

20-6-2005

Religion's influence on decision-making: Evidence of influence on the judgment, emotional and motivational qualities of Sri Lankan leaders' decision-making

Mario Fernando
University of Wollongong, mariof@uow.edu.au

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ro.uow.edu.au/commpapers>



Part of the [Business Commons](#), and the [Social and Behavioral Sciences Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Fernando, Mario: Religion's influence on decision-making: Evidence of influence on the judgment, emotional and motivational qualities of Sri Lankan leaders' decision-making 2005.
<https://ro.uow.edu.au/commpapers/160>

Religion's influence on decision-making: Evidence of influence on the judgment, emotional and motivational qualities of Sri Lankan leaders' decision-making

Abstract

The study compares and contrasts thirteen interfaith case studies of prominent Sri Lankan business leaders drawn from Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, and Muslim religious traditions. The primary data for the study are in-depth interviews with the leaders, supplemented by documentary sources. When the participants were asked why they engaged in religious practices at work, their responses were often associated with decision-making. Although they had an array of management tools with which to deal with day-to-day management situations, they suggested that, in 'difficult' moments, these tools needed to be complemented with the participants' connecting with the ultimate—variously identified as the transcendent reality, god, or truth that is more powerful, better, and good. The outcomes of decisions, both good and bad, were usually attributed to the connecting experience. The findings suggest that religion plays a significant role in influencing the judgment, emotional and motivational qualities of Sri Lankan leaders' decision-making—in that a frame of reference based on a connection with a transcendent and ultimate reality is likely to be a source of solace, guidance, and inspiration to leaders in making critical decisions. Although the findings are unique to the historical, geographical, and cultural specificities of the participating Sri Lankan business leaders, this study provides early empirical evidence of the influence of religion on the judgment, emotional and motivational qualities of business leaders' decision-making.

Disciplines

Business | Social and Behavioral Sciences

Publication Details

Fernando, M. (2005). Religion's influence on decision-making: evidence of influence on the judgment, emotional and motivational qualities of Sri Lankan leaders' decision-making, 21st European Group of Organization Studies (EGOS) Colloquium (pp. 1-17). Berlin, 2005. Germany: Freie Universitat Berlin.

**Religion's influence on decision-making: Evidence of influence on the judgment,
emotional and motivational qualities of Sri Lankan leaders' decision-making**

Dr. Mario Fernando
Lecturer
School of Management and Marketing
University of Wollongong
Northfields Avenue, NSW2522
Australia
Email: mariof@uow.edu.au
Telephone: 612-42214053
Fax: 612-42272785

ABSTRACT

The study compares and contrasts thirteen interfaith case studies of prominent Sri Lankan business leaders drawn from Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, and Muslim religious traditions. The primary data for the study are in-depth interviews with the leaders, supplemented by documentary sources. When the participants were asked why they engaged in religious practices at work, their responses were often associated with decision-making. Although they had an array of management tools with which to deal with day-to-day management situations, they suggested that, in 'difficult' moments, these tools needed to be complemented with the participants' connecting with the ultimate—variously identified as the transcendent reality, god, or truth that is more powerful, better, and good. The outcomes of decisions, both good and bad, were usually attributed to the connecting experience. The findings suggest that religion plays a significant role in influencing the judgment, emotional and motivational qualities of Sri Lankan leaders' decision-making—in that a frame of reference based on a connection with a transcendent and ultimate reality is likely to be a source of solace, guidance, and inspiration to leaders in making critical decisions. Although the findings are unique to the historical, geographical, and cultural specificities of the participating Sri Lankan business leaders, this study provides early empirical evidence of the influence of religion on the judgment, emotional and motivational qualities of business leaders' decision-making.

INTRODUCTION

In 1953, *Fortune* published an article entitled ‘Businessmen on Their Knees’, which reported that ‘American businessmen are taking more notice of God’ (Gunther, 2001). The story noted that prayer groups were forming and that religious books were becoming more prominent in the bestseller lists. The article posed the question whether this was ‘... a superficial, merely utilitarian movement, or [whether it was] a genuinely spiritual awakening?’ Similar questions are also being asked now.

