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Human Values, African Values, Southern African Values? On Work[1]

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Introduction

In this chapter, we explore and compare work value orientations of people in Europe and Africa and then focus on work ethic and religion in three African countries in the Southern African region. The two themes deal with a key aspect of perceptions about Africa in that work orientation and work ethic would somehow explain something of the lack of development in Africa. The analysis follows previous analyses of work orientation and work ethic closely in order to attempt a duplication of the methodology that is used in other contexts and learn from the result of such a study when including Africa or focusing on Africa.

Of course, comparative research that attempts to come to some conclusion about African culture and values would do well to compare Africa to other parts of the world. We have mostly compared African countries among themselves in the previous sections as the main aim of the project has been to compare African countries in Southern Africa. In this chapter, some effort is made to also compare work orientation in Africa to work orientations in a part of the world that is often transposed as 'the other' of Africa, namely Europe.

The second comparison between South Africa, Zimbabwe and Tanzania (sample determined by data available, but useful in spite of that) echoes the European-African comparison in that it compares the most industrialised and modern country in Africa with close neighbours that are significantly different economically, but could be seen as relatively similar in terms of culture and cultural exposure to Europe – especially on the level of exposure to Christian missionary activity.

Work Values Analysed in Europe and Southern Africa

The African and European continents differ not only in terms of economic wealth and development or the existence of welfare states, but also in political development, religion, labour markets and working conditions. Not only have African workers increasingly been exposed to the quick changes of a globalised labour market (Castells 1996a; Kothari et al. 2002:32) and have adapted to a certain extent through migration (Crush and Fraynes 2010; Bush 2007:49-80), but the even more massively momentous changes of global markets in terms of commodity prices, primary resource supply and demand and capital and currency fluctuations require even more extreme adaptation (Kothari et al. 2002:17-21). Large majorities of the African people still live under conditions of (extreme) poverty and physical insecurity and most African economies are currently still predominantly agrarian. Work, therefore, means something different for most Africans than for most Europeans in that African work is mostly agrarian, often subsistence farming, and if urban and industrial, mostly significantly more uncertain than in Europe. One has to be careful not to fall into the trap of thinking that African communities and people are fixed in the agrarian mode. The reality is that Africa will be a majority urban continent by 2030 (Cohen 2006) while Southern Africa as a region already has more than 50 per cent of the population living in cities. At the same time, globalisation and Africa's exclusion and marginalisation through many different dynamics has meant the concept 'work' has a significantly different meaning in the 'Fourth World' (Castells 1998).

One of the most damning indictments of colonial, neo-colonial and neo-liberal global arrangements in Southern Africa has been the way in which labour was first of all created (Bundy 1988; Comaroff 2001), then moved around almost at will (Burawoy 1976) and now mostly discarded as insignificant or 'irrelevant' (Castells 1998:341)

On the other hand, industrial production has occurred in Africa for at least a century in mining and agriculture and currently, globalisation and the internationalisation of labour and business play a role – significantly so in Southern Africa. Wage-labour itself and processes of specialisation, changing work-place authority, and cost-benefit calculation have been part of African work experience for quite some time (Sharp and West 1982). The dynamics that cause uncertainty in labour conditions in Europe have also reached Southern Africa or at least South Africa. South African firms are now also moving toward a greater use of 'flexible workers, through casual labour, contract labour, subcontracting to smaller firms, homeworkers and other "outworkers", and agency workers' (Webster 2002:186). However, the legal and organisational protection in South Africa is considerably lower than in Europe and this may be even more so in the rest of Africa. Thus, it seems likely that the African's work orientations will differ from the European's orientations to work.

But within Europe, differences do exist. The trajectories of modernisation, individualisation, emancipation, globalisation, internationalisation, etc., are far from uniform (Ester et al. 1994; Hagenaars et al. 2003), and there are obvious differences in working conditions, work activities and organisations, (use of) production technologies, and employment opportunities also within European borders. Hence, in Europe also differences in work orientations are likely to be found.

The main purpose of this section is to explore people's orientations to work and to investigate if and how these orientations are shaped by characteristics of each individual as well as by distinctive features of the societies they are living in. Kalleberg and Stark (1993:182) argued that 'structures operating at macroscopic levels (such as states)' affect people's interests, motivations and their "'conceptions of the desirable" regarding work'. Since these 'structures' differ so much, it seems likely to assume that they are important attributes of people's work orientations.

A large body of research has developed suggesting that work orientations can be classified along a small number of categories. Such orientations are usually based on motives of why people work (Yankelovich et al. 1985:39) or on answers to questions about what one wants from a job (Herzberg et al. 1959:6). Although several dimensions can be distinguished, broadly speaking the motives to work and job attributes mentioned are organised around two kinds of work orientations that strongly correspond with Arendt's (1958) distinction between work attributes that stimulate personal development ('work'), and the less pleasant attributes of a paid job ('labor'). A distinction is, therefore, made between intrinsic and extrinsic work qualities.

An intrinsic work orientation refers to the idea that the main goal of labour is in the work itself: work provides the 'opportunities for further development of personal skills and an interest in the work promoted by the activity' (Tarnai et al. 1995:140). In other words, work is regarded as a means to utilise one's capacities and providing opportunities for personal development and unfolding. Another commonly used term for this orientation is expressiveness because it emphasises 'inner growth rather than external signs of wealth' (Yankelovich et al. 1985:34).

A work orientation is called extrinsic when work is regarded a means of achieving goals that are outside work. 'Expectations of work are in direct relation to the effects of employment (high income, advancement)' (Tarnai et al. 1995:140). Work is mainly seen as 'serving the immediate needs for the maintenance of life' (MOW 1987:3), a means to get an income and other life securities. In other words, the 'key words are "standard of living" and "productivity," and the values center on being part of the productive process and on the creation of capital' (Yankelovich et al. 1985:34). Favourable circumstances and working conditions, good pay, job security, good physical working environment, not too much stress and pressure, good working hours, and generous holidays are stressed because they reduce unpleasant job characteristics.

These orientations have been validated in scores of studies. However, these studies were mainly confined to highly developed, industrial and post-industrial, mostly Western societies (Zanders 1994; Harding and Hikspoors 1995; Zanders and Harding 1995; Tarnai et al. 1995); and the question is whether similar dimensions can be found in non-Western, e.g., African and Eastern European countries, as well.

Another question deals with how to understand and explain why people adhere to these orientations. Although work orientations have been studied at individual level, investigations on the effects of individual features and societal characteristics are rare. Part of the explanation will be found in individual characteristics, but as we argued above, it seems also likely that the context will have an impact too. Both will be further explored, and in section 2, we start with formulating some hypotheses on the impact of country or macro characteristics on people's work orientations.

In section 3, we turn to the individual level. We focus on some basic socio-demographic features of individuals that are often seen as determinants of values in general and thus likely also of work values. As said, work orientations have been investigated mainly in the West and the distinction between expressive or intrinsic and extrinsic or extrinsic work values was invented to understand the transformation in such orientations in societies that gradually were transforming from agrarian into industrial and modern, highly developed welfare states (Yankelovich et al. 1985). It remains to be seen if similar work orientations can also be found in non-western contexts, and if the determinants of (Western) work orientations are also the determining attributes of people's work orientations in non-Western contexts.

In section 4, we present the data, measurements and analytical strategy, and the results of our analyses are presented in section 5. In section 6, the main conclusions from our analyses are drawn and we discuss the implications for our theoretical views.

Work Values and their Antecedents

The literature suggests links between orientations towards work and the stages of societal development. In *The World at Work* (Yankelovich et al. 1985:33-34), it is argued that in traditional, agrarian societies, sustenance predominated people's reasons to work. Work was regarded a 'necessary evil' to survive. In industrialised society, the main focus was on economic growth and the accumulation of money and possessions. In work, material success was strongly emphasised or in other words, an instrumental or extrinsic work orientation had developed. In contemporary advanced welfare states, work is not any longer a necessity to provide security and the satisfaction of fundamental or 'lower' needs. Instead of focusing on economic growth and material expansion, quality of life issues, care

for the environment, individual autonomy and well-being became key issues. These were increasingly seen as dependent upon self-development and self-realisation. This development could not have happened if in society certain conditions were not met, such as securing people's basic needs. In modern advanced, rich, welfare states, such conditions are satisfied and 'work no longer means "Adam's curse" – a disagreeable necessity undertaken solely for survival purposes' (Yankelovich et al. 1985:13).

We are, of course, interested in whether this conceptualisation of work makes sense in an African context. The comparison between Africa and Europe is interesting in its own right, but the focus here is the relevance and staying power of the conceptualisation of work in terms of the distinction between expressive and instrumental orientations to work.

Due to an unprecedented economic growth and the emergence of the modern welfare state, people's priorities shifted from an emphasis on survival and economic security to achieving psychological benefits and concerns of personal well being and the fulfilment of higher needs such as personal development, creative self-expression, recognition (Yankelovich et al. 1985:13). With regard to work values, these developments are assumed to have triggered the emphasis on intrinsic work qualities.

Economic development and the resulting increase in wealth and welfare are considered 'determining forces' for the expansion of individual choice in some (mostly European) countries. The economic expansion, especially after World War II, produced unprecedented high levels of affluence for an expanding middle class in Europe, but also significant growth in African countries. This affluence enabled, in some countries in Europe, but not really in Sub-Saharan Africa, the creation of a system of welfare arrangements guaranteed by the state, which eventuated in a comprehensive de-commodification of labour. The welfare state has made its citizens much more independent of the labour market, because people's incomes are guaranteed by the state and no longer solely dependent upon a job. Therefore, it can be assumed that work orientations are linked with a country's level of prosperity. Our hypothesis is that the inhabitants of more prosperous and secure societies (in terms of quality of life as well as in economic securities) would have a greater tendency towards an intrinsic work orientation than people in less affluent and less secure societies. We, therefore, also suppose that the opposite will mostly be true in African countries.

In post-modern, post-industrial society, the applications of 'mechanical labour' have increased tremendously due to rapid technological innovations in general and the introduction and advancement of the computer in particular. Labour tasks in information society shifted gradually into services using the latest information and communication technologies which implied a loss of lower or

semi-skilled manufacturing jobs and the gain in high-technology, high-skilled service positions (Turner 1997:38). Such jobs require knowledge, high-tech skills, the application and use of modern communication means, innovation as well as creativity and flexibility of employees in post-industrial societies. These are all elements that seem to go with an intrinsic orientation to work that emphasise inner growth and individual autonomy. Thus, people will be more inclined to emphasise intrinsic work qualities in societies which have high levels of education, high tech communication means, and where a large proportion of or most working people are occupied in the service sector.

Because as argued above, in industrial society the main focus was on pay, fringe benefits and work security or in other words on instrumental, extrinsically rewarding work attributes, it is to be expected that, the larger the secondary or industry sector in a society is, the more its people will stress extrinsic work values.

Large income inequalities may motivate people to find ways to decrease the differences in incomes. One way to achieve that is to get higher payments for work. Thus, it can be suggested that large income inequalities in society are conducive to stressing material work qualities because work is regarded a means to improve one's financial position and as such lowers the inequality in society. In case the income gap is not so big, people will be less inclined to work for money, because it will not improve their position on the social ladder. In case of small income inequalities, work is likely to be seen as a means to satisfy personal needs of self-fulfilment. Hence, people in societies with large income inequalities will emphasise material aspects in work, while people in more equal societies will emphasise intrinsic work values.

Apart from such structural factors, characteristics of a cultural nature may also play a role in explaining the differences and similarities in work orientations between the countries. For example, Lipset (1996:72) noted that individual freedom and personal responsibilities are much more valued by Americans than by Europeans. Browne (1997) argued that because American society is pragmatic, stressing efficiency, productivity and competence, while Australian society is less oriented towards success, personal achievement and organisational growth, it seems likely that 'extrinsic factors, such as salary and promotion, would be more important to Americans than Australians' and that 'intrinsic motivators, such as self-expression and affiliation, would be relatively more important to Australians than Americans' (Browne 1997:63). Following such arguments, it can be expected that the more individualistic a society is, the stronger the emphasis will be on material work qualities.

