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Catholics and Protestants: The analysis of differences in declared values as prospective determinants of economic growth

Key words: Catholicism, Protestantism, values, economic development

Summary: This paper analyses the values held by Protestants and Catholics residing in the countries of modern Europe. The objective was to find out whether there are significant differences in the values subscribed to by these two groups and whether there are any areas relevant to economic development. The study showed the existence of differences and the areas in which they are present have been classified into five major groups: the values associated with perception of problems in occupational life, life in the public area, life in the private area, and personal well-being, as well as values related to trust and religion. The further part of the paper analyses the values in each selected area by placing them in the context of their importance for economic development. The last part of the paper proposes a model of culture as either conducive to development or inhibiting it, the model based on the values characteristic of the representatives of both religions.

1. Introduction

Religions have always decided about the moral standards. Even in the lay world, their significance cannot be neglected as, in the words of Mircea Eliade, “a lay person, whether he wants it or not, shows the features of behaviour of a religious person, although they are devoid of religious significance. Whatever that person does, he is the heir, anyway. He cannot destroy his past completely, as he is himself its product” (1, p. 169).

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The thesis of this paper is the assumption that in Europe there are differences dependent on religion between the cultural Catholics and Protestants,¹ within the values held by them, which may have effect on economic development of the countries inhabited by them.

The thesis makes a reference to the theory by Max Weber presented in 1905 in the book which causes vivid discussions until these days: *Protestant ethics and the spirit of capitalism*.² However, the objective of this paper is not proving that this theory is true or false, and only an attempt at finding differences in the perception of oneself and of the world by persons brought up in the Catholic and Protestant traditions. The attempt at finding the values which may affect development of the economy and creating on their basis model features of the pro-development society and that which inhibits development.

The paper uses research results from *World Value Survey*.³ Attention has only been paid to selected European countries now within EU,⁴ with the data from the years 1981–2008. The values were differentiated from the point of view of the religion of the inquired person. No current religious commitment of the responders was taken into account, and in the statement of religion they only indicated their cultural origin.⁵

The values within which the highest level of differentiation was recorded have been grouped for simplicity reasons into five fields:

- The values related to perception of education and problems in professional work;
- The values related to the area of public life;
- The values related to private life and physical and mental condition;
- The values related to trust;
- The values of religious nature.

Further sections of the paper will include more detailed descriptions of the stated issues and conclusions.

¹ I.e. from the given culture, not necessarily practising or believers.

² Its essence is in the conviction of the author about the effect of Protestant virtues (e.g. ethics of work, attitude to time, thriftiness, belief in predestination, individual reading of the Holy Bible) on development of capitalism (see 2).

³ The research programme running since early 1980s, whose objective is observation of the condition of social, cultural, moral, religious and political values and differences between cultures all over the world. The data obtained in the research and the tools used may be found at www.worldvaluessurvey.org (3).

⁴ The countries included in the research: Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Slovakia and Slovenia.

⁵ The research showed differences in numerous phenomena, yet for the needs of this paper only these values have been presented among which differences in the declared values achieved the level of at least 10% and which, at the same time, seemed to be most strongly related to economic development.

2. Analysis of the values related to perception of education and problems in professional work

The first significant area within which differences have been noticed between broadly understood Protestants⁶ and Catholics was the place of education in their life, especially perception of university-level education in the gender context,⁷ but also the duration and the level of education. These differences are given in Table 1.

Table 1

Differences in attitude to education

Protestants	Catholics
1. In the years 1981–2000, the average of 12.5% Protestants believed that education at the university level is more important for men than for women.	1. In the years 1981–2000, the average of 24.8% Catholics believed that education at the university level is more important for men than for women.
2. Definite disagreement with this attitude reported 64.8% of the inquired persons.	2. Definite disagreement with this attitude reported 28.3% of the inquired persons.
3. In the years 2005–2008, this statement was supported by the average of 9.3% Protestants.	3. In the years 2005–2008, this statement was supported by the average of 12.5% Catholics.
4. In the years 1981–2000, the average of 30.9% of the inquired persons continue their education after the 21st year of life.	4. In the years 1981–2000, the average of 15.9% of the inquired persons continue their education after the 21st year of life.
5. In the years 1981–2000, the average of 16.8% of the inquired completed their education at the 14th year of life.	5. In the years 1981–2000, the average of 35.5% Catholics completed their education in the 14th year of life.
6. In the years 2005–2008, the average of 57.9% of the inquired completed their education before the 20th year of life.	6. In the years 2005–2008, the average of 74.9% of the inquired completed their education before the 20th year of life.

