformed into 'second-hand' products. This can provoke a destructive potential that, according to Jürgen Habermas, is hidden in monotheistic religions in the form of exclu-

sive negation of any dissimilar thinking traditions and the search for an alternative space for 'placing.'

In our opinion, one circumstance provides a good example here. The Georgian Orthodox Church flatly rejects the Gregorian calendar, which is not just a theological problem. We believe that the main problem is that in such a context, acceptance is perceived as capitulation, a surrender of the church's history and admission they are a 'second-hand' product. Clerics refuse to participate in secular eschatology and recognise the worldwide liberal revolution because it is perceived as a threat to the religious mind. By strictly observing traditional forms of architecture and preserving archaic rhetoric and an alternative calendar, they are trying to regain the existential environment that existed somewhere in the past, so their fundamental categories will have the meaning of constitutional principles and not of a 'second-hand' product. Moreover, they offer this alternative to believers as the major soteriological principle.

As a result, there has been an attempt to transform the Georgian Orthodox environment into a kind of hermetic environment isolated from global realities. Taking into account the importance work can have in the adaptation of a specific society to the global context, it is easy to understand what a negative role this process could (can) play. The attempt to remove issues from the stream of natural development spontaneously provoked a whole panorama of forms of self-isolation. For example, there is the idea to create so-called Orthodox Christian villages, where believers would have to live in a historically isolated environment. Other naive projects include incorporation into the global environment by reducing the country's export economy to the production of only wine and bread. If we are consistent in our assessments, then in all such cases, we are not dealing with economic activities appropriate for Orthodox Christian religiousness, but with attempts to find ways to protect the Orthodox Christian world from attacks by the global world. Unlike Catholic attempts to search for economic forms, the emphasis here is placed directly on the component of isolation and not on incorporation into the global environment in order to ensure two aspects: Transform the global economic world in terms of religion and regain the sacral meaning for work as a phenomenon.

In the Catholic world, the first successful attempts of creating economic forms that would combine the interests of the global economy and religion emerged in the second half of the 20th century. A small economic movement started in the Basque town of Mondragon in 1956 as a federation of cooperatives and by 2008, it had 256 companies with about 100,000 employees. The corporation is active in four fields: Finance, industry, retail trade, and education. The founder of the corporation, Catholic priest Jose Maria Arizmendiarrrieta, says the principle of sovereignty of work, which became an economic model of solidarity, is the most appropriate form of the social doctrine of Catholicism. For the time being, it is one of the seven largest corporations in Spain with several billion dollars in turnover. It also participates in NASA projects. The town of Mondragon, which had only 7,000 inhabitants in 1941, has become one of the largest economic centres in Spain.

In our opinion, it was the liberation from the isolation characteristic of the Catholic world back in the first half of the 20th century that made it possible to combine religious and economic interests in such a manner. The rejection of religious exclusivism and adoption of a doctrine of religious inclusivism, which was finally formalised at the Second Vatican Council, liberated intellectual forces by allowing economic activities to be regarded as a form of Catholic missionary practice. This made it possible to translate the Word of God into economic language. The corporation's economic success was regarded as an important indication of the accomplishment of Catholic missionary activities. We would like to specify that in general terms, 'mission' does not mean only preaching the Word of God in non-religious or not so religious environments. In general terms, it means the confirmation of the efficiency of the Word of God in all spheres of human activities, including economy.

The only alternative like this seen in the Georgian and Russian Orthodox Christian worlds is the attempt to create isolated Orthodox Christian settlements that follow a slower, historic rhythm and pace. Types of attitudes towards work are also conform to this approach. Work outside church is regarded as a neutral phenomenon. Its productivity is of a minor importance and is regarded as a kind of foundation for reli-

gious life (which becomes evident in the results of the study). Within the church itself, work acquires the meaning of spiritual contribution. This dualism in the attitude towards work has largely determined the fact that new historic circumstances have failed to find a justification and acquire the importance of a new missionary objective in the eyes of pious Orthodox Christians. The importance of the living environment has narrowed and presently, attempts are being made to remove everything that comes from other systems of world views.

Furthermore, unlike Catholicism and Protestantism, idleness and isolation from the profane world have almost never been regarded as a serious sin in the Christian Orthodox Church. (The study by expert opinions we carried out confirmed this.) It should also be noted that thanks to Martin Luther, the Protestant tradition is dominated by the opinion that it is idleness and (as Immanuel Kant and Johann Gottlieb Fichte termed it later) 'man's natural inflexibility' that are the forces responsible for all kinds of evil.

At the beginning of the 1990s, an idea emerged within the Georgian Orthodox Church and intellectual circles linked to the church that it was necessary to elaborate a social doctrine of the Orthodox Church that reflected the Church's attitude to modern reality and to adapt the process of 'historic accommodation' to rational aspects. Unfortunately, most clerics and believers failed to understand this idea. They chose to follow the historic tradition of social politics, which has been expressed in real life mostly as naive preterism and attempts to revive forms of the past. This has only deepened isolation from the real historic environment more. The cult of early Christian modesty and disrespectful attitudes towards a functional approach to life were the social imperatives that were disseminated as a 'Christian Orthodox concept,' which was a kind of haphazard mixture of historic romanticism and naive Christian Socialism.

This is a short description of the historic context in which this study was carried out. We believe that such studies are quite important. They enable us to have a clear understanding of the situation in this country with regard to the problems raised in order to elaborate strategies that are necessary to build the state.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This analytical report is a study on the meaning of work across different religious traditions. The aim of the study is to ascertain the interrelation between religious values and work ethics of Orthodox and non-Orthodox (in particular Catholic and Protestant) Christians and Muslims, as well as non-believers.

The empirical data and information presented in the analytical report have been obtained through *qualitative sociological research*. The methodological framework of sociological research is case study. This implies the combined use of the following specific methods: desk research (literature review), expert interviews, focus groups and in-depth interviews. The field-work covered both rural and urban communities of Georgia (Summer, 2012).

The main findings can be structurally broken down into two parts: a) A Doctrinal basis of religious denominations in terms of work ethics b) Religious communities' practices, beliefs and attitudes in terms of work ethics and economic behavior. In the first case, research was based on literature reviews and expert interviews, whereas in the other case, it relied on the data obtained through group discussions, in-depth interviews and the file sorting method.

Doctrinal differences in terms of work ethic

As noted by a number of researchers (Ward; Henry), according to the Biblical understanding of work ethic, human work is an integral part of the world order created by God. Work enables human beings to demonstrate their love for God. They use work to develop their potential

and abilities and by doing so, show devotion to God. The human being controls and transforms nature through work, which enables him/her to participate in God's creative act. In addition to using work in God's service, people also serve each other. Work demands that we establish relationships with each other and free ourselves from egocentrism. As literature reviews and expert interviews reveal, various religious traditions have different interpretations of the Biblical understanding of work.

Orthodoxy establishes the difference between work and religious (spiritual) activity. Through work, people take care of their daily lives, while spiritual activity includes praying, participation in religious rituals, fasting, etc. Orthodoxy considers work an important phenomenon in everyday life. However, it is not directly related to the achievement of eternal security and the value of work becomes less important than religious practices. Therefore, in Orthodoxy, laziness is a sin, but not a deadly sin and unlike Catholicism and Protestantism, it is not a major obstacle to the achievement of eternal security.

According to the interviewed experts, the Orthodox tradition (including Georgian Orthodoxy) has no social policy doctrine. Consequently, when interacting with the congregation, social issues (including attitude to work) are construed according to the views of an individual clergy. Despite being based on Biblical teachings, those views can still be a subject to personal interpretation. So, it is difficult to find major social policy paradigms in Orthodoxy.

The analysis of literature from Max Weber to modern sources (Ward 1996; Henry 1964; Oetes 1971; Furnham 1990) shows that the Protestant work ethic alters and transcends the Biblical understanding of work ethic. The Bible says that hard work is a means to serve God. It has no *intrinsic value* unless it attempts to please God. However, in the Protestant ethic, hard work is an *end in itself*. According to the Protestant work ethic, God blesses human work and by doing so transforms it into God's grace. This encourages people to achieve salvation through work and material success becomes a symbol of faith.

In non-traditional religions, like Jehovah's Witnesses, work has a very special importance. Work is a part of religious life, which is consid-

erably influenced by it. If a Jehovah's Witness does not work, it will have a negative impact on their religious practices.

In Islam work and prayer are equally important. Both components are crucial for life. Work is even considered a kind of worship. Islam tells its followers to become involved in work since true faith is demonstrated through decent work and helps society develop. Therefore, Islam establishes a practical framework for social life and tries to fight the vices born by the unwillingness to work, laziness and poverty. Islam clearly instructs followers to take work-related responsibilities even in early life. As for the elderly, they are told to work for the social wellbeing by using their experiences and abilities. According to the Quran, omnipotent God compensates each person for his/her work.

Work related practices of religious community members

Work is an important value for all the groups (different religious communities and non-believers) involved in focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. The relationship between work and faith (spirituality) has been observed in every religious community to a various extent. The meaning of the phenomenon of work is different to non-believers and religious communities. In religious communities, religious doctrines have the biggest impact on the makeup of religious practices (participation in rituals, praying, fasting, etc). Although spirituality and faith are the ways to achieve eternal security, they still have an effect on the formation of social relations (including working relations) within the community, as well as on the structuring of community members' behavior practices in their social lives and the formation of micro- social networks. Nevertheless, it becomes clear that religion is one of the variables that defines community members' lifestyles and other micro and macro social institutions (work, family, school, cultural traditions, etc) also has a considerable influence on community members' social behavior.

In general, a believer's working process could be affected by religious doctrines in the following ways: impact of religion on the believer's behavior at work place, impact on the management of crisis situations, their attitude to work and the performance of religious rituals at work.

The evidence obtained enables us to conclude that the relationship between spirituality and work observed in the main religious communities residing in Georgia falls under the three positions identified by Giacalone and Jurkiewicz (2010) - the parallel relationship, the adversarial relationship, and the integrative relationship. However, these three positions are not evenly distributed:

a) The *parallel relationship*, in which spirituality and the workplace are separate and different worlds are the most frequently encountered viewpoints. This statement is supported by file sorting data (i.e. the concepts related to religion and work always belong to different clusters) and focus group material. The transcripts demonstrate that the respondents found it difficult to talk about the suggested issue. Our explanation is that the relationship between work and spirituality is not a subject of reflection or at least, everyday discussions.

b) The groups of Baptists and Jehovah's Witnesses are different to some extent since they show the signs of *integrative relationship*. The impact of religion on the development of social ethics is more significant in these non - traditional religions and almost all the aspects of community members' lives are constructed according to their religious beliefs.

c) As for the *adversarial relationship* between spirituality and work, its weak signs can be observed in the material provided by the Orthodox group: Performance of religious rituals is clearly given a higher preference compared to work related responsibilities.

File sorting data reveal several interesting tendencies. Firstly, the cognitive maps of the representatives of different confessions and non-believers are considerably different, which demonstrates that religion has a significant influence on the formation of the system of social beliefs and values. Moreover, the influence of a dominant religion is also seen in the group of non-believers: Our study shows that the cognitive maps of non-believers formed in the Orthodox environment and within the Orthodox culture are quite similar to each other.

More specifically, the five factors have been introduced in the study that help distinguish religious groups in terms of work ethics. These factors, as analytical tools, have been used in some international studies (Zulfikar 2012, Furnham 1990):

1. Hard work and related success;
2. Internal locus of control;
3. Negative attitude to leisure time;
4. Attitude towards prudent use of time and money;
5. Work as an end in itself

Representatives of effectively all religions, as well as non-believers, noted that 'hard' work and 'decent' work are closely related to each other in meaning. However, on-believers think that hard (and decent) work does not guarantee success and that additional social factors (influential acquaintances, education, inheritance, etc.) are necessary ; whereas believers think that trust in God is also required for success.

On the other hand, religious communities differ on the extent God 'involvement in success. Representatives of the Muslim community hold the most radical position, ascribing success essentially to God's mercy. Although groups of Orthodox and Catholic Christians believe that 'the key to success is in obedience to God', they note that people can choose to live without belief, which is an issue of their personal responsibility. However, non-believers can never be satisfied with their achievements, as the boundaries of success become uncontrollable and can motivate them to commit serious sins. People in the Protestant group believe that the amount of work is significant for success and that force of faith does not guarantee it because believers can also be unsuccessful if they lose the desire to work and overcome difficulties. The group of Jehovah's Witnesses regards success as having a minor importance in people's lives. They think that success may hinder them from returning to the 'new life'.

None of the religious focus groups approve of obtaining money from gambling, and Orthodox Christians are most resistant towards gambling (money obtained in this manner cannot be used for good deeds). Baptists speak of the expediency of the purposeful spending of money obtained without work. They do not rule out that money won in casinos

can be 'ennobled' (spent on needy people, construction of churches, and so forth). It is noteworthy that unlike Orthodox Christians, Baptists and Jehovah's Witnesses stress that their religions teach them how to distribute their time.

The focus groups of believers and non-believers are united in having a negative view of leisure time in the context of 'waste of time.' In this sense, leisure time is opposed to work. Wasting time is the same as laziness and to overcome the latter you need to have a strategy that recognises time moves very fast, so we should try to manage to do a lot.

However, believers and non-believers and groups of adepts of different religions differ on what can be regarded as useful in leisure time: Believers are unanimous that useful deeds are first and foremost close to God. Correspondingly, activities like prayers and presence at religious services are regarded as useful and sacred work in leisure time. Non-believers switch their attention to profane activities not linked to God directly, but rather to everyday activities. On the other hand, religious communities share the opinion that recreational activities (sport, walking, games, parties, and so forth) can be part of leisure time. However, they also believe that such activities should not be detached from spirituality (for example, Orthodox Christians reject kickboxing; Muslims condemn gambling, and so forth). Participation in religious rituals is regarded as a universally legitimate part of work in the group of Orthodox Christians. Non-Orthodox groups regard religious rituals as relevant work in leisure time, but they do not like those (for the exception of clerics) who practice them as their only (or main) activity.

The Orthodox Christian and Catholic communities have made it clear that man can manage his own life and is not a captive of fate. In the meantime, the work factor has a major role in managing one's own life. Through work and personal efforts, people can determine their future and change their own lives. Such an attitude points to the existence of the internal locus of control. On the other hand, an alternative stream of the external locus of control can be viewed within the Orthodox group, because this group admits 'luck' and 'chance' have importance. Luck is when 'you find yourself in the right place at the right time.' Emphasis on

luck implies that the irrational and accidental have their place in human lives that cannot be controlled by humans.

The external locus is even more clear-cut in the Muslim group. They admit that fate exists and that 'Allah knows everything.' Allah determines what a human being can achieve, which means that his/her skills and chances of using them are pre-determined and humans are unable to change that.

The views of adepts of different religions coincide in that: a) Work is one of the most important spheres of human activities; b) Work and its forms have an impact on people's lives in this world and after death too; c) Work implies responsibility not only before a micro-social group (family, relatives, community), but also a broader responsibility for homeland and mankind as a whole.

Religious groups differ on the importance of work for salvation. According to representatives of the Orthodox Christian and Catholic groups, a working man is occupied, so he has no opportunity to sin, which means that work is a tool for self-protection that helps us to attain salvation. On the other hand, the Orthodox group recognizes the supremacy of 'spiritual work' over other kinds of work. Hermitage/monkhood is the peak of activities in this world and is above all other kinds of work. Muslims hold a different position: Work is as important for salvation as prayers and other religious rituals. Living without work is a sin equal to refusal to pray. Representatives of the community of Jehovah's Witnesses say that their activities are equally distributed among doing profane work and preaching/explaining the Bible.

Finally, in the context of the work ethic, *the Empirical Ideal Type* of religious communities in Georgia (whether from the Weberian or sociological perspective) could be formulated as follows:

For the *Orthodox community*, the most legitimate type of work is spiritual work (spiritual activity), which implies involvement in religious rituals. Hard and decent profane work is a precondition for earthly success, however, religious activity is still considered to have the highest value among other earthly activities (e.g. activities of monks). Work protects a human being from committing a sin and consequently, prepares

the person for eternal life (salvation). Although a person can determine their social future by means of work, fate still plays a part in human life. The waste of time and money is considered unacceptable. Leisure time, understood as idleness, is not approved of either. Moreover, it should not be filled with sinful activities. In the rank of activities, the highest priority is still given to religious activities (e.g. praying).

The Catholic community deviates the least from the described ideal type. Work related attitudes and dispositions practically overlap with those of the Orthodox community.

As for the other religious communities, they show the following deviations from the empirical ideal type of Orthodox community:

There are two points that are considered more important in the *Muslim community* than the Orthodox community. These are: a) The role of the God's grace in the achievement of success through work; b) The value of profane work and its equalization with spiritual/religious activity. Furthermore, profane work should adhere to the principles of the Quran.

Compared to the Orthodox community, the *Baptist community* in Georgia gives more importance to the *intrinsic* value of work, or the work is understood as an end in itself. The strength of faith is not a sufficient precondition for earthly success or the achievement of salvation. Hard work is considered also inevitable.

Jehovah's Witnesses support a balanced work ethic. They think that balance should be maintained between the hard work that brings economic success and non-material values (spirituality, family, health, etc). In the framework of spiritual work, praying and preaching have a leading role; As to taking care of earthly existence, it unites physical and intellectual work. Jehovah's Witnesses rank physical work higher than intellectual work and find diligence the most important. Money, success and career are temptations of earthly life and therefore, have a negative connotation. Just like the other groups, laziness is intolerable as contradicts labor/work, which is God's gift and is the only way to please Him.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Aim of the study:

The *aim of the study* is to ascertain the interrelation between religious values, work ethics and the economic behavior of Orthodox and non-Orthodox (in particular Catholic and Protestant) Christians and Muslims, as well as non-believers.

The study of work ethics is getting more and more critical in the countries of transition economies of so called post-Communist world. The process of transition to market economy in these countries started as a result of political decisions, for which reason such scenario of the development of events is often referred to as 'Political Capitalism'. The researches have also proved that the role of Orthodoxy, as of the factor of cultural identification is very significant in Georgia. Orthodoxy plays a significant role in the national identity of Georgia. Over 80% of respondents consider themselves Orthodox Christians. We can assume that religiosity (in particular, identification with Orthodoxy) can turn out to be an influential moderating variable in the process of formation of attitude to work. Besides, it is important to bring to light functional or dysfunctional meanings of attitude to work of alternative religiosity (in particular, Catholicism, Protestantism or Muslim faith) in Georgia. This will enable us to conduct comparative analysis.

Under such circumstances, it is centrally important to research the following issues:

- Whether there are any attempts to formulate the explicit doctrine of the model of economic behavior acceptable for an Orthodox Christian within the Orthodox Church.

- Consequently, whether or not other religious institutions create an alternative model of economic behavior and if they do, to what extent it is adaptable to Georgian society, i.e., what is the likelihood that this model will become the source of social tension, let us say, in certain regions/ communities?
- What impact do the values of different religious institutions have on real economic behavior of believers, especially on their attitude to work?
- Is there any conflict or, contrariwise, some agreement (at least latent) between profane and sacral values exactly in the context of attitude to work (economic behavior in general)?
- Do attitudes and dispositions of believers in rural and urban communities in the aspect of work attitude differ?

The project intended to conduct sociological research among Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant Christians and Muslim groups living in Georgia in order to establish a link between their religious values and economic behavior.

The project is being implemented through the administration of *qualitative sociological research* in rural and urban communities of Georgia. The methodological framework of sociological research is Case Study. This implies the combined use of the following specific methods: literature review, expert interviews, focus groups and in-depth interviews.

The study covered the following stages:

Stage 1: Desk research and expert interviews; At the first stage, the project established the essence of the doctrine of work ethics and economic behavior of Georgian Orthodox and other Christian Churches as well as Muslim Mosques.

The ways of implementation of the above task were the following:

1. Conducting expert interviews. Invited experts were the theologians and clergymen; altogether, 25 experts have been interviewed.¹

¹ See the list of the experts in the Appendix 2.

2. Analyzing secondary data, which included:
 - ✓ Published materials/literature
 - ✓ Already conducted studies (researches)
 - ✓ Materials and documents published over the past years by Georgian Orthodox and Non-Orthodox Churches (documents include epistles, preaching, official statements published in different media, etc.).

Stage 2: Determining the indicators of research topic (designing research instruments). At this stage of the project, cognitive constructs and their indicators, which can serve the grounds for urban and rural communities' interpretation of economic world in general, were determined on the basis of the obtained information from previous stage.

The dimensions having been developed within the framework of economic sociology and behavioral economics have been used to identify cognitive constructs related to economic world. The awareness of the acceptable economic behavior and work attitude are seemed to be good predictor's for real economic behavior. Economic beliefs and the analysis of economic behavior are based on the unity of basic variables that take their source from cultural values and in a number of cases, possibly from religious values as well. These variables are the following:

1. Time perspective and the ability to postpone gratification: the long-term time perspective is connected with future orientation, long-term planning of life and economic activities and the low quality of uncontrolled impulsivity.
2. Need for achievement. Need for achievement implies individual's motivation to achieve high level of social standards (work and living) through their own efforts and improvement of everyday work standard.
3. Locus of control, fair world and the related beliefs. Locus of control is defined as individual's general expectations of whether or not s/he can control his/her own life by own efforts. Individual's belief of how just the world is, is connected with the locus of control.

The outcome of the implemented work at the first and second stages of the project was the precise identification of the research topic by use of focus groups and in-depth interview method. Namely, qualitative research instruments have been prepared: the guide - for focus groups and semi-structured questionnaires - for in-depth interviews.

The guide-lines and semi-structured questionnaires covered the following topics outlining the specifics for each religious community and region:

- Understanding the objective and subjective meanings of labour
 - The connection of religiosity and labour: labour and salvation
 - The importance of work and faith in everyday life
 - The role of faith in labour activities
 - The purpose of work; blameworthy work
 - Praying as a type of work
 - Relation to the people with different confessions
 - Hard work and related success;
 - Understanding of destiny
 - Attitude to leisure time;
 - Attitude towards prudent use of time and money
 - Work as an end in itself
- etc.