Finally, Hofstede (2001:15) qualifies cultures in terms of masculine and feminine – as one of five critical dimensions of cultural difference. The key characteristics of masculine society are material success, money and things, being ambitious,

living for work, stressing competition and performance. Feminine societies are the opposite. Typical of feminine societies is that work is seen as a means to live, and cooperation, solidarity and quality of work life are emphasised (Hofstede 2001:318). Thus, the more a national's culture stresses competition, material success, being ambitious, etc., the more likely its people will prefer extrinsic work values and the less emphasis will be found on intrinsic work qualities.

Individual Determinants of Work Orientations

The literature on work orientations reveals a number of interesting determining factors for differences in work values at the individual level.

It is often argued that, at least in Europe, young people will display a more intrinsic work orientation, because they were raised and socialised in a prosperous society where all their basic human needs are satisfied. For young people, work is not so much a necessity to survive, but merely 'a means to acquiring the good things in life and for achieving [….] the intangibles of social identity, independence, self-esteem, creative self-expression, recognition, fulfilment of potentials, and social stimulation' (Yankelovich et al. 1985:13). Older people, who were raised and socialised during a period when scarcity and insecurities played an important role, are likely to display higher levels of extrinsic work values and lower levels of intrinsic work values.

It remains to be seen if such arguments also apply to the African context. In general, Africans have become poorer in the last three decades and there have been more violent wars than before. Further, only South Africa seems on track to reach some of the Millennium Goals. The other African countries that we analyse here were slipping back on many of these Goals (Human Development Report 2002:47-49). Because contemporary youth in African societies are worse off than their parents, they may be more inclined to stress extrinsic work qualities than older people.

One can also expect a correlation between work orientations and level of education, because education increases people's 'breadth of perspective' (Gabannesch 1972:183), and their abilities and cognitive skills, which make them more critical towards authority, and enhances their levels of personal autonomy and ability of individual judgements. Earlier studies revealed, indeed, that the more educated people are more in favour of personal development qualities in work than less educated people (Zanders 1994:140).

Differences between men and women in their work orientations have been investigated in numerous studies, but the results are puzzling and often contradictory. It is argued that typical gender roles are rooted in socialisation and education where men and women learn and internalise to behave in accordance to 'what is required and expected on the basis of gender' (Marini et al. 1996:51).

Nevertheless, empirical research does not find substantial evidence for dramatic gender differences in work values (Rowe and Snizek 1995). Some argue that, as a result of increased gender equality, differences in work orientations have gradually disappeared (Marini et al. 1996:52). According to Hakim (1991), the reason why gender differences do not appear is because the distinction in men and women is too crude. She suggests a differentiation of women according to their commitment to work. Women who are committed to work resemble men in sharing 'long-term work plans and almost continuous full-time work, often in jobs with higher status and earnings than are typical for women' (Hakim 1991:113). Women who are not so much or not all committed to paid work prefer the homemaker role, and thus do not regard work as a means to provide opportunities for personal development and unfolding. These housewives will be less inclined to value intrinsic work qualities than work-committed women for who work provides satisfaction and self-development. Housewives may regard paid employment a necessity to earn a supplementary wage to the breadwinner. Such employment is more often 'in low-skilled, low paid, part-time, casual and temporary jobs… than in skilled, permanent jobs' (Hakim 1991:113). Hence, housewives will emphasise extrinsic or material work qualities more than work-committed women. On the other hand, it is said that because men see themselves playing the bread-winners role, they value high pay and job security. If that conventional view of men is true, it can be expected that they also will stress extrinsic work qualities more than work-committed women. If work-committed women see work indeed as an opportunity for personal development and unfolding they will emphasise extrinsic work qualities more than men and housewives. If such claims are justified, we could expect that men and housewives resemble each other in a stronger emphasis on intrinsic or material work qualities than work-committed women who in turn emphasise extrinsic work qualities. We should note that the notion of a 'housewife' would have different connotations in France than in Moldova or in Tanzania. Some of the data that we will be looking at could just be a reflection of these differences.

Finally, we not only include income as a control variable, e.g., for women who work in order to raise additional money for the household; we also have some clear expectations as to how it will affect both work orientations. The higher the income, the more the material needs will be satisfied and thus such work qualities do not have high priority. Higher incomes are usually in better jobs with better labour conditions and thus it may be expected that higher income groups will emphasise intrinsic work values.

Data, Measurements and Analytical Srategy

The individual level data come from the 1999/2000 European Values Study (www.europeanvalues.nl), and the 2000/2001 World Values Surveys (www.worldvaluessurvey.org). For information on these projects we refer to

Halman (2001), and Inglehart, Basáñez, Díez Medrano, Halman & Luijkx (2004). The selected countries (their abbreviation and number of respondents) are: Albania (al) 1,000; Austria (at) 1,522; Belgium (be) 1,912; Bulgaria (bg) 1,000; Belarus (by) 1,000; Croatia (hr) 1,003; Czech Republic (cz) 1,908; Denmark (dk) 1,023; Estonia (ee) 1,005; Finland (fi) 1,038; France (fr) 1,615; Germany (de) 2,036; Greece (gr) 1,142; Hungary (hu) 1,000; Iceland (is) 968; Ireland (ie) 1,012; Italy (it) 2,000; Latvia (lv) 1,013; Lithuania (lt) 1,018; Luxembourg (lx) 1,211; Malta (mt) 1,002; Moldova (mo) 1,008; Netherlands (nl) 1,003; Poland (pl) 1,095; Portugal (pt) 1,000; Romania (ro) 1,146; Russian Federation (ru) 2,500; Slovakia (sk) 1,331; Slovenia (sl) 1,006; South Africa (za) 3,000; Spain (es) 2,409; Sweden (se) 1,015; Turkey (tr) 4,607; Uganda (ug) 1,002; Ukraine (ua) 1,195; Macedonia (mk) 1,055; Great Britain (uk) 1,000; Tanzania (tz) 1,171; Zimbabwe (zb) 1,002.[2] Although the merged WVS/EVS data set al.so includes data from Nigeria, this country was excluded from our analyses because the Nigerian sample is skewed towards the higher educated and thus not representative for the population. Unfortunately, data of other African countries (south of the Sahara) is not available, because surveys have not been conducted in these countries. Of course, it is not very likely that the four African countries now included in our analyses, represent the whole of Africa. But in this regard, we are limited to the availability of survey data.

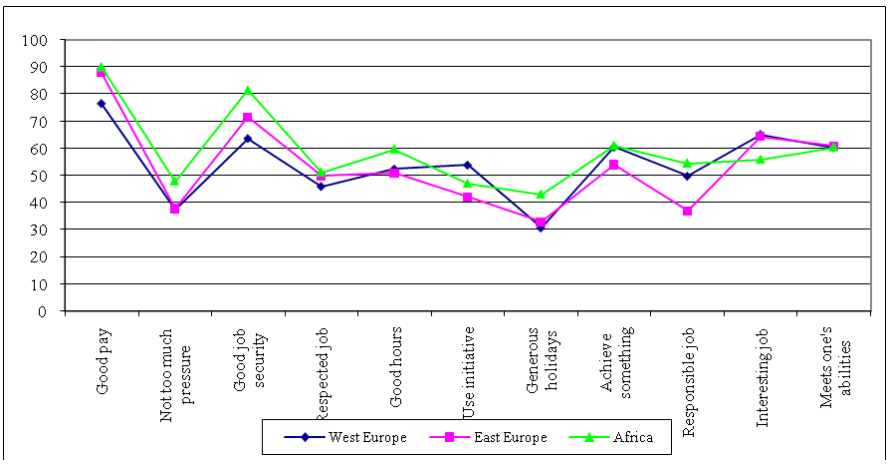
The Dependent Variables

The questionnaires included a number of work qualities and the respondents were asked to indicate the importance of each of them.[3] In Figure 7.1, we have displayed the overall responses in Western Europe, Central/Eastern Europe and Africa.

Work qualities such as 'good pay' and 'job security' are (still) highly valued in all countries, even in modern welfare states with low levels of insecurity. Perhaps because in 1999, jobs were not so secure (anymore) in many countries in Western Europe, while in Eastern Europe socialist ideology had assured people jobs and officially, there was not unemployment until the Iron Curtain dropped, at the time of the interviews, many people in Eastern Europe were very concerned about their job security. People in Africa, where about 80 per cent of the respondents indicated that good security is important, appeared most concerned.

Least important work qualities appear generous holidays and not much pressure. In Eastern Europe, a responsible job is less important than in Western Europe and Africa. Perhaps, this is still a heritage of Communist ideology where individual responsibility was not valued highly. There are hardly any differences with regard to the importance of a respected job, and meeting one's abilities. Western Europeans find most of these qualities less important than Eastern Europeans and Africans. Africa scores highest on 8 of the 11 work qualities, but most of all on job security and generous holidays.

Figure 7.1: Percentages of Respondents in Western and Eastern Europe and Africa Saying that these Work Qualities are Important



Factor analysis was applied to examine the dimensionality. Previous analyses of a more limited number of countries in Europe (Zanders 1994; Halman and Vloet 1994), yielded three factors that resemble the dimensions Yankelovich et al. (1985) had discovered. The dimension of personal development included items referring to intrinsic qualities of a job, the comfort dimension contained qualities relating to secondary work conditions and material conditions concerned financial reward and job security (Zanders 1994:136).

Our analysis using the data of all countries and weighting each country equally[4] yielded only two dimensions. The items of the comfort and material dimensions appeared to refer to one common dimension that expresses material qualities in work. The other dimension is clearly intrinsic in the sense that it includes all expressive work qualities. Respected job does not turn out to be strongly associated with the other intrinsic work qualities. It has a low loading and also appears to belong to the material conditions dimension. This may be because respect can be regarded as the consequence of being paid very well, but can also be seen as a means of self-employment and fulfilment. A respected job does not refer clearly to either intrinsic or extrinsic work values in West Europe and Africa, but appears to have an intrinsic meaning in Eastern Europe. Perhaps, this is still a manifestation of Communist era values when jobs were equal and equally respected officially.

Either way, we decided to exclude this item from our analyses and the result of a second factor analysis was much clearer in line with the two dimensions that were expected. Although good job security has a clear extrinsic connotation in Western Europe, in Africa it appears to have an intrinsic meaning while in Eastern

Europe it has neither. Again, the Eastern European finding may reflect what pertained during the Communist times when job security was not an issue. Perhaps, the importance of job security has increased in the last decade because jobs are less secure these days than before the fall of the Wall. If these 1999/2000 figures on this item are compared with the results of the 1990 survey, this indeed seems to be true. On the whole, job security is becoming of increasing importance to many people in Eastern Europe (Inglehart et al. 1998:102).

Analysing the African countries, there is some evidence that as in Europe in the past (Zanders 1994), the extrinsic orientation has two dimensions: the one referring to real material aspects like job security and good pay, the other including the comfort issues. Such results seem evidence that indeed the African context differs from the European. Elsewhere, it has been demonstrated that in the debate on materialism and post-materialism, an additional concept was needed in order to address the stage of 'pre-materialism' or underdevelopment (Lategan 2000; Kotze and Lombard 2002; Müller 2004). Our finding that in the African context a sustenance dimension can be distinguished seems to confirm that point of view. Many Africans are (still) in a struggle for survival and thus much concerned about securing their basic needs. Consequently, work values centre on sustenance and physiological security.

Because good pay and job security appeared to be problematic in the African context, we also decided to exclude these two items from our analyses. The common theme in the remaining items of the extrinsic work dimension is 'a relaxed job': not too much pressure, good hours and generous holidays.

In Table 1, the two-dimensional factor structure is displayed for the three regions separately, and from this table it is clear that the factor structures are highly similar in Western Europe, Eastern Europe and Africa. We concluded that the two work orientations are sufficiently similar in the three different contexts and thus can be used in our further analyses. We ran factor analyses on the pooled data set on the items of the two dimensions separately and factor scores have been calculated to tap the extrinsic and intrinsic work orientations.

