# CHAPTER 1
# CONTEXT AND FRAMEWORK

## INTRODUCTION

The South African milieu has been one characterised by a turbulent history, beginning with pre-colonialism, colonialism, Union Government, independent Republic, and the present "true" democracy after the elections, resulting in Black majority rule in 1994 and an end to Apartheid. This became a turning point that catapulted this nation into wide sweeping changes that have deeply influenced the social, political, and economic environments.

Luthans, van Wyk, and Walumba (2004) argued that most countries around the globe are exposed to sometimes radical changes on all levels, but that the focus of the world's media is on political, military, and economic solutions, while organisational leaders are left to struggle with the "grassroots" challenges of the world we find ourselves in. They agreed that South Africa is a good example of the various challenges facing many other countries around the globe and mentioned that "organizational leaders are on the cusp between fear and hope and between threat and opportunity" (p. 512).

In a sense, the South African cultural environment or the so-called Rainbow Nation, is unique. Although this environment has been multi-cultural for many centuries, with varying degrees of separation, the various South African sub-cultural groups lived very separate lives over the years. Sonn (1996) remarked that differences between Black and White were already acknowledged and commented on in the ancient world, but without negative values, thoughts, and feelings associated with these differences. Racist theory and classification according to race had its origins in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This period also coincided with expansionist policies in Europe and had an overpoweringly negative impact on the relationships of Africans and Europeans. Since then, these attitudes affected the writing of history and the development of the social sciences, reinforcing the idea that the races are different, with White people being classified as superior and Black people as "less than".

Jan van Riebeeck, an official of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC), and his 80 company employees, established a fort in the Cape in 1652 to obtain food for the Dutch fleets sailing around the Cape to the East. The ships could stop to take on fresh water, fruit and vegetables grown by van Riebeeck and his VOC employees, and trade for meat and milk from the local Khoikhoi. However, after a few years, the Khoikhoi became increasingly unwilling to trade with the Dutch due to low prices offered by the VOC and the harsh way they were treated by the Dutch. As a result, the VOC implemented three processes in the 1650s that created and entrenched a racially stratified society in this country. The VOC decided to import slaves to meet labour needs, which continued until the British stopped the trade in 1807. Secondly, the VOC made a decision to allow employees to establish farms, giving rise to a local settler population and thirdly, to provide in the ever-increasing needs of the fleets, as well as the growing local population, the Dutch expanded even further into the lands of the Khoikhoi, engaging in a series of wars that contributed to the annihilation of the indigenous population (Library of Congress Country Studies, n.d.).

The British seized the Cape from the VOC in 1795, but returned the colony to the Dutch government in 1803. In 1806, however, the British again took control of the Cape to protect the sea route to their Asian empire during the Napoleonic wars. The British continued to rely on imported slave labour during their rule, and introduced racially discriminatory legislation to force the Khoikhoi and "free" Black people to work for as little as possible. The *Hottentot Code of 1809* required that all Khoikhoi and Black people carry passes, stating where they lived. Without these passes they could be forced into employment by White masters.

Various anti-Indian laws were passed by the Republics of Natal, Orange Free State, and the South African Republic (Transvaal) during the seventeeth and eighteenth centuries (South African History Online, n.d.). The first discriminatory legislation directed at Indians, *Law 3 of 1885,* prohibited Indians to become citizens of the South African Repuclic (Transvaal) or from owning immovable property in the Republic. The law also stated that the names of all Indians should be inscribed in a register. In 1888, legislation was passed for all Indians in the South African Republic (Transvaal) to carry passes or face arrest. This law also placed Indians in the same category as the indigenous African population (laborours). The *Orange*

*Free State Act 29 of 1890* provided against the influx of Indians into the Orange Free State. At the time there were only nine licensed Indian traders in the Orange Free State. The *Statute Law of the Orange Free State of 1891* prohibited Chinese, Indians or Coloureds from managing businesses or farming in the Orange Free State. All Indian businesses were forced to close by 11 September 1891 and owners deported from the Orange Free State without compensation. The *Franchise Act No 8 of 1896* disenfranchised Indian people in Natal (Black people were disenfranchised in 1865).