The present-day spirituality at work literature has been mainly influenced by the developments in fields as diverse as religious studies, psychology, healthcare and management. It has taken shape over twenty years, originated and developed almost wholly in the West, within mostly a Judaeo-Christian perspective. The prevailing spiritual revival in the workplace reflects, in part, a broader religious reawakening in America—which is one of the world’s most religiously observant nations.

According to *Fortune* magazine, 95% of Americans say they believe in God; in contrast, in much of Western Europe, the figure is closer to 50%. The Princeton Religious Research Index, which has tracked the strength of organised religion in America since World War II, reported a sharp increase in religious beliefs and practices since the mid 1990s. In 1999, when the Gallup Poll asked Americans if they felt a need to experience spiritual growth, 78% said ‘yes’ (compared with 20% in 1994), and a little less than 50% said that they had occasion to talk about their faith in the workplace in the past 24 hours (Gunther, 2001). In 2002, a Gallup poll found that almost two-thirds of people in the American workforce think that expressions of religion would be either tolerated or encouraged at their place of work. Eight in 10 believe that open expressions of religion should be tolerated or encouraged (Gallup, 2002). According to the *New York Times*: ‘... one 2003 directory lists more than 1,200 Christian groups devoted to

workplace ministry in North America, which is about double the number of groups that existed five years ago. More than 200 formed in the last year' (Leland, 2004, paras 2–4).

CURRENT VIEW OF RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY IN THE WORKPLACE

Despite the rise in volume and rigour in empirical research on workplace spirituality, missing is any thorough attempt to address these concerns. Moving beyond the prescriptive nature of much of the current workplace spirituality discourse, there is a clear need for management research at least to assess the accuracy of common conventions regarding the influence of religion and workplace spirituality on managerial behaviour (Weaver and Agle, 2002).

According to Weaver and Agle (2002), these researchers, works addressing legal and ethical aspects of the expression or suppression of religion in organisations are apparent in the literature (Fort, 1996; Schaner and Erlemeier, 1995), as are explicitly normative works applying religious principles to questions of business ethics (Epstein, 2000; Stackhouse, McCann, Roels and Williams, 1995). There are also analyses of religious institutions that invoke elements of organisational sociology, such as institutional theory and legitimation theory (Demerath, Hall, Schmitt and Williams, 1998). In addition, there are studies of the relation of religion to extraorganisational categories of economic activity—such as the 'sacralisation' of consumer behaviour (Belk, Wallendorf and Sherry, 1989), agricultural productivity among the Amish (Cosgel, 1993), and socioeconomic attainment in relation to expressions of Jewish identity (Wilder, 1996). However, there is a lack of empirical evidence of how religiosity actually affects key management practices such as leadership, decision-making, planning and control. This line of inquiry not only could establish the importance of workplace spirituality in understanding organisational behaviour but also

demonstrate how workplace spirituality could already be embedded in the sense making process of these key management functions. Although the extant workplace spirituality literature includes some contributions in this regard, those are few and far between. Most of the studies examine the impact of workplace spirituality on leadership (for example, Fry, 2003; Joseph, 2002; Zwart, 2000 and Jacobsen, 1999) and much of the emergent work on workplace spirituality does not address the place of other management functions in the enactment of workplace spirituality.

My aim in this paper is to report the findings of a study which examined the place of managerial decision-making in the enactment of workplace spirituality. This paper explores religion's influence on decision-making of leaders operating in Sri Lanka—a culture that is well known for its religious diversity and expression. The study involved thirteen Sri Lankan business leaders drawn from Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, and Muslim faiths. The findings suggest that religion played a significant role in the leaders' decision-making. Sri Lanka is regarded as one of the world's most highly religious and diverse cultures—with a wide variety of religious expression being apparent among the various religious groups of the island (Jones, 1997). This richness of the religious diversity and expression made Sri Lanka an ideal research setting for this multi-faith study.

Spirituality has historically been rooted in religion. The role of religion in conceptualising spirituality appears to be the mostly debated theme in the current spirituality at work literature (Fernando, 2004). The conceptualisation of spirituality in the spirituality at work literature does not limit its meaning exclusively to a religion or God-based spirituality. According to Gibbons (2000), the spirituality of the

contemporary workplace spirituality consists of the following characteristics (refer to Table 1).