Table 7.1: Results of Factor Analysis for each Dimension Separately in Western Europe, Eastern Europe and Africa

Instrumental qualities	**Western Europe**	**Eastern Europe**	**Africa**
Good pay	0.562	0.491	0.408
No pressure	0.707	0.668	0.645
Job security	0.600	0.614	0.501
Good hours	0.784	0.721	0.746
Generous holidays	0.706	0.713	0.747
% variance	45	42	39
Cronbach's alpha	0.60	0.65	0.61
Expressive qualities			
Use initiative	0.753	0.770	0.764
Achieve something	0.704	0.750	0.655
Responsible job	0.691	0.734	0.722
Interesting job	0.600	0.656	0.656
Use abilities	0.674	0.700	0.685
% variance	47	52	48
Cronbach's alpha	**0.72**	**0.77**	**0.74**

Structural and Cultural Macro Characteristics

As far as the structural macro determinants are concerned we rely on various international sources. Unfortunately, it proved impossible to find comparable measures on working conditions and labour markets. For example, unemployment statistics or welfare spending statistics for all the countries and in the same time-period appear not available particularly not for African countries. However, we were able to find some indicators on economic development, material well-being, quality of life issues, education, use of modern communication means, income inequality and characteristics of the labour market in terms of employed people occupied in the three economic sectors: agriculture, industry and services.

The data sources providing information for all countries on levels of security, welfare, quality of life, wellbeing, education and prosperity are rather limited and we had to confine ourselves to some data on economic development (GDP), and quality of life issues, such as life expectancy and adult literacy rate and the availability and use of modern communication means such as numbers of telephone mainlines, cellular mobile subscribers and Internet hosts (all per 1,000 and in the year 2000). Factor analyses on these latter three indices yielded a combined score for what we call 'communication'.

An obvious problem in analyses in which such measures as explanatory variables are included is, of course, that these characteristics are strongly correlated. Indeed, life expectancy and adult literacy rates as well as adjusted per capita income are the components of the Human Development index (HDR 2000a:147). Also our measure of communication is strongly associated with economic development measured in terms of GDP per capita (ppp) ($r = .889$; $p < .0001$ (2-tailed)). One measure of (economic and human) development seems sufficient and is calculated by means of a factor analysis on life expectancy, adult literacy, GDP per capita and communication. A high score on this dimension refers to high level of development

Income inequality is measured by the often used and well-known GINI coefficient (HDR 2000a).[5] The higher the coefficient, the more unequal the society is.

As for cultural traits, we have relied on aggregate measures on the basis of our individual level data set. The degree to which a cultural trait is favouring individual freedom appears from the percentages of people in each country that is of the opinion that people should take more responsibility for themselves. The more individualistic feature appears from agreement with individual responsibility.[6]

We relied on aggregate measures from our individual data set to establish whether cultures are more masculine or feminine, because scores calculated by Hofstede (2001) are available only for a limited number of countries. People in masculine societies stress material success, money and things, being ambitious, live in order to work, competition and performance. EVS includes few items that partially tap this concept. Material success appears from emphasising the importance of money and work.[7] Competition appears from the responses to the question whether competition is good or harmful,[8] while being ambitious appears from the opinion that hard work and determination are important qualities to encourage children to learn at home.[9] A factor analysis on these (macro) items yielded that determination as quality to teach children at home refers to another dimension. The other attributes at aggregate level appear to have something in common that resembles the dimension of masculinity-femininity. A high score indicates a masculine society.

The Independent Variables at Individual Level

Age can be simply re-coded from the question in which the respondent was asked to indicate his/her year of birth. However, our hypothesis with regard to the age effect is not so much on age in terms of 'life phase', but more in terms of generations and the different experiences of older and younger age groups in their formative years. For our purpose we distinguish six age groups: 18-24; 25-34; 35-44; 45-54; 55-64 and 65-75.

Gender is a dummy variable: 0 = male; 1 = female, but following Hakim, the category of women is further differentiated in order to tap women's commitment to work. She agreed that commitment is hard to measure, but the best available proxy for work commitment at macro level 'seems to be the percentage of women working age who are working full-time' (Hakim 1991:116). At individual level we differentiated between women who were employed and those who were housewives. It remains to be seen if 'housewife' has similar meanings in Europe and Africa even though this category is the result of self-identification of African women.

Level of education is a three-fold division in terms of qualifications attained. For each of these three levels we made a dummy variable. The top category includes all those with post-secondary school qualifications attained, the middle category includes all levels of secondary school qualifications attained and the last category includes all levels of primary school attained as well as those with no formal schooling (see also Inglehart et al. 2004:204).

Income is measured by national income variables which were re-coded into three categories (three dummy variables) in such a way that each category comprises a third of the sample as closely as possible: 1 = lower; 2 = middle; 3 = upper (see also Inglehart et al. 2004:204-210). We also added a category (dummy) for the missing responses on this variable. Income is one of these variables many people do not want to give information on. In order to avoid the number of cases dropping too much in our analyses, we have included this category. It often appears that especially higher income groups are less willing to provide information on their incomes.

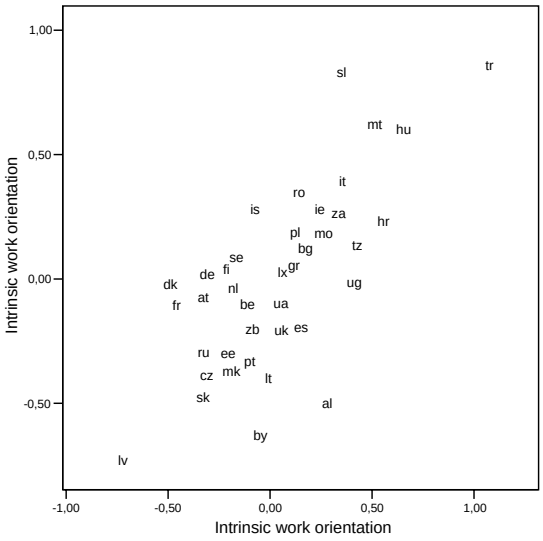
Analytical Strategy

We start with some descriptive analyses comparing the countries' mean scores on both dimensions in order to find patterns in the country positions on the two work orientations. Next, a number of bi-variate analyses at macro- and individual level have been performed to test our hypotheses. Since these analyses reveal that the associations are not similar in Africa, Eastern Europe and Western Europe, we decided to run for each region separately multi-variate regression analysis to test the individual level hypotheses. It turns out that apparently, the context not only affects people's orientations, but also the determinants and the relationships between dependent and independent (determining) variables.

Results

We start our analyses with a comparison of the countries with regard to the two work orientations. The countries' mean scores are displayed in Figure 7.2.

Figure 7.2: Countries' mean Scores on the two Work Dimensions



(r = .388, p = .015; Spearman's rho = .395, p = .013).

Turkey and Latvia appear each other's opposites. In Latvia, the work qualities are far less important than in other countries, whereas in Turkey all work qualities appear important. The patterns in Denmark, France, Germany and Austria are characterised by a stronger emphasis on intrinsic work qualities and less emphasis on extrinsic qualities. Albania seems to represent the more traditional pattern of emphasis on extrinsic work qualities and low emphasis on intrinsic work values. Slovenians appear much in favour of the intrinsic work attributes, but have no strong preferences with regard to extrinsic qualities. People in Belarus share the latter indifference with regard to extrinsic qualities, but they reject intrinsic qualities most of all people. Three of the African countries are not far from each other in their work values. In particular, Uganda and Tanzania are very similar. So, the people in these two African countries are not only geographically close to each other, they are also very similar in their preferences of work attributes. In particular, Zimbabwe appears an exceptional case in the African context. The work value preference in Zimbabwe resembles the preferences in Belgium, while the work value preferences of South Africans is very similar to that of Irish people. At first sight, there are no obvious patterns in the country positions on the two work orientations. No clear distinctions appear between East and West, or Europe versus African countries.

We hypothesised that such differences may be attributed to a number of country characteristics or macro features. In Tables 7.2 and 7.3 we have displayed the simple correlations between the country characteristics and the two work dimensions for the pooled data set and for each region separately.

Table 7.2: Pearson Correlation Coefficients between Country Features and Extrinsic Work Qualities

Correlations	Pooled	W. Europe	E. Europe	Africa
Individualism	0.333*	0.766***	-0.140	-0.244
GINI	0.210	0.522*	-0.134	-0.448
Agriculture	0.356*	0.562**	0.267	0.336
Industry	-0.250	-0.060	-0.339	-0.649
Service	-0.149	-0.348	0.092	-0.037
Development	-0.370*	-0.679**	-0.013	-0.344
Masculinity	0.069	0.405*	-0.599**	-0.295
N	**39**	**18**	**17**	**4**

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

Table 7.3: Pearson Correlation Coefficients between Country Features and Intrinsic Work Qualities

Correlations	Pooled	W. Europe	E. Europe	Africa
Individualism	-0.031	0.459*	-0.102	-0.123
GINI	0.110	0.236	-0.005	0.326
Agriculture	0.001	0.463*	0.052	-0.391
Industry	-0.239	0.049	-0.268	0.096
Service	0.176	-0.360	0.223	0.595
Development	0.066	-0.454*	0.330	0.466
Masculinity	-0.235	0.509*	-0.555**	-0.905*
N	**39**	**18**	**17**	**4**

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

The characteristics of the labour market in terms of employed people in the different economic sectors do not turn out to be important predictors of people's work orientations. It seems that, taking all countries together, in agricultural societies, extrinsic work qualities are more stressed than in less agricultural societies, but contrary to what was expected, societies with large service sectors do not stress intrinsic work orientations more than agricultural or industrial societies. A society's level of development in terms of life quality and wealth seems to affect the extrinsic orientation only. As such, our hypothesis is confirmed that people in more affluent and less vulnerable societies have a lesser tendency towards an intrinsic work orientation than people in less affluent and less secure societies. Also confirmed seems our hypothesis that the more individualistic a society is, the more people are inclined to stress extrinsic qualities in work. The macro features do not seem to affect people's orientation towards work which stresses expressive or intrinsic qualities.

However, the general pattern cannot be substantiated in the three regions. Not only because in Eastern Europe and Africa the correlations appear less strong (and statistically almost never significant), also because the associations in these two regions appear opposite to what is found in Western Europe. For example, in Western Europe, countries that are more masculine stress expressive or intrinsic work qualities, which is opposite to what was expected. In Eastern Europe and in African contexts, that hypothesis can be confirmed. The intrinsic work qualities are emphasised less in more masculine societies. However, our hypothesis that extrinsic work qualities will be stressed in more masculine societies is rejected in Eastern Europe and Africa, but confirmed in Western Europe. It seems as if our arguments 'work' as expected in a Western context, but not in former communist or African contexts.

Individual Determinants

The bi-variate analyses at individual level are simple correlation analyses using Pearson correlation coefficients. These coefficients have been calculated for the pooled data set as well as for the three regions. The results are displayed in Tables 7.4 and 7.5 and Figures 7.2 to 7.5.

The older age groups are not more, but less extrinsic as far as work orientations are concerned. This is opposite to what was expected. In all three regions this is found, whereas in Western Europe (and on the pooled data) the adherence to extrinsic work qualities declines more or less linear with age, in Eastern Europe and Africa this relationship is not linear. In Eastern Europe, people aged 55-64 are (somewhat) more inclined to favour extrinsic work qualities than people aged 45-54. Eastern Europeans between 65 and 75 are far less in favour of such qualities. In Africa, the pattern is even more whimsical. As in Europe, the adherence

is less among older age groups, but there is not a steady decline when one moves from the youngest to the oldest group. The adherence declines, increases, declines steadily and then increases again among the oldest age group.