The National Party, which came into power in 1948, continued this trend and enacted laws to define and enforce segregation. The aim of these laws were to institute the theory that Whites should be treated more favourably than Blacks, and that separate facilities did not have to be equal. Some of these laws focused on separating Black from White, for example, the *Population Registration Act, Act No 30 of 1950*, which provided a basis for separating the South African population into different races and led to the creation of a national register in which every person's race was recorded; *Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Act No 55 of 1949*, which prohibited marriages between white people and people of other races; *Immorality Amendment Act, Act No 21 of 1950, amended in 1957 (Act 23)*, which prohibited adultery, attempted adultery or related immoral acts (extra-marital sex) between White and Black people; *Bantu Homelands Citizens Act of 1970*, which compelled all Black people to become a citizen of the homeland that responded to their ethnic group; *Group Areas Act, Act No 41 of 1950*, which forced physical separation between races by creating different residential areas for different races; and the *Group Areas Development Act, Act No 69 of 1955*, which segregated living areas).

Other laws entrenched the principle of separate and unequal, like the *Bantu Building Workers Act, Act No 27 of 1951*, which made it a criminal offence for a Black person to perform any skilled work in urban areas except in those sections designated for Black occupation; *Separate Representation of Voters Act, Act No 46 of 1951*, which, together with the 1956 amendment, led to the removal of Coloureds from the common voters' roll; *Native Labour (settlement of disputes) Act of 1953*, which prohibited strike action by Blacks; *Bantu Education Act, Act No 47 of 1953*, which the author of the legislation, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, then Minister of Native

Affairs, later Prime Minister, stated that its aim was to prevent Africans receiving an education that would lead them to aspire to positions they would not be allowed to hold in society; *Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, Act No 49 of 1953*, which forced segregation in all public amenities, public buildings, and public transport with the aim of eliminating contact between Whites and other races ("Europeans Only" and "Non-Europeans Only" signs were put up); and the *Extension of University Education Act, Act 45 of 1959*, which put an end to Black students attending White universities.

Security legislation during the Apartheid era, included the *Suppression of Communism Act, Act No 44 of 1950,* which declared the Communist Party and its ideology illegal; *Public Safety Act, Act No 3 of 1953*, which gave the British Governor-General the power to suspend all laws and to proclaim a state of emergency; *Criminal Law Ammendmend Act, Act No 8 of 1953* which stated that anyone accompanying a person found guilty of offenses committed while protesting in support of any campaign, would also be presumed guilty and would have to prove his or her innocence; and many more. The National Party's legislative programme received increasing support from the South African White electorate, which allowed them to stay in power from 1948 till 1994 (Library of Congress Country Studies, n.d.).

Finchilescu and Dawes (1999) labelled the 1960s as South Africa's most politically repressive periods. International sanctions against South Africa in response to Apartheid had serious negative effects on economic growth and infrastructure of business and the management of organisations. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, South Africa was a highly polarised and violent society where mistrust between employees, unions, and managers was at its peak. The State of Emergency declared by the Government, stay-aways, boycotts, and rolling mass protest action held severe implications for the country's already vulnerable economic position.

After the first true and independent democratic elections resulting in Black majority rule in 1994, a certain level of anxiety and racial antagonism was, however, still prevalent. Since then, many factors that influenced political socialisation during the Apartheid years have seen significant changes. Inter-group contact is possible as schools, institutions of higher learning,

neighbourhoods, churches and work environments are more integrated than before. Organisations had to become more competitive to protect local market interests against international competition as well as competing internationally, while adhering to new labour legislation and changing labour relations. It is within this environment that all South Africans are faced with the challenges brought about by the political, social, and economic changes (Denton & Vloeberghs, 2002; Finchilescu & Dawes, 1999; Luthans et al., 2004).

## CHALLENGES FACING SOUTH AFRICAN ORGANISATIONS POST-1994

Sanctions were lifted after the 1994 elections and South African business leaders were faced with rapid and unprecedented changes. Globalisation and international competition forced organisations to improve their processes and streamline their operations to protect their own domestic markets which they had controlled during the Apartheid era, as well as ensuring that they became internationally competitive. At the same time, they had to adhere to newly created labour legislation, which dramatically changed the face of the South African labour market. An even larger challenge was to deal with the following organisational cultures and dynamics described by Roodt (1997, p. 16):

- A "them and us" culture, which defined a predominantly White management minority from the general workforce that was predominantly Black and unskilled;
- Affirmative action and its prospects as new criteria for jobs and promotion created stress, aspirations and fear for job security;
- Undesirable labour relations with very strong union backing and the tendency towards conflict and violence;
- Increasing diversity within the workplace and continuous stereotyping of members belonging to out-groups;
- The existing privilege and discrimination practices based mainly on race and ethnicity despite changes in legislation;
- The wealth and poverty gap that existed and continued to grow between the "haves" and the "have nots"; and

- Illiteracy predominant among the greater portion of the South African labour force, which was a major contributing factor to the high unemployment figures amongst the Black population due to the lack of skills and access to technology.