Table 1: Characteristics of the Contemporary Spirituality

Denial of rationality as the sole source of knowledge.
Emphasis on subjectivity and interpretation.
Highly pluralistic.
Emphasizes a ‘personal’ God and individualized and eclectic practices.
Seen as distinct from religion.
A personal journey, lived-out in daily life.
Integrative of some once opposing worldviews and epistemologies.

Source: Gibbons, 2000, p.3

This paper reports the findings of the influence of religion on the judgment, emotional and motivational qualities of 13 Sri Lankan business leaders’ decision-making.

METHODOLOGY

The sample

The fieldwork for the present study was conducted in the Colombo, the capital of Sri Lanka. The business leaders who were selected as participants in the study were selected on the basis that they were spiritually motivated—that is, they had publicly acknowledged their spiritually motivated approach to heading business organisations, and were identified as such by others in their communities.

The participants were all born, raised, and (mostly) educated in Sri Lanka. Their primary businesses, families, and social networks were in Sri Lanka. They were selected from the four major religions practised in Sri Lanka—Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam. Except for one, all of the participants were born into their religions.

From an early age, all participants practised their religions. Many of these leaders started their careers at the end of World War II. At this time, Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) was gradually inching its way towards independence from its colonial status, and these participants belonged to the new generation of youth who were building the nation. Some of them were from humble backgrounds, and had started their businesses with very little personal capital. Some had walked for miles barefoot to school, had slept on pavements, and had undergone severe hardships before they came to enjoy their very successful business success. Over the years, they have shown stamina, and although many are now of an age at which most people would have retired, they remain active and sharp in their business dealings. Many are recognised as being unaffected by their material wealth.

Although they typically had a significant amount of faith in themselves, most participants attributed their present success to the protection and guidance of an ultimate reality or truth. Several of the participants have been acclaimed in the Sri Lankan and Asian media as people who have done what they ‘felt was right and just’. They have been described as undaunted, fearless, forthright, and not demoralised in spirit, and as having had the strength, foresight, and courage to launch small businesses or revamp unsuccessful family businesses. In spite of major setbacks, they recovered with ‘unshakable faith in God combined with unflagging determination and indomitable courage’. Some have been identified as cut from a mould very different from the ‘common specimens of humanity’. They have towered over many of their contemporaries by their capability, hard work, and courage in the face of successive changes in fortunes.

In short, these thirteen participants represented highly influential, recognised, and visible business people in Sri Lankan society—whose life stories in many instances have become part of the business folklore in the country.

Data collection and analysis

The primary method of data collection was in-depth face-to-face interviews. The method of participant selection was purposive because the study set out to learn about spirituality at work from typical cases of leaders who were known to practise spirituality at work (Patton, 1980).

According to Miles and Huberman (1994), the key to ensuring the quality of data in a study of this type is to link three levels of understanding—(i) the meanings and interpretations of the participants; (ii) the researcher's interpretation of those meanings; and (iii) confirmatory analysis. However, this linking process cannot be made explicit here because data collection was governed by a confidentiality agreement. Data triangulation was therefore used to ensure the quality of the data, together with multiple methods of confirmatory analysis (methodological triangulation) (Seale, 2000).

In terms of data triangulation, to strengthen and verify the use of the interview data, additional information was sought through the review of relevant company and public documents. Organisational documents included annual reports, photographs, newspaper cuttings, certificates, and web sites. Public documents included media reports (since 1970) of participants and their organisations held in the archives of leading Sri Lankan media organisations. These reports played a critical role in substantiating the accuracy of data.

To ensure a good level of data quality, the participants' moods, hesitations, and expressions were also observed and recorded. Given the nature of the topic, it was felt these could help to assess the sincerity of their accounts.

FINDINGS

Meaning of spirituality

The majority of the participants explained their spirituality on the basis of religious faith. Some examples are given below.

It [spirituality] is a source of guidance to my conduct. I seem to identify spirituality built by a concept of Buddhist faith.

I think spirituality comes from everybody else who does the right thing with any religious practice or whatever it is ... There is sacredness—and spirituality to me is God fearing.

Although the meaning of spirituality as expressed by the various participants had certain elements in common, there was no universal definition of the concept. As the above responses show, according to the participants it is possible to be 'spiritual' without believing in or affirming a higher power or God. However, the majority of participants explicitly included the notion of a higher power as an integral part of their definition of spirituality. The majority view did not believe in a random world devoid of purpose, and the notion of a higher power was seen as a vital manifestation of the purpose that they perceived in the world.