Stage 3: Preparation works for conducting focus groups and in-depth interviews. At this stage of project implementation, concrete regions and communities have been selected for carrying out focus groups and in-depth interviews. While selecting regions and communities, several factors were taken into consideration: type of economic activity; the cultural-traditional environment of the community; the level of religious institutions activities in the community, etc.

The focus-groups and in-depth interviews covered the following regions and communities²:

² List of the focus-groups with different communities in regions of Georgia is given in the Appendix 3.

- ✓ Tbilisi (Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant communities)
- ✓ Adjara (Orthodox and Muslim communities)
- ✓ Samtskhe-Javakheti (Orthodox and Catholic communities)
- ✓ Imereti (Orthodox and Protestant communities)
- ✓ Shida Kartli (Jehovah's witnesses)

Composition of respondents in focus groups and in-depth interviews was determined and their recruitment took place at this stage of the project. Social-demographic factors, such as the level of respondents' religiosity, sex, age, income, etc. were taken into account during the selection of respondents for focus groups and in-depth interviews.

Stage 4: Carrying out field works - focus groups and in-depth interviews. At this stage of the project implementation, 15 focus groups and around 15 in-depth interviews were conducted in selected regions and communities. Each focus group consisted of 8 to 10 people with different socio-demographic backgrounds, discussing particular topics for about 1½ hours.

For each group discussion and interview respondents having (above mentioned) different socio-demographic parameters have been selected. The main selection criteria for respondents were: 1) participation in religious practices; 2) identifying themselves as believers. Respondents belonging to a confession were distributed according to the mixed principle; by gender and age, which implied more or less equal inclusion of male and female respondents into focus groups.³

Several supervisors were responsible for the recruitment of participants and their attendance. Supervisors were trained concerning the selection criteria and recruitment specifics. The screener was designed based on the defined participant criteria. Each question screened the potential participants to check if they qualify for the group and face to face

³ The focus groups conducted with Muslim respondents in Batumi were exceptional in this respect, since focus groups were conducted separately with Muslim male and female respondents. The reason is that according to Islam, there are significant differences between the male and female roles and status.

interview. It was foreseen that focus-group participants are not familiar with each other and are not the members of the same primary groups. This helped to provide a maximum of openness for the discussions (so called 'effect of companion') and to get deeper into problems.

Participants were recruited directly, in person. Using the screener, supervisor kept track of the quota groups and the recruits' names, addresses and phone numbers.

Stage 5: Analysing the data obtained by focus groups and in-depth interviews. At this stage of the project obtained empirical materials have been analyzed.

Group discussions and in-depth interviews were audio and video recorded. The transcripts of the audio and video material were formalised through the labeling and ordering procedures. Transcriptions faithfully picked up incomplete sentences, half-finished thoughts, parts of words, odd phrases, and other characteristics of the spoken word in a group discussion.

Once the transcripts were finished, they served as the basis for further analysis. Focus group and in-depth interview results produced large amount of data. The 'raw' data have been analysed through different steps, like:

1. Data Grouping
2. Information Labels
3. Knowledge (Findings)
4. Theory
5. Implications

Respondents' answers to each topic/question were grouped. The information was developed by labeling. Each group of answers was labeled which ensured information to be developed. Knowledge was gained by asking how the information answers the research objectives. They were findings. Then the theory was developed based on the evidence. Analysis has been integrated with reference material and theory. The focus of analysis was the identification of empirical ideal types (Weber's concept) of Orthodox and other Christian confessions, also Muslim work ethos.

Stage 6: Conducting file sorting and ranking. This methodology, widely applied in social anthropology, has been used as a research component. The advantage of this type of methodology is that the relevant methods do not elicit direct answers to the research questions. These methods could be described as projective techniques revealing the cultural peculiarities of the target groups. The given study involved participants from the focus groups. 109 participants in total were involved in the anthropological study. Due to the specificity of the research, the depth of information was considered more important than the number of respondents. Therefore, the gathered data gives a valid picture of the groups participating in the study.

Stage 7: Designing final report. The final report was prepared for printing and publication in Georgian and English languages.

CHAPTER 1. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides an overview of scientific literature and empirical studies dealing with the interrelationship between religion and labor ethics. The overview will touch upon Max Weber's interpretations in which religious faith determines models of economic behavior. Desk research makes it possible to work on the issue in the context of contemporary social sciences. This means that the reviewed sources are evidence-based and do not contain pure theological or philosophical speculations.¹

1.1. MAJOR THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: CHALLENGE OF MAX WEBER

Max Weber was one of the first thinkers who established a link between religion and the marketplace; certain religious teachings and economic behavior. The current secular interpretations of the work ethic are largely influenced by Weber's work, 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism' (Weber 1905/2010). Although, the relevance of Weberian thinking in the modern world is a debatable issue and the theory has been often criticized, it is not obsolete. Weber tried to explain the origin and development of capitalism using the concept of the Protestant work ethic. People's attitudes to work are important factors of capitalist development. Although a number of factors contribute to people's attitudes to work, Weber believed that Protestantism was the main determining factor. Oetes describes the Protestant work ethic as follows: 'A universal ta-

¹ See appendix 1 for references.

boo is placed on idleness, while industriousness is considered a religious ideal; waste is a vice, and frugality a virtue; complacency and failure are outlawed, and ambition and success are taken as sure signs of God's favor; the universal sign of sin is poverty, and the crowning sign of God's favor is wealth' (Oetes 1971: 84).

Weber argued that regions and countries sharing Protestant theology show the highest growth rate in business and the capitalist economy. He also argued that the attitudes and motives that determine involvement in economic structures and activities are formed and changed under the influence of religious ideas and theological ethos.

To analyze the theory in question it is desirable to look at Weber's methodological approach and main findings. This will clarify the theoretical premises of the given research into the attitudes of different religious groups residing in Georgia.

According to Weber, formation of the Spirit of Capitalism is a unique historical phenomenon and the understanding of this concept should be based on a consistent analysis of historical facts. Weber used Franklin's work, containing a number of important maxims of the capitalist ethic, as a major document for his research into the capitalist ethos. These maxims are the following: a) Time is understood as an opportunity to accumulate money; b) Laziness, understood as a 'sin', has a regressive impact on the earning of money; c) Importance of repaying credit on time; d) Waste of money as an immoral act. Apart from Franklin, Weber also discussed another author - Fruge, who found important the accumulation of a maximum amount of money; however, differently from Franklin, this activity was considered neutral in terms of ethics. According to Weber, the above views influenced the development of some Western ethical maxims like punctuality and frugality. The standards in question also influence the actors involved in the process. It has to be emphasized that wealth can be only acquired through legal means.

Weber tried to identify irrational bases of such ethical beliefs. He stated that accumulating/saving money and rejecting the pleasures brought by wealth are against human nature. Therefore, there must be some reasons for their existence. Weber noted that making increasing

amount of money and rejecting the opportunities of spontaneous pleasures and entertainment is against the human eudemonist needs, not to mention the hedonic needs. Consequently, in this kind of morality the concept of happiness is totally based on the transcendental and irrational. Such ethics explicitly contains irrational elements that create a basis for strictly rational capitalism. On the one hand, social life involves the practices like accurate calculation and the economical use of time; on the other hand, the ethical maxims do not enable the individual to freely spend money or enjoy life. There is another attribute that is typical of capitalism but not of the traditional lifestyle: Making more money than you need for everyday life. According to Weber, the traditional purpose of work, prevailing in the mediaeval centuries, was based on the following idea: Possess as much wealth as you need for everyday life or as you need for the satisfaction of your basic needs; however, the new ethics encourages the accumulation of maximum wealth.

Next, Weber raised the following question: What were Franklin's, Frugé's and other authors' ideas based on? What was the reason for the development of like ethical maxims? Weber believed that the answer to this question could be found in the Reformation and the new denominations following the Reformation. Since Weber strictly followed the principle of historicism, we first discuss Luther's activity and then the individual denominations which explicitly state new ethical maxims.

The Reformation

Weber believed that the term 'Calling' is very important for the understanding of the Spirit of Capitalism. The maxims described above obliged the believer to carry out certain social activities, which enabled him/her to participate and share community values. Weber defined *calling* as a duty, as the awareness of the importance of one's professional activity. The nature of activity does not matter. It does not matter either what the individual gains from this activity - power or material wealth (capital), only. According to Weber the idea of *calling* appeared as a re-

sult of the Reformation and preceded Franklin's and other authors' works who can be considered the authors of the capitalist ethic. In particular, Weber stated that the concept of calling first appeared in Luther's translation of the Bible, in the book of Sirach, where *calling* is understood as the *accomplishment of life purposes through working in a certain field*. In the Middle Ages, monastic life was something most valuable a believer could do for God. It was considered the most appropriate route to the blessedness of the soul, whereas everyday activities (eating, drinking, working) were considered morally neutral. The mundane life of a Christian was 'stimulated' by the benefits received in the other world. Luther was the first one to bring the believer to secular life. This was made explicit in the concept of *calling and* limited, to some extent, ethical maxims. Here we can single out two interrelated attributes of the new vision: a) The role of the actor's secular activities; b) Performing secular activities as the best way of receiving God's mercy. Weber believed that the fulfillment of duties in secular life was understood by Reformation as the individual's most ethical act. These changes introduced a religious dimension into secular activities. The concept of *calling* determined the central dogma shared by all Protestant denominations. Service to God was no longer limited to monastic life; instead of this, it was also understood as the fulfillment of obligations, in accordance with one's status, in secular life. Despite this, Luther's doctrine was not enough for the development of the Spirit of Capitalism, since, according to Luther, obedience to God is of ultimate importance for the believer, and, consequently, implies the acceptance of the universe as it really is. Such an approach rejects the idea of change, and, consequently, the idea of capitalism which is change oriented. Another point in Luther's doctrine, contradicting the Spirit of Capitalism, is 'Sterility of money', which opposes the idea of accumulation of wealth. Luther does not consider the accumulation of wealth and other kinds of earthly success as the ways of receiving God's mercy. Thus, the idea of *calling*, introduced by Luther, brought the human being back to secular life. However, Weber believed that this type of *calling* should be called traditionalist because it is based on the teaching of prophets from the Old Testament where obedience to God has crucial

importance. Such a vision turned out to be stronger than the emphasis on labor which distanced it from the idea of capitalism.

Traditional understanding of *calling* contradicts the modern concept of accumulation of wealth. The idea of accumulation of wealth cannot be a part of Luther's doctrine even theoretically. This raises the following question: If the traditional concept of *calling* excludes the idea of accumulation of wealth, and, therefore, the formation of the Spirit of Capitalism, what was the reason for the emergence of the spirit of capitalism in the later period? Weber's response is that the idea of *calling* underwent historical transformation. He singles out four main religious movements - Calvinism, Puritanism, Pietism and other sects that were formed on the basis of Baptism. Find below a relatively detailed overview of Calvinism, which, according to Weber, made the largest contribution to the formation of the Spirit of Capitalism.

The Calvinism

Calvinism has almost all the attributes necessary for the development of a new understanding of the idea of *calling*. Calvinism also contributed to the formation of concepts of predestination and justification. Weber considered these dogmatic changes important as long as they determined the formation of a particular type of human behavior, which, in its turn, caused changes in the social structure.

Predestination is the main concept distinguishing Calvinism from Lutheranism and Catholicism. To put it simply it implies that everything in the universe is predetermined and the believer has no influence on God's will. Any changes are senseless because real changes are impossible to make. After the fall the human being has no opportunity to make changes. The human being can do nothing to save one's soul. The given concept changed the understanding of free will which was an important part of the Catholic and Protestant doctrines. Consequently, the possibility of achieving blessedness also changed in Calvinism: God is the only source of blessedness and it is only God who decides who will be

elected and who deserves eternal destiny. According to this conception there is no institution (church) or its representative (clergy) that would help the believer to achieve blessedness. An important question is how a believer can guess whether she/he is elected or not. Calvinism gives the following answer to this question: The believer should be sure that she/he is elected and should prove this all the time and the only way to prove that you are elected is to appropriately fulfill your everyday social responsibilities. Work should be the believer's permanent activity until the end of his/her life. There is no other way leading to election. The Calvinist ethic introduced changes into the believer's lifestyle which developed into puritan way of living. Calvinism states that there are things in the world which can be chosen by the believer but some of these things are offered by Devil. Therefore, the believer should abstain from making like choice. This was an important precondition for the establishment of Puritan lifestyle. To describe this phenomenon Weber introduced the term '*secular asceticism*' which is principally different from the Catholic asceticism. The latter demands the rejection of secular life, abandoning it and starting monastic life, whereas in the case of contemporary asceticism monastic life is replaced by secular life. Therefore, the following two attributes became important for those who would be elected by God: a) conscientious fulfillment of everyday duties, manifested in hard work, and b) ascetic, minimalist lifestyle. Meeting these requirements was also a necessary precondition for achieving blessedness.

According to Weber the above mentioned changes caused the rationalization of life. Since it was no longer necessary to perform magic rituals to achieve blessedness (or the rituals necessary for traditional Christianity, like oblation, confession, etc) or use the service of the clergy to perform the rituals in question, the electedness of a new believer was no longer dependent on transcendental attributes. It became dependent on everyday life which had to be organized in a rational way.

To sum up, Weber believed that the Calvinist and Puritan aspects of Protestant theology developed under the influence of Martin Luther were of fundamental importance for the development of entrepreneurial activities. Luther put religious meaning in daily work, which had been

normally thought to be profane and routine. By identifying work with *Beruf*, he gave it theological meaning, so it had the same weight as the work of the clergy. Calvin, who based his beliefs on Luther's, gave 'Work' a much broader meaning. He considered it to be a calling that contributes to social progress and self-growth. According to Weber, Calvinism uncovers theological motives of work: hard work, frugality and a simple life style, while reinvesting revenues into business (commercial success) are considered ways of pleasing God and the indicators of the eternal reward, which is known as the 'Doctrine of Predestination.' The Doctrine is related to salvation and is based on the belief that for some people, God has secured eternal destiny as grace, while others have been condemned to eternal damnation for their sins, including original sin. The former is called 'unconditional election' and the latter, 'reprobation.' However, predestination should not be wrongly interpreted in a way that suggests people are puppets; that they have no free will and are unconditionally controlled by God. Predestination is not related to God's past action. It is about the present and the future (i.e. people are awarded eternal destiny or eternal damnation depending on the way they live). Rational, ascetic work is the precondition of eternal destiny. Therefore, Weber believed that profit oriented rational economic activity has religious motivation. The spirit of production emerged, where the desire to work became the motivational drive for individuals, and where each individual's labor was considered to be God's grace; the confirmation of God's pleasure.

1.2. BIBLICAL UNDERSTANDING OF WORK ETHIC

For Christians, the Bible provides a standard for understating work ethics. It considers work a major human activity. As noted by a number of researchers (Ward 1996; Henry 1964), the Bible reveals that human work plays an integral part in the world order established by God. It presents a conceptual framework for the reason and goal of human work,

defines how people should approach work and in what way they should accomplish working activities.

It is dangerous to limit the Biblical understanding of work to the result of the Fall and interpret it as a curse Adam and Eve deserved after eating the forbidden fruit. This is described in Chapter 3 of Genesis, in which Adam and Eve are punished by God with hard work.

However, experts note (Ward 1996) in Chapter 1 of Genesis that by making humans in the image of God, responsible for doing hard work, God revealed His intention to care for them. Work is a way to demonstrate love for God. Human beings were created to work and to show respect to the Creator. 'Whatever you do, work at it with all your heart, as working for the Lord, not for human masters.' (Colossians 3:23)². Service to God is also demonstrated when we dedicate our work to God. (Proverb 16: 3). We develop our abilities and potential through work and by doing so we show respect for the One who endowed us with abilities and talents. 'Obey them not only to win their favor when their eye is on you, but as slaves of Christ, doing the will of God from your heart.' (Ephesians 6:6).³

Love for God cannot be separated from Love for other men. Through our work we not only serve God but each other also. Firstly, through work we serve others by doing something useful and necessary for them. Therefore, work demands that we establish relationships with other people and it enables us to eliminate inborn egocentricity. The objectives of service to God and to other people overlap. When we serve God, we do something useful for others. God created us for good deeds. (Ephesians 2:10: 'For we are God's handiwork, created in Christ Jesus to do good works, which God prepared in advance for us to do').⁴ Through this we bring blessings to others and by serving others we glorify God.

² <http://www.biblegateway.com/versions/New-International-Version-NIV-Bible/#books>

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid

Like God, who did his work to create the world and continued working to preserve His creation, people also do their work and experience domination over creation. As Henry (Henry 1964) noted, a human being, whether a miner, mechanic or stenographer, participates in God's creative act by controlling and transforming nature, which simultaneously involves serving God; doing good for mankind and subordinating nature to creation ethics.

In contrast to serving God and other people through work, it is a sin to work for ourselves. The Bible warns us not to make our personal benefits into the goal of our work. For example, The Parable of the Rich Fool (Luke 12) describes how focusing on one's own benefits separates us from God.

According to the Bible, work is of paramount importance to people, who are image bearers of God. It is a means to glorify the Creator. God arranged man's existence in a way that implies a natural relationship between the working process and its effect. Biblical narratives tell us that hard work brings wealth. (Proverbs 21:5: 'The plans of the diligent lead to profit as surely as haste leads to poverty').⁵ The importance of hard work is also emphasized in the New Testament. Paul tells the Thessalonian Christians: 'The one who is unwilling to work shall not eat' (2 Thessalonians 3:10)⁶ and that you need to do more and more work to lead a quiet life (1 Thessalonians 4:10-11: 'Yet we urge you, brothers and sisters, to do so more and more, and to make it your ambition to lead a quiet life: You should mind your own business and work with your hands').⁷ Others will judge us (and in a sense Christ, who we represent) by how we work.

As noted by Mark D. Ward (Ward 1996:9), giving especial importance to hard work might lead to the Puritan understanding of work, which asserts that work is closer to burden than to joy. He thinks that

⁵ <http://www.biblegateway.com/versions/New-International-Version-NIV-Bible/#books>

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Ibid

such an interpretation is irrelevant to the Biblical understanding of work because according to the Bible, God gives man a unique opportunity to work and by doing so becomes a creator - that is, becomes the one made in the image of God. Service to God and man enables people to express their love for them. Consequently, work is not a result of the Fall, despite the fact that work experience on this earth is a reflection of the sin described in Genesis. The picture of Paradise, given in Chapters 1 and 2 of Genesis, tells us what the new Heaven and Earth will be like: People will continue working in Paradise, but without the sin which clouds our working experience.

1.3. CONTROVERSIES BETWEEN THE BIBLE BASED AND THE PROTESTANT WORK ETHIC

Mark D.Ward (1996) raises the following question, 'Are the concepts of Protestant work ethics in the secularized business world and the Bible based work ethics consistent?' His answer is negative.

According to the Biblical understanding of work ethic, human work is a part of the order established by God. The purpose of work is service for God and hard work is a means to this end. How does this approach relate to the secular understanding of work?

Ward (1996) believes that the meaning of work in the Protestant work ethic is inconsistent with the Biblical understanding of work. The Biblical elements of work ethic are distorted in the Protestant work ethic.

For Christians the purpose of work is service for God. The Protestant work ethic focuses on man rather than God. In the Weberian concept of work ethic, the result of work is more a man's reward than the dedication of work to God. The result of human work is a measure of Gods favor, not a gift to God. By displacing the purpose of work from service for God to serving oneself, work loses its broad (sacred) meaning and the Protestant work ethic becomes the measure of self - worth. In the Protestant work ethic, God no longer remains the focus of human work.

Both Protestant and Bible based work ethics consider hard work a means of serving God. Hard work has no intrinsic value unless it attempts to please God. However, to the secularized work ethic, hard work is valuable in itself. Therefore, the positive understanding of the importance of hard work is transformed and hard work becomes an end in itself. According to the Protestant work ethic, God blesses the work of such people and God's blessing is transformed into God's favor. Hard workers attempt to achieve salvation through their work and their material success becomes a symbol of faith.

The Protestant work ethic clearly changes the Biblical understanding of work. The secularized work ethic is not so prevalent today as it used to be. Christians believe that the world outlook of non-Christians is similar to the Christian world outlook. Current studies of the Protestant work ethic support the idea that we are moving towards a *post-materialist society*.

M. Ward concludes that the Protestant work ethic and the Bible-based work ethic are inconsistent. The Bible values work as a service to God and mankind, which is not implied by the Protestant work ethic.

1.4. THE MODERN CONTEXT OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGION AND ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR

As noted by Ward (1996), there is no consensus around the concept of the Protestant work ethic used by Weber. Weber never defined the Protestant work ethic as a rigorous and easily measurable concept. As a result, the concept saw numerous interpretations and the instruments developed to measure the concept radically differed from each other. Some think that the work ethic is means-oriented (people with strong work ethics work a lot, never miss work, etc), whereas others think that the work ethic is ends oriented (people with strong work ethics value work more than leisure and the working process is seen as more valuable

than the results of work). Therefore, the statements about the Protestant work ethic are often contradictory and confusing.

In addition, the Weberian connection between economic activity and religious belief has been questioned quite often. It is thought that capitalist development can be explained by different non-religious factors (Robertson 1985), like variable economic and social conditions.

The social context

Interest in the relationship between religion and work ethics is intensifying. This is caused by growing ethnic and religious differences, social and economic changes, emphasis on human rights and global justice, etc. Research into the relationship between faith and work still focuses on the definition of key terms and the elaboration of standards for measurement and further interpretation. The interrelationship between the variables affecting organizational behavior and work is also under investigation.

When discerning the interrelationship between religion and work, it is important to recognize that 'employees have an inner life that nourishes and is nourished by meaningful work taking place in the context of a community' (Rego and Pina e Cunha 2008: 55).

Modern researchers believe that the creation of a framework of organizational values manifested in the culture 'promotes an employee's experience of transcendence through the work process, which facilitates their sense of being connected to others in a way that provides feelings of completeness and joy' (Giacalone and Jurkiewicz 2003:13).