Source: Author's own study on the basis of (3).

Apart from the differences in perceiving the role of education and its duration, a different attitude to participation in organisations dealing with educational, artistic and cultural activities was also apparent. In all the research series, belonging to such organisations was reported by more Protestants than Catholics.

All in all, it may be noticed that the percentage of persons successfully completing studies was increasing irrespective of the denomination. However, the dynamics of increase was not identical. Protestants more often than Catholics represented a higher level of education. At the same time, the higher percentage of Catholics than Protestants resigned of education after the 20th year of life.

⁶ The term "Protestants" in the descriptions refers to all the stated reformed churches: declaring themselves as Protestants, representatives of free churches, representatives of the Church of Sweden, Evangelical churches.

⁷ The term for social and cultural gender.

Education⁸ constitutes the basis for building human capital, whose importance for economic development is unquestioned. At the same time, the type of the education obtained does not remain indifferent to the hierarchy of values, religious practices patterns and professional work, whose value was also understood differently by representatives of different religions.

The differences in viewing work by Catholics and Protestants could be found as early as in the upbringing model, and then in the attitude to work and motivation, which is presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Differences in attitude to work

Protestants	Catholics
1. Among the values important in upbringing children, the inquired persons less frequently quoted the virtue of “hard work”. ⁹	1. Among the values important in upbringing children, the inquired persons more frequently quoted the virtue of “hard work”.
2. In the period 1981–2000, the average of 18% reported hard work as a value which should be taught to children.	2. In the period 1981–2000, the average of 45.5% reported hard work as a value which should be taught to children.
3. In the period 2005–2007, the average of 22% reported hard work as a value which should be taught to children.	3. In the period 2005–2007, the average of 42% reported hard work as a value which should be taught to children.
4. During the period 1981–2000, salary was reported as most important in choosing work by the average of 15% Protestants.	4. During the period 1981–2000, salary was reported as most important in choosing work by the average of 35.8% Catholics.
5. During the period 2005–2008, salary was reported as most important in choosing work by the average of 18.3% Protestants.	5. During the period 1981–2000, salary was reported as most important in choosing work by the average of 28.1% Catholics.
6. On the average, the inquired persons were looking in their work rather than the possibilities of meeting other people, executing interesting, important jobs, the possibility of achieving something exceptional.	6. On the average, the inquired persons desired work without high pressure, with comfortable working hours and good possibilities of promotion.
7. A higher degree of acceptance of responsibility.	7. Higher success desire.
8. Lower tendency to admit the right to work for the stronger.	8. Higher tendency to admit the right to work for the stronger.
9. They were more often signed up with trade unions.	9. They were less often signed up with trade unions.

⁸ It is worth noting that the study showed the difference in the use of media. In a series from the early 1980s, 25% less Catholics than Protestants reported reading daily newspapers. In the last series of 2005–2008, 22.5% more Protestants than Catholics declared the daily reading of newspapers, magazines or books taken as a source of information. 27.5% more of Protestants reported use of e-mail, the Internet or talking with colleagues, whose aim was to gain information.

⁹ It is interesting to note that, according to Weber, ethics of work was the element determining economic success of Protestants. At the same time, however, work for Protestants was a calling, while in Catholicism the “pray and work” model was historically more popular, but work was named after prayer, and additionally it was associated with the Biblical curse: “... By the sweat of your brow you will eat your food...” (Genesis 3:19; New International Version, 1984).