Despite the creation of a free economy after the democratic elections in 1994 and the constitutionally entrenched human rights, organisations and the majority of South Africans are still plagued by the legacy of Apartheid. It is not possible to overturn political and cultural structures and conventions that had been instilled over centuries into social practice and forcibly entrenched throughout every aspect of society since 1948.

Sonn (1996) expanded on this view by stating that all South Africans will have to discuss and unlearn the various manifestations of the "White-is-right" and "West-is-best" assumptions. He explained that all South Africans were socialised with these assumptions and that it was not only Whites that internalised these assumptions, but also people of Colour who acted as "less than", as a survival strategy. The challenge is for all South Africans to become aware of and unlearn manifestations of internalised oppression, because "both the oppressor and the victim are part of a dehumanising process" (Sonn, 1996, p. 2). This imposes a major challenge to organisational leaders to close the gap between the current South African reality and the expectations of employees to fulfil their needs and wants within an unrealistically short time span (Hargreaves, 1997; Mbigi, 1994a).

Despite all these challenges, Luthans et al. (2004) highlighted the fact that South Africa is not only undergoing radical changes and related problems, but that it is also seen as a symbol of hope, not only for Africa, but for the entire world. They based this view on the fact that South Africa has managed, amongst others, to entrench a democratic culture, free press, independent judiciary, and advanced organisational systems within a decade after the end of Apartheid, and within the bounds of a complex socio-political and economic environment.

However, the South African population is a complex combination of several sub-cultures, a fact which can adversely impact on organisational effectiveness if not properly understood and managed. Various authors (Booysen, 1999, 2001; Khoza, 1994; Koopman, 1994; Sonn,

1996) have cautioned that cultural differences could lead to problems if managed incorrectly. Accordingly, the concept of cultural values will be used as a way to explore not only the differences, but also the similarities between the various sub-culture groups in the South African environment.

Cultural Values

Hofstede defined culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another" and determines the identity of a human group in the same way as personality determines the identity of an individual (1980a, p. 25). According to this definition, culture always refers to a collective, because it is shared with people who are living in the same social environment. Values are often used to differentiate among individuals and cultures in cross-cultural research (Ball-Rokeach & Loges, 1994; Mayton, Ball-Rokeach & Loges, 1994; Smith & Swartz, 1997).

Hofstede's (1980a, 1991) Value Belief Theory implies that cultural values influence individual and group behaviour and incorporates the following four cultural value dimensions:

- Individualism/Collectivism;
- Power Distance;
- Uncertainty Avoidance; and
- Masculinity versus Femininity.

Hofstede and Bond (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987; Hofstede & Bond, 1988) identified a fifth value dimension, which they labelled Long Term versus Short Term Orientation.

Project-GLOBE (den Hartog, House, Hanges, Ruiz-Quintanilla, & Dorfman, 1999; House, Wright & Aditya, 1997; House, Hanges, Ruiz-Quintanilla, Dorfman, Javidan, Dickson, Gupta, & GLOBE Country Co-Investigators, 1999) substituted Hofstede's Masculinity versus

Femininity dimension with Gender Egalitarianism versus Gender Differentiation and Assertiveness. They also identified two more cultural dimensions, namely, Humane Orientation and High Performance versus Low Performance Orientation.

<u>Cultural Strata</u>

Hofstede (1991, p. 10) argued that all individuals belong to a number of different groups and categories simultaneously which relate to different levels of culture:

- A national level corresponding to one's country;
- A regional and/or ethnic and/or religious and/or linguistic affiliation;
- A gender level;
- A generational level which distinguished between children, parents, and grandparents;
- A social class level, associated with educational opportunities; and
- An organisational level for those who are employed.

He also explained that nations should not be equated to societies. He defined societies as "organically developed forms of social organization, and therefore the concept of a common culture applies strictly speaking, more to societies than to nations". However, this does not negate the fact that many nations, who contain different groups or less integrated minorities, are fully developed entities. Hofstede (1980a) distinguished between cultures (societies, nations, ethnic or regional groups) and sub-cultures (other human categories like organisations, families, educational levels, occupations, and gender). Although the cultural value dimensions are mostly utilised as indicators of national cultures, it is clear that they can also be used to measure sub-cultural differences within the same national culture.