It is already agreed that people want to lead harmonic, integrated lives; they do not want to put aside their beliefs and traditions while at work; they are not willing to deny or sublimate their religious beliefs, ethnicity, race, gender or sexual orientation (Miller 2007).

Just because religions effect people's attitudes and behavior, it is important for researchers to adequately measure these influences.

Because of increased religious differences, people tend to emphasize shared ethical principles and identify the ethical bases of the market. Ethical bases and religious traditions are being explored to be later used

for the humanization of the market. For example, in collaboration with Georgetown University, the World Economic Forum developed 'Faith and the Global Agenda: Values for the Post-Crisis Economy'. This 77 page document focuses on moral and ethic teachings. In *Caritas in Veritate* (Charity in Truth, 2009) Pope Benedict XVI says that the 'world needs to rediscover fundamental values on which to build a better future...'⁸. Pope Benedict XVI also said that the market should get moral energy from those institutions which produce this moral energy. The moral energy he refers to is religion. In his 2009 speech, *Ethics, Economics and Global Justice*, Dr Rowan Williams, Archbishop of Canterbury, talks about the contribution of Christianity to debates on the economic crisis, which implies a return to Christian values: trust, modesty and non-subjugation of the weak.

As noted, people want to live integrated, harmonic lives. The mass social and economic changes that started in the 1980s (firing white-collar workers, urban migration, higher demand for jobs) increased the number of those people who searched for purpose and meaning through work. This helped them avoid pressure and confusion. It was the context that determined the growth of interest in spirituality and religion.

Contemporary research

The world in the late 20th century dramatically differed from the world described by Weber. Modern researchers of work ethics ask different questions: a) Was Weber right when he singled out the Protestant work ethic? b) Is the Protestant work ethic important in modern secular society and what are its alternatives? How does the Protestant work ethic help us understand workers' motives?

Modern scholars continue to define the Protestant work ethic. In current research that attempts to measure the Protestant work ethic, Furnham (1990) singles out seven measures of ethics in five different domains: belief in hard work; the role of leisure; religious and moral beliefs;

⁸ Charity in Truth 2009: 20.

an emphasis on independence from others; and asceticism. The study shows that none of the measures covers all five domains and only some of them cover two domains. These findings lead to the following question: Has there ever been a phenomenon that could be described as the Protestant work ethic?

This question increased in importance as the influence of Protestantism on American culture weakened. Ditz (1980) writes that work ethics gradually became secular and now function as a manifestation of economic, rather than religious, philosophy. Because of the unclear meaning of the work ethic scale, some researchers think that work ethnics have no underlying structures and the concept 'work ethic' means no more than a combination of independent variables (e.g. McDonald and Ganz 1992).

Some researchers believe that the Protestant work ethic is a measure of the world outlook that existed in the period of early capitalism, but lost its influence in the last decades. For example, according to Inglehart (1991), the success achieved by the material values identified by Weber led to the 'silent revolution' of values. Generally speaking, the rapid growth of the capitalist economy was caused by the Protestant work ethic, which was a precondition of prosperity. This in turn promoted the development of post-materialist values.

Maccoby and Tezi (1979) identify four levels of influence the Protestant work ethic had in relation to periods of social and economic changes. The first stage is the original Protestant work ethic. The second stage was the 'Craft Ethic,' which reflected the rationality of individuals like Benjamin Franklin. Then came the 'Entrepreneurial Ethic' and the 'Career Ethic,' typical of the post-World War II era. Maccoby and Tezi also list the fifth manifestation of work ethic - the 'Self-development Ethic,' which is closely related with Inglehart's post-materialist values.

Although Weber's ideas have been often criticized, his main observation that there is a certain relationship between religious beliefs and economic agents and their activity has been widely shared. Some researchers look for the influence of religion on economic behavior in religious doctrines other than Protestantism.

For example, one of the modern researchers, Gellner (1959), refers to Mackey's causation theory formulated as INUS condition. The theory states that there is a unity of certain events which do not always determine each other in time, but their coincidence facilitates the production of a new, previously uncertain event. For example, C1, C2, C3, etc., can jointly cause X outcome, which would be impossible without the existence of all the above preconditions. This approach makes Weber's theory more understandable. Preconditions, like bookkeeping, development of modern science and Enlightenment were important but insufficient preconditions for the development of modern capitalism since they existed in different cultures and in different periods. This means that there were some other, additional conditions that produced the given outcome. Weber wondered what that unique factor was (i.e. the factor determining the formation of modern economic behavior which did not exist in other cultures). Weber later identified it as the Protestant ethic which operated jointly with the other factors.

Philip Roundy (2009) tried to establish relationship between the individual's religiosity and his/her involvement in secular civic organizations. According to his hypothesis more religious people are less effective in organizational activities, than less religious individuals or those who are not at all religious. They, also, have a weaker sense of normative commitment to one's own organization. Roundy believes that the above relationship between religiosity and organizational involvement is regulated by organizational spirituality which can weaken and, even, eliminate, such a negative relationship.

For many years, similarly to oil and water, religiosity and work were regarded as a dichotomic pair which cannot be mixed. Consequently, the organizational practice was based on the following belief: 'Church on Sunday, work on Monday'. However, notes Roundy, it has recently become clear that the traditional wall separating religiosity from work is getting more and more fragile. Religion no longer seems to be a hat that can be removed as soon as an employee enters the doorway of an office or factory. Consequently, in his study, Roundy tries to determine relationship between these two concepts.

According to Roundy, a group of researchers made attempts to determine the above relationship. They found out that at the first stage increase in religiosity level increased the individual's involvement in secular civic organizations. However, later, they put forward a hypothesis that relationship between these two variables was not linear and was closer to parabolic relationship: Increasing religiosity increases involvement in civic activities, but after reaching a certain level increase in religiosity level automatically causes decrease in civic involvement. Roundy identifies three reasons for this regularity:

- The first one is related to *time*: Individuals who are very religious and characterized by high level of religious involvement and give a lot of time to different activities organized by the Church and other religious institutions. Consequently, they have less time left for secular civic organizations;
- The second reason is *social networks*: Since the Church has quite a large congregation, increase in the individual's religiosity level enlarges social network, which, finally, becomes the given individual's 'world'. This weakens their desire to perform activities outside the 'organization';
- The third reason is related to the responsibility to *do good deeds*. Most world religions tell their congregations to do good deeds, help those in need, etc. This has a dual effect on the involvement in civic organizations: The Church who encourages the congregation to do good deeds often itself creates the conditions for the performance of like activities (organizing volunteer activities, etc). Therefore, the individual who wants to participate in like activities will not look for them in civic organizations and will get involved in the projects organized by the Church. Secondly, deeply religious people give more time to the spiritual world and metaphysical life than to material, secular world.

Roundy's research largely deals with the effect of religiosity on organizational commitment. Roundy distinguishes three types of com-

mitment (affective, continuous, normative commitments) and brings forward a hypothesis according to which increased religiosity negatively affects each type of commitment.

- *Affective commitment* - Because of religious beliefs, the individual might not be able to identify personal goals with the organization's main goals or objectives. For example, performing good deeds without seeking any profit is not the main objective of secular civic organizations, which weakens affective commitment to the organization;
- *Continuance commitment* is based on the necessity to stay with the organization or the fear of loss caused by leaving job. Therefore, anything that weakens the perception of potential loss will weaken the individual's continuous commitment to the organization. According to Roundy, religiosity weakens the perception of such a loss for the following two reasons: Firstly, as already mentioned, deeply religious people give a lot of time to spiritual life and metaphysical world. Due to this they find the benefits obtained through work in an organization less important. Secondly, as said above, people characterized by high religious involvement are members of broad social networks (congregation). Therefore, such an individual might believe that in case of losing a job they might be helped by someone from their social network to find one. Due to this, in case of high religious involvement feelings arising from a potential loss of job are much weaker than in case of less religious or non-religious individuals. Roundy also states that deeply religious people consider job God's gift and believe that in case of losing one, God will give them another job. This weakens the trauma caused by leaving the organization, and, eventually, the individual's continuance commitment.
- *Normative commitment* - High religious involvement, religious schools and different religious institutions which teach religious values, create a value system determining loyalty to religious norms. These override commitment to organizational norms, which weakens normative commitment.

As already said Roundy's major hypothesis is that it is impossible to change the existing relationship between religiosity and civic involvement. Roundy believes that this can be ensured by organizational spirituality, which implies that the organization's employees have positive social relations and there is a possibility of integrating individual and personal values. In the case of organizational spirituality it is possible to increase affective, continuance and normative commitment of individuals who are high in religiosity. For this purpose, the organization should create conditions for integrating the individual's personal goals with the organization's values and goals. To strengthen continuance commitment of deeply religious individuals, they should be given the opportunity to satisfy their religious needs - do good deeds for other people within the organization. As for normative commitment, Roundy believes that organizational spirituality might itself stimulate responsibility oriented socialization.

Round concludes that relationship between religiosity and civic involvement is determined by the organization's ability to develop in its employees the sense of organizational spirituality.

Marieke Ter Voert (1993) conducted research in the Netherlands to find out whether Christianity affects two main elements of capitalist labor. In Weber's understanding: 1) Work is an obligation - every person, who is able to work, must do so; 2) The employee must fight for promotion.

Weber's thesis on work ethic created a conceptual framework for the researchers showing interest in this issue. Some researchers arrived at the conclusion that Catholicism and Protestantism have an identical attitude to work, whereas others argued that there is a considerable difference between these two denominations. Voert tries to make the issue even more complex and states that it requires a deeper analysis, since Catholicism and Protestantism differ less than different trends within Protestantism. In the case of the Netherlands she does not talk about Protestantism, in general; Instead of this, she singles out two main groups - Nederlands Hervormd and Gereformeerd. Using them as examples she determines the effects of religious and non-religious variables.

Voert believes that it is also important to consider non-religious characteristics like age, sex, educational level, social class, etc. After conducting research she arrived at the following major conclusions:

- Religion, especially Christian faith, has an important impact on people's attitude to work;
- Christians who are strong believers regard work as an obligation differently from less religious people ;
- Religious involvement does not have a direct impact on attitude to work;
- Compared to Protestants representing other trends in the denomination, Orthodox Calvinists are more convinced that work is a human obligation;
- Christian faith is weaker in Catholics; for this reason, their attitude to work is less positive.

A similar impact has been also observed in Catholicism (Novak 1990; 1996). Some researchers studied the same phenomenon in Americans of Japanese origin who migrated from Japan in the Tokugawa period (1600-1868) (Woodrum 1985). Woodrum argues that the Buddhist sect of Shinshu had similar ethics to that of protestant Christianity, such as asceticism and the calling towards work and legitimized stewardship. In that period, many members of the Shinshu Japanese Buddhist sect migrated to the US. The Japanese American Research Project, implemented in 1964-1966, conducted a survey with 18000 immigrants who arrived in America before 1924. The respondents had high salaries and were self-employed. The Shinshu immigrants' success turned out to correlate with the Weberian religious indicators that helped production development. Research results showed that their religious beliefs - Buddhism and the Shinshu doctrine - contributed to the Japanese immigrants' economic success.

Another study, conducted by Redding (1995) shows that capitalism is viable in China, in so far as Confucian religious values have a serious

impact on the economic behavior of the Chinese population. After conducting 72 interviews with Chinese entrepreneurs, as well as representatives of executive bodies in Taiwan, Hong-Kong and South-West Asia, Redding concluded that the basic Confucian religious values of paternalism, collectivism, feminism and social hierarchy, created the conditions that paved the ground for new initiatives.

Main concepts: Spirituality and Religion

There are many definitions of spirituality. McGinn groups the definitions into three categories: 1. Theological or dogmatic. 2. Anthropological, which focuses on human nature. 3. Historical - contextual, which focuses on people's shared historical experience in a particular society (McGinn 1993).

Nash (2001) singles out three components of spirituality: inner self, search for significance in everyday life and the forces that are bigger than the individual (i.e. are transcendental). Spirituality is individual and inclusive, while religion is external and exclusive. Spirituality originates from religion and cannot exist separately from it. Religion is not a belief of a particular individual. It is a system of ethical ideas and perceptions which explain the existence of the human being in the universe. Religion is a system of values, doctrines and principles that provides people with the ethical and moral framework for behavior and motivation (King 2007).

Slater, Hall, and Edwards (2001) define spirituality as a personal expression of human being. Religion involves elements of personal expression but research should be conducted in the group context, which makes the meaning and methods of personal expression legitimate.

Three aspects of spirituality that are important in terms of work are the parallel relationship, the adversarial relationship and the integrative relationship (Giacalone and Jurkiewicz 2010). The parallel relationship implies that spirituality and work are separate and constitute different worlds. They both exist without affecting each other. In the adversarial relationship, spirituality and work never intersect; actually, they even op-

pose each other. In the integrative relationship, spirituality and work are interrelated and the relationship between religious beliefs and work ethics is causal.

1.5. LAWRENCE HARRISON: 'THE CENTRAL LIBERAL TRUTH'

In this work Harrison (2006) tries to highlight the role of culture in the development of society. He thinks that the role of culture in education, democratization and social equality is as important as that of climate, natural resources and geographical location. The role of culture is often ignored because it does not often suit scientists and politicians to attribute a group's poor economic development and failures to certain factors, like religious affiliation. Harrison believes that it is just culture that determines potential of society's development. However, he does not exclude the role of the other factors mentioned above. The author singles out the phenomenon of social leaders 'who have a better vision of society'. Like leaders are mentioned in his book (Meiji revolution leaders in Japan, Mustafa Kemal in Turkey, Franklin Roosevelt in the US, Lee Kuan in Singapore and Michael Gorbachev from the recent past), but culture is still regarded by Harrison as the main factor.

Culture is defined as a system of values, beliefs and rules shared by community members and passed on to younger generations. Environment, history and religion play the major part in the formation of beliefs and values which are passed on to generations through upbringing, socialization, the mass media and religious practices.

Harrison believes that religion has a strong impact on culture. Consequently, he defines the cultures included in the book on the basis of the dominant religions or the moral code (e.g., Protestant, Catholic, Orthodox, Judaic, Islamic, Confucian, Hinduist and Buddhist cultures).

Due to this Harrison considers relationship between religion and progress very important. In particular, he analyzes the impact of religious affiliation on the pace of community development.

Harrison notes that when we talk about progress, the liberal tradition requiring equal respect of each religion becomes questionable. Based on the observations carried out for many years he concludes that some religions better correspond to democratic policy, social justice and development than others. The Voodoo religion practiced in Haiti is considered to be most resistant to progress. Since the Voodoo cult is irrational, it results in the feeling of helplessness and fatalism, and, therefore, suppresses even weak attempts of economic activity. For this reason, Harrison attributes extreme poverty, as well as social and political pathologies observed in Haiti to the existence of this particular religion.⁹

Harrison analyzes the role of religion in the development of society using examples of 117 different countries with minimal population of 1 million people. In these countries, the largest share of population practices one of the following religions: Protestantism, Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Buddhism, Islam, Hinduism and Confucianism. The study also covers Israel, where the population mostly practices Judaism.

In his study, Harrison considers the following data:

1. UN Human Development Index
2. UN data on literacy rates in the world
3. UN data on literacy rates among the world's women
4. UN data on birth rates
5. Freedom House's freedom index
6. Chronology of democratic development
7. World Bank data on income per capita
8. World Bank data on the distribution of income
9. World Center data on values and trust
10. Corruption perception index provided by Transparency International

Based on the above data Harrison formulates seven general conclusions. However, he states that the scientific accuracy of the analysis is

⁹ In 1997-1999, Harrison was Head of the USAID Mission in Haiti. His observations are reflected in the article *Haiti and the Voodoo Curse: The Cultural Roots of County's Endless Misery* published in The Wall Street Journal

limited for several reasons: Firstly, country's religious composition is not homogenous. Secondly, Germany, Switzerland and Holland are considered in the study Protestant countries despite the fact that the majority of population practices Catholic religion. The reason for this is that these countries have historically been formed under the influence of Protestantism; thirdly, all the religions contain certain trends that are not reflected in the study. The study does not reflect the national characteristics of different peoples, either.

1. Protestantism has created better conditions for modernization, especially in the western hemisphere, than Catholicism.

UN Human Development Index clearly shows that Protestant states have made better achievements than Catholic states. Harrison thinks that this index is the best measurement instrument since it combines the data like predicted life expectancy, level of school education, literacy among adults and GDP per capita.

According to Freedom House data average democracy index is 2,3 for Protestant countries and 5,5 for catholic countries.¹⁰ Although the overall democracy index for Catholic countries has been largely determined by non-democratic Latin America, Harrison brings the following evidence as a proof for Alexis de Tocqueville's hypothesis about inner closeness between Protestantism and democracy: In the developed world the average showing for transition to democratic form of governance is 1852 for Protestant countries and 1934 for Catholic countries.

According to the average indices Protestant counties are ahead of Catholic countries in terms of GDP per capita, level of trust and corruption perception index. According to the data provided by Transparency International, out of the 10 least corrupt countries 8 countries are Protestant, 1 is Confucian and 1 is Catholic (Luxembourg with about, 0.5 million of population). However, the average score for Catholic countries is much higher when it comes to fair distribution of income.

¹⁰ 2 is best index whereas the 14 is the worst one.

Harrison states that the reason for the above mentioned advantages of Protestant countries is the Protestant ethic (progressive values - the labor ethic and sense of personal responsibility Protestantism is based on) which was closely linked with industrial revolution. He gives example of America and notes that Protestant religion has always been a religion of labor. Differently from other countries, where social status was determined by traditions, the individual's place in social hierarchy, the person's belongingness to this or that class or his/her ethnic/religious identity, labor has always played the role of such determinant in America.

2. The Scandinavian countries are the champions of progress

Out of the Scandinavian countries Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland are the leaders in terms of almost all the showings (Freedom House's index for political rights and civic freedoms, Transparency International's corruptions perception index, UN human development index, etc). Harrison believes that the main reason is a deep influence of Lutheranism on these states.

3. Confucianism has turned out to be more open to modernization than Buddhism, Islam and Hinduism.

In the typology presented by L. Harrison, the overall showing of the states is largely deteriorated by the Chinese factor. The indices for the Confucian countries (Japan, Hong-Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea) that are the members of the developed world are close to the indices (UN human development index, literacy level, GDP per capita, distribution of income) of Catholic countries.

4. Greece, which is most developed among the Orthodox countries, was the poorest EU member state until 2004. There is some similarity between Catholic and Orthodox states. However, Orthodox countries clearly show the influence of the Communist past.¹¹

¹¹ In relation to the opinions expressed by Harrison we would like to refer to an incident which is interesting in terms of spontaneity and life philosophy

Orthodox and Catholic countries demonstrate almost identical showings in terms of UN development index and GDP per capita. Since Communists always put a strong emphasis on education, Orthodox countries show the same literacy rates as the members of the developed world. However, Greece is the only Orthodox state which is a member of the developed world. Quite a high level of corruption typical of these states can be explained by the existence, in the past, of the corrupt Communist regime on the territories of these countries.

When discussing Orthodoxy, Harrison refers to the expert on Eastern Europe issues Nikolas Gvozdev who notes that the doctrine of the Orthodox Church does not support democratic institutes and market economy. The author says that today the Orthodox Church shares the position of the Catholic Church held in the first half of the previous century, before it openly and fully supported democracy in the second half of XX century. Harrison also refers to the former Georgian high rank official Irakli Chkonia whose article discusses the signs of Orthodoxy in Georgia: ‘Loyalty to the State, suppression of any different ideas and initiatives, resistance to innovations and social changes, collectivism, emphasis on ethnic belongeness, isolationism and particularism, fatalism and spiritual determinism. It is also characterized by disgusting attitude towards other non-Orthodox western churches and the Islamic world.’

(It is just an example, of course, and cannot be generalized). When being on Rhodes (Greece) one of the members of the given project had a conversation with a 60 year old man, local taxi driver. It was 2012 when the exclusion of Greece from the EU was heatedly discussed (the reason was that Greece failed to meet its financial liabilities) and there was a lot of excitement in the country. The taxi driver, naturally, started discussing this issue with his passenger (the project member). First, he made sure that the passenger was not from West Europe and then expressed his own opinion which is summarized below: ‘Since Greece was allowed to join the EU, the West should financially support it. The Greeks are very special people: They work to live but not vice versa; they are not like Westerners who live to work. I, for example, believe that the day when I cannot dance, is totally lost for me!’

5. *Islam largely falls behind the western religions and Confucianism in terms of all the indices. There are certain differences between Arabic and non-Arabic Islamic countries.*

Islamic countries largely fall behind Confucian states by almost all the parameters. The gap between Islamic and Christian states is even larger. To explain Islam's resistance to progress Harrison refers to Bassam Tibi's ideas. Tibi is a Syrian Arab by origin who delivers lectures in one of the German universities.

Tibi believes that there are several reasons for Islamic countries' resistance to modernization. Firstly, it is a closed character of Islamic culture. When mentioning the culture's reluctance to learn from other's experience, the author puts an emphasis on the psychological factor: Learning from others is perceived as damage to one's ego, to its uniqueness. Tibi also emphasizes another non-cultural political factor - 'revolution against the West', which implies opposition not only to the western hegemony, but also to western values, in general.

Harrison notes that the main reason for anti-western attitudes existing in the Islamic world could be the loss of historical role by Islam/ high level of development in the Western countries. He says that the best alternative for Islamic countries is to take Bernard Lewis' following advice: When people realize that the things are going wrong they might ask two questions: a) What have I done wrong? b) Who is guilty? The first question is followed by the theory of conspiracy and paranoia, whereas the second question takes us in a different direction and makes us search for the answers to the following question: How can we fix the things?'

Harrison believes that instead of blaming others Islamic states should try to answer the first question, should open their culture to other cultures, respect them and value knowledge and education.