<p>10. In the years 1981–2000, the average of 52.6% of the inquired persons did not agree with the view that older persons should be forced to retire if their workplaces are necessary for the younger. 81.2% did not agree with the opinion that providing work for the disabled is not fair when fully healthy people need it. 76.5% did not agree with the opinion that men should have priority over women in access to employment. 45.2% did not agree with the opinion that employers should first offer work to the local people and later only to immigrants.</p>	<p>10. In the years 1981–2000, the average of 28.4% of the inquired persons did not agree with the view that older persons should be forced to retire if their workplaces are necessary for the younger. 64.1% did not agree with the opinion that providing work for the disabled is not fair when fully healthy people need it. 52% did not agree with the opinion that men should have priority over women in access to employment. 15.9% did not agree with the opinion that employers should first offer work to the local people and later only to immigrants.</p>
<p>11. In the years 2005–2008, the average of 80% did not agree with the opinion that men should have priority over women in access to employment. 48.8% did not agree with the opinion that employers should first offer work to the local people and later only to immigrants.</p>	<p>11. In the years 2005–2008, the average of 63.2% did not agree with the opinion that men should have priority over women in access to employment. 24.3% did not agree with the opinion that employers should first offer work to the local people and later only to immigrants.</p>

Source: Author's own study on the basis of (3).

From the summary of the table it seems that a larger number of Catholics than Protestants perceived work as a source of (good) income and a way to personal success. At the same time, work was important due to its community dimension and the possibility of self-actualisation for a larger number of Protestants. Catholics could perceive work as a burden to a higher degree.

Not recognising by them of the social dimension of work seems to be a negative phenomenon, although it is a very important issue in the social teaching of the church. One has to add that all the research series proved also that contacts with friends were considerably more important for Protestants than for Catholics.¹⁰ It is worrying in the context of the role of social capital in economic development.

Social capital is a “set of informal values and ethical standards common for members of a specific group and allowing them to cooperate effectively” (4, p. 169); it is expressed with interpersonal binds and the skill of cooperation, and its level depends on the number of friends, informal network connections, degree of corruption, belonging to various organisations (5), and here Catholics also fared worse than Protestants. These issues are translated into increase in transaction costs, lesser openness to new ideas and reduced creativity.

The tendency to give right for employment to the stronger which is more often found with Catholics may not be without significance for the economy. Aversion

¹⁰ On the average, in the series 1981–2000, friends were considered very important by 56.2% Protestants and 37.4% Catholics. In the series 2005–2007, friends were considered very important by a larger percentage of Catholics (45.7%), but also by the average of 64.6% Protestants.

to cooperation within various social groups may not be translated into the boom of the society, which is proven with the conclusions from the iterated “prisoner’s dilemma”,¹¹ which shows that friendliness and willingness to forgive is the best strategy for achieving joint success.

The last issue was lower popularity of trade unions among Catholics. It may have positive effect on the economic development with fewer demurrage in the workplace caused with, for example, strikes. The lower effect of trade unions also means less funds from the budget dedicated for meeting the needs of occupational groups, and more for, e.g. investments. However, in the context of the fact that Catholics less willingly joined not only trade unions, but also organisations of educational, artistic, social and cultural nature, it looks like the case of trade unions confirms some problems related to social capital, lack of the need of cooperation and lack of the feeling of being the prime mover in social and economic life.

3. Analysis of values related to public life

Differences in perceiving the values related to public life referred mostly to the attitude to politics and politicians. On the average, Catholics were definitely less interested in politics,¹² less willingly participated in political activities and less frequently talked about politics. It may have been due to the fact that many Catholic countries may be characterised as having high distance to authority.¹³ However, it seems that lower scale of commitment to public issues translates into lower degree of action for their purpose. It was noticeable even in the opinions which the inquired persons provided on responsibility of the state for pollution of the environment and independent care about the environment. Catholics to a larger degree than Protes-

¹¹ The “prisoner dilemma” is a problem in the theory of games. In the basic version, it is a two-person game with non-zero sum where players may win by cheating on the opponent but when both players are cheating at the same time, both will lose. The iterated dilemma is a multiple repetition of this game in which players create their strategies with the moves of the opponents taken into account. It was proven that the choice of egoistic strategies results, on the average, with very small wins as compared with more altruistic.

¹² The average of about 20% less Catholics expressed interest in this area of life.