Booysen (1999) obtained permission to adapt the Project-GLOBE Societal Questionnaire to measure sub-cultural differences within the same national culture, as opposed to the Project-GLOBE questionnaire which measures values between national cultures. In the present study, Black, Coloured, White, and Indian managers, as well as male and female managers were seen as sub-cultures within the same national culture.

groups, it is possible that some cultural values (peripheral values) may change before others (core values), as individuals belonging to the various sub-cultural groups are exposed to the norms, values, ideologies, beliefs and attitudes of each other.

<div align="center">Social Constructionism</div>

Based on the work of Gergen (1985, 2001), the cultural value dimensions discussed above can be interpreted as social constructions. Although information regarding these value dimensions were obtained scientifically, the outcomes of these interpretations are still products of a creative interpretation process that is carried out in a given social context and specific social interaction. Liebrucks (2001) emphasised that scientific research is embedded in a specific society and is dependent on the conceptual and methodological framework of the scientists. Hofstede (1990) acknowledged that the cultural value questionnaire used in his studies was developed within a Western context and explained why it took an instrument developed by Asian minds to find a fifth dimension of national culture differences.

Constructionists do not agree that categories like race, ethnicity or gender consist of intrinsic traits because these categories are often socially constructed and defined by society. As a result, people build stereotypes of others solely based on their perceptions of prominent differences, for example, between 'maleness' and 'femaleness' or 'whiteness' and 'blackness'. Despite obvious evidence for the existence of individual differences amongst members belonging to other groups or categories, people still find it meaningful to construct mental categories (Rodkin, 1993).

Hofstede (1980a) highlighted the fact that the differences between the various cultural value dimensions were on the statistical level and that it should not be confused with differences on the individual level. This is in line with the often misleading trend of confusing the meaning of the term "statistical significance" with the meaning of the term "important". As a result, findings that are indicated as statistically significant can be regarded as practically important or significant over time. Statistical differences between the scores obtained by the various sub-cultural or gender groups, or between any of the other independent variables measured in

this study, do not necessarily imply practical significance. Results should therefore be interpreted with the utmost sensitivity as to not further entrench existing stereotypical assumptions regarding various groups in South Africa. Due to the South African history of racial categorisation, it is evident that a deconstructionist approach should be incorporated during the interpretation of results. Deconstructionism aims to unravel hidden or underlying assumptions, contradictions and repressed meanings of social constructions.

## Leadership in the Multi-Cultural South African Environment

Denton and Vloeberghs (2003) conceded that the impact of the radical changes on South African organisations can lead to leadership degeneration if not dealt with constructively. Whereas some employees interpret the challenges organisations face in this new global economy as positive, others are riddled with destructive emotions like fear, stress, anger, lack of enthusiasm, and mistrust. South Africans have for many years been protected from the competitive international environment, and many of these destructive emotions arise from the complexity of new competencies and skills that needs to be acquired. Due to the unexpected fundamental changes which they have no control over and the erosion of their confidence in their competencies, some employees become defensive and some complacent, and if not dealt with appropriately, such reactions can impact negatively on the effectiveness of the company and the transformation process. According to Denton and Vloeberghs (2003), the answer to this is effective transformational leadership.

## Transformational Leadership

Leadership is often categorised as transactional or transformational (Avolio & Bass, 1999; Bass, 1985, 1990, 1995, 1997; Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999). Transactional leaders motivate their followers by promises, rewards or praise, while they are disciplined by negative feedback, disciplinary actions, and accusations; they consult with followers about what needs to be done in exchange for rewards. Transformational leaders are agents of change and are admired, respected and trusted by followers to such an extent that followers imitate the leader's behaviour. They are able to inspire followers to achieve more than what they thought

possible (both in terms of performance and their own development), while at the same time providing meaning and challenges to followers' work. Transformational leaders encourage followers to find innovative and creative ideas of doing the work by questioning assumptions and approaching old problems in new ways. All of the above is done while paying special attention to each individual's needs for achievement, and acting as mentor and coach to employees (Avolio & Bass, 1999; Bass, 1997; Bass & Avolio, 1987, 1993, 1994; Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999).

Bass argued that the transactional-transformational paradigm could provide a basis for the measurement and understanding of leadership universally because supporting evidence has been obtained in different countries. He pointed out that "universal does not imply constancy of means, variances, and correlations across all situations but rather explanatory constructs good for all situations" (1997, p. 130). The results of Project-GLOBE (62 cultures) supported an hypothesis that charismatic/transformational leadership attributes are universally endorsed as contributing to outstanding leadership (den Hartog et al., 1999).