Table 7.4: Pearson Correlation Coefficients between Individual Characteristics and Extrinsic Work Qualities

	Pooled	**W. Europe**	**E. Europe**	**Africa**
Age 18-24	0.038***	0.031***	0.036***	0.068***
Age 25-34	0.025***	0.032***	0.028***	-0.013
Age 35-44	0.012*	0.014*	0.012	0.003
Age 45-54	-0.010*	-0.008	-0.007	-0.035*
Age 55-64	-0.028***	-0.041***	-0.011	-0.045***
Age 65-75	-0.048***	-0.038***	-0.065***	-0.011
Education low	0.021***	0.040***	0.016*	-0.036*
Education medium	0.012*	-0.011	0.029***	0.037*
Education low	-0.042***	-0.035***	-0.058***	0.000
Income low	-0.004	0.012	-0.005	-0.061
Income middle	0.013**	0.014*	0.006	0.043**
Income high	-0.014**	-0.035***	0.000	0.014
Income missing	0.006	0.011	-0.004	0.012
Female work	0.021***	0.019**	0.040***	-0.048**
Housewife	0.013**	0.012	0.021**	-0.007
Male	-0.017**	-0.015*	-0.024**	0.002
N	36.945	16.683	16.409	3.853
Reference country	**MT**	**TR**	**BY**	**ZA**

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

The hypothesis that housewives stress extrinsic qualities more than working females and males can be substantiated in Europe, but not in Africa. In Africa, males appear more in favour of such qualities than housewives. Contrary to what we expected, African women who are working outside their homes are least in favour of extrinsic work qualities.

Table 7.5: Pearson correlation coefficients between individual characteristics and intrinsic work qualities

	Pooled	**W. Europe**	**E. Europe**	**Africa**
Age 18-24	0.055	0.048***	0.064***	0.050**
Age 25-34	0.043***	0.050***	0.045***	0.004
Age 35-44	0.006	0.004	0.015*	-0.024
Age 45-54	-0.008	- 0.019**	0.005	-0.021
Age 55-64	-0.040***	-0.040***	-0.045***	-0.014
Age 65-75	-0.073***	-0.057***	-0.097***	-0.020
Education low	-0.137***	-0.138***	-0.151***	-0.079***
Education medium	0.045***	0.038***	0.049***	0.060***
Education low	0.113***	0.121***	0.119***	0.040**
Income low	-0.086***	-0.072***	-0.085***	-0.139***
Income middle	-0.007	-0.019**	-0.005	0.036*
Income high	0.082***	0.078***	0.095***	0.045**
Income missing	0.015**	0.016*	-0.010	0.084***
Female work	0.019***	0.021**	0.035***	-0.055***
Housewife	-0.042***	-0.053***	-0.040***	-0.002
Male	0.038***	0.031***	0.053***	0.006
N	36.945	16.683	16.409	3.853
Reference country	**MT**	**TR**	**BY**	**ZA**

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Contrary to our expectation is also that people with higher levels of education in Africa turn out to be more inclined to stress the importance of extrinsic work qualities. In Europe the relationship is reversed, although far from linear. In particular, the upper levels of education in Europe are not so much in favour of extrinsic work qualities.

A similar opposite result is found with regard to income categories. The higher income groups in Western Europe stress such extrinsic qualities least. In Africa, however, such qualities are stressed more by middle and high-income groups.

The multi-variate regression analyses that we performed for each region separately show that the explanations for individual differences in extrinsic work orientation do, indeed, differ in Africa from what is found in European countries. The individual socio-demographic characteristics are of less importance in African context than in European context and some of the effects are reversed in Africa to what is found in Europe. While in Europe working females stress extrinsic work qualities more, in the African context, working women stress such qualities less than men and housewives. In Africa, middle and higher income earners are more in favour of extrinsic work attributes, while in Europe income hardly affects this work orientation. In Europe, the age factor and level of education appear important attributes to understand the differences in this extrinsic work orientation. These factors do not matter in the African context.

Figure 7.3: Comparing Work Orientations in Regions between Age Groups

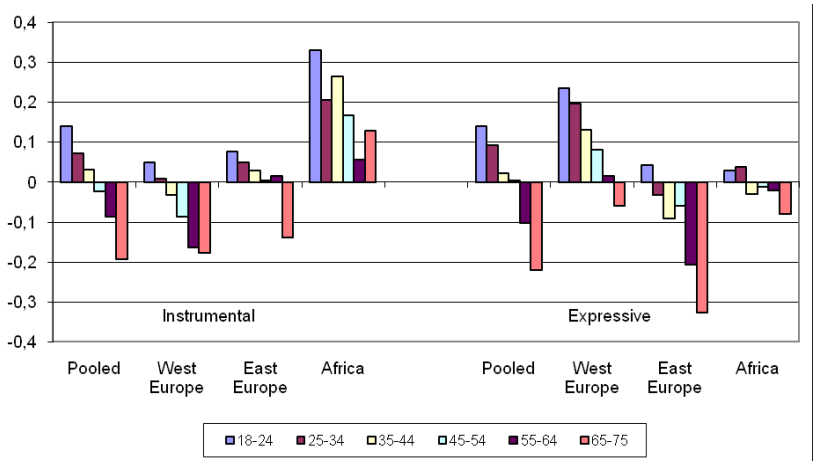


Figure 7.4: Comparing Work Orientations in Regions between Education Levels

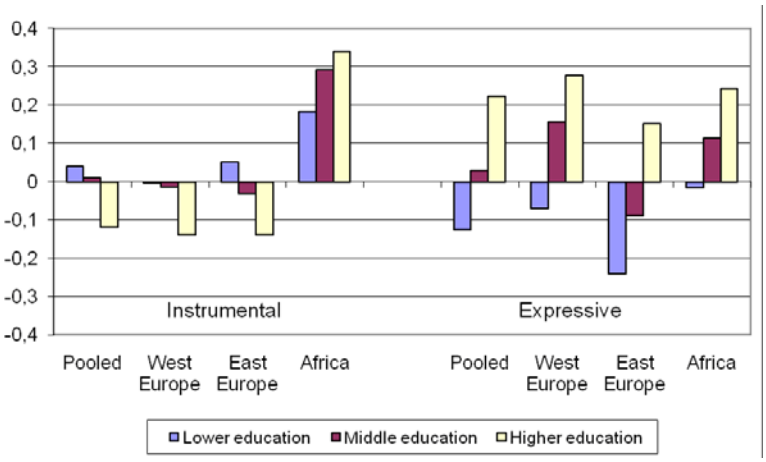


Figure 7.5: Comparing Work Orientations in Regions between Income Levels

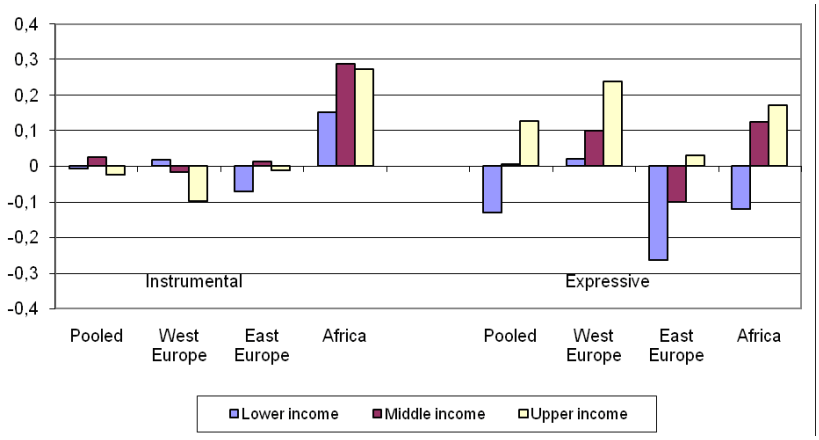
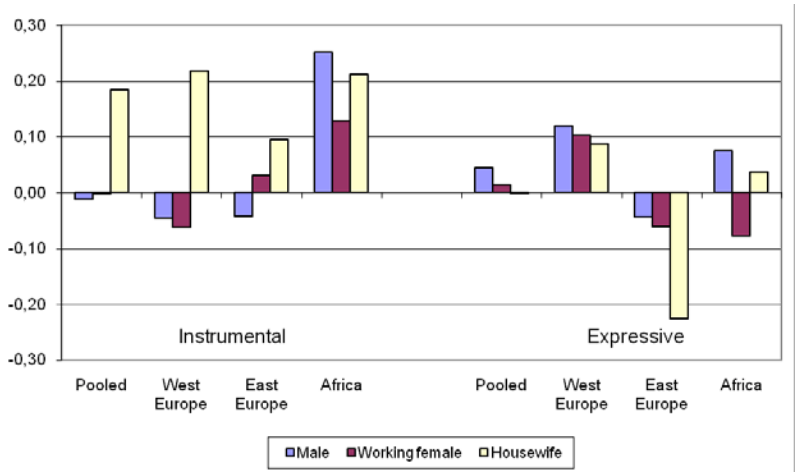


Figure 7.6: Comparing Work Orientations in Regions between Gendered Groups



With regard to the intrinsic work orientation, it seems clear that age has the effect as predicted: older people find such qualities less important than younger people. In Africa the various age groups do not differ much. As expected, housewives in Europe are least in favour of such intrinsic work attributes at least when compared with men and working females. The differences are bigger in Eastern Europe than in Western Europe. In Africa, housewives resemble the men in this respect; and working females appear to stress such qualities much lesser than men and housewives. Level of education has an effect as expected in all three regions:

people with higher levels of education are much more in favor of such intrinsic work values than those with lower levels of education; and the same counts for income: the higher the income the more such intrinsic work qualities are considered important.

Multi-variate regression analyses performed for each region separately reveal interesting differences not only between Africa and Europe, but also in Europe between Eastern and Western European countries. The age differences are particularly important in Eastern European context. In Western Europe income differences appear slightly more important. In Africa, age is not important, but education and income appear to generate similar effects as in Europe. In both contexts, intrinsic work qualities are stressed more by people with higher education and those from higher-income groups. As such, our hypotheses are confirmed.

Work Ethos in Southern Africa Analysed

Work ethos is often portrayed as a determining factor in the economic success of a country, individuals and communities. It is seen as a factor in productivity, corruption, saving patterns and consumer behaviour at least. How work ethos compares to other important determining factors in economic success cannot be decided here. However, work ethos develops in a context in which many different processes and aspects may create the conditions for a particular work ethos or make another work ethos difficult to sustain. We would like to look at religion as one specific aspect of the context that is often deemed an important factor in the development and maintenance of a particular work ethos. In the past, it has often been argued that religion would be a determining factor for the development of a particular work ethos. We investigate this matter in a comparison between three Southern African countries and on the basis of the data provided in the survey of the 1999/2000 World Values Survey. Considering the importance of being able to control for the influence of other social dimensions of the context when investigating the role of religion in work ethos, we intended to take into account a number of other macro social dimensions of possible difference between the three African countries. This proved to be an unrealistic aspiration for our study as comparable data for a large enough sample of Southern Africa does not exist and the conclusion of the first part of the survey destroys most of the expectations that structure the usefulness of such multi-level analysis.