¹³ Apart from Austria and Ireland, which are the countries with very low distance to authority, the other Catholic countries feature high distance to authority. Distance to authority is one of the four dimensions of culture described by Geert Hofstede (6). Cultures with high distance to authority feature, among others, acceptance for lack of balance to authority, which has absolutistic features here, is aloof from the individual, and the individual has limited or no feeling in reference to the possibility of having effect on the authorities. It is manifested in hierarchic structures in organisations and in the model of the family, which reflects inequalities between people. The tendency to centralise power is typical, as are major differences in salaries between high and low positions. Subordinates expect instructions from superiors. Cultures with low distance to authority feature the tendency to reduce inequalities between people, decentralisation. Hierarchy in execution of tasks results from the roles which employees have to play. Differences in salaries are small, superiors expect employees to participate in the decision process.

tants showed the tendency to shift responsibility for reduction of pollution of the environment to politicians. At the same time, however, when asked about the attitude to recycling or consumption of goods produced in accordance with ecological standards, less frequently than Protestants admitted that they were applying these rules in their life. This confirms the earlier thesis about lesser commitment of Catholics in the activities for the benefit of the community. They expect, to a higher degree, that the activities of the authorities should be the driving force for changes, and not individual moves. It may be important that in the cultures dominated by Catholics the impulse should be originated by the person endowed with particular authority, as, at the same time, Catholics to a larger degree than Protestants believed that authorities are important and necessary for the society.

4. Analysis of values related to private life and physical and mental condition

The private area and physical and mental condition of the responders were the area where probably the largest number of differences in the subscribed values occurred. Even the attitude to upbringing children and the important characteristics required by the inquired persons from various denominations in their children is an interesting issue in the research. Starting with the 1980s up to the first decade of the 21st century, the average of 15% more Protestants than Catholics listed honesty, tolerance and respect for others, independence and imagination as the values which should be taught to children. Catholics on the average 15% more often put in the first place religious faith, obedience and, as stated earlier, hard work.

An obedient, hard-working and religious person is almost as good as the Weber's archetype. However, can this model nowadays still ensure commercial successes? Or, does productivity depend on creativity, autonomy in making decisions and social skills these days?

The differences in perceiving family were also not without significance. Catholics valued the traditional model of family more than Protestants. They were more ready than Protestants to offer their parents respect resulting from the fact of being a parent alone. They were more caring towards own children and more often showed the trend to impose behaviour patterns on women. It was apparent in, among others, lower acceptance of single mothers, lower acceptance of going out to work by women, more often supported with care about the child. It was also showed in significantly lower degree of acceptance for abortion. It looks like the issue of the position of women may be of significance for economic development and avoiding gender discrimination basically increases work performance. However, the strength of the social family capital does not remain without positive impact on the economy, as it was shown by, for example, Jan Jacek Sztudynger (7).

Major differences were also recorded in the attitude of representatives of different religions to the media. Reading the press¹⁴ and using Internet and e-mail¹⁵ was higher in case of Protestants. Lower popularity of the press may prove the said trend to staying aloof from public issues. The lower degree of using Internet and e-mail could be related to lower financial resources, education, distance from public issues or discomfort related to technological progress. The lower degree of access to computer equipment and the Internet constitute, however, the element hindering economic development, extending the flow of information and blocking transfer of knowledge.

In reference to subjective physical and mental condition, in the first two research series, Catholics on the average 25% less frequently than Protestants stated the feeling of being on “the roof of the world”,¹⁶ were more easily irritable at home, less frequently felt safe at home. Catholics less frequently felt proud with compliments, less frequently were excited and less frequently felt that things were in line with their expectations. At the same time, however, less frequently than Protestants they felt alone, unhappy or depressed, criticism was much less painful for them than for Protestants, and the feeling of boredom was less known to them. Despite this, the declared feeling of happiness¹⁷ was higher in case of Protestants than Catholics, just like with the feeling of meaning of life.¹⁸ What is interesting, the feeling of being healthy was at a higher level in case of Protestants. In other words, Catholics less frequently reported the perfect condition of their own health, which could have directly translated to the economic results of their countries, depending on the frequency of using medical leaves¹⁹, and could also be demotivating in occupational situations and other social circumstances.