The religious expressions of the participants at work were evident through their practice of various types of religious observance. These had one common aim—connecting with a transcendent and ultimate reality—variously named as 'God', the 'Divine', 'Entity', or 'Reality'. Religious practices were the most commonly used mode of experiencing a connection with this transcendent reality.

For convenience, the present study uses the term ‘ultimate’ to denote the participants’ references to the ‘god’, ‘transcendent reality’ or ‘truth’ through which the participants searched for inspiration, solace, protection, guidance, and an increased sense of inner well-being.

Decision-making

When the participants were asked why they engaged in religious practices at work, their responses were often associated with decision-making. Although they had an array of management tools with which to deal with day-to-day management situations, they suggested that, in ‘difficult’ moments, these tools needed to be complemented with the participants’ connecting with the ultimate. The outcomes of decisions, both good and bad, were usually attributed to the connecting experience. For example, a Hindu business leader explained that he was influenced by his spirituality when making decisions:

... sometimes you take a certain amount of risk and you wonder what your chances are. ... it might be a weakness in me. I sit and think—pray to God [and I ask] whether I am doing the right thing, am I going the right way? ... I have to make the right decisions.

This participant admitted that he asked guidance from the ultimate in managing large projects. He felt a need to conform to a right way of doing things—as determined by his faith in the ultimate. As he said:

Perhaps it is psychotic but I have done this for the last 30–35 years. I feel it makes me a better man and it helps me to take the right decisions.

This need to make ‘right decisions’ was central to most of the participants. During challenging decision-making situations, participants felt a need to draw from their spirituality to find the ‘right way’ of managing the situation. For example, the business

operations of the Anglican participant generate a huge annual financial turnover. Emphasising his commitment to the 'right way' of managing his large business, he said:

At this moment, one operation is suffering because the competitors in the market don't issue bills. Tax and defence levy is quite high (20% at selling point). Even if I have to close down, I won't do that in my business. I am losing now, but finally, I think it will come out in a better way.

Similarly, a Roman Catholic participant emphasised how his business avoids unethical management practices. He admitted that his organisation was losing market share due to his ethical stance in a business culture in which unethical practices are an accepted norm. Nevertheless, he said:

I used to think about losing the business. But then you also think that you have survived all these years. I used to always think that God will help me somehow. So there is that divine sense of confidence that some day, you will be taken through tough times. And it helps.

When they made decisions in the 'right way', they spoke of increased happiness, contentment, and a sense of inner well-being. Although the literature on workplace spirituality contains no empirical studies on the process of 'right' decision-making, the decision-sciences literature does contain Shakun's (2001, 1999) theoretical contributions on 'Unbounded Rationality'. These studies have several similarities with the present study's findings on 'right decision-making'.

DISCUSSION

Rational actions are reasonable actions (that is, they are based on reason) in terms of the goals they set out to achieve. Reasonableness is assessed on the basis of the relationship between the action and the goals (Shakun, 2001). Shakun (2001) also noted that

Simon's (1978) substantive and procedural rationality is consistent with this dictionary meaning of rationality. According to Shakun (2001), the emphasis is on reasoning. When individuals make spiritually motivated decisions that result in 'right' decisions, they go beyond Simon's (1955; 1956) notion of bounded rationality. Shakun (2001) claimed that decisions are not only bounded by cognition, but also by affect and conation. He pointed out that 'right' decision-making and 'rightness' originate from spirituality—consciousness experiencing oneness. Shakun referred to this decision-making process in terms of 'unbounded rationality' (2001, p. 108), and claimed that it is 'the rationality that ultimately matters, that requires and delivers spirituality'—our ultimate purpose and value (2001, pp. 112–13). 'Right' decision-making is rational or reasonable not only in terms of achieving its goals in terms of cognitive abilities, but also in terms of the ability to experience and act according to a connection with a larger, ultimate whole. This view resonates with several of the key themes of the participants in the present study.