Our strategy is to focus simply on the claim that religion has an important influence on work ethos. We discuss the Weberian origins of this claim, some recent research on the matter and some competing theories as to the relationship between work ethos and religion. However, Weber enables us to define particular aspects of religion that should be considered in our analysis and that helps us establish an empirical argument about the matter. However, we have to define

Table 7.6a: Results Regression Analysis Extrinsic Work Orientation

	Pooled			West Europe			East Europe			Africa		
	B	**SE**	**Beta**	**B**	**SE**	**Beta**	**B**	**SE**	**Beta**			
(Constant)	0.416***	0.036		0.902***	0.041		-0.240***	0.037		0.237*	0.104	0.065
Age 18-24	0.247***	0.020	0.091	0.230***	0.030	0.081	0.257***	0.029	0.092	0.148	0.101	0.015
Age 25-34	0.210***	0.019	0.086	0.211***	0.028	0.087	0.227***	0.029	0.090	0.033	0.100	0.026
Age 35-44	0.179***	0.019	0.073	0.170***	0.028	0.069	0.189***	0.028	0.077	0.063	0.101	-0.010
Age 45-54	0.129***	0.020	0.049	0.113***	0.028	0.043	0.153***	0.028	0.060	-0.031	0.105	-0.025
Age 55-64	0.071***	0.020	0.024	0.011	0.029	0.004	0.141***	0.028	0.050	-0.101	0.112	-0.047
Male	-0.014	0.014	-0.007	0.007	0.023	0.004	-0.005	0.019	-0.002	-0.096*	0.045	0.003
Education medium	-0.067***	0.012	-0.033	-0.113***	0.018	-0.055	-0.061**	0.018	-0.031	0.006	0.038	0.000
Education high	-0.158***	0.016	-0.060	-0.148***	0.022	-0.060	-0.208***	0.024	-0.079	0.001	0.072	-0.073
Female work	0.030	0.016	0.013	0.041	0.026	0.018	0.087***	0.024	0.038	-0.176**	0.053	-0.027
Housewife	0.024	0.021	0.007	0.035	0.029	0.012	0.056	0.035	0.013	-0.101	0.071	0.066
Income middle	0.018	0.013	0.009	-0.005	0.020	-0.002	0.002	0.019	0.001	0.153***	0.043	0.048
Income high	-0.014	0.014	-0.006	-0.070*	0.022	-0.030	-0.002	0.020	-0.001	0.121*	0.050	0.030
Income missing	0.005	0.017	0.002	-0.005	0.023	-0.002	-0.031	0.031	-0.008	0.074	0.050	
R^2	0.019			0.026			0.019			0.014		
Adjusted R^2	0.018			0.025			0.018			0.011		
R^2 with country dummies	0.131			0.146			0.132			0.038		
Adjusted R^2 with country dummies	0.130			0.145			0.130					0.034

Table 7.6b: Results Regression Analysis Extrinsic Work Orientation

	Pooled			West Europe			East Europe			Africa		
	B	**SE**	**Beta**	**B**	**SE**	**Beta**	**B**	**SE**	**Beta**			
(Constant)	0.416***	0.036		0.902***	0.041		-0.240***	0.037		0.237*	0.104	0.065
Age 18-24	0.247***	0.020	0.091	0.230***	0.030	0.081	0.257***	0.029	0.092	0.148	0.101	0.015
Age 25-34	0.210***	0.019	0.086	0.211***	0.028	0.087	0.227***	0.029	0.090	0.033	0.100	0.026
Age 35-44	0.179***	0.019	0.073	0.170***	0.028	0.069	0.189***	0.028	0.077	0.063	0.101	-0.010
Age 45-54	0.129***	0.020	0.049	0.113***	0.028	0.043	0.153***	0.028	0.060	-0.031	0.105	-0.025
Age 55-64	0.071***	0.020	0.024	0.011	0.029	0.004	0.141***	0.028	0.050	-0.101	0.112	-0.047
Male	-0.014	0.014	-0.007	0.007	0.023	0.004	-0.005	0.019	-0.002	-0.096*	0.045	0.003
Education medium	-0.067***	0.012	-0.033	-0.113***	0.018	-0.055	-0.061**	0.018	-0.031	0.006	0.038	0.000
Education high	-0.158***	0.016	-0.060	-0.148***	0.022	-0.060	-0.208***	0.024	-0.079	0.001	0.072	-0.073
Female work	0.030	0.016	0.013	0.041	0.026	0.018	0.087***	0.024	0.038	-0.176**	0.053	-0.027
Housewife	0.024	0.021	0.007	0.035	0.029	0.012	0.056	0.035	0.013	-0.101	0.071	0.066
Income middle	0.018	0.013	0.009	-0.005	0.020	-0.002	0.002	0.019	0.001	0.153***	0.043	0.048
Income high	-0.014	0.014	-0.006	-0.070*	0.022	-0.030	-0.002	0.020	-0.001	0.121*	0.050	0.030
Income missing	0.005	0.017	0.002	-0.005	0.023	-0.002	-0.031	0.031	-0.008	0.074	0.050	
R^2	0.019			0.026			0.019			0.014		
Adjusted R^2	0.018			0.025			0.018			0.011		
R^2 with country dummies	0.131			0.146			0.132			0.038		
Adjusted R^2 with country dummies	0.130			0.145			0.130					0.034

work ethos as well. In a second section we seek a normative but non-religious definition of work ethos that can be operationalised given the data sources that we have.

The third section is a discussion of the individual aspects that may play a role in the development of a particular work ethos – like age, gender and level of education.

However, before we get to this we need to reflect on the place of religion in development in order to place the discussion of work ethos and religion in a broader context.

Religion and Development in African Society

Religion and development have been tied together at least since Karl Marx argued that the liberation of humankind will only take place if religion and philosophy can be understood to be reflections of human desires and suffering and that a new theology should make man 'the highest being for man' (McLellan 1977:73). This is the context of the discussion of religion as the 'opium of the people'. The question is how Germany will be liberated and the answer is that religion needs to be unmasked for what it is, philosophy should become active rather than abstract and the proletariat should be aligned with the aims of the revolution. The suffering which religion is an expression of can be equated with the poverty of a society. But most importantly, the kind of philosophy that is needed is a philosophy that sets the consciousness free. How does one locate the question of work and labour in this starting point?

The very simple point is that religion, as a source of motivations and orientations has to be reflected on in a study of the role of values in development. Furthermore, work and labour are critical elements of socio-economic development and the role of religion in the mobilisation of work has to be considered. It is already clear in Chapter 4 that the missionaries often had very clear ideas about the role of religion in forming good workers and the convergence between their ideas and the development of a labour force accepting of the new notion of wage-labour is discussed in Chapter 4.

It is in this larger context that the Weberian question on the relation between work ethos and religion can be posed. Max Weber was not interested in proposing a solution to the problem of creating good workers for the industrial complex. He was sociologically and historically describing the interesting coincidence that capitalism and ideas about frugality, hard work and commitment to hard work that was associated with the Protestant theology of early Calvinism seem to support each other. We similarly do not argue for a particular worldview, but would like to investigate the purchasing power of a similar argument in our time, and specifically in Africa. The reason for this is the very clear implication in much of what has been said in the rest of the book that values and culture matter in development.

The Work Ethos and Religion Constructs

One does not have to search very hard to find Western business people claiming that there is an important difference between the work ethos and general work culture in Africa and Europe. Steve Murphy, Managing Director of a large insurance company, speaking at an eminent South African business school, argued that this difference is critical to business in Africa. He differentiates between a South African, approach and an African approach, ignoring the fact that South Africans are also African, and thereby demonstrating the sense of comparing South Africa and other African countries.

'He said with reference to South Africans; "We are not patient." South African businessmen need to learn that patience is a virtue. Our impatience is a big turn-off to potential African partners. There is a much slower business ethos in Africa, in comparison to South Africa… These social rules cover the whole gamut of business and social conduct. African culture is different… In Ghana, the work ethos is slow…' (Heald 2001). One might surmise that his version of South Africans would be pretty pale.

A very different take on the matter comes from philosophical and cultural studies intent on giving perspective on unique aspects of African culture. From a point of departure that takes African community orientation as the most distinct moral and religious framework for African culture, it follows that 'the worker and the community are fused into oneness' (Teffo 1999:162). In fact, Teffo finds a clear difference 'between the African and the European attitude of concept of a worker' in that 'it acknowledges that in each and every normal person, there is a skill, knowledge or expertise potential that can contribute to, and be utilised in, the development and the advancement of the human race' (Teffo 1999:162). The European concept of a worker would presumably not acknowledge this. In all fairness, one has to note that Teffo's argument is pitched in a context of serious unemployment problems in South Africa and may be intended to argue for a re-evaluation of the humanity of workers under such conditions. He argues further that the 'communeocentrism', said to be typical of African work ethics, is 'anti-individualism' that 'relies on equal collective participation in whatever is being done' (Teffo 1999:163). African culture and work ethic is said to be imprinted by the notion of *ubuntu*, i.e. the 'basic respect for human nature as a whole' that is a 'common spiritual ideal by which all black people south of the Sahara give meaning to life and reality' (Teffo 1999:153-154).

Contrasting a European business perspective on African work ethos with that of an African philosopher is useful in that it enables one to get a sense of how much might be in the eye of the beholder. What a European may describe as 'slow' could just as well be described as taking care that all participants are persuaded that a particular decision is the right one. The more fundamental issue is obviously

the alleged anti-individualism of African people. It is then striking that the formulation of both the European businessman and the African philosopher's depiction of African culture and work ethos are so utterly a-historical and, therefore, constitute a reification of culture.

Teffo does not contextualise his own argument about the anti-individualism of African culture. He makes no explicit mention of the impact of changing labour conditions (outsourcing, retrenchment, unemployment rates, etc.) in the South African situation. Moreover, communalism can been seen as is a survival strategy for the poor that is not exclusive to Africa, but can be found amongst the poor across the world as resources are shared within families and communities. The matter is further complicated in South Africa, given the presence of an extensive social welfare programme which results in the congregation of the unemployed around family members that receive government grants. The central concept of *ubuntu* is presented by Teffo as something all Africans share. *Ubuntu* does not seem to have any historical imprint – even if he later argues that moral degeneration of African values in the workplace takes place through the mixing of ethical norms of Western and African origins. It is implied that 'mixing' means degeneration and, thereby, any question about the historical nature of the concept of *ubunthu* is precluded (for a collection of perspectives on the matter see van den Heuvel et al. 2006).

Murphy's comment about the slow work ethos in Ghana is similarly a-historical. No attempt is made to understand whether there is any link between culturally required consultative processes, regulatory pressures, capacity in organisations, infrastructure, etc. and the so-called slow work ethos. There may be a variety of explanations for variations in work ethos and the cultural explanation is itself a construct that requires some unpacking. One does not expect a business person to delve into the complexities of such explanations but the a-historical depiction of an African work ethos is instructive in itself.

A different picture emerges when looking at an in-depth anthropological perspective on the changing definition of productive processes and work in the history of colonial influence in Africa. The colonial and post-colonial relationship between Europe and Africa were not only relationships of material oppression and exploitation but also processes of cultural and religious exchange. Due to the efficacy of modern technology and the political and economic processes, there is no way in which the cultural exchange could be an exchange between equals. The inequality of the cultural process does not make it less interesting to consider though. The case of the Southern Batswana in Southern Africa is a particularly interesting one if one considers the arguments of the Comaroffs about the exchange between Evangelical Protestantism and a particular African society.

They make the case that Evangelical Protestantism 'sought to reconstruct the inner being of the Tswana chiefly on the more humble ground of everyday life, of the routines of production and reproduction' (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992). The discussion of the Methodist and Wesleyan attempts to change the political and gender economy from pastoral agriculture and limited dry-land crop production to an irrigated gardening system is instructive. 'The mission garden, clearly, was also meant as a lesson in the contrast of "labour" and "idleness" – and, no less, in the relative value of male and female work… The men, whose herds were tended by youths and serfs, appeared to be lazy "lords of creation", their political and ritual exertions not signifying "work" to the missionary eye' (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:113, quoting Moffat). However, '[i]n stark contrast to the images of work to be nurtured by the mission, then *tiro* and *itirela* invoked a world in which the making of the person, the accumulation of wealth and rank, and the protection of an autonomous identity were indivisible aspects of social practice' (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991:142-143). The work (*tiro*) that is at stake here is work that creates a social and individual self through being active in society at large.

The truly interesting part of this history is that the history of Methodism in Southern Africa may just as well be taken as part of a larger but structurally similar history of Protestantism in Europe. Industrialisation in Europe had the same dynamics of material and cultural change. E.P.Thompson's celebrated analysis of the making of the English working class proves the point (Thompson 1963). The conclusion, therefore, is that we have every reason to be curious about the effect of such religious interventions in African conceptions of work while we should at the same time also be aware that African work ethic may well carry notions that tie work to a broader and fulfilling notion of identity.