Research has also shown that cultural values influence various aspects of leadership (Booysen, 1999, 2000; Hofstede, 1980b, 1991, 1998; House et al., 1997, 1999). Dorfman, Hanges, and Brodbeck (2004) mentioned that the Performance Orientation, Collectivism, Gender Egalitarianism, Future Orientation, and Humane Orientation cultural value dimensions were important cultural value drivers of the charismatic/value-based leadership dimension as determined by Project-GLOBE questionnaire. Due to the importance of transformational leadership, especially within a multi-cultural environment, the possible relationships between the various cultural value dimensions and Bass and Avolio's Full Range Model of Leadership will be investigated (Avolio & Bass, 1999; Bass, 1985, 1997).

<u>New Economy Leadership</u>

One of the important sets of skills required in the rapidly changing South African environment and the escalating changes brought about by developments in the twenty-first century, are improved leadership skills. As the new millennium is unfolding, most leadership

scholars are in agreement that styles that were effective in the more predictable twentieth century are inadequate in this new age of uncertainty and rapid change. This new century thus requires leaders with new skills (Adler, 1997, 1999; Bennis, 1996, 1997, 1998; Clark & Matze, 1999; Fulkerson, 1999; Graen & Hui, 1999; House, 1995; Kanter, 2000; Kotter, 1998c; Marquardt, 2000; Nel, 2004; Osterman, 2001; Sadler, 2003).

It is important to acknowledge that these fundamental changes are not just experienced on all levels in our society, but also occurring worldwide. These changes are creating an environment where successful leaders demonstrate flexibility, empathy, and a more collaborative form of leadership while remaining true to the core values of the organisation. Relational competence, change agent and risk taker, mentorship, the ability to generate trust, servant leadership, and transformational leadership have been identified as characteristics of leadership in the new global economy.

## Female Leadership

Female leadership in the twenty-first century is closely linked to the topic of new economy leadership, since the leadership style of the new economy leader incorporates approaches frequently labelled as feminine. Furthermore, the number of female leaders is increasing in this twenty-first century and they are finding themselves in an environment that has until recently been dominated by male leaders. This does not imply that all female leaders are suitable to the new style. It refers rather to the notion that feminine characteristics, like well-developed interpersonal skills, such as exceptional communication skills, especially the ability to listen, empathy, nurturance, gentleness, negotiation, and conflict resolution skills are becoming admirable in both male and female leaders (Adler, 1997, 1999).

Various studies on gender and leadership produced various outcomes (Adler, 1997, 1999; Appelbaum, Audet & Miller, 2003; Cellar, Sidle, Goudy & O'Brien, 2001; Dreher, 2003; Eagly & Johnson, 1996; O'Leary & Ickovics, 1992; Oakly, 2000; Stanford, Oates & Flores, 1995; Yammarino, Dubinsky, Corner & Jolson, 1997). These related to whether or not the leadership approach differs between males and females, whether the difference is one of

leadership style, whether the difference is real or perceived, or whether one leadership approach is more effective than another. According to Kolb (1999), there appears to be few, if any, differences and there are more similarities than differences between male and female leadership.

<u>Cross-Cultural Leadership</u>

Numerous researchers have noted the impact of cultural diversity on organisational and leadership effectiveness in South Africa. They have cautioned that if not managed properly, these cultural differences could lead to problems. Two broad interpretations of diversity can be identified in the literature. The one interprets diversity as all the ways in which people differ from each other (Robinson & Dechant, 1997; Strydom & Erwee, 1998), while the other interprets diversity not only as the differences, but also the similarities between individuals and groups on any given dimension (Rooseveldt, 1995; Cilliers & May, 2002). Chemers and Murphy (1995) explained that diversity and leadership relate to two issues, namely diverse leadership and a diverse workforce. The focus in this study will be on the latter and refers to what type of leadership is necessary to effectively utilise the talent and energy of a diverse workforce by referring to the changed power dynamics in organisations, diversity of opinions, perceived lack of empathy, tokenism, lack of participation, and overcoming inactivity.