The notion of a connection with an ultimate was central to the experience of spirituality by the participants in the present study. Similarly, according to Shakun (2001), 'right' decisions and 'rightness' are also based on the experience of connectedness. This connectedness is in relation to an entity which Shakun (2001) defined as 'all there is, the absolute, the implicate order, the quantum vacuum, emptiness, God' (p. 103). He labelled this entity as 'the One' (p.104). As noted above, on the basis of the participants' descriptions in the present study, the 'ultimate' was defined as the transcendent reality, god, or truth that is more powerful, better, and good. The ideas of the ultimate (from the present study) and 'the One' (from Shakun's 2001 study) carry a common meaning. Explaining the process of 'connectedness', Shakun (2001, p. 104) noted that 'what we normally term decision-making (conscious decision

making) is a manifestation of consciousness'. As such, the decision-making process operates through cognition, affect, and conation. When consciousness is experiencing connectedness with 'the One', cognition, affect, and conation (as manifestations of consciousness) experience connectedness as oneness, love, and perfect action (p. 104). The absence of such a connectedness with 'the One' (non-connectedness) is experienced through cognition, affect, and conation as separateness, fear, and non-connected action. Conflicts in information, values, goals, and controls are potential sources of separateness and fear in non-connected action.

Several leaders spoke of instances when the 'right' decision-making process had to be compromised due to conflicting factors that influenced their decision-making processes. In this regard, the impact of organisational and environmental pressures in suppressing the 'right' way of making decisions and forcing them towards non-connectedness was notable and exemplified in several accounts of participants. A well-respected Buddhist leader, who heads one of the largest publicly listed organisations in Sri Lanka, explained that when the company is in a financial downturn, he cannot pay annual employee increments—although he wished that he could do so. He explained:

If it is justified, I will not give increments. If I feel the decision is going to help the company in the long run, then I would take that decision.

It should be noted that the justification (or rationalisation) was expressed in terms of the action (stopping increments) and the goal (helping the company in the long run). Emphasising the impact of organisational and environmental pressures on the outcome of this decision, he observed:

I'm a businessman and my job is to deliver to the shareholders. Some of my shareholders are pensioners and they believe in me. I'm the head of this company and therefore, they believe that their investments [will] be

safe. Apart from my spirituality, I have to look at the shareholder needs as well. The dividend income they get is part of their annual earnings and they depend on that income to keep the home fires burning. Similarly, I have to look into the concerns of employees, consumers, the government, the parent company, and suppliers. What people don't realise is that the CEO has a huge responsibility.

Commenting on how he feels after making these types of decisions, he remarked:

It would trouble me up to a point. But I feel if it has to be done, it has to be done. And it is not an immoral decision. Once I clear my conscience that I have done the right thing, I am OK.

He felt the need to do the 'right thing'—'right' in this instance being fair in terms of the shareholders, rather than the employees. From an employee perspective, the decision to stop employee increments (which are usually paid annually in most organisations in Sri Lanka) was thought to be a 'harsh measure', and it troubled him.

When leaders had to make these decisions that troubled them and had to 'clear their conscience' (in Shakun's 2001 terminology), they experienced non-connectedness and separateness. As highlighted by the Buddhist leader's dilemma described above, in certain business situations pressures from other stakeholders can influence a spiritually motivated business leader to assign priority to cognitive factors at the expense of affective and conative factors. According to Shakun's (2001) interpretation, leaders then experience non-connectedness, which results in separateness and fear. They try to overcome the separateness and fear by rationalising the consequences of such a decision (to clear the conscience). Another Buddhist leader admitted that his clearing of conscience was based on the values promoted by the five precepts of Buddhism. Citing an example of a disciplinary inquiry of an employee accused of theft, he said that his

senior managers had found the employee guilty and had decided to terminate his employment. However, in the view of the leader, the accused employee was innocent and, before making a decision on terminating his employment, the leader felt a need to consider the Buddhist precepts:

I think within the five precepts whether I am right or wrong. Every time, I take a decision, I think within these five precepts.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Although the findings are unique to the historical, geographical, and cultural specificities of the participating Sri Lankan business leaders, this study provides early empirical evidence of the influence of religion on the judgment, emotional and motivational qualities of business leaders' decision-making. This has several practical implications. The major implication, as noted above, is that a leader's transcendent frame of reference influences a 'right' decision-making process that is likely to result in greater ethical decision-making in organisations.

This transcendent frame of reference is also likely to influence the behaviour of such leaders by reinforcing the moral guidelines put in place to resolve ethical dilemmas in organisations. Business leaders who genuinely operate from religious and spiritual principles are likely to be highly committed to the well-being of their staff members, as well as other organisational stakeholders. Such leaders can have an influence on those who come into personal contact with them—by providing a catalyst for the beginning or deepening of a personal spiritual journey.