6. *Democratic institutes in India are quite stable. India has been showing economic growth for the last two decades; however, the education sector is developing at a slower pace and the corruption level is quite high.*

In terms of political rights and civic freedoms, Hinduist India has the best showings among all the other groups except for Protestant coun-

tries. According to the WB data, economic growth in India constituted 60% already at the end of the 1990s. However, the education level is very low. Over half of women are illiterate which reflects gender inequality and the woman's submissive role.

To explain the role of Hinduism in progress Harrison refers to Bhanu Mehta's ideas. Bhanu Mehta believed that Hinduism is too flexible as a doctrine; also, its structure is so fragmentized that it is not suitable for supporting reforms. Moreover, Mehta thought that there is no link between Hinduism and modernization. According to Mehta Hinduism attempts to fully actualize the Self which may be considered an important resource for democratic future; however, the history of India has seen only few attempts of creating an effective social structure for this purpose.

Harrison also quotes Gunnar Myrdal who believed that Hinduism's resistance to democracy was caused by the existence of the caste system.

Harrison finalizes the discussion of Hinduism by quoting Mehta according to whom the main advantage of Hinduism is that it has taught its followers to overcome the limitations introduced by Hinduism itself.

7. It is difficult to make any generalizations in relation to Buddhism because of its versatility. It is clear, however, that it is not a powerful modernization tool.

To explain relationship between economic activity/ democracy and Buddhism Harrison refers to Christal Whelan from Boston University. Whelan says that Buddhism and economic activity are compatible to a certain extent, although most Buddhists share Ernst Schumacher's approach: 'Small is beautiful.' According to Whelan Buddhism might not be an obstacle to progress since it welcomes the acquisition of wealth despite condemning attachment to it.

As for relationship between Buddhism and social justice, Whelan notes that the community of Buddha Shakyamuni's followers, Sangha, who lived in the time of the Buddha, expressed democratic ideals, according to which everyone is equal on their way to holiness. However,

later, as a result of assimilation with other cultures, Buddhism created a large number of hierarchical institutes.

In parallel to the above seven conclusions Harrison reviews Judaism which is dominant only in one state - Israel. He notes that a great influence of Jews on the history of mankind makes the main research problem in his book even more interesting. This problem reads as follows: 'Which aspect of Jewish culture is responsible for such a big influence?'

To answer this question Harrison refers to Jim Lederman, a Canadian journalist. Lederman thinks that according to the Jewish tradition our existence in this world is an endless project. Continuation of this project depends on how we walk in this way. Therefore, it is necessary to be future oriented, which requires continual social production and construction. All this ceases after the appearance of Messiah. Due to this every member of society must take part in the improvement of the world. At the same time, the status of members of society is determined by their individual achievements and their striving for perfection.

CHAPTER 2. LABOR CULTURE AND RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE

ANALYSIS OF EXPERT/IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUPS

2.1. GEORGIAN SOCIETY AND ORTHODOXY

As noted by experts involved in the research, revolutionary changes took place after Stalin's death and a partial diminishing of the significance of the 'cult of the person' by Nikita Khrushchev.¹ The changes in the Soviet establishment were dramatic, indeed. The security bodies being at the top of hierarchy were replaced by Party nomenclature, which had to allow a certain degree of liberalization in exchange for gained power. Among other things, the liberalization process also affected attitude to religion. 'Fighting atheism' was replaced by a neutral point of view. However, religion was still declared to be incompatible with the Communist ideology and religious organizations' activity was under a strict control of special services.

The liberalization of the regime was especially obvious in Georgia. Although the investigation of the relevant reasons goes beyond the scope of the given research, according to many experts, ideological pressure, as well as censorship, in general, were relatively weak in Georgia. This also applies to religion. For example, the clergyman from Nodar Dumbadze's²

¹ Nikita Khrushchev (1894-1971), First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1953 to 1964.

² Nodar Dumbadze (1928-84), Georgian writer, one of the most popular authors in the late 20th-century Georgia.

novel 'The Law of Eternity' is depicted as a positive character, which was hardly the case with other Soviet writers.

Despite the above said, according to the interviewed experts, faith, or Orthodoxy, in this case, did not become an important component of the Georgian identity in the referred period. A possible reason could be a weak social demand for religion. The Soviet regime was perceived as a strong and evil, but, at the same time, stupid monster. It did not make sense to fight with the monster but you could easily fool it to create one's 'little happiness'. Prevailing light hearted atmosphere was not affected by hopelessness or stress. Georgian art and sport, being important components of Georgian identity, were flourishing. Thus, the demand for religion was not much felt. Nevertheless, religion still played some part in everyday life. Baptizing a child was a commonly accepted practice (it has to be mentioned that such a practice was socially desirable, rather than mandatory) and the role of godfather/godmother was firmly established in society. Going to church on Easter and Christmas was considered good style or even an act challenging the established rules. The regime reacted to like acts by showing, on TV, popular films to make people stay home. The meaning of religion was, actually, limited to the above.

The situation dramatically changed after the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the declaration of independence. Although Georgia's first president Zviad Gamsakhurdia's³ nationalist regime opposed the Church, later, in Eduard Shevardnadze's⁴ period, nationalism and Orthodoxy converged so closely that an old paradigm, according to which 'Georgian' and 'Orthodox' are understood as synonyms, 'came to life'.

Judging by sociological research, the Church has gained much more trust today than any other social institution. About 90% of population considers themselves believers and the rating of Ilia II Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia exceeds 95%⁵. Icons and crosses of any size have

³ Zviad Gamsakhurdia, first democratically elected President of Georgia in the post-Soviet era, in 1991.

⁴ Eduard Shevardnadze, second President of Georgia from 1995 to 2003.

⁵ See *Values of Georgian Society*, Open Society Georgia Foundation, Tbilisi, 2006.

become a common part of the modern interior, demonstration of religiosity in public space has become 'good style', etc. However, according to the same sociological research, the number of observants practicing religious rituals on a regular basis does not exceed 15-18%.

At the same time, according to experts, there is a number of organizations in the country who fight, in the name of Orthodoxy, against sex education, the evolution theory, religious minorities, gender equality, and western influence, in general.

From the social-psychological perspective, religion plays defensive function for the majority of population in today's Georgia since it protects people from the fear of future accompanying 'return to history' as an independent state. In other words, religion is a way to 'avoid uncertainty' (Hofstede 1983). This could be demonstrated by widely held belief that Georgia is protected by Virgin Mary, by the existence of the expression 'Heavenly Georgia,' etc.

Experts agree that the influence of the Church is felt in actually every sphere of social life. This is especially true for Georgian villages where believers take the confessor's advice even in the case of trivial matters, like cutting hair. Due to this, the Church affects the system of social values and everyday behavior patterns, including labor practice.

2.2. INDIVIDUALISM VERSUS COLLECTIVISM

According to the experts, L. Harrison does not use important pattern variables, like individualism - collectivism, in his work. (See Chapter 1 of the report, section 1.5). This concept, as an important social-psychological characteristic of culture, was introduced into science by Triandis (1978) and was later developed by Hofstede (1983).

Individualist cultures encourage the person's individuality and uniqueness and are not characterized by hierarchical structure. On the other hand, collectivist cultures value group interests; individuals' attributed characteristics more depend on their belongness to groups rather than personal qualities; hierarchical differentiation and vertical links are

strictly maintained and the person's role, status and behavior are determined by his/her place in the existing hierarchical structures.

Individualism/collectivism are considered a cultural dimension. However, some experts think that it can be also applied to individual religions. In other words, we can describe a confession by whether it encourages individualist or collectivist tendencies in its congregation.

As a social institution, religion is collectivist by its nature. Group rituals, proselytism, demonstrating opposition to other faiths, more or less typical of any religion, form and strengthen the collectivist spirit and identity.

Individualism is an important component of the spirit of capitalism. Therefore, if we stay within the Max Weber paradigm, we can say that Calvinism, as a form of Protestantism, promoted (and, may be, event determined) the formation of individualist societies and cultures. We could assume that along with other factors, this process was promoted by the fact that the clergy was deprived of the mediating function between God and man, which is still the case with Catholicism and Orthodoxy.

As for the European Catholic countries, market economy, industrialization and economic development determined secularization and strengthened individuality; on the other hand, the Church took steps to adjust to new reality, which did not happen in the Orthodox countries. In Russia, the biggest Orthodox country, estrangement from the Church (along with other events) resulted in revolution and the establishment of the hierarchical, collectivist regime characterized by many structural and ideological attributes of the Orthodox Church (proclamation of the universal truth, the clergy - a dominant part of the party nomenclature, worshipping holy relics, etc). Later, the new regime was established in every traditional Orthodox country except for Greece, which can be hardy interpreted as something accidental, as well as the fact that among the Christian countries that were the members of the Communist bloc, the Orthodox countries were economically less developed.

How does the above relate to labor ethics? If we agree with Max Weber's statement that any dominant religion more or less affects the system of social values and behavior practices (including the spheres that are not

very close to religion), we could single out the attributes of the Orthodox ideology that are potentially linked with labor culture. These attributes could be the following:

- Collectivism;
- Hierarchical structure;
- Orientation toward the past, which implies that less attention is given to social changes or new technologies;
- Negative attitude to commerce and money;
- Priority of the word over the deed.

As we see, the above attributes clearly contradict the 'Spirit of Capitalism' and the corresponding labor ethics. Does this imply that we should be pessimistic about the future of the traditionally Orthodox countries? The experts think that it would be premature to draw this kind of conclusion as the impact of market economy and the related mental and behavioral changes should be also taken into consideration (we should keep in mind that market economy is a new reality for most traditional Orthodox countries). When analyzing the Georgian example, the experts point to two leading discourses in Georgia's social space: 1. Fundamentalist-Nationalist, and 2. Democratic-Individualist. Presently, these two tendencies more or less co-exist with each other and no clear contradiction has been observed, yet. However, these are likely to come into conflict with each other and the conflicting situation might last for quite a long time. Another possibility is that one of the tendencies might override the other. At this point, the fundamentalist - nationalist discourse is more influential. At the same time, the rating of values related to democracy and entrepreneurship is increasing quite fast, which leaves room for some optimism.

2.3. LABOR (WORK) VERSUS SPIRITUALITY, OR WITH IT?

Experts indicated that in Georgian Church traditions, labor is not viewed as an independent value (good deeds). It is understood as the *means* of ensuring physical existence and the aim of physical existence is spiritual perfection. Additionally, in 'Biblical' terms, labor is comprehended as farming or craftsmanship.

In Catholic and Orthodox traditions, one of the deadly sins, 'Acedia' (inactiveness), is interpreted in different ways. The Catholic Church identifies it with idleness, while the Orthodox Church associates it with despair. Consequently, in Orthodox churches, including the Georgian Orthodox Church, idleness is not considered to be a sin - at least not a cardinal sin.

It is interesting to note that in the Orthodox tradition labor (or a similar concept) is not included into the seven virtues which correspond inversely to seven deadly sins. These virtues are: 1. Love (*caritas*); 2. Liberality (explained as moderation of needed things, as love for evangelical poverty); 3. Chastity (opposite of lust); 4. Humility (which is also interpreted as the rejection of earthly wisdom); 5. Abstinence; 6. Meekness; 7. Sobriety.⁶

Another respondent, a former Orthodox clergyman, notes that Orthodoxy is oriented at the word rather than the act. The act is understood as spiritual work (the Georgian traditional feast serves this purpose when the expression of verbal loyalty towards values - toasting - is practically identified with the fulfillment of social duties).

According to one experts who is an Orthodox theologian, the Orthodox Church life is overloaded with festivities. The mass is long and the congregation must remain standing (unlike Catholic protocols). People become exhausted and have no time for productive work.

⁶ 'В помощь кающимся', из творений святителя Игнатия Бранчанинова. Сретенский монастырь, 1999 г. Стр. 3-16;
http://voliaboga.narod.ru/stati/08_03_04_poisnenie_dobrodet.htm

We can say from the analysis of material gathered so far, that those churches that have long existed in Georgia are undergoing a certain enculturation, i.e. ‘acquiring Georgian characteristics.’ In particular, we notice a trend of a shifting focus from the ‘act’ to the ‘word.’ This is especially relevant in the Georgian Baptist Church (which, by the way, is not recognized by Baptist groups living in west Georgia). In the so called ‘New Churches,’ we get a different picture. For instance, representatives of Jehovah’s Witnesses describe labor as a religious value. ‘For a pious person, religious service is important, however, it is unacceptable when a person resorts to self-justification and says they cannot work because they are engaged in a religious service.’

2.4. ‘GRACE’ AND ITS IMPACT ON DAILY PRACTICES

Influence of the dogmas of dominant religions (in this case of the Orthodox Church) on everyday ideas and practices (including those related to labor) could be discussed using the key concept of *grace* shared by all the Christian denominations. This concept is differently interpreted in Orthodoxy, Catholicism and Protestantism. In this context the most important point is the impact of the given phenomenon on everyday practices rather than its meaning or theological-dogmatic details. For this reason it will be enough to use the definition of ‘grace’ contained in the Russian Orthodox Encyclopedia, which is based on the explanation given by St. Gregory Palamas, Byzantine theologian:

‘Uncreated divine energy, power or action in which God appears to man, who, thanks to him, will overcome sin and reach unity with God.’⁷

The definition is quite general and can be subject to interpretation. Differences in interpretation caused religious conflicts and even war. According to the understanding prevailing in modern Orthodoxy (such an

⁷ ‘Благодать’, <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/149313.html>

understanding is close to the Catholic interpretation) certain religious objects (icons, holy relics, and constructions) are filled with supernatural power, God's grace. The believer can share this grace through performing certain rituals; however, in most cases, this necessarily requires the existence of the clergy - the mediator between God and human beings, who is filled with the divine grace.

Such a belief has several important implications (Max Weber's opinion according to which dominant religions affect not only strong believers but also atheists and formal believers should be also taken into consideration):

- It is clear to a neutral observer that religion implies some elements of *magic* (which is, of course, denied by the Church): As a result of certain sacred actions it becomes possible to involve supernatural positive forces into the course of earthly events;
- According to common beliefs and practices it is possible to fully free oneself from previously committed sins (including laziness and poor fulfillment of one's duties) through the routine and sacred procedure of confession and light penance, which is followed by accumulation of new sins before the next confession;
- Psychologically, such beliefs and practices facilitate the development of *external locus of control* (Rotter 1966) which takes the form of *optimistic fatalism* (Nizharadze 2011): Life changes for the better but society and individuals do not very much contribute to that; all depends on God's will, God's grace. Therefore, undesirable events are attributed either to the wrath of God (e.g. natural disasters) or Anti-Orthodox, satanic forces (these two are used almost synonymously), like emancipation of women;
- Since the clergy is a mediator between God and man and is thought to be able to manipulate grace, he is superior to a believer and cannot be subject to criticism from below;

- The above description of grace as well as some other characteristics of Orthodoxy, like the superiority of word over deeds, promotes the externalization of the locus of control and hierarchization, which, in its turn, weakens motivation for work and decreases the importance of some values, like professionalism, professional reputation, etc.

2.5. SOCIAL POLICY OF DIFFERENT RELIGIONS

Experts of Orthodox religion note that the Georgian Orthodox Church has no elaborated social policy (like the Armenian Apostolic Church but unlike the Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches). There is no document that maintains the church's position about on-going processes in the changing world. One of the results of this is that the subjective factor acquires great importance in the relationship between the Church and the congregation, particularly the priest's individual views and qualities.

The lack of 'interest' in social policy seems to be determined by one of the fundamental premises of the Orthodox Church. The Orthodox Church, including the Georgian Orthodox Church, believes that it observes the doctrines promulgated by the first Council of Nicaea more accurately than other Christian churches. These doctrines are absolute and cannot be reformed. This is why the social and technological changes of the last two decades are not considered to be essential. Human nature and mission are considered unchangeable. If they were, dogmatic beliefs would be threatened by revision. Consequently, when relating to the congregation, the Orthodox clergy gives preference to simplicity, which is typical of early Christianity and uses simple plots with simple characters. As previously stated, a worker is primarily identified as a farmer or a craftsman and the only thing work can do is help him/her make a living (see any church website or edition).

The simplicity 'paradigm' of early Christianity can also explain the negative attitude of the Orthodox Church and particularly, the Georgian Church's attitude to money, commerce, capital, etc. This has had a strong impact on the normative values of Georgian culture: Money is 'dirt'; it is not acceptable to talk about money; trading as an activity is either shameful or socially undesirable; commercial activity is associated with dishonesty. It is interesting to note that with the establishment of market relations, the word 'money' has been replaced with the euphemism 'sum.'

2.6. THE MEANING OF WORK AND FAITH IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Work, as a value, is equally important for different religious denominations. A large number of focus group participants say that most time of day is devoted to work. The primary function of work is the satisfaction of material needs. However, in addition to this, self-actualization, success and enjoyment are also important.

For focus group participants faith permanently accompanies their lives. It is related to life after death. Despite this, it construes everyday life to a certain extent and shapes believers' social behavior. 'Here we get ready for future life, which will be determined by our deeds in this world.' - said one of the participants. Such a belief is shared by all denominations except Jehovah's Witnesses, who do not believe in future life. They believe in resurrection from the dead. This does not make any difference in terms of analyzing social behavior. The possibility of resurrection also depends on the adherence to the rules prescribed by the religious doctrine for earthly life, which is one of the determinants of their world outlook and social behavior.

Religious affiliation has several impacts on the believer's behavior and the formation of world outlook which is reflected in religious practice, formation of world outlook and moral values.

Religious practices are part of any denomination and could be broken down into three main groups. a) Individual practice - Believers perform religious rituals in a certain sequence at home, at work or in some other environment. The main characteristic of this kind of behavior is that religious ritual is individually performed. However, the believer does not think he/she is alone when performing the ritual. This is a ritual between the believer and God. Examples of like practice are morning and evening prayers in the Orthodox community (some believers perform other prayers, such as prayer before meals, prayer before study, etc). Muslims pray four times a day. Metanoia is one of the practices. In general, religious practice is clearly individual, although social and cultural dimensions play an important part. Believers perform a meaningful or symbolic ritual which is determined by their faith. In this respect they radically differ from 'European non-religious believers' who have no religious affiliation despite believing in the existence of supernatural power. In Georgia, denomination members' private, individual and religious practice is significantly determined by specific religious confession. Therefore, this dimension creates a strong link with the believer's religious confession. Moreover, without individual religious practice the believer becomes somewhat 'deficient'. He/she does not fully observe the rules determined by corresponding cultural or religious doctrine. It should be mentioned that the traditional religions in Georgia, like Orthodoxy and Islam, have better constructed individual practices for their congregations. In Islam, the practices to be performed by believers are presented in the religious doctrine. In case of Orthodoxy, the range of performing religious practice is much wider and is prescribed, for the believer, by the priest. In non-traditional religions the rules for the performance of individual religious practices are less strict and it is the believer's choice where and when to perform the ritual. However, this does not mean that their individual practice is unrelated to religious confession.

Collective rituals are an important component in any religion. In Orthodoxy they are mainly encountered in the form of participation in liturgy and evening prayers. With Muslims these are Friday prayers and with Jehovah's Witnesses - participation in Congress. The main attribute

of these religious practices is their collective character. Being a part of community (congregation) is the believer's necessary characteristic. Because of the objectives of the present research it is less important to analyze the theological meaning of collective rituals.

Collective practices have social aspects out of which the following are considered to be most important:

A) Sense of being a *community* member. This attribute implies mutual relations: An individual feels that she/he is a community member and due to this shares the group's values. On the other hand, the community ensures the sense of unity. In a certain respect, the strength of faith is reflected in the individual's participation in collective rituals. Focus group material shows that participation in collective rituals is important for any denomination:

‘If a believer does not attend Congress once, twice or three times it means that he is distanced from God. If it goes on like this he will no longer be our sister or brother.’ (*Jehovah's Witness, Khashuri*).

This attitude shows two interlinked aspects: The believer's non-participation in rituals is considered his/her estrangement from religion, and estrangement, as such, implies leaving the community or the religious group. Participation in collective rituals is an indispensable characteristic of any 'true' believer. Traditional religions like Orthodoxy and Islam support special sanctions for those who do not participate in rituals. There are various sanctions, including additional metanoias in the Orthodox community and donations in the Muslim community.

B) *Intensification of social links*. In addition to having a religious aspect, participation in rituals also has a social dimension which can have different manifestations: a) Interaction between believers after liturgical preaching in Orthodox and Baptist - Evangelist denominations b) Talking about the Bible in the community of Jehovah Witnesses; c) conversation after the prayer in the Muslim community, etc. Like behaviors are interesting in two respects: On the one hand, religious values are trans-

mitted to the believer through social links; on the other hand, different aspects of the congregation's everyday life are subjected to religious interpretation. A sort of mediating space is created. In this space religious vision and the social aspects of believers' lives are intersected. Labor and religion intersect each other just within this space, where the actors, who are exposed to a religious vision, participate in its acceptance or rejection process. Another manifestation of the reciprocity of the process is that different aspects of everyday (social) life have an impact on religion. One of the instruments transforming seemingly stable and unchangeable religious attitudes is social reality with its different dimensions, including labor. From a general perspective the objectives of faith and work are different for the actor. The purpose of work is to gain material wealth, whereas faith is an important dimension of spiritual life. However, at the actor's level these two areas are independent and affect each other. In some cases, the actor's faith can determine the choice of type of work or can affect the performance of work. On the other hand, type of work can determine the actor's avoidance of performing religious rituals or change their form. For example, due to working conditions a Muslim might not be able to perform prayers required by his religion.

Religious doctrines play a certain role in the believer's social behavior. In particular, they affect one of the believer's social activities - work. These could be different types of influences, like:

- a) Impact on the believer's behavior at work;
- b) The believer's attitude to work;
- c) Impact on crisis management;
- d) Performing rituals during work.

Let's discuss each of them.

a) *Impact of religion on the believer's behavior at work* has several dimensions. One of them is the believer's attitude to colleagues. Part of believers tries to communicate with colleagues based on the religious ethic, which could be reflected in 'parity' relationships. Sometimes managers who are believers and directors of small companies are lenient with

their staff, which is manifested in the prevalence of informal relations (It should be emphasized, however, that this type of relationship is not dominant among focus group members who belong to different religious denomination).