It looks like the Protestant model featured a higher degree of sensitivity and reacting to the changing situations and circumstances, thus the more often felt boredom, sadness, higher sensitivity to criticism and complements.

Most of the differences were related to the differences in nature. It is difficult to study individuals and look for the effect of this type of differences on economic in-

¹⁴ In the early 1980s about 25% less Catholics than Protestants were regularly reading the press. In the series of the research from the years 2005–2007, the advantage of the Protestants was maintained at the level of 15–30%, depending on the type of the reformed Church.

¹⁵ In the series of the research from the years 2005–2007, on the average 27.5% more Protestants than Catholics reported using Internet and e-mail.

¹⁶ This term means feeling of satisfaction, achievement of a goal.

¹⁷ In the last research series, Protestants on the average 15% more often reported to be happy.

¹⁸ These features seem also to affect differentiation in economic successes. Lack of the skill of experiencing and enjoying success does not seem to affect well motivation, just like lack of passion may limit effectiveness in activities. It may also be the fact that Catholics show higher tolerance for moderate mental discomfort, thus they do not feel a deep need to make changes. Negative feelings, such as loneliness, sadness or boredom, are more mobilising in case of Protestants, which ultimately translates into, for example, a higher level of happiness. At the same time, the feeling of happiness in itself may also have bearing on economic results.

¹⁹ In the last research series, Protestants 5–15% more often assessed their health as perfect.

dicators. The theoretical question remains to be asked: which of the perfect types is closer to a modern successful person:

1. Obedient, with low level of passion, not enjoying words of praise and not caring about criticism, or:
2. Creative, imaginative, independent, sensitive to praise and reprisal, with higher level of motivation.²⁰

It looks like none of these types will feel fulfilled in a perfect way in all types of work. The first type may be better in work which requires routine and is more patterned. The second may be good for work with higher level of risk, innovative. However, it seems that all the countries of the European Union have already reached the level of development in which risk and innovativeness are necessary.

5. Analysis of values related to trust

The differences between Catholics and Protestants were also disclosed in the issue of trust. The general conclusion is that Catholics had definitely lower level of trust to both institutions and other people. The Church was the only institution whom Catholics trusted more than Protestants. All the research series proved that the average of 20% less Catholics than Protestants trusted the police and the justice institutions. In the research series at the end of 1990s, questions were asked “Can most of people be trusted?” and “Do most people try to take advantage of you?” As much as 37.5% more persons of Catholic denomination believed, in the end of 1990s, that most of people try to take advantage of them. At the same time 17.5% more Protestants believed that most people may be trusted. In the research series 2005–2007, 28.5% more Protestants than Catholics stated that most people may be trusted and 25.5% more Catholics believed that most of people try to take advantage of them. In a more detailed research in trust in the 2005–2007 series, it was also proven that 10% less Catholics than Protestants trusted their friends, 22.5% less Catholics trusted strangers, 32.5% less Catholics trusted persons of a religion different from theirs, and 30% less Catholics than Protestants trusted persons of other nationalities.

No doubt, the level of trust is key issue for economic development. As Francis Fukuyama stated: “If representatives of the given group have grounds to believe that other members will be honest and reliable to them, they will start having mutual trust. Trust is like grease which increases capacity for activities in any group or institution” (4, p. 169). He believed that degree of mutual trust and trust to institutions depend

²⁰ It has to be emphasised here that these are perfect types and they characterised only with reported values. The author does not state that the above perfect types represent the type of personality typical of all Catholics and Protestants. It is only a summary of averaged research results in which certain features were favoured or more often apparent in the group of Catholics, and others—in the group of Protestants.

on the culture and is apparent, among others, in spontaneous forms of organisation of the society.