Booysen (1999, 2001), Khoza (1994) and others have argued that the prevalent Eurocentric management culture is significantly different from the emerging Afrocentric management culture. The humanistic philosophy of African humanism, or Ubuntu, is central to the concept of African management. It refers to an African philosophy of life and promotes supportiveness, cooperation, and solidarity (Broodryk, 1997; Khoza, 1994). This discussion is concluded by discussing attempts to value both Eurocentric and Afrocentric leadership approaches. Luthans et al. (2004, p. 515) emphasised that if cultural diversity is managed properly, South Africa "…can become a classic case and an example not only for Africa, but also for the rest of the world…"

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this study are to:

- examine cultural differences and similarities between managers in the financial services sector belonging to the four South African sub-cultural groups (Black, Coloured, White, and Indian), and between South African male and female managers;
- examine whether cultural values change indiscriminately during the acculturation process, or whether possible peripheral cultural values would be easier to change before possible core cultural values;
- determine whether the cultural values of White and Black South African managers changed in any way since 1998; and
- explore the differences and similarities of South African managers on Bass and Avolio's Full Range Model of Leadership, specifically transformational leadership, as measured by the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ), as well as possible interactions between the various cultural value dimensions and this leadership model (Avolio & Bass, 1999; Bass, 1985, 1997).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The South African society is complex and sub-culturally heterogeneous (ethnic origin, political history, educational level, socio-economic status, occupations, gender, age, and so forth). It has been widely argued that samples in heterogeneous societies should either be representative of the national population or consist of specific "organizations which are by their very nature multisocietal…" (Hofstede, 1980, p. 38). This cross-cultural study was quantitative in nature and will focus on the financial services sector.

Population and Sample

The population of this study consisted of Black, Coloured, White, and Indian, junior and middle managers in the financial services sector. The distribution of Black, Coloured, White,

and Indian, male and female managers in this industry is disproportional. A disproportional probability sample was used to include comparable numbers of male and female managers within each management level per organisation, belonging to the four population groups. This was done by using alphabetical lists of employees, categorised by population group, gender and managerial level.

## Data Collection

Data were collected by the Human Resources departments of the various organisations participating in the study. Respondents received copies of the various questionnaires and a cover letter explaining the reason for the research by mail. Respondents were requested to return completed questionnaires by mail to their Human Resources departments in the envelopes provided by the researcher.

## Measuring Instruments

The following measuring instruments were used in this study:

### Biographical Questionnaire

The following biographical variables were included in this questionnaire: age, gender, sub-culture group, qualifications, managerial level (junior or middle management), exposure to any formal training in Western management practices, total number of years full-time work experience, number of years/months functioning at managerial level.

### Societal Questionnaire

The scale was developed and validated by Project-GLOBE in the first and second phases of the study. According to House et al. (1999), the GLOBE scales have sound psychometric properties, which suggest that the scales can be used to measure differences between cultures, both in terms of societal and organisational phenomena. Booysen (1999) obtained permission

to adapt the Project-GLOBE Societal Culture scale of the questionnaire to measure sub-cultural differences within the same national culture (as opposed to the GLOBE questionnaire, which measures values between national cultures). The adapted questionnaire was validated for use in the South African study (Booysen, 1999, 2000).This questionnaire asks respondents to indicate their observations regarding their sub-culture on a 7-point Likert scale with respect to the cultural dimensions listed below:

- Uncertainty Avoidance;
- Gender Egalitarianism;
- Assertiveness;
- Future Orientation;
- Power Distance;
- Individualism/Collectivism;
- Humane Orientation; and
- Performance Orientation.

### Core and Peripheral Cultural Values Questionnaire

The possibility of core cultural values (values that would be more difficult to change) and peripheral cultural values (values that would be easier to change), was explored by presenting respondents with the definitions of the various cultural values identified in the previous paragraph. Respondents had to indicate on a 7-point semantic differential scale, with the endpoints labelled, how easy or difficult they thought it would be for members of their own sub-culture group to change their cultural values in a changing environment. This questionnaire was specifically constructed for purposes of the present study.

### Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ)

The MLQ was originally developed (Bass & Avolio, 1997) to evaluate leaders on Bass and Avolio's Full Range Model of Leadership. A five-point rating scale is used to measure leader behaviour, ranging from 0 = "Not at all" to 4 = "Frequently, if not always". Data collected on

the MLQ substantially support the convergent and discriminant validity of the theoretical and empirically based factors with internally consistent scales (Bass & Avolio, 1997). Although the MLQ provides for self-assessments, as well as assessments by supervisors, colleagues, peers and direct reports, only self-assessments were utilised in this study. The MLQ consists of the following dimensions:

Four Transformational leadership components:

- Idealised Influence (Charisma);
- Inspirational Motivation;
- Intellectual Stimulation; and
- Individualised Consideration.

Three Transactional leadership components:

- Contingent Reward;
- Active Management-by-Exception; and
- Passive Management-by-Exception.