‘I am Director of a translating company and equally treat all staff members because of my religion. My staff knows that things are different in other offices.’ (*Muslim Georgian, Batumi*).

b) *Attitude to work*. Since for most believers work is an important part of earthly life (which is also reflected in their understanding of life after death), attitude to work is an important variable basically manifested in ethical maxims like decent work, conscientious fulfillment of one’s duties, recognition of the hierarchy at work place, etc. Although such maxims are important to representatives of any religious affiliation, it is possible to identify specific attributes of individual religious unities. These attributes are related to the groups’ social status and roles, the structuring of which is determined by several factors, including religion. For example, most Muslim women consider housework their main responsibility. It is also important for them to bring up children in line with religious values and perform the actions associated with the woman’s gender role. On the other hand, like dispositions are mostly typical of Muslim women living in rural areas. Those living in urban areas are more job oriented. For most young Muslims job promotion is more important than doing housework. This points to the fact that believers’ attitude to work and choice of type of work is determined by social factors along with the religious factor.

A typical characteristic for Jehovah’s Witnesses in term of their attitude to work is employment in certain types of services like beauty parlors, trading centers, etc. They believe that you should earn as much money as it is needed for the satisfaction of your daily needs. Moving up the social ladder is considered less important. This is even not very

much encouraged by their religious doctrine. Decent behavior at work (as well as decent behavior in any sphere) is considered most important for Jehovah's Witnesses.

'I work at the market. My clients know that I am a Jehovah's Witness and are sure that if they buy meat from me I will never steal even a gram. So, I have permanent clients.' (*Jehovah's Witness, Khashuri*).

'When I work conscientiously I am in God's service. So, I never do job superficially.' (*Jehovah's Witness, Khashuri*).

c) *Managing crisis situations.* The role of religion in crisis management is most often mentioned by Orthodox believers. The religiosity of conflict situations is a determinant of their behavior, which is reflected in two interrelated modi - 'Patience' and 'Justification'. These dimensions are especially important for the believers working in the service sector. Faith, which requires patience in relationship with other people, is an important value the believer can rely on. As for the 'justification', it is related to the maintenance of psychological balance. The Muslims participating in focus groups also demonstrate like attitudes.

'When I am at work and a client is extremely demanding, I often try to be patient because I know that as a believer I am supposed to be patient.' (*Orthodox believer, Tbilisi*);

'An old man wanted to have a text translated into Turkish. I told him that it was a difficult text and its translation would take a lot of time. He did not believe and told me it was because of my laziness and started to quarrel. God gave me strength to stay detached.' (*Muslim, Batumi*).

d) *Performing religious rituals* at work creates problems for part of believers, especially for Muslims who note that they have no opportunity to perform prayers at work. It is mainly the case in organizations with religiously diverse staff. It, sometimes, happens that Muslims have the opportunity to pray only in the offices employing only Muslims or in the offices where a special area is allocated for praying. In general, focus group participants (believers) do not have a clear understanding of the neutrality of 'public space.' It should be noted that they appreciate the existence of the area for prayers at work. This is mainly true for Muslims, and, to certain extent, for Orthodox believers.

The given chapter describes the empirical characteristics of the space in which religion and labor intersect. This has been done in the context of different denominations. We have singled out the common and specific attributes which describe the representatives of different denominations in Georgia participating in the study.

2.7. FIVE DETERMINANTS IN THE ATTITUDES TOWARDS WORK

As indicated by international research results (Zulfikar 2012; Furnham 1990) there are 5 factors that help distinguish religious groups in terms of work ethics:

1. Hard work and related success;
2. Internal locus of control;
3. Negative attitude to leisure time;
4. Attitude towards prudent use of time and money;
5. Work as an end in itself

The statement that best reflects the first factor (Hard work and related success) is : '*Everyone who is willing to work hard has a big chance to succeed. Those who can enthusiastically cope with unpleasant tasks will make progress.*'

Internal locus of control can best be exemplified by the following statement: *‘Life would have little meaning if we never suffered. Rejection of hard work usually points to a weakness of willpower.’*

The third factor could best be described by the following statement: *‘Life would be more meaningful if we had less leisure time. People should have little time to relax.’*

The statement that best reflects the fourth factor (prudent use of time and money) is: *‘Money that can be easily obtained (e.g. through gambling or reselling things at a higher price) is generally spent in a stupid way. The credit card is a pass that makes careless spending possible.’*

The fifth factor (‘Work as an end in itself’) is exemplified by the following statement: *‘There are very few things that bring as much satisfaction as a person’s self-actualization through work. I feel anxious when I don’t have much to do.’*

2.7.1. Hard work and related success

Discussions carried out in focus groups point to several peculiarities related to the given issue:

1. Hard work is closely related to ‘decent’ work. This implies a conscientious approach to work (being honest to oneself or to God) and gaining other people’s trust. Those who do not work decently do not have to work hard.

All the focus group participants emphasized that ‘decent work’ is an important value. They said that preaching and the clergy’s conversations on religious themes often concerned honest work (especially with Jehovah’s Witnesses).

Representatives of almost all confessions noted that God threatens man with punishment if he/she violates work ethics. Decent/honest work was especially emphasized by Jehovah’s Witnesses, who maintain they do not violate the rules of work therefore, the community trusts them. Jehovah’s Witnesses emphasized that there is no work you can be ashamed of. However, there is work which is forbidden by their religion,

such as military service. One of the participants noted that due to this belief, the level of unemployment is very low among Jehovah's Witnesses (It would be difficult to verify the accuracy of this statement).

Again, hard work as a value is equally important by all groups, including atheists. However, the groups differ when it comes to the question, 'Is hard (decent) work a precondition to success?'

The group of *non-believers* is most skeptical in this respect. They believe that achieving success in Georgia is not often related to hard (decent) work. Rather, it is related to other factors, like connections to influential people, education, inheritance, etc. (Interestingly, some Orthodox group members also stated that besides personal features, you need influential acquaintances ('social connections') to be successful in life).

2. The principal difference between believers and non-believers is that according to believers, success requires believing in God, in addition to hard work; whereas non-believers (or those who give preference to hard work over other social factors) emphasize personal responsibility:

'If you do not blame evil forces for your bad or unsuccessful work and take responsibility for your actions, work hard and are goal oriented and innovative, success will definitely come. It does not matter whether you are a believer or not. This is the principle that always works.' (*Young man from the group of non-believers*)

3. As previously stated, when discussing religious themes along with work, respondents mention belief in God as a precondition for success. However, religious communities differ in terms of the *extent to which God is involved in the achievement of success and in terms of the contribution of each of the factors (work and God) in achieving success.*

In this respect, representatives of the *Muslim community* demonstrate the most radical point of view: They mainly ascribe success to God. Work

is considered valuable as long as it is 'prompted' by God and follows the Quran:

'If we conduct a historical study of the reasons success is achieved by Muslim people, we will see that this happened because of loyalty to Islam. The extent of success depends on respect for religion, on the level of its acceptance. That is why someone's success is proportionate to the person's respect for religion. Those who fully respect Islam will be fully successful. Our religion has already determined what should be done and in what way. The more you consider this in practice, the more successful you will be.' (*Man from the group of Muslims*)

'The fewer sins a person has committed, the cleaner he is, the more he is loved by God and the more successful he is ... Social success has a secondary importance; the most important thing is to be loved by God.' (*Man from the group of Muslims*)

Members of the *Orthodox* group also state that 'obedience to God is the key to success' and that success is determined by a transcendental power and cannot be achieved without its intervention. However, unlike Muslims, Orthodox believers say that a person can choose another way, i.e. to live without faith, which is his/her, responsibility. A non-believer will never be satisfied with his/her achievement and success will become a temporary thing. This will eliminate the limit of success. They are driven by an uncontrollable desire to achieve success, which might even make them commit a mortal sin.

'I'll achieve success when I fulfill God's will. When a person fulfills God's will, what he or she possesses will always be enough to be happy... obedience to God is the key to success.' (*Woman from the Orthodox group*)

‘You need to believe in God to be successful, and if you lack faith, you will never be satisfied. You will never be satisfied enough and you might lose yourself one day. This should be realized by everyone.’ (*Man from the Orthodox group*)

The group of *Protestants* believes that work contributes much to success. It is important to believe in God but the strength of faith does not ensure success. A believer can be a loser if she/he does not have the desire to work or struggle with difficulties. A person’s success or failure is not predetermined. They depend on effort, therefore, success is something you must achieve. However, to achieve success it is necessary to obtain God’s favor:

‘There are principles of obtaining wealth in this world. If you follow these principles, you will achieve success. God will bless you but you should also make an effort. I have seen people who surrendered and did not try to move forward in life when faced with difficulties. We should fight to do something in this world and we should even suffer for this purpose ... Some people think that they will easily get anything because they are believers. We may believe in victory, but we should not believe that this victory will be easy to win. This requires work. Success will come if you combine work with faith.’ (*Man from the Baptists’ group*).

It should be mentioned that representatives of Christian religions deny the existence of destiny (fate) and believe that man is a free being and builds his own life himself. However, all the Orthodox participants agreed that ‘Luck’ significantly (although, not crucially) contributes to success in life. Thus, it can be stressed that among Georgian Orthodox participants, *locus of control* is more external than among representatives of other confessions. In other words, out of the determinants of human life, the followers of Orthodoxy give more importance to *external factors* (like luck) than to internal ones. (This issue will be elaborated further).

4. Jehovah's Witnesses believe that success has a secondary importance in human life. They state that success might even prevent an individual from returning to a 'new life'.⁸ This means that there might be a certain contradiction between a successful secular life and a religious life.

For the Orthodox and Muslims, success does not really contradict religious life. However, no respondent (belonging to any of the confessions) believes success in secular life is related to eternal life/blessedness. Nor do they think there is a direct link between these two phenomena (success and blessedness). Also, as previously mentioned, Orthodox participants attach importance to the role of social links in achieving success. Further research needs to describe how a believer's religious ideology relates to their ideas about success.

2.7.2. Attitudes related to the prudent use of time and money

None of the religious communities residing in Georgia accept gambling as a legitimate way to obtain money. However, there are still some minor differences between these groups:

a) The Orthodox group is most rigid and resistant to gambling and does not even find it acceptable to spend money obtained through gambling for charitable purposes;

b) Baptists hold a somewhat different opinion. Firstly, they differentiate gambling games by their 'severity'. Playing the lottery turned out to be least severe (i.e. most acceptable) than playing games at a casino, which was considered the most unacceptable. Furthermore, despite their clearly negative attitude, Baptists consider the possibility of 'dignifying' the money won at a casino if it is used for positive purposes (distributing to poor people, building churches, donating it to the Church, etc). *This means that Baptists find it acceptable to use money, obtained through*

⁸ According to the belief of Jehovah's Witnesses, after the second coming of Christ, those who died will be recovered and judged by the God. Those who are justified will be granted eternal life on the earth of the 'new world'.

gambling for certain purposes, whereas Orthodox believers find any use of this money unacceptable.

‘A gambler is a sick person; he should not be regarded as normal... Such kinds of money can’t be used for good purposes ...’ (*Woman from the Orthodox group*).

‘It depends on the gambling game. I, personally, think that winning money through the lottery is more acceptable for society than winning money at casino. The casino and the tote board are unacceptable; the lottery is more allowed.’ (*Man from the Baptists’ group*).

‘Casinos are a very bad thing, but you should, anyway, try to use the money won through lottery for good purposes.’ (*Woman from the Baptists’ group*).

Unlike Orthodox participants, Baptists and Jehovah’s Witnesses noted several times that their religion teaches them how to manage time. (Time management as a precondition of success).

2.7.3. Negative attitude towards leisure

The analysis of literature (international studies) and the expert surveys carried out for this study reveal that the relation between religion and leisure can be regarded both as a *binary opposition* and as *congruent*. This contradiction is explained by the assertion that ‘while religion serves to stabilize the social order by endowing traditions with sacredness, leisure serves as a vehicle of human expression’ (Ibrahim, 1982). On the other hand, religion and leisure can ‘cooperate’ in the sense that specific forms of human expression within the framework of leisure are regarded as acceptable and others as unacceptable. This necessitates an answer to the question - where does the sacral end and profane start in the sphere of free human expression? Different religions offer different answers to this question, but they have aspects in common, too.

The negative attitude towards leisure has different contexts. The most predominant one is that leisure is regarded as a *waste of time*. In this sense, leisure is opposed to work. Experts who represented each religion and non-believers oppose such an understanding of leisure. 'Waste of time' has the same value as *laziness*. All focus groups oppose laziness. In general terms, the attitude can be described as follows: Lazy people are busybodies who do not work. They are a burden to others by laying their hands on the rewards of other people's honest work and establishing a parasitic environment.

The negative perception of leisure (that is, a waste of time and laziness) is something that needs to be overcome and one of the ways to do this is to limit leisure as much as possible and increase the speed of time by introducing the perception that time moves very quickly and we are unable to do a lot of things.

If we do not take into account the negative context for wasting time (laziness and refusal to work), the notion of leisure is relative and conditional. In particular, leisure is always a 'liberation from something' or to put it simply, a switch from one business to another. For example, to say that 'I read books when I have free time' only means that this is the time a person is not doing something else (their job, family work, etc.). In this sense, leisure as such does not exist at all, as it is always 'loaded' with content. Yet another (alternative) context for a negative or positive attitude towards leisure takes shape precisely according to *the type of leisure time activity*. In this regard, we can point to differences between believers and non-believers on the one hand, and groups of followers of various religions on the other:

1. What unites followers of all religions and non-believers is that their unambiguously negative assessment of 'leisure time' is filled with something useless (or, moreover, harmful). The list of useful activities, for its part, is long and encompasses everything done for the development of one's own self or others. As a representative of the Catholic group noted, 'Even fruitful thinking at leisure is useful.' An Orthodox Christian

believer cited a quotation from the Bible: 'Finally, brothers, whatever is true, whatever is noble, whatever is right, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is admirable - if anything is excellent or praiseworthy - think about such things' (Philippians, 4: 8).

2. Believers and non-believers differ in placing the emphasis on what should be regarded as useful in leisure time. Of course, Christian believers share the opinion that it is first and foremost imperative to fulfill God's word or main commandments, which is nothing other than serving God. One of the respondents from a group discussion cited a phrase from the Bible: 'So whether you eat or drink or whatever you do, do it all for the glory of God' (I Corinthians, 10: 31). With this in mind, activities like praying or attending Sunday masses and so forth in leisure time are regarded as useful and, moreover, sacred work. Non-believers switch the emphasis from profane activities in leisure time that are not directly linked to God to everyday social activities (like reading books, going to the theatre or cinema, and so forth). However, various religions sometimes promote profane activities in leisure time also.

3. Differences between various religions regarding leisure are mostly expressed in which activity should be regarded as sacred in leisure time. For example, Islam never sanctifies time or frowns on leisure activities, according to modern researchers (Ibrahim 1982). Moreover, Islamic countries have many more religious holidays than Christian countries. Poetry, singing, music, and dancing are among legitimate traditional activities in leisure time and Islam is also tolerant of activities like sport, television, cinema, and so forth.

Protestantism has traditionally adopted the strictest and most negative attitude to leisure time. Based on Weber's theory, modern researchers note that the Protestant ethic, as a personal worldview, is comprised of three elements: Attitude - people should work hard and avoid leisure to the greatest extent possible. Value - working activities are good and activities in leisure time are not. Belief - by working hard, people demonstrate their belief that they are among the best (Stebbins

2004: 25). Correspondingly, Protestantism is most consistent in shaping work and leisure as a binary opposition.

The focus groups held with Protestant communities (in particular, Baptists) within the framework of our study did not show this 'strictness' in regards to leisure characteristic of the Protestant ethic. Their attitude was similar to those of Orthodox Christians and Catholics. They noted that the church and their priests did not establish any strict restrictions regarding the use of leisure time.

Groups of Orthodox Christians and Catholics shared the opinion that recreation activities like sport, walking, games, parties and so forth can be part of leisure time, but the main condition is that such activities should not lose their connection with *spirituality*.

'Physical exercise and sport are very good, as they help people to maintain their bodies... The church does not hinder us from taking care of our bodies, but this should not develop into a cult of the body'. (*A young man from the group of Orthodox Christians*).

'Sport and exercise are good, but it depends on what sport it is... Let us consider kickboxing, for example. It has happened that this sport led to the death of an athlete in the ring. This is immoral and is in contradiction with spirituality and Christianity. If you follow this sport, you sin'. (*A young girl from the group of Orthodox Christians*).

Representatives of the Muslim community also emphasize the 'spiritualistic' legitimization of profane (mundane) activities. Muslims in the focus groups said that there are activities Muslims are forbidden from performing even in leisure time. These include working in casinos, selling alcohol and painting images of people, among other things.

'Prophet Muhammad did not leave his picture so it would not become an idol. Later, they painted a cartoon and we protested against it... Women are forbidden from

singing in the presence of alien men... Gambling makes people evil and they start regarding others as enemies who should be defeated, not people like them...' (A Muslim Georgian from the Ajara region).

Practicing religious rituals (praying, attending masses, communion, and so forth) in leisure time is regarded as sacred work in all religious groups. However, some Orthodox Christians in the group supported the opinion that participating in religious rituals is legitimate for believers, not only as a leisure time activity, but also as work in general. In other words, Orthodox believers universalize involvement in religious rituals as a type of work. They do not condemn people who are only involved in religious rituals and they do not regard them as being asocial. Some participants in the discussions described such work as 'spiritual work.' Others went even farther, saying that performing religious rituals requires physical energy and can be regarded in the category of physical work.

'Physical action during prostration is work, as well presence at a mass. You have to stand in a church all the time, which is work. In Catholic churches, they have benches and they sit, when listening to prayers. Things are different in our churches and believers need physical endurance.' (A woman from the group of Orthodox Christians).

The position of representatives of other religious groups was different than the Orthodox Christian view. While they do not deny that participating in religious rituals is work, they do not support the idea that this can be the only (or main) activity for someone (for the exception of those, who work at religious institutions). This position of non-Orthodox religious groups also implies that open or latent recognition of religious rituals is essentially appropriate work for leisure time. However, this does not mean that such work is more valuable. On the contrary, it can even be regarded as superior to pure social work.

‘In my opinion, praying is work. However, if a person only prays and does not work, and keeps his family hungry, I cannot justify it... It is not healthy to assume responsibility for your family and decide that the only thing your existence consists of is praying...’
‘The Savior Himself said that He made apostles of them and told them to go and work and make others work, too...’ (*Opinions expressed in the group of Baptists*).

‘We work in order to exist and we exist in order to serve God. Both are work. Religious rituals stand higher than work. That is why they are called religious services...’ (*A Muslim man*).

‘We know from the Quran that the only thing a friend of Muhammad did was pray. He did not work... He only practiced rituals. Muhammad forbade this. He said that people needed to relax, work, and perform rituals. Therefore, the religion does not allow rituals to be practiced 24 hours.’ (*A Muslim man*).

‘A believer sins if he only takes care of himself. Our religion has distributed our time: We have eight hours for sleeping, eight hours for work, and the remaining eight hours for religious services (praying, reading Quran, and so forth). We should not waste time. Every minute should be used.’ (*A woman from the Muslim group*).

2.7.4. *Internal locus of control*

Internal locus of control implies that anything that happens in a person's life (all the good and bad things) is caused by controllable factors, like attitude, readiness, effort, etc. Antithetical is external locus of control, which implies that human life is mainly controlled by factors that cannot be influenced or changed by the individual (social environment, God, providence, etc).

In religious communities, internal locus of control is related to the beliefs about how a human being is determined by the existence of God, where the line between freedom and arbitrariness is whether the individual is responsible for their own life, to what extent providence limits a person's free will, and if an individual has a real choice, etc.

This is quite a complex issue and different religions view the problem of human freedom in different ways. The experts involved in the study (the clergy and theologians) pointed to the following differences:

- i. Christian anthropology, namely Orthodoxy and Catholicism, reject fatalism (including occult and astrological determination) and regard man as a personality rather than a 'blind creature.' This is the essence of the idea 'made in the image and likeness of God.' 'The image' first of all, implies a free being, responsible for his/her actions.⁹
- ii. Protestant teaching is different in this respect as it accepts the idea of predestination. According to this concept, it is God who elects people for salvation. The salvation of a person as a sinful being does not depend on how well they will behave. After the Fall, man lost free will and does evil stemming from necessity

⁹ For example, experts quote John Chrysostom's : *'No teaching is as vicious as the one about fate and providence. If what is determined by fate is bound to happen when we work hard and when we are asleep, may the farmer not harness oxen, throw the seeds, tolerate frost, long rains and misery; may he not work long seasons, reap bread, plant. May he abandon all concerns, sit home and sleep. If all this is predetermined by fate, benefits will come to your home themselves . . . Why don't you decide to behave like this, if you believe in fate?'*

rather than freedom. Man is sinful by nature. Sin shapes his soul, mind, feelings and body. Therefore, his/her life (no matter what kind of life is lead) cannot be a precondition for salvation. Through unconditional election, God predetermines who will gain eternal security and who will not, irrespective of how pure the person's soul is or what kind of life they lead. According to Calvinism, God has promised eternal security to everyone - believers and non-believers. This is predetermined and no believer can change it. This doctrine evokes strong anxiety in the believer. It cannot be overcome by sacred acts, good behavior, or donation to the church. Calvinism does not accept such acts as legitimate and views them akin to magic practice, thus, they are false. However, this kind of anxiety can be channeled into a historically developed form of secular asceticism, when believers invest all their energy in their jobs and 'trade' (*Beruf*) rational, organized labor practice as an expression of gratitude for God's blessing. Therefore, it would not be accurate to state that Protestant teaching *consistently* emphasizes external locus of control (despite accepting the idea of 'predestination'), since the *existence of rational labor ethics in Protestantism assumes the introduction of an 'internal locus of control' into the teaching.*

- iii. The idea of predestination is even more consistently and strictly followed by Islam. Muslim monotheism implies absolute obedience to Allah, which means that anything that takes place in this world is predetermined and controlled by necessity. Everything is controlled by Allah's will. Allah is never mistaken. Every person was created by Him and every person's destiny is predetermined prior to their birth. Therefore, earthly life cannot be understood as a 'trial' because both salvation and hell are predetermined by Allah. People cannot change anything. Consequently, they cannot have free will. Any human deed, both good and bad, is predetermined. Man does not make a choice between good or evil deeds. For this reason, he cannot resist evil, but God can punish man for doing evil.