The human capacity to create groups is dependent on the degree of sharing common standards and values by the members of the given community: the closer ethically they are, the easier and more natural is their willingness to form groups, including these whose objective is achieving profit. Additionally, a higher degree of social trust affects quality and performance in work: in communities with a high level of social trust, work is more flexible, and there is tendency to entrust lower organisational levels with responsibility, which may positively affect motivation and morale of the employees, unlike with hierarchy-based, bureaucratic principles which rule in the world of low level of social trust. Some trust is the basis in any community. Some encourage a higher degree of honesty, good will actions and sympathy, trust in institutions and other members of the community. Others insist on trusting only the members of the closest environment, for example a family. In this context, Fukuyama analysed selected economies, indicating that economic successes of the economies based on trust in the family circle²¹ were possible with intervention of the state, supporting establishment of companies of global reach. In the other extreme there were countries like Germany or Japan, where the level of social trust was extremely high, and large companies were established without family bonds, spontaneously, only based on national bonds (8, pp. 43–49.)

Trust is the building material for social capital, and distrust harms cooperation, leading to formation of the so-called negative social capital, which in turn contributes to material losses. The selection of partners from the circle of friends or people recommended by friends, limitations in cooperation or arming the conditions of cooperation with additional contracts and detailed arrangements reduce effectiveness of social interactions²² (9, pp. 246–247).

6. Analysis of values with religious nature

The last group within which differences were found between Catholics and Protestants were values with religious nature. In this respect, Catholics turned out to be much more active. They declared their religiousness more often than Protestants²³ along with practising their religion. More often they were brought up in a religious atmosphere. The level of believing in life after death, the Satan, God, Hell and Heaven was higher among Catholics than Protestants. Catholics also showed higher tendency to imagine God as a personal entity than some unspecified life force. Faith gave them

²¹ That is with the example of China, France, Italy or South Korea.

²² The problem of trust is confirmed to have impact on economic issues also in the context of the transaction costs economics, where a higher level of trust reduces these costs.

²³ The division into Catholics and Protestants adopted by the author specifies cultural belonging and not the degree of commitment to religious life and belief in metaphysical phenomena.

more strength and comfort than Protestants and, finally, the church institution helped them to a higher degree in solving moral or family problems. All in all, Catholics were more attached to religious traditions and showed higher degree of religiousness.²⁴

Although strictly religious values seem to not have many connections with the economy, they affect it by the attitudes of their followers. Robert Putnam presented the example of positive interaction of religiousness with social capital. His area of interest covered the United States, which are different culturally from Europe, but the results of his research led to the conclusions that the places of cult can generate more social capital than other institutions in the USA. They are also used as the bastion and training field for all types of social initiatives. According to Putnam, almost half of all the resources of social capital of the United States is related to religion, has purely religious nature or is related to religion in the context of membership in associations or charity organisation (10, p. 54.).

The above conclusions were only partially confirmed in the research by Robert J. Barro and Rachel M. McCleary. They analysed the effect of phenomena of religious nature on economic development, showing, among others, that with the given level of going to the church, increase in belief in Heaven and Hell positively affects economic development. In turn, with the given level of belief in Hell and Heaven, increased frequency of going to the church may act to the contrary (11, p. 36). However, it does not mean a clearly negative impact on the increase, as at the same time presence in the church increases the level of belief in Hell and Heaven, and additionally is an important factor building social capital.

7. Conclusions

The analysis of values declared by Catholics and Protestants during the period of almost 30 years showed variety in their views. It is difficult to unanimously state that either group be clearly pro-development, yet more features conducive to development seem to be present with Protestants. However, it does not mean that Catholics show no features to qualify for faster development, for example higher attachment to the family institution. Also, it does not look like any religious group executed nowadays the Weber's model from the work *Protestant ethics and the spirit of capitalism*.

Catholics are more willing to report religiousness and desire to teach their children the virtues of hard work and obedience, but they regard their profession as a call-

²⁴ For example, up to 30% more Catholics than Protestants perceived God as a personal entity, and not as an undefined life force, up to 25% more Catholics reported in the research periods religion giving them the feeling of comfort, and the Church helping them in finding answers to difficult questions. Up to 20% more Catholics reported themselves to be religious persons. Also, the average of about 15% more Catholics than Protestants believed in Hell, Heaven, life after death, etc. Catholics 25% more often participated regularly in the mass and more often dedicated time for prayer. The average of about 15% more Catholics than Protestants stated that good and evil are clearly separated.

ing more rarely. Protestants do not mention the calling issue, either, but it seems that their attitude to work may be an echo of this way of thinking. Also, the higher tendency to form groups may be the residue after the conviction that wasting time is sin and that time should be filled with activities for important issues. However, the modern Europe lacks a society referred to by Weber, which is not surprising in the context of the changed understanding of social relationships and development.