This study raises important questions for future research on leadership in organisations. First, researchers could examine religion's role on leadership from the perspectives of various stakeholders—such as non-executive employees, shareholders, customers, and suppliers.

Second, researchers could examine the argument for ‘unbounded rationality’ in decision-making. In particular, researchers could conduct cross-cultural studies on the universal application of unbounded rationality.

Third, many of the issues concerning the cognitive and affective behaviour of leaders could be explored through cross-disciplinary research. For example, researchers could focus on the findings of neurotheology—the neurobiological study of religion and spirituality.

REFERENCES

- Belk, R. Wallendorf, M. and Sherry, J. (1989). The sacred and the profane in consumer behavior: Theodicy on the odyssey. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 15, 1-38.
- Cosgel, M. (1993). Religious culture and economic performance: Agricultural productivity of the Amish, 1850-1880. *Journal of Economic History*, 53, 319-331.
- Demerath, N. Hall, P. Schmitt, T. and Williams, R. (1988). *Sacred companies: Organizational aspects of religion and religious aspects of organizations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Epstein, E. (2000). Contemporary Jewish perspectives on business ethics: The

- contributions of Meir Tamari and Moses L. Pava—a review article, *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 10, 523-542.
- Fort, T. (1996). Religious belief, corporate leadership and business ethics. *American Business Law Journal*, 33 (3), 451.
- Gallup Jr., G. (2002). Religion for corporate America. *The Gallup Poll Tuesday Briefing*. Washington: Aug 2002, 96.
- Gibbons, P. (2000). *Spirituality at work: Definitions, measures, assumptions, and validity claims*. A Paper presented at the Academy of Management Annual Conference. Toronto, Canada.
- Gunther, M. (2001, July 9). God and business. *Fortune*, 144, 1, 58-71. Retrieved February 20, 2004, from ProQuest database.
- Jones, A. (1997). Balasuriya's ideas on Asia's future jolt the single-path Vatican view. *National Catholic Reporter*, 33(16), 9-11.
- Korac-Kakabadse, N., Kouzmin, A., and Kakabadse, A. (2002). Spirituality and leadership praxis. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 17(3), 165-182. Retrieved May 20, 2004, from ProQuest database.
- Kruger, M. and Hanson, B. (1999). A value-based paradigm for creating truly healthy organisations. *Journal of Organisational Change Management*, 12 (4), 302-317.
- Leland, J. (2004). Movement brings religious ethic to the workplace. *New York Times*. (Late Edition - East Coast)). March 17, 2004. p. B.1. Retrieved May 21, 2004, from ProQuest database.
- Miles, M., and Huberman, M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis*. London: Sage.
- Patton, M. (1980). *Qualitative evaluation methods*. CA: Sage.
- Schaner, D. and Erlemeier, M. (1995). When faith and work collide: Defining standards

- for religious harassment in the workplace, *Employee Relations Law Journal*, 1995(1), 7-28.
- Seale C. (2000). *The quality of qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Shakun, M. (1999). Consciousness, spirituality and right decision/negotiation in purposeful complex adaptive systems. *Group Decision and Negotiation*, 8, 1-15.
- Shakun, M. (2001). Unbounded rationality. *Group Decision and Negotiation*, 10, 97-118.
- Simon, H. (1945). *Administrative behaviour*. 2nd edition, New York: Free Press.
- Simon, H. (1955). A behavioural mode of rational choice. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 66, 99-118.
- Simon, H. (1956). Rational choice and the structure of the environment. *Psychological Review*, 63, 129-138.
- Simon, H. (1978). Rationality as a process and product of thought. *American Economic Review*, 68(2), 1-16.
- Stackhouse, M., McCann, D., Roels, S. and Williamns, P. (1995). *On moral business*. Grand Rapids, Mi: Eerdmans.
- Weaver, G. and Agle, B. (2002). Religiosity and ethical behavior in organizations: A symbolic interactionist perspective, *The Academy of Management Review*, 27(1), 77.
- Wilder, E. (1996). Socioeconomic attainment and expressions of Jewish identification, 1970 and 1990. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 35, 109-128.