Do the ideas and attitudes of different religious communities in Georgia follow the paradigms of religious teaching?

The Orthodox community believes that man can control their own life and is not a slave to fate. At the same time, work plays a crucial role in 'controlling one's life.' Orthodox respondents state that a human being can determine their future and change their life, which clearly points to the *internal locus of control*.

'I don't believe in fate. Man's life is in his hands. You can lead it in any direction; anything can be as you want it to be... Lots of people have left Georgia today. They were very poor here, but they have achieved a lot there and have changed their living conditions.' (*Woman from the Orthodox group*).

It is interesting to note that despite the denial of providence, Orthodox group members still consider *luck* important. Luck is 'being in the right place at the right time.' Emphasizing 'luck' implies the acceptance of irrationality and coincidence as part of human life. Accepting something that cannot be controlled by a person, as such, belongs to the *external locus of control*.

The Muslim group demonstrated a different position: Muslims admit the existence of destiny (fate) and claim that 'Allah knows everything.' However, they also note that God is not 'directly' involved in human achievements and failures. Allah determines what man can achieve; Allah predetermines a person's abilities as well as the chances for their use, which cannot be changed by man.

'Allah knows everything, but he does not prevent man from achieving success. Although God knew whether you would achieve success, it does not mean that this is why you were not able to achieve it. God does not interfere with you. If man does not or cannot achieve success this does not mean that this was determined by God. God just knows in advance that you do not have

ability and will not be able to achieve things. In this respect it is impossible to change providence.' (Man from the Muslim group).

2.7.5. Work as an end in itself

Work related ideas of respondents who belong to different confessions are characterized by certain similarities and differences. Similar structural characteristics are:

a) Work is perceived as one of the most important human activities;
b) Work and different forms of labor influences both earthly and eternal life (Jehovah's Witnesses are exceptional in this respect because they do not believe in life after death);

c) Through their work, an individual takes responsibility for a micro social group (family, relatives, and community). But work can also be understood as responsibility to one's own homeland or even responsibility to mankind. (An interesting pair of opposites emerged in the Orthodox group in the course of conversation about work motivation - diligence versus sense of responsibility. One female participant noted (she also tried to generalize her statement) that she performed her work well, not just because she was diligent, but because she had a sense of responsibility. No one debated this statement).

The relationship between work and spiritual blessedness is understood differently by representatives of different confessions. The Orthodox group thinks that work is an important instrument to *protect oneself from sin*, because man is busy when he/she is involved in work and therefore, cannot commit sin. Work is a tool to protect oneself. Because the working process protects the individual from committing sins, it helps achieve spiritual blessedness. A similar view can be observed among Jehovah's Witnesses.

Discussion participants considered work (labor) along with other activities like prayer, relaxation, etc. Muslims say that if we want to be spiritually saved, labor and prayer are equally important. Life without

labor is as sinful as life without prayer. Muslims think that balancing different types of activities is the way to spiritual blessedness. A focus group participant referred to a story about Mohammed's friend who did nothing but pray and as a result, was reproached by Mohammed. Mohammed told him that praying and working were equally pleasing to God. This 'paradigm' was important for the focus group composed of Muslim participants.

The above ideas are structurally differently for Orthodox members, for whom the spiritual component (the leading component in a hermit's or monk's life) ranks highest and is considered to be more significant than work. Thus, unlike Muslims, Orthodox find prayer more important for spiritual blessedness, whereas labor is one of the ways in which spiritual blessedness can be achieved.

With Jehovah's Witnesses, there is no religious practice like prayer. Their religious activity is manifested in interpreting the Bible and preaching. Therefore, these activities are not separately structured in their everyday life. Participation in religious gatherings can be regarded as a functional equivalent of prayer or religious service in other confessions. Jehovah's Witnesses say that their activity is equally distributed between labor and preaching/interpretation. Group participants say they all want to have a job that combines work with religious activity.

The necessity to participate in religious rituals is considered most important by the group of Jehovah's Witnesses. For the Orthodox and Muslims, however, non-participation in religious rituals can be compensated by different activities (praying at some other place, confession, etc), but for Jehovah's Witnesses, such alternative activities are strictly limited. In addition, the analysis of focus group data reveals that the religion of Jehovah's Witnesses structures/shapes the followers' everyday life the most.

The Orthodox religion structurally differentiates labor from prayer. In addition, prayer is considered more valuable in terms of achieving spiritual blessedness. For Muslims, both activities are important. Muslims also believe that prayer is a labor activity, whereas the Orthodox

view these as two different activities. For Jehovah's Witnesses, labor is an important activity, but preaching and participation in religious gatherings is even more important.

In Islam 'amal' is the Arabic equivalent to the word 'work', which is related to 'worship' in the broad sense of this word. In Islam, worship rituals include praying, fasting and pilgrimage. The Prophet Muhammad says, 'The one who is tired of work at the end of the day will be forgiven by God.' According to Islamic tradition, work is a positive burden.

There is another word in Islam - 'sun,c' which is also equivalent to the word 'work.' The meaning of this word is 'creation' (in the sense of art or craft). There is a principal difference between the creative acts performed by God and man. Unlike God, man does not create something from *nothing* (*ex nihilo*). Man carries out creative transformation of what has already been created by God and transforms matter into energy and vice versa. Furthermore, work is motivated by reward and may be performed in exchange for a certain reward (including monetary reward).

However, not any kind of activity can be considered legitimate work. In Islam, work is related to *dignity* (Arabic 'Karama'). According to the Quran, work must be performed in the environment/conditions where human dignity is respected. Islam prohibits humiliating, harmful work, especially if it dehumanizes the person for the purpose of profit or increased productivity. One of the prophets, Muhammad Al-Bukhari says: 'Your slaves are your brothers and Allah has put them under your command. So whoever has a brother under his command should feed him of what he eats and dress him of what he wears. Do not ask them (slaves) to do things beyond their capacity (power) and if you do so, then help them.'¹⁰

¹⁰ Sahih Bukhari, Book 2: <http://www.usc.edu/org/cmje/religious-texts/hadith/bukhari/002-sbt.php>

Dignified work resonates with one of the five fundamental pillars of Islam¹¹ - charity („Zakat”) which requires donation of part of the wealth to the poor and the needy. This is an obligatory requirement for Muslims. Paying an alms tax (charity) to the poor or donating the excess money which is not needed for the satisfaction of basic needs, helps purify one’s body and soul. ‘Zakat’ aims to balance the relationship between the rich and the poor and demonstrate equality and mutual respect as Islamic moral teachings.

¹¹ Five pillars of Islam: 1. Sincerely reciting the Muslim profession of faith; 2. Praying; 3) Fasting; 4) Charity 5) Pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in your life.

CHAPTER 3. CULTURAL ASPECTS OF RELIGION AND LABOR: SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

3.1. OBJECTIVES OF THE USED METHOD AND METHODOLOGY

Like the overall research, the purpose of the file sorting and ranking was to reveal relationships between religion and labor ethics. In particular, file sorting was expected to reveal if there is coherence between different kinds of labor and religion related concepts. In addition, the research aimed to determine whether a labor classification system exists and which components hold a superior position on the value scale.

The file sorting method was applied in two stages. At the first stage, experts participating in the study and representatives of different religions were asked to name the key concepts related to religion and labor ethics. Below are the concepts (19 concepts, in total) named in the study:

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Intellectual work | 10. Heaven |
| 2. Leisure | 11. Laziness |
| 3. Time | 12. Spiritual work |
| 4. Career | 13. Physical work |
| 5. Praying | 14. Money |
| 6. Fasting | 15. Preaching |
| 7. Benefaction | 16. Attending religious ceremonies |
| 8. Personal hygiene | 17. Diligence |
| 9. Faith | 18. Success |
| | 19. Hell |

At the next stage, the study covered groups of believers; the focus group participants. As a result, we were able to examine how these doctrines affect believer's value systems and practice, rather than research the religious doctrine of a particular religious institution. The appropriateness of the selection procedure could be justified by the fact that the clergymen and experts often emphasized the importance of labor in the religious context at the beginning stage of research, whereas laypersons, research reveals, do not normally emphasize this.

Here is a brief overview of the methodology used: At the first stage, research participants were given cards with the 19 concepts listed and were instructed to group them into categories. They were given maximum freedom in the course of study. It was their decision as to how many groups they would form and what the categorization criteria would be. For the purpose of analysis, we used the anthropac program, which reads the entered data and presents it in a matrix that represents the closeness of concepts. Analysis was carried out using the multidimensional clustering method, which makes it possible to demonstrate the closeness of different objects in space. It also covered people of different religious affiliations. In particular, 6 groups participated in the study: Orthodox, Baptists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Catholics, Muslims and people who do not consider themselves believers.

The second assignment given to research participants was to rank all 19 concepts. The ranking principle was their choice. Some participants refused to rank the concept hell, which indicates its clearly negative connotation.

3.2. ORTHODOX BELIEVERS' COGNITIVE MAP AND THE VALUE SYSTEM IDENTIFIED THROUGH THE PROJECTIVE METHOD

Before looking at the research results, let's consider one of the acting Georgian Archpriest's statement: *'No direction in Christianity regards the human being as a creature belonging only to Heaven. Before finding*

him/herself in Blessed Heaven, the human being needs resources necessary for an earthly life. This, naturally, requires organizing working activity ... According to the Orthodox Church, historically (whether it is like this today, is a separate issue; at least, it should be), this is the Church's teaching - labor is a special phenomenon that should be appreciated both in secular life (especially in secular life) and ascetic life. Or if we look at Christian monk's and nun's lives, we will see that labor was very much appreciated in monasteries and convents.' Focus groups revealed that at the narrative level, Orthodox believers attach great importance to labor.

Diagram №1 reflects the results of the cluster analysis of the distribution of concepts made by Orthodox believers. Every cluster is presented in a different color. As seen on the diagram, Orthodox believers have grouped the concepts into five clusters. The concepts in the first cluster have religious connotations, or are related to spiritual activity: spiritual work, benefaction, preaching, heaven, faith, fasting, attending religious ceremonies and praying. The second cluster has been linked to careers: career, diligence, intellectual work and success. The third cluster unites the following concepts: personal hygiene, leisure and time; the fourth one includes two concepts - physical work and money; the fifth cluster has a clearly negative connotation and includes hell and laziness.

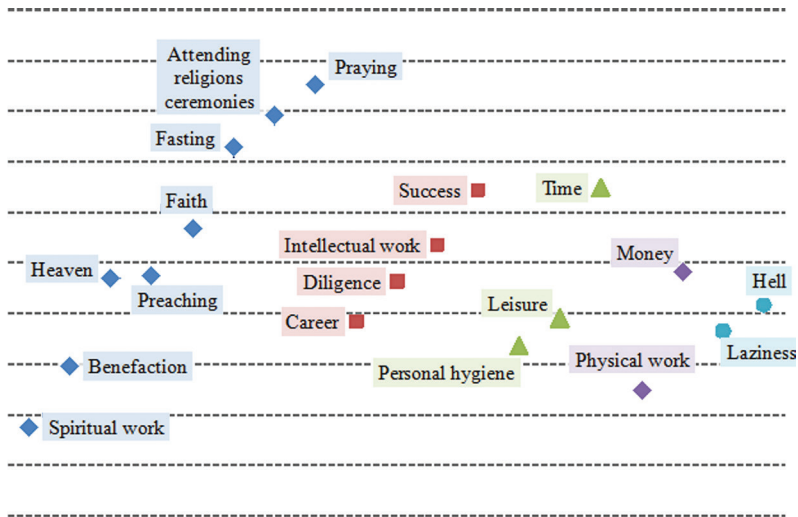
The first cluster is not informative because it only includes concepts with religious connotations. However, it is interesting that hell, which also has a religious connotation, has not been included into the cluster. This reveals that participants classified those concepts not only according to their religious connotations, but they also took into consideration the negative or positive character of the concepts. Thus, the first cluster includes religious concepts with positive connotations related to heaven and salvation. Hell has been separated from these concepts due to its negative connotation and has been linked to laziness. Laziness, known religiously as *sloth*, is the source of sins like despair and human passion. The Church's radical position seems to be shared by regular believers who place this concept next to hell.

The third cluster is interesting in the sense that caring too much for personal hygiene is considered to be a sin while leisure does not have a

positive connotation. They are both related to time. Unlike Protestants, in the Orthodox cognitive map, time is not related to labor or the accumulation of capital. It implies activities which require spare time. Therefore, time is mainly understood by Orthodox believers as spare time rather than the time used for spiritual, physical or intellectual work.

The second cluster includes the categories that reflect earthly success. According to focus group participants, a person is successful if they have a good career, are popular and possess power and/or a lot of money. It should be noted that Orthodox believers do not find success achieved through indecent means acceptable. *'A person might do many bad things for the purpose of a career, also at the expense of other people and reach a high level in social hierarchy, but I would not call such a person successful.'* Inclusion of the diligence concept in this cluster (the term related to labor ethics), could be explained by this particular reason. The study considers three types of labor/work - spiritual, physical and intellectual. The Orthodox think that success can be only achieved through intellectual work, because in their understanding, success is only related to earthly goods. These concepts do not include money, which would be logically linked to career, diligence, success and intellectual work. The Orthodox cognitive map shows that physical labor and money are interlinked with each other and are not included in a separate cluster. Although the Orthodox clergy do not diversify work (spiritual, physical or intellectual), Orthodox laypeople appear to classify it. For the Orthodox, spiritual work has a religious connotation and intellectual work is a precondition for career success, whereas physical work is a way of obtaining money.

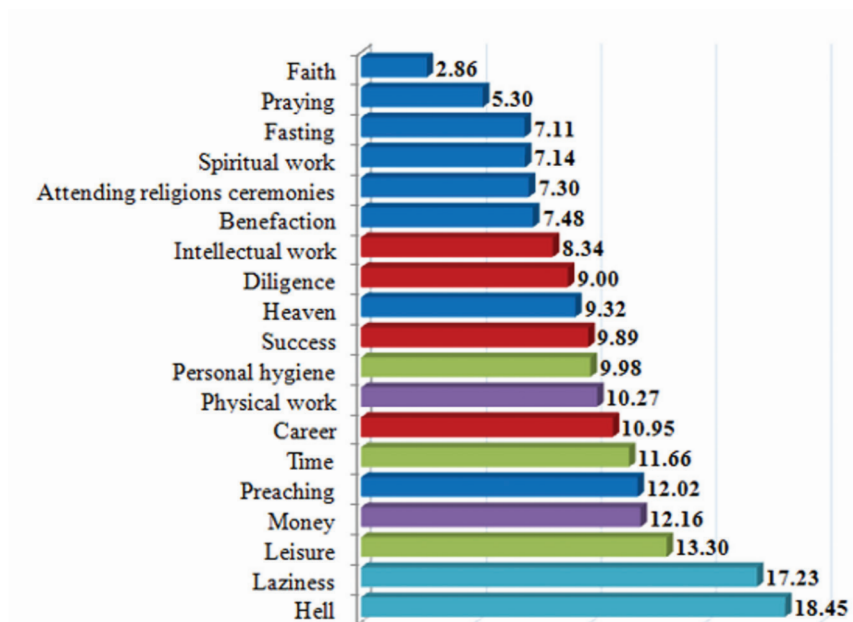
Diagram №1: Orthodox believers' cognitive map



In the course of research, respondents were asked to rank the concepts by priorities and to decide on the ranking criterion. According to the findings (see Diagram №2), concepts with religious connotation hold the leading position in the group of Orthodox believers. They designate faith, praying, fasting, spiritual work and attending religious ceremonies as priorities. Such a value system can be clearly understood as a product of the Orthodox religion, where Martha's work is perceived as care for the perishable and temporal and Mary's spiritual work as service in the name of God.

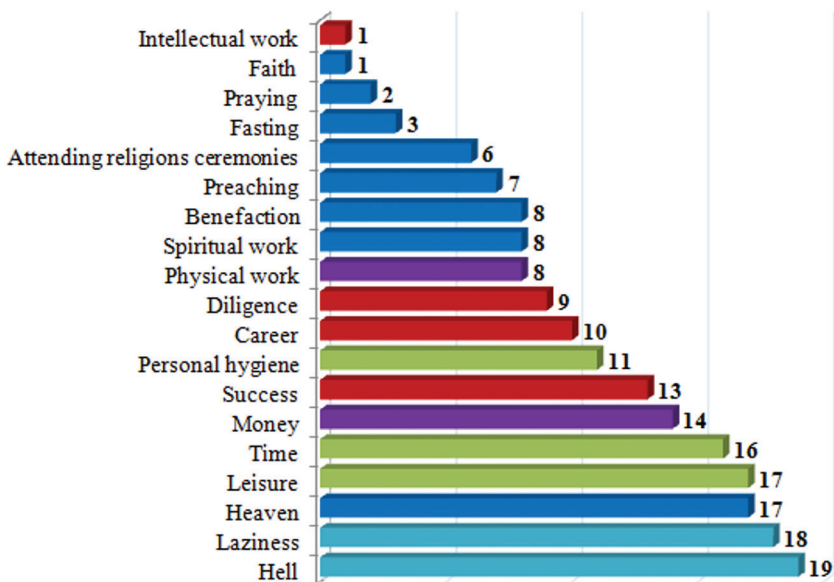
The concept heaven ranks eighth on the scale and falls behind diligence and intellectual work. Heaven would be expected to have the highest value for the purpose of which all the first rank activities are carried out, yet it has a less significant value, which indicates the ritualistic character of religion. The concept of preaching, which also has a religious connotation, holds a low position on the scale of priorities and is closer to the negative segment. This could be explained by the fact that unlike other spiritual work components, preaching is not a believer's direct responsibility and consequently, is perceived as less meaningful.

Diagram №2: Mean of 19 concepts ranked by Orthodox believers (1 - highest priority; 19 - lowest priority)



Mode was the other measure used for analysis distribution. Mode measures the central tendency and represents the most frequent evaluation. As shown on Diagram №3, distribution of concepts mainly repeats the pattern of Mean distribution, with a few exceptions. Like the concept of faith, intellectual work also ranks first most often. According to the Mean, physical work ranks 12th, whereas respondents mainly rank this concept 8. A significant difference was demonstrated in the case of the concept of heaven. The study shows that when ranking the 19 concepts, the Orthodox mainly rank this concept 17. Only two concepts (laziness and hell) fell behind it.

Diagram №3: Mode of 19 concepts ranked by Orthodox believers (ranked from 1 to 19)

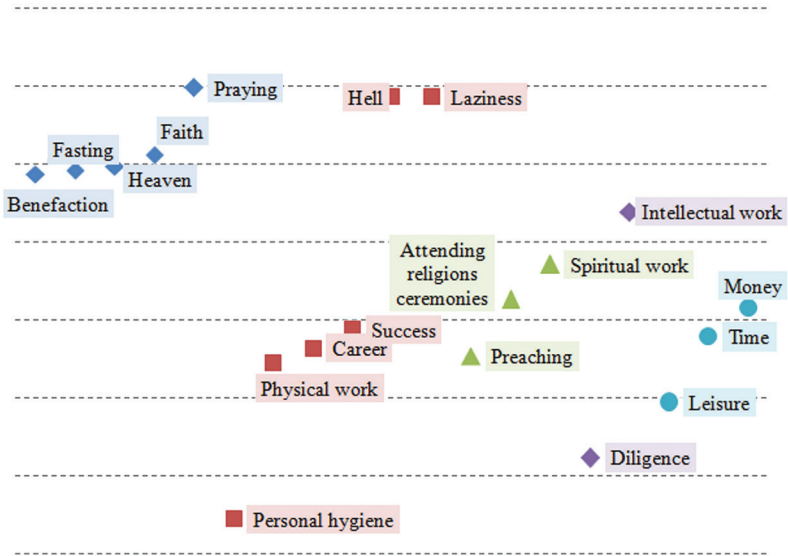


To sum up, the Orthodox separate labor ethics from religion, which is perceived more as a component of earthly life than care for the soul and the kingdom of heaven. Although the clergy points to a non-diversified character of labor, believers still distinguish its different forms. The most appreciated types are intellectual work and spiritual work. Intellectual work is a precondition for earthly success and spiritual work – for spiritual salvation. Last comes physical work which is associated with money and obtaining material means. The importance of work is emphasized by a negative connotation, as laziness and hell fall under the same cluster and receive the most negative evaluation.

3.3. CATHOLIC BELIEVERS' COGNITIVE MAP AND THE VALUE SYSTEM IDENTIFIED THROUGH PROJECTIVE METHOD

In this section we present data for Catholics (Diagram №4). The Catholic cognitive map is considerably different than the other believers' in that religious concepts form two clusters. The first cluster includes praying, faith, heaven, fasting and benefaction. The second cluster includes spiritual work, preaching and attending religious ceremonies. Georgian expert (professor of the Free University), notes that for Catholicism, ritualistic- meditational - liturgy and praying, as well as diacony, or being in the service of virtue are in the center of the value system. However, benefaction is considered most important. It appears that the first cluster on the Catholic's cognitive map is based on the leading values of the Catholic religion. As one of the interviewed expert says, *'Spiritual work is not even work. It is contemplation, part of meditation. Missionary work is not work either; it is 'vita activa.' Both antiquity and Christianity distinguish between contemplating life through action (Mary and Martha, Lazarus' sisters). The first is superior to the other.'* This approach helps explain the cognitive map of Catholics. Preaching, attending church ceremonies and spiritual work form a separate cluster. It is less meaningful since it is not oriented on the central Catholic values - praying or meditation.