On the basis of the five areas of the selected differences, perfect cultural models may be named with religious determinants, in which the subscribed values will be conducive to or will hinder economic development. These characteristic features in both models are given in Table 3.

Table 3

Features of cultures conducive to and hindering economic development

Culture conducive to economic development	Culture hindering economic development
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Interest in the world – Education as an element present throughout life – Work regarded as a means for self-development – Non-discrimination in the labour market applies (for gender, age, origin, health) – Friends are very important in life – Members of the society are the source of ideas and the driving force for transformations in the community, those who are not afraid of taking over initiative – Initiative of individuals is important – The community has the feeling of common purpose – High degree of participation of women in the labour market and in public life – High intensity of using media, especially Internet – Individuals well assess their health – Fast reaction to discomfort in life²⁵ – The level of trust to other people and institutions is high – The appropriate level of participation in religious life²⁶ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Lack of the need of gaining information about the rest of the world – Education as an element of the early stage in life – Work perceived as burden – The labour market governed by the stronger – Friends have little importance – Initiatives for changes come from the authorities, the authorities are the driving force for social changes – Opinions of authorities are important – Lack of the feeling of common purpose in the community – Low degree of participation of women in the labour market and in public life – Low use of media, especially Internet – Low subjective self-assessment of health in individuals – Individuals with high tolerance for certain discomfort in life – Low level of trust to other persons and institutions – Insufficient participation in religious life

Source: Author's own study.

²⁵ The author's view is that of a broadly understood comfort of living, in the meaning of satisfaction with work, a relationship, a family and self-actualisation. This does not refer to impatience in eliminating current problems, e.g. traffic jams, speed limits, etc.

²⁶ Putnam perceives direct positive effect of participation in religious rituals on social capital. Barro and McCleary do not state such a direct translation of these factors, or even frequent presence in the church has negative impact on economic growth. Thus, an addition research is necessary to determine the relationship between participation in the mass and economic growth in Europe.

None of the presented models may be completely identified with a specific religion. As stated above, pro-development values and values inhibiting economic development are present with the representatives of both religions, but among the values closer to Protestants those conducive to development seem to prevail.

This research constitutes only one cause for further considerations. It has to be emphasised that the issues included in the above model certainly do not form the full spectrum of social and cultural factors responsible for economic development. All in all, it has been found out that the thesis was confirmed in the scope of proving differences in the values subscribed to by Catholics and Protestants. These differences are present in many areas significant for the economy, thus indirectly the values dependent on the type of religion affect economic development.

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Katolicy i protestanci – analiza zróżnicowania deklarowanych wartości jako potencjalnych determinantów rozwoju gospodarczego

Streszczenie: W artykule analizie poddano wartości reprezentowane przez protestantów i katolików, mieszkańców współczesnej Europy. Celem było zbadanie, czy w wartościach wyznawanych przez te dwie grupy obecne są istotne różnice i czy występują one w obszarach istot-

nych z punktu widzenia rozwoju gospodarczego. Badanie wykazało istnienie różnic, natomiast obszary ich występowania sklasyfikowane zostały w pięciu najistotniejszych grupach: wartości związanych z postrzeganiem problemów pracy zawodowej, ze sferą życia publicznego, ze sferą prywatną oraz własnym samopoczuciem, związanych z zaufaniem i o charakterze religijnym. W dalszej części artykułu poddano analizie wartości z zakresu każdego zaznaczonego obszaru, poprzez umieszczenie ich w kontekście znaczenia dla rozwoju gospodarczego. Ostatnia część artykułu zawiera natomiast modele: kultury prorozwojowej oraz hamującej rozwój, zbudowane w oparciu o wartości charakteryzujące przedstawicieli obu religii.

S ł o w a k ł u c z o w e: katolicyzm, protestantyzm, wartości, rozwój gospodarczy