Religious Beliefs and Religious Practice

We need to explain where the fascination with religion and its effects on work ethos came from historically. Max Weber is, of course, seen as the originator of the sociological argument that particular beliefs lead to a particular work ethos. He argued that a partial explanation for the different economic development trajectories of different parts of the world should be sought in the relationship between the content of particular beliefs and capitalism. The beliefs and resultant practices of Protestants and Catholics, Hindus, Confucians, etc. were said to have had a particular influence on work ethos. Although Weber argued that no simple answer will satisfy and noted that that the historical context is obviously important, he saw prescribed practices and beliefs as being underrated aspects of the interaction between religion and economy (Weber 1904/1993:2-3). In fact, he argues that the difference between the Catholic and the Protestant success in the development of Capitalism lay above all in the 'inneren Eigenart… der Konfessionen' (1904/1993:5). Most of the rest of what is today known as the

Protestant Ethic and the 'Spirit' of Capitalism is devoted to an analysis of the practices and beliefs found among Protestants in early capitalism in Europe.

It hardly needs mention that the influence of religion in everyday life and public life in Europe has seen a steady decline over the past decades (Dobbelaere 1981; Wilson 1982). In Eastern and Central Europe, religion and religious organisations were put under severe pressure during the Communist era and we are now seeing a resurgence of religion in some countries. The patterns are not the same everywhere, as religion in some formerly Catholic countries now has significant public and everyday life influence while in other countries this is not the case. The same variety of post-Communist religious patterns can be seen in formerly Orthodox, Muslim and mixed-religion countries (Casanova 1994). These changes mean that even in Europe the Protestant ethic cannot be expected to find clear expression – even if Weber was correct about its role in early capitalism. However, the more fundamental question of the influence of religion as a source of moral ideas and notions of duty and meaning in work remains interesting – especially in the African context where African Christianity (Gifford 1998) and African Islam (Rosander and Westerlund 1997) have grown rather than declined.

Rachel McCleary and Robert Barro's article (2003) outlining an empirical and comparative case for the respective effects of religious service attendance and religious beliefs on economic growth is relevant to positioning our research here. They conclude that economic growth responds positively to religious beliefs, but negatively to religious service attendance and that 'these results accord with a model in which religious beliefs influence individual traits that enhance economic performance' (2003:760). They then conjecture that 'stronger religious beliefs stimulate growth because they help sustain specific individual behaviours that enhance productivity' and foresee that it would be useful to examine 'the links between religious beliefs and individual behaviors or values, such as… honesty, thrift, work ethic, and openness to strangers' (2003:779).

There is a difference between values and behaviour and, therefore, the causality that Barro and McCleary suppose in their conjecture as to the factors that determine economic growth may be too complex to decide. We limit ourselves to one aspect of the argument and that is the supposed links between religious beliefs and practices and work ethos. The specific values that McCleary and Barro name are listed as 'honesty, thrift, work ethic and openness to strangers'. This can be translated as having three components, i.e. work ethos, particular values or attitudes (honesty and thrift) and what may be defined as potential bridging social capital (openness to strangers may lead to networks that cut across existing social relations, i.e. bridging social capital (Beugelsdijk and Smulders 2003)). We will only be investigating the work ethos dimension of the equation. An investigation as to the link between religious beliefs and individual behaviour lies outside the scope of our investigation.

The question then remains, are Barro and McCleary guessing correctly that particular religious beliefs support a particular work ethos? They found that economic growth responds positively to religious beliefs but negatively to 'church attendance', and work ethos is seen as a possible intervening variable. We, therefore, need to distinguish beliefs and religious service attendance. In fact, we would like to investigate a slightly wider spectrum of religious activities in our analysis. Religious service attendance is one aspect of a composite of practices including membership of any religious organisation as such, unpaid voluntary work in religious organisations and prayer, among others. We would also like to draw the notion of belief a little wider to distinguish particular objects of belief like God or some supernatural being or force, heaven, hell, life after death, etc. as well as membership of particular denominations and religions (as particular religious traditions are associated with particular beliefs even if not all members hold the orthodox line). We would then also like to distinguish a further aspect, namely religiosity. This dimension would include aspects of religion that would not necessarily be excised in a formal context. They include defining yourself as a religious person, saying that you derive comfort and strength from your religion, saying that God is important in your life, etc. Lastly, we would also like to see what the effects of different kinds of religion-state relationships are. Here, we would like to be looking at the effect of religious freedom and religious pluralism. The practical problem is that the available data in the sets that we have do not allow all of these additional ideas, and we are restricted to religious denomination and two constructs for intensity of religious belief and time spent on religious practices.

But first one has to sketch out the religious situation that is at issue. It is assumed in the analysis that work ethos is of religious origin to some extent. This assumption relates to the Weberian argument. We are interested in the role of religion in African work ethos in the current context. That means a number of other dimensions have to be noted. First of all, African religion is not only Protestant or Catholic. It is also Muslim and traditional. African religion is also a fluid mixture of these traditions, and it may be wholly spurious to analyse denominational influence with the expectation that these denominations relate to distinct groupings and influences. Furthermore, African religion is a complex interaction between traditional religion of a local nature and 'foreign' religion in the forms of Catholic and Protestant mission and Muslim increase over time. Lastly, African communities have also been affected to various degrees by the processes of secularisation, secular socialism of various kinds and industrialisation and modernisation in general.

Data, Measurements and Analytical Strategy

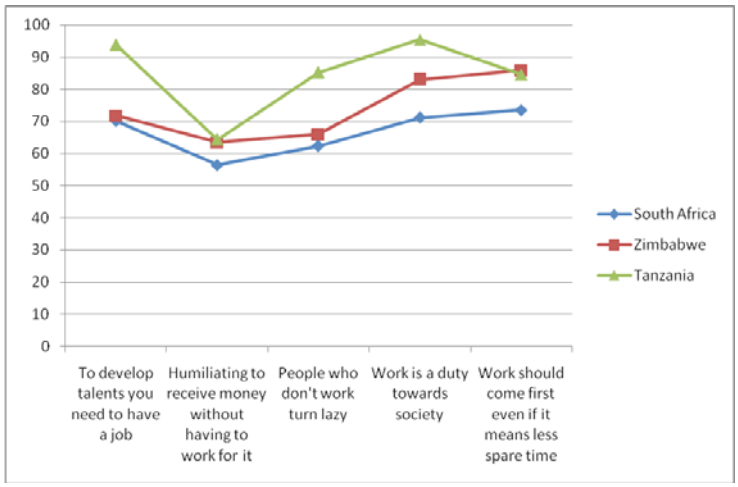
The data which we have available comes from the World Values Survey 1999-2000. Only three countries from Southern Africa – South Africa (3,000), Zimbabwe (1,002) and the Republic of Tanzania (1,171 – excluding Zanzibar) –

were surveyed and only South Africa had been surveyed previously.[10] This takes away the option of analysing any changes over time and limits the claims that can be made about Southern Africa as a region and Africa as a whole. The sampling has already been described in the previous section.

The first step is the evaluation of work ethos items. The items were taken as possible indicators of the relative intensity of commitment to work, and thus work ethos responses on a five-point scale to the statements indicated in Figure 7.6. On the basis of the pattern of analysis established by De Witte upon using the European Values Study survey data (De Witte 1992; Vandoorne and De Witte 2003), we constructed a factor analysis of five items, dealing with dimensions that indicate commitment and perspectives on work that could be read together as signifying work ethos. On first glance, the three African countries in our analysis seem to have high scores on work ethos items. However, these matters are always relative, and a comparison with the rest of the world would be an important step in testing that impression. The object here is a comparison between the three African countries though.

It is clear that all three countries present similar structures of work commitment and work ethos, with the country with the highest poverty levels at the time scoring the highest on the items and the country with the highest average income and most developed formal economy (material advancement clearly dependent on formal employment) scoring the lowest.

Figure 7.7: The positions of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Tanzania with Respect to the Items of Work Ethos (Percentage of the respondents that agree or strongly agree)



The factor score for Zimbabwe at least is clearly a problem (Table 7.7) and the Zimbabwe analysis is therefore in doubt from the beginning.

Table 7.7: Work Ethos Factor Analysis

	South Africa	Zimbabwe	Tanzania	All Three Countries
	Rotated Factor Loadings			
To develop your talents you need to have a job	0.64540	0.50318	0.65526	0.65520
Humiliating to receive money without having to work	0.47804	0.64724	0.53504	0.52004
People who don't work turn lazy	0.45393	0.51693	0.70820	0.65559
Work is a duty towards society	0.61840	0.48855	0.75138	0.69662
Work should come first even if it means less spare time	0.58602	0.45267	0.60220	0.56080
Cronbach's Alpha	0.5249	0.3337	0.6092	0.5942

The relationship between work ethos and religion is the primary interest of this section. Therefore, we tried to get as close as possible to a sensible analysis of religious aspects as we could. Two kinds of arguments pertain. One is the Weberian argument and the other is the more recent Barro and McCleary argument.

In terms of the Weberian thesis on the Protestant ethic, an association of a specific kind may be expected between Protestant or similar religious worldviews and a high work ethos. We need to remember that the African version of Protestantism cannot be what Weber was analysing when he proposed his study more than a century ago. Thereforee, the expectation is that there may be some positive or negative effect emanating from specific religious denominations, depending on a variation of outlook on savings, thriftiness and deferred gratification. We would specifically expect a high work ethos from religious worldviews that value the accumulation of material wealth as a sign of religious commitment or purity. The Protestantism of Weber's time could not be the only candidate for such a worldview. We would hypothesise that the so-called prosperity gospel (Gifford 1998) may have had an effect in Pentecostal and Evangelical circles where it is found most purchase, as this seems to have been the case both

in Africa and in Latin America (Corten and Marshall-Fratani 2001). In terms of the Prosperity Gospel, wealth is a sign of faith and a reward for belief.

The Barro and McCleary argument calls for a seemingly simple analysis of time spent in religious practice and intensity of religious belief. A valid and reliable analysis of these items is difficult in principle as the notion of religious practice is quite wide (it could be very significant or insignificant whether weekly religious services are attended as these could be very long – many African Christian services are; or very brief or very central to religious practice – Catholic church services are; or almost unknown – many forms of traditional African religion do not have a service that takes place on a regular basis); and the intensity of beliefs difficult to measure with a scale of increasing difficulty in view of the increasing variety of cultural expression (Clarke 2001; Van Herk et al. 2004).

The practical problems of constructing valid and reliable indices of intensity of religious belief and time spent in religious practice proved even more difficult than the conceptual problems. We constructed a factor analysis proxy for religious belief by taking belief in God, life after death, people having a soul, hell and heaven as collective indicators of intensity of belief. These items are notoriously bound to the culture and religion of Western Christianity and have been in use in the World Values Survey since its inception. An alternative is not available and despite our reservations on a substantive level, a statistically agreeable factor reduction of intensity of belief could be executed for the three countries (Table 7.8). The fact that the work ethos factor is not deemed to be reliable in the case of Zimbabwe means that the eventual regressions for this country will have to be discounted, though.

Table 7.8: Belief Factor Analysis

	South Africa	**Zimbabwe**	**Tanzania**	**All Three Countries**
	Rotated Factor Loadings			
Belief in God	0.36807	0.36040	0.54001	0.45296
Belief in Life After Death	0.68300	0.68085	0.77817	0.71704
Belief in: People have a Soul	0.68743	0.65527	0.76736	0.70681
Belief in Hell	0.73836	0.77060	0.87157	0.78167
Belief in Heaven	0.71889	0.81790	0.82018	0.77727
Cronbach's Alpha	0.6968	0.6958	0.8155	0.7297

The standard procedure for religious practice analysis would be to take the items that indicate the time spent on religious ceremonies and procedures and form a factor analysis from that. The three items that were available for the three countries were limited to answers to the questions on 'how often do you attend' religious services, take moments of prayer, meditation; and pray to God outside of religious services. Not only is this a small number of items, but items are very much couched in the frame of Western Christianity. It is, therefore, no wonder that the barely acceptable Cronbach alpha score of the religious belief factor score was here followed up with a factor score that proves that the data reduction for religious practice was not successful in the case of Tanzania (Table 7.9).