Diagram № 4: Catholic believers' cognitive map

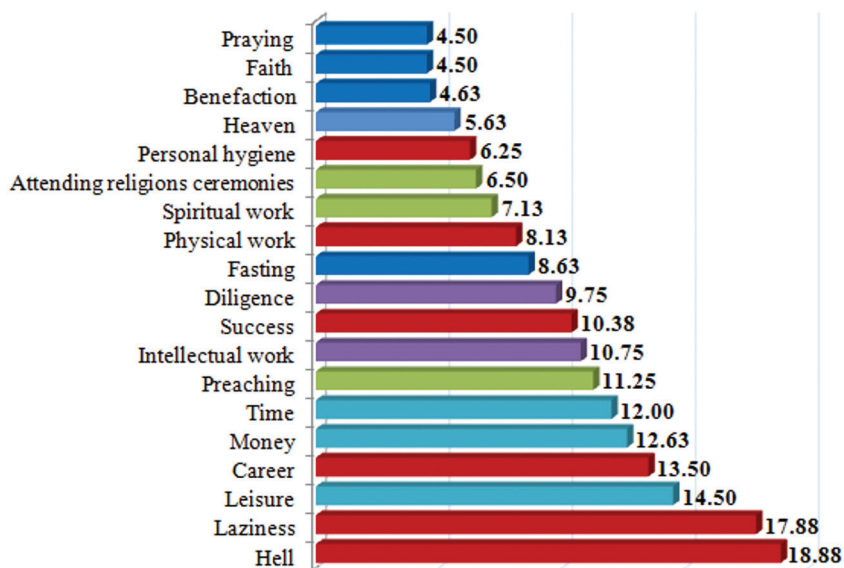


One of the clusters identified with Catholics is composed of hell, laziness, physical work, career, success and personal hygiene. Here we refer again to expert's interview to explain such a cluster composition: "The work/labor that makes us less human or the work that is oriented on the accumulation of material resources is not included into Catholicism's central values. Consequently, this cluster includes physical work and also components of earthly achievements - career and success. The inclusion of laziness and hell into the same cluster (though at a certain distance) indicates its negative connotation. This also applies to personal hygiene.

The fourth cluster that unites diligence and intellectual work is quite interesting. As one of the experts states, hermitage is not called work, as Thomas Aquinas clearly illustrates. In addition, intellectual work is not understood as work, which is a principle from ancient times. This was the case with traditional Christianity until the 16th century. This approach is still used in Catholicism. Up to a certain point, the meaning of work implied physical work only. It is difficult to say whether the isolated position of work on the Catholic's cognitive map is related to the

Christian teaching about intellectual work or if is determined by other peculiarities of Georgian culture. The last cluster unites time, money and leisure. Catholics include time into the spare time category and link it with leisure, which also requires material means, or points to the means in question.

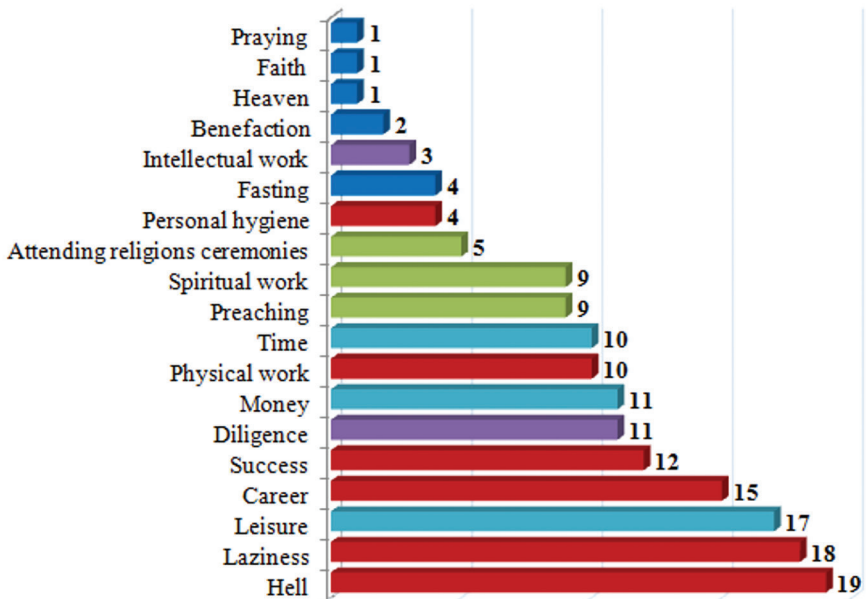
Diagram №5: Mean of 19 concepts ranked by Catholic believers (1 - highest priority; 19 - lowest priority)



Like the Orthodox, Catholics give the highest ranking to the concepts in the first cluster or the concepts that are central to Catholicism. (Diagrams №5 and №6). The only exception is fasting, which ranks lower than the other concepts. This is not difficult to understand since Catholics fast much less than the Orthodox, who observe some 200 days of fasting. The concepts in the second cluster that were supposed to have a negative connotation maintain a different position. Personal

hygiene has the most positive connotation among the concepts of the second cluster. It is ranked 4th by the majority of respondents and the Mean of this concept equals 5. Physical work is another concept from the second cluster which was ranked 10th by the majority of respondents. Success, career, laziness and hell hold the lowest positions. The cluster of religious concepts (attending religious ceremonies, preaching and spiritual work) hold more or less a middle position among the 19 concepts.

Diagram 6: Mode for 19 concepts ranked by Catholic believers (ranked from 1 to 19)



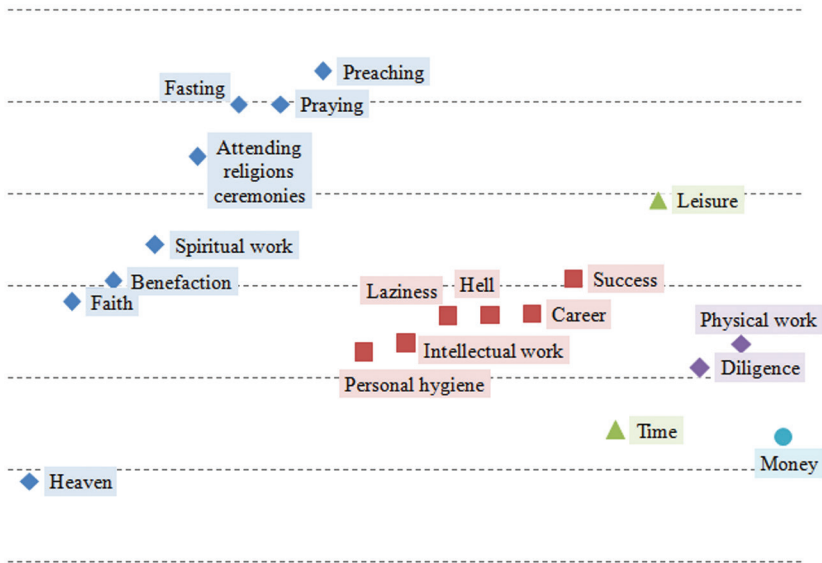
The Mode and Mean provide a different picture in the fourth cluster. According to the average value, intellectual work and diligence roughly hold a middle position (average value - 9.75 for diligence and 10.75 for intellectual work), whereas according to the modal value, intellectual work often ranks 3rd and diligence - 11th. The concepts in the fifth cluster - time, money and leisure, receive a negative evaluation. Leisure ranks 3rd after hell and laziness, whereas time gets a bit higher ranking compared to career and money.

To sum up, the distribution of concepts in the Catholic group does not show a close relationship between labor ethics and religiousness. Catholics are oriented towards meditation, praying and liturgy, which distinguish the certain concepts of religious connotation from other religious concepts. This is the main difference between Orthodox and Catholic believers. Time, leisure, hygiene and intellectual work are perceived by Georgian Catholics and the Orthodox almost in a similar way, which stems from sharing the same cultural space.

3.4. BAPTIST'S COGNITIVE MAP AND THE VALUE SYSTEM IDENTIFIED THROUGH PROJECTIVE METHOD

The Baptist cognitive map is composed of five clusters (see Diagram №7). Just like the Orthodox, the first cluster includes all religious concepts with a positive connotation. The second cluster includes personal hygiene, intellectual work, laziness, hell, career and success. It mirrors the second cluster identified with Catholics, even though the Catholic cluster includes physical work instead of intellectual work.

Diagram №7: Baptists' cognitive map



The composition of the fourth cluster demonstrates Baptists' different attitude towards labor. Linking physical work to diligence implies that within this group, physical work is related to the salvation of the soul to a certain extent, whereas intellectual work is a precondition of earthly success (career) and therefore, is a precondition to finding oneself in Hell. During focus group meetings, Baptists emphasized that *'any kind of work that does not violate human rights is acceptable'*. However, it should be emphasized that Baptists do not directly connect work with spiritual salvation. In addition to having religious meaning, work implies carrying out family related responsibilities and is a component of social activity.

Baptists do not relate time to work. Time is linked with leisure and represents a spare time component.

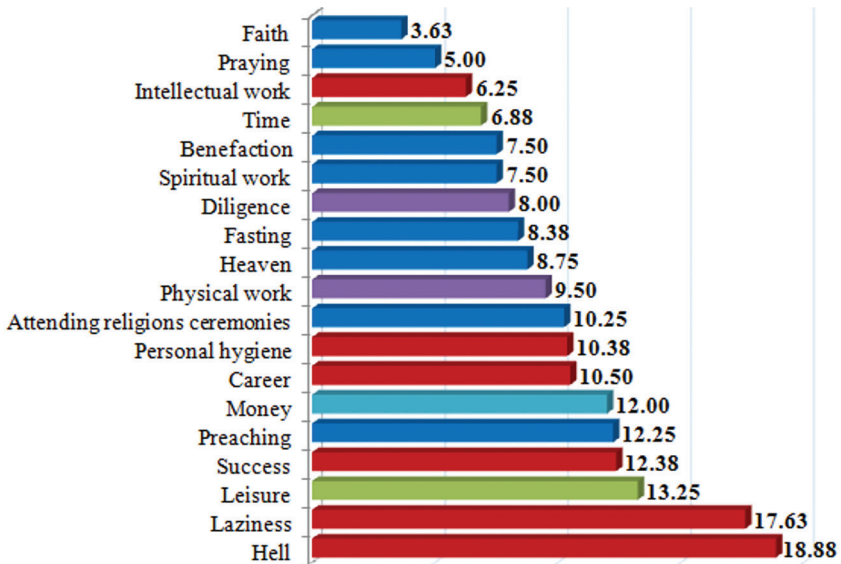
On the Baptist cognitive map, money is an isolated category, having no links with any other concept. To explain this, we should refer again to the group discussion held with Baptists. They are not able to give a

direct answer to the question about whether money only has a negative implication. When talking about money they just emphasize two components:

- 1) Baptists should not save money because the Bible says: *Don't collect for your treasures on earth where moths and rust destroy.*
- 2) Baptists believe that money should be obtained through decent work.

Money may have a positive or negative connotation depending on its amount and the way in which it is obtained. This explains why the concept has an isolated position on the Baptist map.

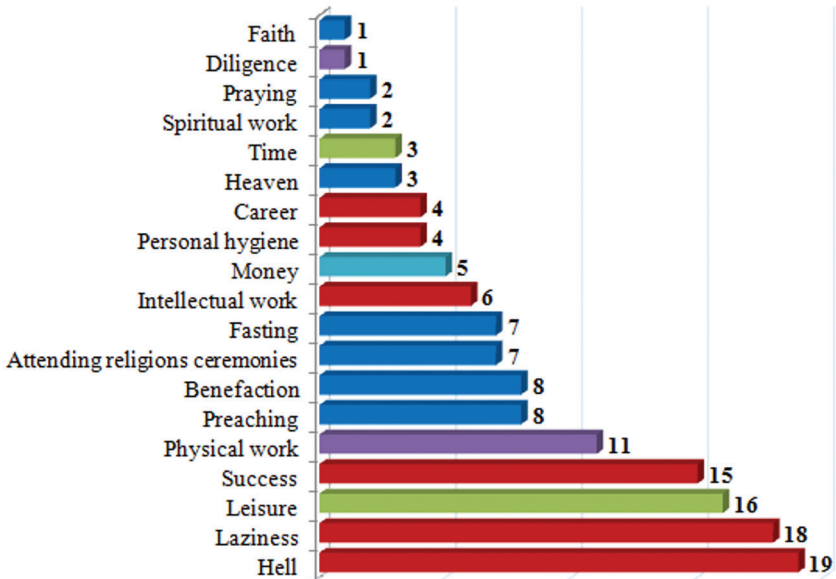
Diagram №8: Mean of 19 concepts ranked by Baptists (1 - highest priority; 19 - lowest priority)



Baptist respondents rank the concepts in a different manner (see Diagrams №8 and №9). Of the religious components (faith, praying, heaven and spiritual work), only some get a high ranking. Attending ceremonies, fasting, preaching and benefaction are mainly ranked 7th or below. It must be emphasized that Baptists were the only group where most respondents gave diligence the highest ranking, along with concepts having a religious connotation. However, physical work - a concept related to diligence - ranks 11th among the 19 concepts on the cognitive map. Additionally, the concepts included in the same cluster (time and money) hold different positions on the value scale. Time is mostly ranked third by Baptist respondents, while its Mean equals four. Just like in the other groups, rest ranks third from the bottom of the hierarchy and is followed by two concepts only - laziness and hell.

To explain these data, we would like to refer to focus group material. Compared to the other groups, Baptists emphasize professional success, which is the result of God's blessing. In addition, this group rejects the inclusion of religious components (e.g. placement of religious items, like icons and crosses) into the working process. According to one of the Baptist respondents, *'Orthodox culture hinders the individual's progress. Why? Placement of icons in the working space is a common practice, which may be unsuitable for working activity. If you have a Bible with you, this might also have its impact. The visual aspect is important, indeed.'* Therefore, representatives of this group find religious rituals less important and put more emphasis on responsibility for work and profession, as well as the individual's responsibility to society.

Diagram №9: Mode of 19 concepts ranked by Baptist believers (ranked from 1 to 19)



Baptist respondents often rank personal hygiene and career 4. However, the Mean of these concepts is 11th and 12th, respectively. Intellectual work is most often ranked 6th among the 19 concepts. However, the Mean of this concept is more positive as it ranks 3rd. Money holds an isolated position on the Baptist cognitive map and often ranks 5th on the value scale, while the Mean of this concept is 14.

To sum up, compared to the other religious groups, Baptists place a stronger emphasis on the generally recognized nature of work and the worker's responsibility. Money is an important component for this group, but emphasis is still placed on the material resources accumulated by the believer and the means by which these resources are obtained. Unlike the other groups, Baptists often give the highest ranking to diligence among the other 19 concepts. Nevertheless they do not consider work a

necessary component of spiritual salvation. This is evidenced by the fact that physical and intellectual work is not included in the concepts with religious connotation.

3.5. JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES' COGNITIVE MAP AND THE VALUE SYSTEM IDENTIFIED THROUGH PROJECTIVE METHOD

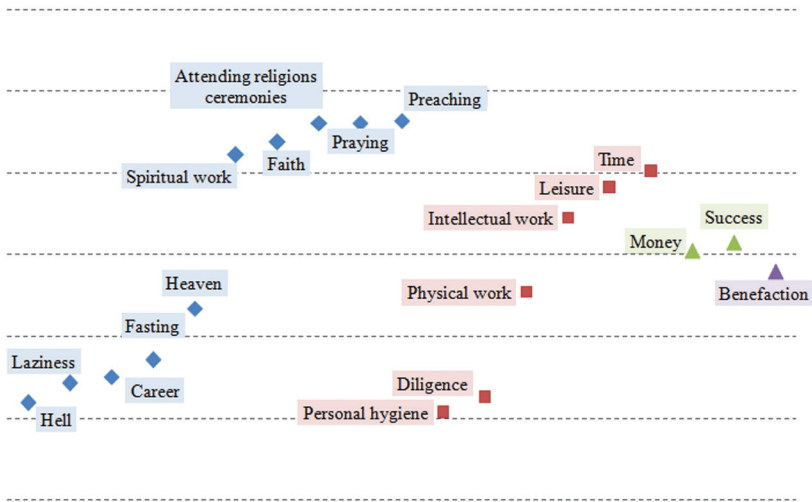
The Jehovah's Witnesses cognitive map reveals that the 19 concepts have been distributed into four clusters (see Diagram №10). Unlike the previously discussed groups who placed positive concepts with religious connotations in the first cluster, Jehovah's Witnesses include all religious concepts in the first cluster, along with the two concepts having a special meaning in the religion - career and laziness. The first cluster is split into two parts. The first part includes highly coherent concepts that are especially meaningful to Jehovah's Witnesses: Attending ceremony, preaching, praying, faith and spiritual work. The second part contains Heaven and Hell. Neither of them is relevant in these groups, as they believe that life will continue on the earth after the Second Coming. The same group includes fasting (which is not practiced by Jehovah's Witnesses), laziness (a precondition for destroying the Soul) and career. Like laziness, career has a negative connotation and is an obstacle to spiritual salvation. It should be noted that Jehovah's Witnesses have a different understanding of a successful person, where success is unrelated to earthly experiences. Furthermore, Jehovah's Witnesses do not participate in politics, avoid taking senior positions in public services and also avoid military service. Therefore, for the representatives of the given group, success is closely related to spiritual salvation. Discussion participants agreed that it is impossible to achieve success without God or spiritual growth and that everything originates from the Bible. Therefore, because career manifests earthly success it is fatal for Jehovah's Witnesses.

The second cluster uniting time, leisure, intellectual work and physical work, diligence and personal hygiene is quite interesting. Jehovah's Witnesses are the only group who link time to work related concepts and considers physical and intellectual work in the same space. According to one of interviewed person, who is among founders of Jehovah's Witnesses in Georgia, the Bible does not provide a classification of work. Spiritual work is the most important. In this type of work preaching is the central component. As for earthly work (which unites intellectual and physical labor), it is definitely important and is directly linked to faith. Jehovah's Witnesses include the concept of leisure into the work cluster. Unlike the other groups, they attach a positive connotation to this concept. In his interview, expert refers to Solomon's words: *And for every man to take food and drink, and have joy in all his work, is a reward from God.* Having joy in one's work implies rest and is a result of work.

Success and money form a separate cluster. Like success, which has already been discussed, money is not an important value for Jehovah's Witnesses. According to focus group participants, money mainly creates problems more than it finds solutions to problems. Nevertheless, Jehovah's Witnesses point to the necessity of possessing material needs, though to a limited extent. According to a focus group member, *'The person who loves money will never get satisfied and will never have enough money. The accumulation of money is followed by arrogance. We work to satisfy our basic needs, to have food and clothes.'* Therefore, for Jehovah's Witnesses, money and success are obstacles to spiritual salvation and form a separate negative cluster.

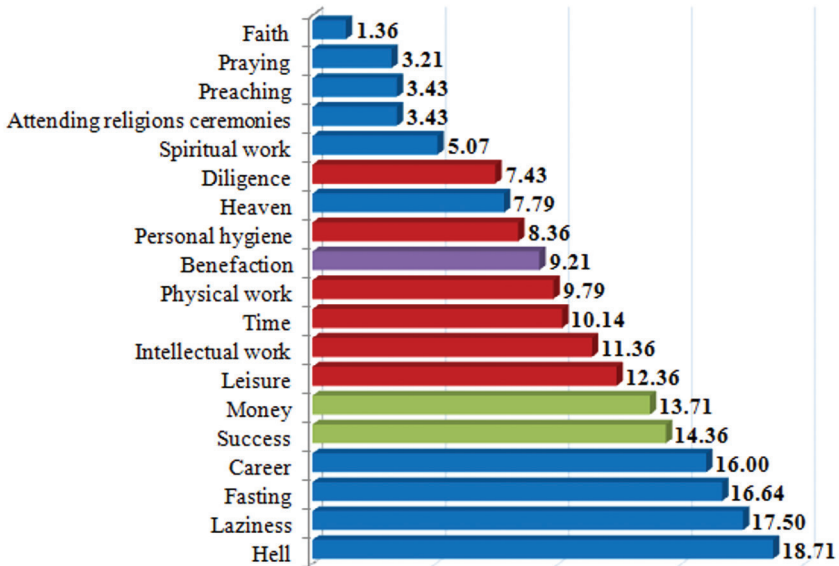
The fourth cluster includes only one concept - benefaction. Unlike the other groups, benefaction is not a prioritized religious practice for Jehovah's Witnesses. They mostly emphasize decent work and think that people should be helped with spiritual salvation. As for flesh, people should take care of their basic needs through decent work.

Diagram №10: Jehovah's Witnesses' cognitive map



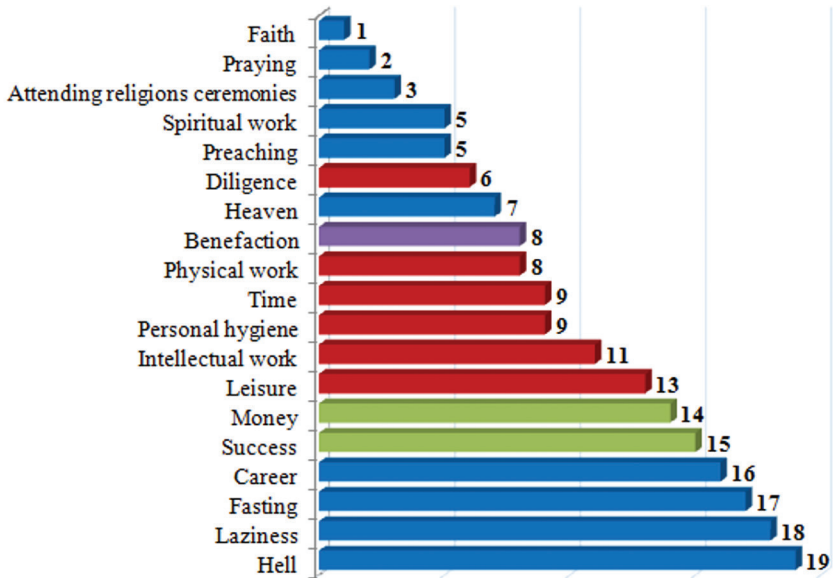
Diagrams №11 and №12 show the central tendencies revealed in the ranking of the 19 concepts by Jehovah's Witnesses. The comparison of central tendency measures reveals that Jehovah's Witnesses are the only group in which the Mode and Mean fully overlap each other. This shows that the evaluation and perception of events by group members is almost identical. The concepts of the first cluster that are split on the cognitive map are also split into two parts on the value scale. First group components in the first cluster were given the highest ranking, whereas second group components in the same cluster got the lowest ranking. The only exception is the concept of heaven. Although Jehovah's Witnesses don't recognize the existence of Heaven as such they still ranked it 7 on the value scale which indicates their understanding of heaven implies the restoration of heaven on earth after the Second Coming. Money and success have negative connotations for Jehovah's Witnesses and receive a negative evaluation. These concepts are ranked higher than hell, laziness, fasting and career.