Non-leadership is measured by the Laissez-Faire component (Avolio & Bass, 1999; Bass, 1985, 1997; Bass & Avolio, 1997).

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

As discussed earlier, one of the objectives of the present study would be to ascertain whether the differences and similarities of the cultural dimensions measured by Booysen (1999) between White and Black, male and female managers, had changed in any way as a result of the dynamic socio-political changes taking place in the country. The inclusion of Coloured and Indian, male and female managers in South African organisations will not only extend the scope of Booysen's (1999) study, but will also contribute to a better understanding of the cultural values and leadership attributes of all four South African cultural groups.

Due to the changing demographics of South African organisations after the 1994 elections and accompanied by the sub-cultural diversification, the working environment is becoming the place where the different South African sub-cultural groups, with their different value systems, are interacting with each other. Given the varying degrees of exposure to the diverse South African cultures by individuals of different groups, it is likely that the level or degree of psychological acculturation will not be the same for all members of a particular cultural group. It was also mentioned that values change during the process of psychological acculturation. No research could, however, be found which investigated the possibility of core and peripheral cultural values. The question is whether values change at random, depending on the individual, or whether certain values (peripheral) change before others (core) during the psychological acculturation process.

The Leader Attribute Questionnaire, as developed by Project-GLOBE (den Hartog et al., 1999), to assess the degree to which a particular leader attribute contributes to outstanding leadership, is not a self-report measure, but asks respondents to indicate the attributes they think distinguish highly effective leaders from others. This is in contrast to the self-report MLQ developed by Bass and Avolio (Avolio & Bass, 1999; Bass, 1985, 1997), which will be used to explore the possible relationships between the various cultural value dimensions described above and Bass and Avolio's Full Range Model of Leadership. This is the first study where Bass and Avolio's MLQ will be used to explore possible relationships between the various dimensions of Transformational, Transactional, and Laissez-Faire leadership and the cultural dimensions as measured by the Project-GLOBE questionnaire.

The information presented in this chapter is discussed in detail in the chapters to follow. Chapter 2 contains discussions on Hofstede's (1980a, 1991) Value Belief Theory, as expanded by Project-GLOBE. The distinction between individual-level and culture-level value dimensions will be clarified, after which the ongoing process of individual and cultural changes in the ever-changing historical and social context of the world we live in, are discussed. The chapter is concluded with a discussion of social constructionism.

The concepts of leadership and management are discussed in Chapter 3 with a brief overview of existing leadership theories, with an emphasis on the transactional versus transformational theory as expanded by Bass and Avolio (Avolio, Bass & Jung, 1999; Bass, 1985, 1997; Bass & Avolio, 1994). The concept of new economy leadership is also explored, and thereafter the role of female leaders in the new global economy will be discussed.

Chapter 4 explores the impact of culture on leadership and considers whether leadership manifests differently across cultures, or whether aspects of leadership are universal. The sub-cultural diversification of the workforce is highlighted and, since leaders cannot lead a culturally diverse workforce the same way they would a culturally homogeneous workforce, this chapter also explores cultural diversity aspects within the South African leadership context. The chapter is concluded with a discussion of the concept of African management.

The methodology of the study is discussed in Chapter 5. Consideration is given to methodological implications in cross-cultural research, an explanation of the sample, and the way the results were obtained are presented. This is followed by a description of the nature and development of the various measuring instruments used in the multi-measure questionnaire. The chapter is concluded with a description of the statistical procedures used in the analysis of the data and a description of the research objectives.

The results of the quantitative data obtained by the various measuring instruments are presented in Chapter 6. The presentation of results includes the descriptive statistics of the sample and thereafter the psychometric functioning (reliability and construct validity) of the measuring instruments are discussed. This is followed by descriptive and exploratory statistical analysis of the aggregated responses obtained on all the measuring instruments of the total sample that is based across management level, gender, and cultural group. These results will be discussed in-depth in Chapter 7 according to the research objectives as stated in Chapter 5. The thesis is concluded in Chapter 8 with a discussion of the important conclusions of this research project, as well as recommendations for future research.

Core and Peripheral Cultural Values

As more societies are exposed to the same technological products of the same scientific discoveries, the same artefacts, the same mass media, more cross-border commerce and more cross-cultural contact as a consequence of globalisation, there are those who are of the opinion that societies will become increasingly similar as a result of cultural change. Hofstede (1980a) reasoned that globalisation and technological developments will lead to partly similar developments in different societies, but that it would not eliminate differences between societies because these societies will deal with changes in different ways due to different pre-existing value systems. Although these value systems will have an effect on how societies deal with changes, Hofstede (1980a, 1984) reasoned that cultural values change very slowly, if at all.