Table 7.9: Religious Practice Factor Analysis

	South Africa	**Zimbabwe**	**Tanzania**	**All Three Countries**
	Rotated Factor Loadings			
How often do you attend religious services?	0.78196	0.84607	0.82162	0.80717
Moments of prayer, meditation	-0.68298	-0.77417	-0.09668	-0.64272
Pray to God outside of religious services	0.85673	0.89609	0.82371	0.85555
Cronbach's Alpha	0.5970	0.6639	0.3785	0.5874

Because of the disappointing results on the data-reduction attempt at constructing an indicator for religious practice, we decided to at least use the average of the two items that seemed to be most associated and created a proxy item for religious practice per country by taking the average of attendance of services and praying outside of services (Table 7.10). We are not satisfied that this carries the weight of the Barro and McCleary notion of time spent on religious practices, but through the summative factor we were at least able to create a variable that has some reliability.

Table 7.10: Mean Factor Scores and Averages

	Work Ethos	Belief	Religious Practice
South Africa	-0.0348501	0.3086758	2.092208
Zimbabwe	-0.0109466	0.1814599	1.73268
Tanzania	0.0317047	0.0304777	1.781296
All Three Countries	**0.1499098**	**0.1406586**	**1.95922**

The next logical step was to explore the significance of individual characteristics that are directly related to the arguments about the origins of work ethos and then control for individual characteristics that are more or less standard for such regressions (age, gender, educational level and class – and seeing that the data is from the World Values Survey, the Materialism-Postmaterialism dimension). We then added aspects that would be associated with the question of work, namely occupation and level of responsibility.

Results

We cannot expect much from correlation or the regression analyses, as the constructs are not reliable in all cases and will have to be disregarded systematically, but we did find some interesting results for specific religious denominations and for religion as a category of explanatory variables when considering work ethos as a whole on aggregate level. We present the results on two phases with the first focus on religion and work ethos only, and then a regression analysis for the individual countries and for the aggregate of the three countries.

The fact that the aggregate analyses have been presented from the first table and figure does not mean that we consider such an aggregate to be significant on its own. What is significant is that an analysis of three countries in the region differs very much from an analysis for the aggregate. One important factor to explain that variance is, of course, the comparative size of the South African sample, but this would not account for the variation throughout. We consider the variance between the three individual countries and the aggregate analyses to be a warning for continental and regional analyses that work with large data-sets across seemingly coherent regions or continents. It is clear that the data reduction works better when considering aggregate data of different countries. It is also clear that seeming significant patterns are found in the regional data. Figure 2 shows that only the Protestant group seem to be associated positively with the positive work ethos of South Africans. We cannot take Zimbabwe into account in this analysis and we then find a seemingly clear situation in Tanzania where Muslims associate negatively with work ethos. When we consider the aggregate picture, we suddenly

seem to find massive confirmation of an extended Weberian thesis in that Protestants and Evangelicals are associated with high work ethos (Independent African Churches as well) and Catholics and Muslims not. Part of the problem emanates from the use of Zimbabwe in the aggregate data while it is clear that the work ethos construct is inadequate there. However, such detail can get lost in large continental comparisons based on items that were formulated in secular Europe and meant to elicit understanding of that situation!

Figure 7.8: Mean Work Ethos Factor Scores by Religion For Each Country

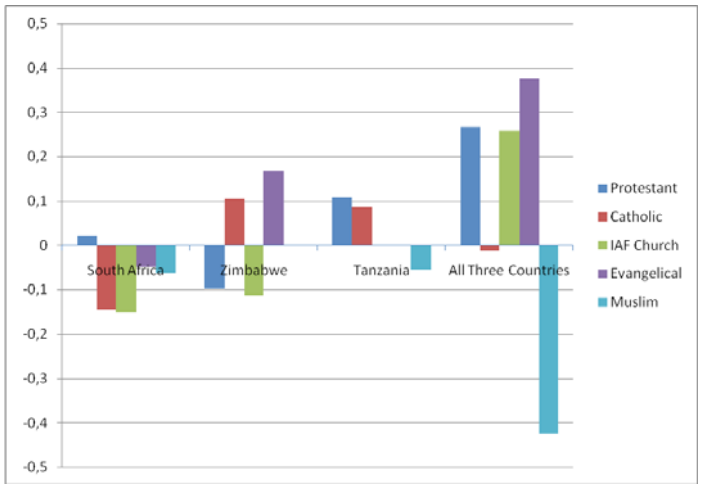


Figure 7.7 attempts to display more detail by combining the denominational and faith categorisation with the religious belief and practice aspects. The data was divided by splitting the belief and practice items on the point of their mean. From this, it seems as if South Africa and Tanzania have significantly different belief structures, but relatively similar practice structures, in that Tanzanian belief patterns are (irrespective of denomination) strongly negative to work ethos, confirming the Barro-McCleary idea, while South Africa is only relatively negative on that relationship. The pattern switches around, seemingly dramatically on the aggregate of the three countries. The real question is the source of that relationship and for that reason the regression analyses are presented as well.

Figure 7.9: Mean Work Ethos Factor Scores by Religion, Religious Practice and Belief for Each Country

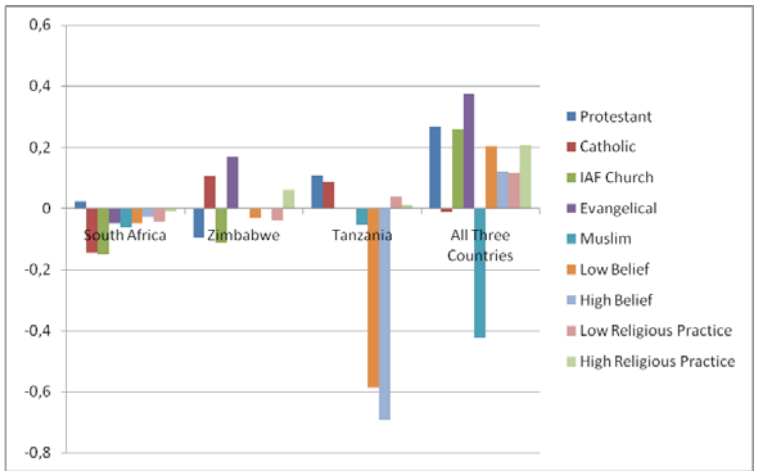


Table 7.11 presents the regression analysis. Due to Zimbabwe's religious ethos factor not being reliable, we discount Zimbabwe's results here as well. It is interesting, that with one exception, no item seems to contribute in significant manner to the Zimbabwe work ethos, if what we are measuring there is indeed in any way related to the Zimbabwean work ethos. Tanzania also delivers no confirmation of the hypotheses regarding the relationship between denomination, intensity of beliefs or time spent on religious practices. The only country that confirms any of the aspects of the theory regarding work ethos and religion is South Africa. The constructs are more or less satisfactory and Protestants seem to be inclined to be the ones who also have a relatively high work ethos.

One cannot explain here, and on the basis of material that we have before us, why Protestants and Catholics are not significant in explaining work ethos and why Evangelicals and Independent African Churches are significantly linked to a high work ethos in the regression analysis. We have speculated on the possible dynamics regarding religion and work ethos among Evangelicals. It may be that a significant part of the Independent churches are independent in the historical sense – i.e. independent of the founding churches like the Methodist, Presbyterian, Anglican and other early missionary churches from which the South African independent churches split off, but not independent of the influence of American Zionist churches that are also often the sources of Prosperity Gospel themes that echo in the Pentecostal and Evangelical churches (Meyer 2004a). On the other hand, it may also be that the self-sufficiency themes that contributed to these

churches becoming independent originally are continued in economic and work terms. The Zionist churches in South Africa are similar to the Aladura in Nigeria and the main characteristics are summarised by Ukah as being i) self-financing, ii) self-governance and, iii) self-supporting (Ukah 2007:8). Both these types of explanation could be useful and should be investigated.

The other interesting contradictory finding is that high religious practice, even though we know that the construct is not particularly reliable for what it was meant to elicit, is strongly associated with high work ethos. One can at least argue that it does not confirm the Barro-McCleary arguments, neither on the level of the impact of intensity of belief, nor on the level of time spent on religious practice.

When considering the other aspects that are significant, the role of class seems clear in the case of middle class and up having a high work ethos and unskilled and skilled manual labour having a low work ethos. The mixed category in the materialism-postmaterialism dimension is nothing less than awkward for the theory if the extremes of that dimension are not significant at all. It means that the dimension measures something that is significant but the defining parameters of the dimension is not what is at stake. We will not consider the gender aspect again here. The arguments about the relatively confused state of conclusions in this regard have been presented in the section on work orientations.

With its very specific history of social, cultural, legal and religious divisions in terms of ethnically-constructed identities, the South African data predictably has information on the ethnic differences and these were tested in the analysis. They are significant and the most important pattern that can be found is the difference between English-speaking and vernacular language groups, with the mostly white and mixed decent group making up most of the English group. This group seems to be highly associated with a high work ethos while the rest are associated mostly with a low work ethos. This would probably be taken as a confirmation of the views Murphy on business people in Ghana. We have shown how difficult and dependent on selected items and meaning of the items in particular groups and context such views are, and take the result to confirm only that in terms of the factor constructed, a significant difference is shown.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we have explored work orientations and work ethos in Europe and Africa. Although for most people on the two continents work is (still) highly important, and in the three countries that we investigated on the work ethos aspect it seems as if work ethos is high, the contexts differ in so many respects that differences in work orientations and work ethos were to be expected.

As such, we opted for a most dissimilar systems design in the continental comparison (Przeworski and Teune 1970). Such a design enables researchers to eliminate apparently irrelevant factors to explain differences in a certain dependent variable. We also explored the notion of work ethos and its religious associations in social theory and economic analysis to some extent.

Work orientations and work ethos have been investigated before in numerous studies and publications, but such studies were merely confined to countries and populations of the Western world. A very well-known and often applied distinction is made in extrinsic or extrinsic and expressive or intrinsic work orientations. A very well-know category of relative work ethos exists as well. The two work orientations are linked to ideas of modernisation of society in the sense that modernisation means that extrinsic or extrinsic work gradually declines in importance while expressive or intrinsic work attributes become increasingly important. One of the issues to be addressed, of course, is whether similar developments can be expected to have occurred also in other than Western contexts and, further, if similar work orientations can be found in very different contexts? The work ethos argument is part of another notion associated with modernisation, i.e. secularisation through religious transformation.

Our analyses suggest that, indeed, intrinsic and extrinsic work orientations can be found in African countries and that the meaning and interpretation resembles the meaning and interpretation in Europe to a large extent. The two orientations appear highly similar so that comparisons can be made. The notion of work ethos seems to work on an aggregate level, but we are not confident that the construct is valid across countries.

The comparisons on work orientation and the less successful work ethos comparisons, however, do not yield a clear and obvious pattern. Africans do not appear to have exceptional or unusual orientations compared with Europeans with regard to work orientation; and Africans do not seem to have a clearly religious origin in their work ethos – for as much as we can use that construct. European countries are much more extreme in their work orientations. Latvia and Turkey, for example, are each other's opposites, while African countries display more modest positions on both work dimensions. At the same time, the work ethos aggregate analysis indicates that internal differences may be smoothed out unduly if a regional or continental analysis is done.