Diagram №11: Mean of 19 concepts ranked by Jehovah's Witnesses
(1 - highest priority; 19 - lowest priority)



Components in the second cluster are basically assigned middle positions on the scale. The most positive among these concepts is diligence while the most negative is leisure, although unlike representatives of other religions, leisure still has a relatively positive connotation. The concept of benefaction is ranked 9 among the 19 concepts (Mean and Mode). For Jehovah's Witnesses, preaching is the central category and is assigned a high position as a result of its ranking. Experts and regular believers differ in their evaluation of the concept preaching. Experts say preaching is not an activity. The person may talk to someone and tell them what they have understood. Preaching is one of the ways to express gratitude to God. Laypeople, however, consider preaching labor/work. You can't help a person without working. Preaching requires searching for information, its preparation and transmission to Witnesses, which requires efforts and labor.

Diagram №12: Mode of 19 concepts by Jehovah's Witnesses (ranked from 1 to 19)



To sum up, Jehovah's Witnesses split work into two components -spiritual work, in which praying and preaching have a leading role, and taking care of earthly existence, which unites physical and intellectual work. Moreover, unlike the other groups, they rank physical work higher than intellectual work and find diligence the most important. Money, success and career are temptations of earthly life and therefore, have a negative connotation. Just like the other groups, laziness has a negative connotation and contradicts labor/work, which is God's gift and is the only way to please Him.

3.6. MUSLIMS' COGNITIVE MAP AND THE VALUE SYSTEM IDENTIFIED THROUGH PROJECTIVE METHOD

The next cognitive map shows the spatial distribution of the concepts in the group of Muslim believers (see Diagram №13). Like Catholics, they separate the concepts with religious connotations into two groups. The first cluster includes praying, faith, preaching, attending religious ceremonies, benefaction and heaven. Also like Catholics, Muslims include the concepts that are related to their religion's central values in the first cluster. Namaz, or praying 5 times a day, is very important for the Muslims. Unlike Christianity, preaching is linked to Friday prayer and is not separated from the practice of prayer. It is logical to place the service of God in this cluster as it unites all these activities. Benefaction is quite a formalized religious behavior in Islam.¹

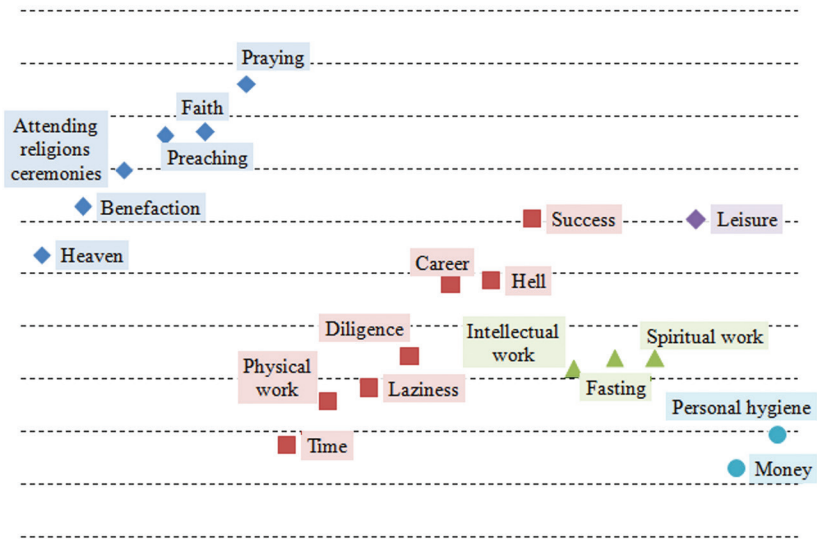
The third cluster includes fasting, spiritual work and intellectual work. Fasting is important in Islam. While fasting, believers do not take food or liquid during the day. Fasting is an important form of self-control oriented work. So, the third cluster shows that fasting is the main form of spiritual work and is considered equal to intellectual work.

The second cluster includes success, hell, career, diligence, laziness, physical work and time. It is not formed according to the criterion of positivity - negativity, but rather through work related concepts and positive and negative results of work. The fact that this cluster includes time indicates its link to the category of work.

Money and personal hygiene form the same cluster. Personal hygiene is an extremely important aspect of everyday life. It is difficult to explain the link between personal hygiene and money. We can only conclude that personal hygiene requires material resources. Leisure is an isolated component on the Muslim cognitive map and is difficult to explain its relationship with other notions.

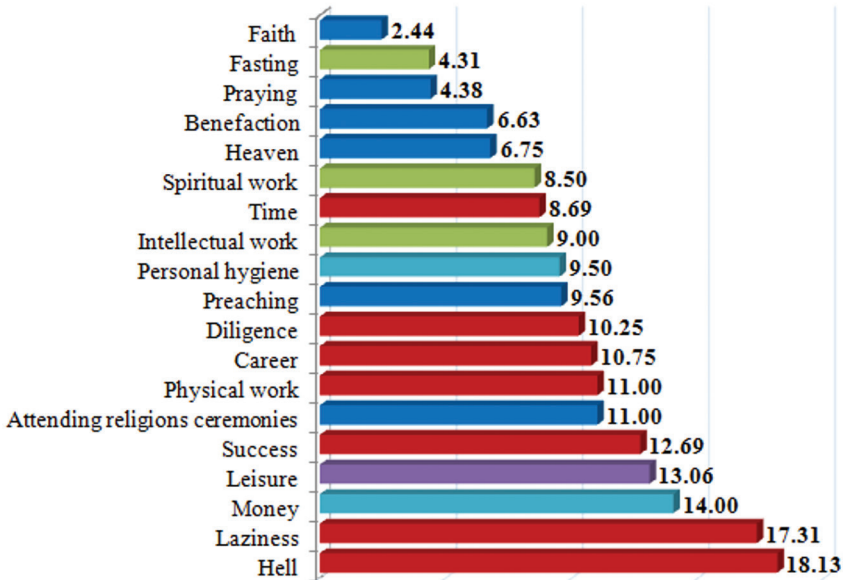
¹ Deputy Chairman of Ajara Muslims' Union says that if a person is rich or has more than 83 grams of gold which they do not use during the year, they should help poor people.

Diagram №13: Muslims' cognitive map



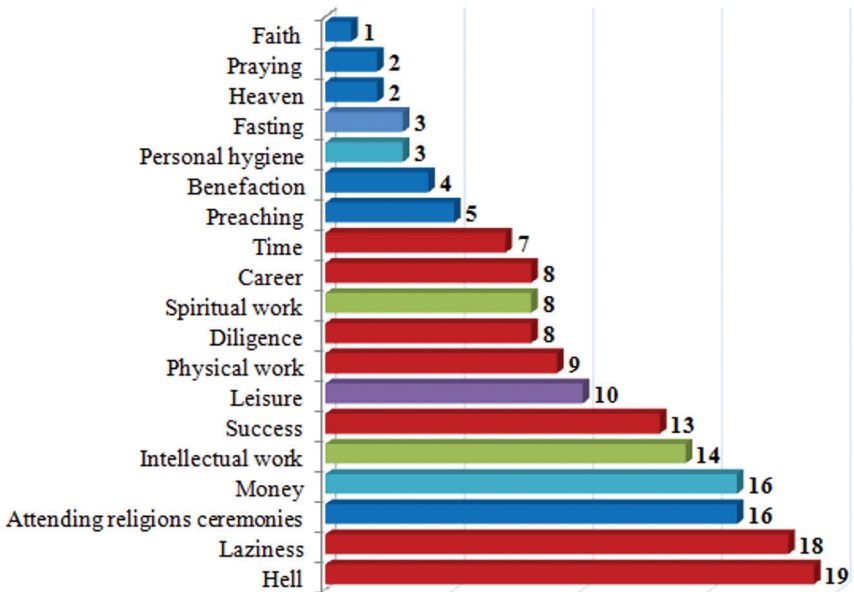
Diagrams №14 and №15 show the central tendencies observed as a result of ranking the 19 concepts by Muslim respondents. Faith ranks first in Muslims' value system (Mode and Mean). Praying and heaven are often ranked second. However, praying ranks third and heaven ranks fifth (Mean). Muslims consider fasting most important after faith (Mean). It is separate from the other components in the cluster - spiritual work (Mean - 6) and is often ranked 8th by Muslims. Compared to all the other groups, Muslims assign quite a negative ranking to intellectual work. Muslim respondents mostly rank this concept 14. However, the Mean for intellectual work is 8.

Diagram №14: Mean of 19 concepts ranked by Muslim believers (1 - highest priority; 19 - lowest priority)



The components of the second cluster represented on the cognitive map mainly fall under the negative segment. The only exception is time, which ranks 7 (Mode and Mean). As for diligence, the Mean of this concept is 11, whereas it is often ranked 8 by Muslim respondents. Money and personal hygiene, included in the same cluster, differ in terms of evaluation. Personal hygiene holds a leading position, whereas money falls under the segment of negative values and only falls behind hell and laziness. The evaluation of leisure by Muslim respondents reveals a significant difference in terms of central tendency. Leisure ranks 4th (Mean) and has a superior position only in relation to laziness, hell and money. However, Muslim respondents often rank this concept 10.

Diagram №15: Mode of 19 concepts by Muslim believers (ranked from 1 to 19)



During focus group meetings and expert interviews, Muslims often emphasized the importance of work, which could be placed in certain cases, even above service to God. According to the Deputy Chairman of Adjara Muslims' Union, decent work is, in fact, a manifestation of service to God. You can go to work and it is not always necessary to listen to preaching. The believer must work and make a living through their work. Expert also states that religion does not discriminate against work and that any kind of job is respected. But believers still classify work into different categories. They regard intellectual work with spiritual work, whereas physical work is mostly linked with earthly concepts, like career and success even though during narrative discussions, they viewed work to have a religious meaning.

3.7. COGNITIVE MAP OF NON-BELIEVERS AND THE VALUE SYSTEM IDENTIFIED THROUGH PROJECTIVE METHOD

This group is composed of people who are not believers. In the Georgian context, these are people who have been baptized in the Orthodox Church but do not practice religious activities or rituals. Diagram №16 shows that the first cluster includes concepts of religious connotations (fasting, attending religious rituals, preaching, faith, praying and spiritual work). It is difficult to explain why career has been placed in this cluster. Also, as revealed by focus group meetings, non-believers do not perceive spiritual work as labor. They think that praying, fasting and attending religious ceremonies cannot be considered work.

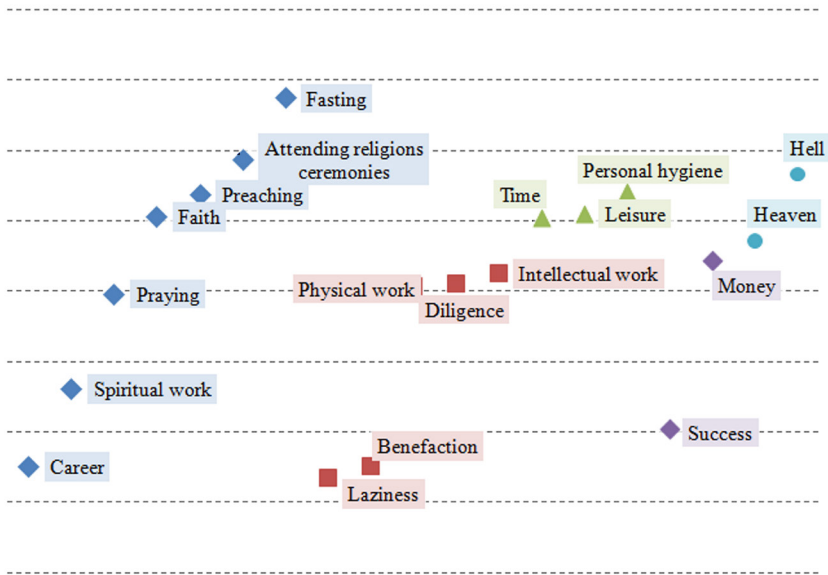
The second cluster unites the concepts related to work (physical work, intellectual work, diligence). Benefaction is included in this cluster. This means benefaction does not have a religious connotation for non-believers. The fact that the same cluster (uniting work related concepts) also includes laziness is an indication that laziness is a concept with a negative connotation which is linked to work; so, respondents grouped concepts according to their closeness in meaning. Another explanation could be that laziness is an acceptable phenomenon accompanying work. Just like Orthodox believers, non-believers place time, leisure and personal hygiene in the same cluster, which means that in Georgian culture time is associated with leisure/spare time used for one's own needs.

The fourth cluster includes money' and success. Unlike Orthodox believers, who relate success to career advancement and the work of white collar worker, success is a manifestation of material well-being for non-believers. This theory can be supported by the fact that they called Bidzina Ivanishvili a successful person.² Based on the group's specificity, it is understandable that heaven and hell fall under the same cluster. Heaven and hell are unreal worlds for non-believers and the proximity of these concepts in terms of the fundamental idea is more important

² It has to be taken into account that at this time Bidzina Ivanishvili, Prime Minister of Georgia in 2012-13, was not in the civil service and was only perceived as a person possessing vast material resources.

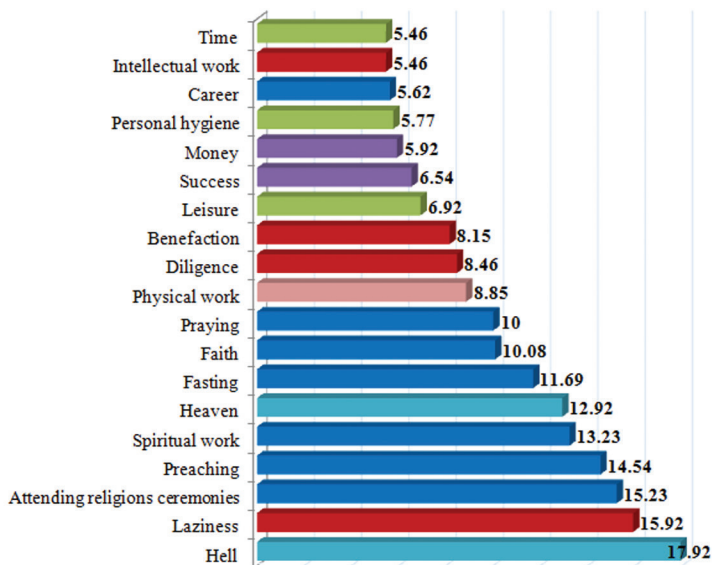
for this particular group than the negative or positive connotation of the given concepts.

Diagram №16: Non-believers' cognitive map



The non-believer concept ranking (see Diagrams №17 and №18) provides more detailed information about their values. Ranking results demonstrate that the non-believer cognitive map better reveals the distribution of concepts by their closeness in meaning than group values. Judging by Mean, non-believers give priority to earthly values, whereas the concepts with religious connotation are for the most part negatively evaluated.

Diagram №17: Mean of 19 concepts ranked by non- believers (1 - highest priority; 19 - lowest priority)

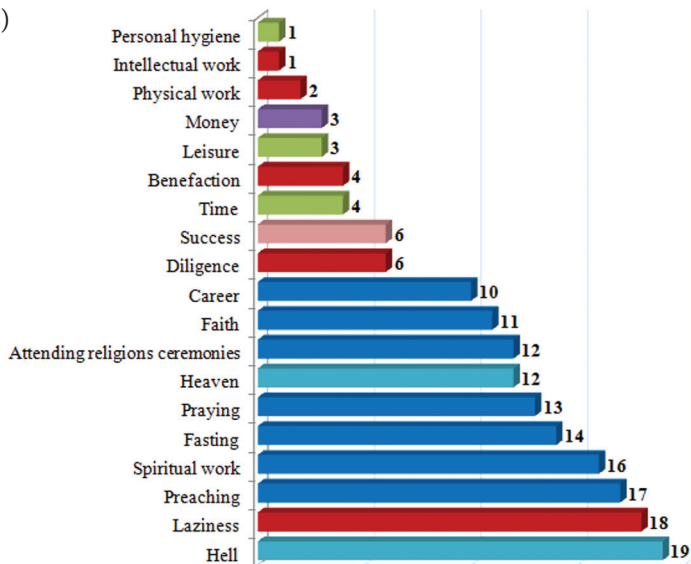


Unlike Orthodox believers, the concepts in the third cluster (time, leisure, personal hygiene) hold leading positions in the non-believer group. This is demonstrated by both measures of the central tendency - Mode and Mean. When ranking the 19 concepts, non-believers often rank the concept personal hygiene 1, whereas, in the Mean, time holds the top position. Career is quite an ambiguous component of the religious cluster. It holds a superior position among the concepts with religious connotations. In general, religious concepts rank low among the 19 concepts. Even though non-believers included heaven and hell in the same cluster, the ranking separated these two concepts from each other. Both believers and non-believers also rank the concept of hell the lowest, whereas the Mean of heaven is 14 and it often ranks 12th among the 19 concepts. Also similar to believers, non-believers regard laziness as a negative concept and give it the lowest ranking (the only concept following laziness is hell).

Therefore, there is a significant discrepancy between the evaluations given by the Orthodox and the non-believers. Non-believers rank

religious categories lower, while earthly activities and rewards (money, success, and career) are considered superior values. Non-believers also have a different viewpoint about work. For the Orthodox, the categories related to spiritual work hold a leading position, whereas non-believers regard earthly work as a leading value. According to the modal value, intellectual and physical work often ranks first and second in this group. One of the interviewed experts on the history of religion says that the essential characteristic of religion is distinguishing between something that is sacred from what is not sacred. Sacredness implies service (but not labor) or spiritual activation from labor. However, the expert adds that in the Orthodox religion labor/work holds a leading position, but since the tradition of the Orthodox Church is full of sacred days, the congregation does not have enough time for physical work. The experts' words explain the difference between the evaluations made by Orthodox believers and non-believers. In the non-believer value system, spiritual work no longer maintains a leading position and earthly work along with its rewards (career, money, success) becomes more important.

Diagram №18: Mode of 19 concepts by non-believers (ranked from 1 to 19)



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2. List of people have been interviewed as experts

#	Experts	Statuses
1.	Tilman Allert	Professor of Sociology, Frankfurt University (Germany)
2.	Teimuraz Buadze	Theologist, Lecturer of the Theological Academy
3.	Paata Chaganava	Economist, Associate Professor of Batumi State University
4.	Alexander Chanturia	Orthodox Priest, Lecturer of the Theological Academy
5.	Demetre Davitashvili	Archdeacon at Georgian Orthodox Church
6.	Rusudan Gotsiridze	Bishop of Evangelic Baptist Church of Georgia
7.	Vladimer Glonti	Economist, Professor of Batumi State University
8.	Emzar Jgerenaia	Professor of Sociology, Ilia State University
9.	Emzar Kakhidze	Historian, Visiting Professor of Batumi State University
10.	Tamaz Khutsishvili	Founder of Unity of Jehovah Witnesses in Georgia
11.	Basil Kobakhidze	Theologist, Former Archpriest at Georgian Orthodox Church
12.	Narek Kushyan	Priest of Armenian Church in Tbilisi
13.	Natanaili	Monk of the Transfiguration Monastery in Tbilisi
14.	Teimuraz Tatarashvili	Archpriest at Georgian Orthodox Church
15.	George Lobzhanidze	Expert of Muslim Studies, Representative of 'Caucasian House'

16.	Irakli Lomouri	Lecturer of the Theological Academy
17.	George Masalkini	Philosopher, Associate Professor of Batumi State University
18.	Tariel Nakaidze	Deputy of Georgian Muslim Union
19.	Jemal Paksadze	Mufti of the Georgian Muslim Office
20.	Nugzar Papuashvili	Religious Studies Expert
21.	Zaza Piralishvili	Professor of Philosophy, Member of 'Independents Expert's Club'
22.	Bartlome Pirtskhalaishvili	Priest of the Transfiguration Monastery in Tbilisi
23.	Zaza Shatirishvili	Philosopher, Professor of Free University
24.	Paata Zakareishvili	Politologist, Member of Republican Party of Georgia
25.	Vazha Vardidze	Rector of the Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani Private University

In addition, 15 in-depth interviews were conducted with 'ordinary' believers of different religious communities (Orthodox Christians, Muslims, Catholics, Baptists, Jehovah witnesses).

3. List of the conducted focus-groups with different religious communities in Georgia:

1.	Tbilisi	Orthodox believers (above 30)
2.	Tbilisi	Non-believers
3.	Tbilisi	Baptists
4.	Tbilisi	Jehovah's Witnesses
5.	Tbilisi	Orthodox believers (unemployed)
6.	Tbilisi	Orthodox believers (employed)
7.	Marneuli	Muslims
8.	Tbilisi	Orthodox believers (above 30)
9.	Batumi	Muslims (male group)
10.	Batumi	Muslims (female group)
11.	Gori	Orthodox believers (unemployed)
12.	Gori	Orthodox believers (employed)
13.	Gori	Non-believers
14.	Khashuri	Jehovah's Witnesses
15.	Akhaltsikhe	Catholics

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