When considering the work orientation analysis, it is not a big surprise that the countries' features do not explain much in the differences between African and European countries. We argued that differences in work orientations could be attributed to country differences in the degree to which populations are individualised, 'developed', masculine, working in agriculture, industry or services and living in equal or more unequal societies. It may be due to a poor

Table 7.11: Regression Analysis

Dependent Variable: Work Ethos (SA)	South Africa		Zimbabwe		Tanzania		All Three Countries	
Explanatory Variables	**Coefficient**	**A.V.S+**	**Coefficient**	**A.V.S**	**Coefficient**	**A.V.S**	**Coefficient**	**A.V.S**
Education and Experience Variables								
Education Years	0.0002298	0.03	0.0258792	1.73	-0.0100134	0.83	-0.0053383	1.00
Potential Experience	(-0.008553)*	2.22	0.0145975	1.84	-0.0000513	0.01	-0.0031112	1.07
Post-Materialism Index								
Mixed	0.17195**	3.44	0.0427529	0.46	0.0110649	0.12	0.0494725	1.38
Post-Materialism	-0.020361	0.20	-0.1527914	0.85	-0.3192825	1.11	-0.0852984	1.11
Social Class Variables								
Upper Class	(-0.5054442)**	3.15	(-1.301646)*	2.25	0.1575239	0.56	-0.2486411	1.91
Upper Middle Class	0.2031878**	2.61	0.0710238	0.38	0.387206**	2.64	0.216584**	3.79
Lower Middle Class	0.3783031**	5.22	-0.0878125	0.84	0.155433	1.31	0.0704844	1.56
Working Class	-0.0341257	0.50	-0.1299979	0.96	0.3145565*	2.45	-0.0758959	1.57
Employment Variables								
Employer/Manager Cat 1	0.1578803	0.78	-0.8740672	1.64	0.1423267	0.38	0.0652337	0.40
Employer/Manager Cat 2	0.5852225**	4.10	0.702523	0.91	1.375123	1.63	0.8866249**	5.90
Professional	0.0554248	0.48	0.4715981*	2.17	-0.2152193	1.28	-0.1036627	1.40
Supervisory	-0.1315179	1.14	0.5472015	1.86	-0.1840856	0.75	0.0616153	0.66
Office worker	-0.0744553	0.78	-0.110457	0.32	(-0.3866747)*	2.32	(-0.1841107)*	2.43
Foreman	-0.4022279	2.02	-0.3677639	0.68	-0.1612334	0.52	-0.2080455	1.35

Table 7.11: Regression Analysis (Continued)

Dependent Variable: Work Ethos (SA)	**South Africa**		**Zimbabwe**		**Tanzania**		**All Three Countries**	
Explanatory Variables	**Coefficient**	**A.V.S+**	**Coefficient**	**A.V.S**	**Coefficient**	**A.V.S**	**Coefficient**	**A.V.S**
Skilled Manual Labourer	(-0.2868954)**	2.92	0.0861362	0.42	-0.1428133	0.76	-0.0086545	0.12
Unskilled Manual Labourer	(-0.2252852)*	2.16	0.2114362	1.05	0.0076423	0.03	0.2054601*	2.58
Semi-Skilled Manual Labourer	-0.1103182	1.44	0.3115313	1.93	0.61331	1.26	0.1565654*	2.53
Farmer	-0.0449101	0.09	-0.540749	0.90	(-0.318427)*	2.12	(-0.5384679)**	5.77
Agricultural Worker	-0.3146217	1.87	0.0270013	0.19	-0.3559171	0.82	0.0277196	0.42
Armed Forces	-0.1900488	0.89	-0.5220403	1.60	-0.2233339	0.78	-0.2227617	1.72
Unemployed	-0.0389896	0.67	0.2952747*	2.26	0.3219039*	2.53	0.1087623*	2.40
Belief Variables								
Protestant	0.1385006	1.21	-0.0954851	0.78	0.0445943	0.42	0.4060122**	6.73
Catholic	0.0327099	0.25	-	-	0.0246497	0.24	0.2604675**	4.08
Independent African Church	0.6027161**	4.67	-0.1320374	1.01	-	-	0.577812**	8.22
Evangelical	0.4839887 **	3.88	0.1292545	0.89	-	-	0.6808186**	9.27
Belief (SA)	0.0388344	1.27	0.1405543*	2.53	-0.0156758	0.35	0.0517533**	2.64
Religious Practice	0.1168799**	5.69	-0.0284564	0.60	-0.0173255	0.44	0.0522254**	3.40
Gender and Age Variables								
Female	0.1515623**	3.10	-0.1087376	1.07	0.0941572	1.03	0.1039906	2.84
Youth	-0.2556588	1.74	0.8629995**	2.82	-0.2474147	0.88	0.1151285	1.04
Middle Aged	-0.1193582	1.15	0.5517567*	2.57	0.0381041	0.22	0.0694637	0.92

Table 7.11: Regression Analysis (Continued)

Dependent Variable: Work Ethos (SA)	**South Africa**		**Zimbabwe**		**Tanzania**		**All Three Countries**	
Explanatory Variables	**Coefficient**	**A.V.S[+]**	**Coefficient**	**A.V.S**	**Coefficient**	**A.V.S**	**Coefficient**	**A.V.S**
Ethnic Group Variables								
English	0.4242712**	5.54						
Ndebele	(-0.796407)**	2.87						
Northern Sotho	0.0665837	0.60						
Southern Sotho	(-0.2314759)**	2.64						
Swazi	0.3193999	0.77						
Tsonga	(-0.7228232)**	3.70						
Tswana	-0.0631996	0.67						
Venda	(-0.4791816)*	2.36						
Xhosa	(-0.2671197)**	2.69						
Zulu	(-0.22765531)**	3.30						
Constant Term	**-0.4546**	**1.77**	**-1.114492**	**2.33**	**0.1510444**	**0.34**	**-0.5239172**	**2.94**
Adjusted R-Squared	**0.1651**		**0.0742**		**0.0124**		**0.1484**	
Number of Observations	**1583**		**502**		**409**		**2495**	

*Significant at the 5% Level

**Significant at the 1% Level

[+] Coefficient Absolute Value of t Statistic

operationalisation of these concepts, but we cannot find much evidence that country differences in intrinsic and extrinsic work orientations can be explained on the basis of differences in such issues. Thus, we should continue our efforts to find explanations for differences and similarities in work orientations. It seems, however, that such characteristics do seem to matter in a European, that is Western, context, but not in Eastern European and African settings. Hence, our argumentation, mainly grounded in modernisation theories, may be too much western and not universal. Modernisation is apparently a Western concept and thus it does not provoke similar outcomes in non-western contexts. It can further be noticed that individualism and development are not two sides of one coin. Contrary to our expectations, the empirical analysis demonstrates that extrinsic work orientations are more stressed by people in more individualistic societies. Our guess was the opposite, the more individualistic a society would be, the less material-oriented, and the more intrinsic and the less extrinsic the dominant work orientation would be. This may be due to the way the concept of individualism was tapped empirically. We measured it by the percentage of people in a country that shared the opinion that people should take their own responsibility and not rely on the state. It is likely that this is more a distinction between socialism and liberalism and does not quite designate individualism. If that is indeed the case, then the result indicates that the more people in a country favour liberal instead of socialist ideas, the more extrinsic work qualities are stressed. We do not have strong theoretical arguments to explain this result. Development, in terms of life expectancy, adult literacy, welfare etc, has the effect as expected. The more developed a society is in such terms, the less extrinsic work qualities are emphasised.

The results of our analyses of work orientation at individual level also seem to suggest that the theoretical arguments have a Western or European bias. The suggested effects of individual characteristics on work orientations can be confirmed more or less in European countries, but less so, or even in the opposite direction, in African countries. This is also true in the case of the work ethos analysis and the aspects that are supposedly contributing factors to a relatively high or low work ethos. The work values themselves may be comparable to a large extent, but the impact of individual characteristics to explain differences in these orientations is not the same. It may be that work ethos is a useful construct and that with a better set of variables one would be able to find a stable and reliable construct. However, since most theories are confined to Western societies, it is an easy guess to conclude that different theories are needed to understand and interpret the situation in African societies, and to a lesser extent also the situation with regard to work orientations in Eastern Europe. The existing theories appear too general and do not take into account all kinds of country and regional peculiarities that may have serious effects on people's work orientations or work

ethos. As such, our analyses seem to confirm the idea that societies develop in their own speed following their own path, although perhaps at a very abstract level in the same direction. One of these differences in tracks and speed certainly concern the life circumstances. Many people in Africa, and perhaps also in some Eastern European countries, are still more concerned with pure survival, not only in the context of work, but also more general aspects.

The confusing results may thus be the result of our poor or even simply wrong theoretical reflections and considerations, but they may also be caused by the limitations in the data we were able to analyse. Perhaps we just have been trying to explain work orientation with categories that contained too much variance in them or with the wrong dimensions as such. We are quite sure that the work ethos notion has to be improved for it to have any purchase in African countries. We are even more convinced that the constructs of religious belief and practice require a full overhaul for them to work in our context if they are required at all.

Notes

1. This chapter contains large sections of an article published in the International Journal of Comparative Sociology Copyright © 2006 SAGE Publications. L.Halman, & H.P. Müller, 'Contemporary Work Values in Africa and Europe Comparing Orientations to Work in African and European Societies', IJCS, 47(2): 117–143 (2006). My appreciation again goes to Loek Halman as well for allowing me to use it extensively here.
2. The African data in the World Values Survey is limited to South Africa, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Uganda and Nigeria. Sampling was stratified for each country by region, sex and community size, and respondents were randomly selected. The questionnaire was translated (in the case of South Africa and Uganda, multiple languages were used while in Tanzania Kiswahili is the lingua franca of 90 per cent of the population and in Zimbabwe English, Shona and SiNdebele cover 95 per cent of the population) and back-translated and piloted. Mother tongue speakers were used as interviewers as a rule and concepts that could not be translated adequately were excluded from these surveys. For more detailed information we can refer to the EVS and WVS/EVS sourcebooks (Halman 2001; Inglehart, Basáñez, Díez Medrano, Halman & Luijkx 2004).
3. The question was: 'Here are some aspects of a job that people say are important. Please look at them and tell me which ones you personally think are important in a job?' The answer categories were mentioned = 1, not mentioned =0 (see Halman 2001: 303; Inglehart et al. 2004: 420, 450).
4. Country samples were weighted in such a way that samples sizes were set to 1,000 in each country.
5. Gini-coefficients for Albania and Macedonia are from Human Development Report 2004, while figures for Malta are from personal communication with the EVS representative in this country. Data for Iceland can be found in Jonsson et al. (2001).
6. The question was to place oneself on a ten-point scale with two opposite positions. 1 = Individuals should take more responsibility for providing for themselves; 10 = the state should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for (Halman 2001: 316). The codes 1-3 indicate a more individualistic society.

7. The respondents were asked to indicate whether it would be a good thing or a bad thing if in the near future there would be less emphasis on 'Money and material possessions' and 'Decrease in the importance of work in our lives'. The percentages of people who considered it as a bad development were included in our analyses.
8. The respondents were asked to place themselves on a ten-point scale with two extreme positions. 1= Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas; 10 = competition is harmful. It brings out the worst in people. The percentages of people in each country with scores 1-3 are included in our analyses.
9. A list of qualities that children can be encouraged to learn at home was presented and the respondent was asked to choose up to five of the qualities that he/she considered important. 'Hard work' and 'determination' were two of these qualities. The percentages of people mentioning these two qualities are used in our analyses.
10. Missing values of various kinds (missing, don't know, etc.), for the indicators used are deleted pair-wise throughout.

frica		
237*	0.104	0.065
148	0.101	0.015
033	0.100	0.026
063	0.101	-0.010
031	0.105	-0.025
101	0.112	-0.047
096*	0.045	0.003
006	0.038	0.000
001	0.072	-0.073
176**	0.053	-0.027
101	0.071	0.066
153***	0.043	0.048
121*	0.050	0.030
074	0.050	
014		
011		
038		
		0.034

Africa		
0.237*	0.104	0.065
0.148	0.101	0.015
0.033	0.100	0.026
0.063	0.101	-0.010
-0.031	0.105	-0.025
-0.101	0.112	-0.047
-0.096*	0.045	0.003
0.006	0.038	0.000
0.001	0.072	-0.073
-0.176**	0.053	-0.027
-0.101	0.071	0.066
0.153***	0.043	0.048
0.121*	0.050	0.030
0.074	0.050	
0.014		
0.011		