When people of diverse cultural backgrounds are interacting regularly, behaviour changes sooner than the underlying values (Berry, 1997b; Hofstede, 1980b; Marino, Stuart & Minas, 2000). A distinction is therefore made between behavioural and psychological acculturation. Behavioural acculturation refers to the adoption of the observable or external aspects of the other culture(s) (language, social skills, and so forth), whereas psychological acculturation refers to the more complex process where the norms, values, ideologies, beliefs and attitudes of the other culture(s) are internalised. The Eurocentric or Western culture is usually regarded as the dominant culture, especially during behavioral acculturation.

However, after the 1994 elections, the emphasis on African values, "Africanisation of the work place", the African Renaissance, and other related concepts may also influence the cultural values of White, Coloured, and Indian South Africans. Berry (1997b) highlighted that acculturation is a neutral term which implies that change may take place not only in one, but in all of the interacting groups. Although the literature proposed that cultural values are very stable over time, very few of these studies were conducted in environments as unique and multi-cultural as the South African environment. Given the radical changes in post-Apartheid South Africa and the increasing interaction between members of the various sub-cultural

## CHAPTER 2
## CULTURAL VALUES


INTRODUCTION


The South African national culture is a complex combination of several sub-cultures. Values are often used to differentiate among different cultures and sub-cultures that have emerged in response to their very distinctive experiences. An advantage of using the concept of values in cross-cultural research is the fact that values can be generalised. Conversely, attitudes and behaviours are often situation specific and therefore less suited for cross-cultural comparisons. Smith and Schwartz (1997) pointed out that some researchers are often cynical about the use of values in cross-cultural research on account of the observation that people's behaviour often conflicts with their stated values. However, they mentioned that an analysis of the multiple and often competing value priorities relevant in specific situations, showed a consistency between individuals' values and their behaviour and attitude.

This chapter contains discussions on Hofstede's (1980a, 1991) Value Belief Theory, as expanded by the "Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness Research Program", or Project-GLOBE (den Hartog et al., 1999; House et al., 1997; House et al., 1999). Additionally, the distinction between individual-level and culture-level value dimensions will be clarified.

Smith and Schwartz (1997) argued that the value priorities that are prevalent in a society are key elements in its culture, while the value priorities of individuals relate to all aspects of behaviour. As such, values are well-suited for investigating the ongoing process of individual and cultural changes in the ever-changing historical and social context of the world we live in. Therefore, a further aim of this chapter is to explore the possibility of core and peripheral cultural values. It is generally accepted that when people of diverse cultural backgrounds are interacting regularly, behaviour changes sooner than the underlying values (Berry, 1997b; Hofstede, 1980a; Marino, Stuart & Minas, 2000). Since value systems change more slowly than the visible parts of culture (practices, language, and so forth), the question arises whether

cultural values will change indiscriminately according to individuals' personal, social and cultural experiences, or whether certain cultural values (labelled peripheral values) will be easier to change than others (core values).

The chapter is concluded with a discussion of social constructionism. The cultural value dimensions can also be interpreted as social constructions which can be challenged in order to understand the processes by which people come to describe and explain the world in which they live (Gergen, 1985).

## THREE LEVELS OF HUMAN MENTAL PROGRAMMING

According to Hofstede (1980a), every individual's mental programming is partly unique and partly shared with other individuals. He distinguished between three levels of mental programming, the universal level being the most basic of the three. This level is shared by all mankind and includes the biological system, as well as a range of expressive behaviours such as laughing, weeping and aggressive behaviour. People belonging to the same groups or categories share the second or collective level. This level includes language, how people care for their children and the elderly, and numerous other aspects of culture. The third level is the individual level of mental programming, which is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Gergen (1985, 2001), a prominent promoter of the social constructionist view, has also been interested in understanding how meaning is constructed among people in the cultural context, emphasising language, dialogue, negotiation, cultural practices, the distribution of power, conflict, and rhetoric. He remarked that "…the process of understanding is not automatically driven by the forces of nature, but is the result of an active, cooperative enterprise of persons in relationships" (1985, p. 267).

Hofstede (1980a) used values and culture for describing individuals' mental programmes. Values are attributes of individuals as well as collectivities ― where culture presupposes a collectivity. He defined a value as "a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over

others" (1980a, p. 19). Smith and Schwartz defined values as "…standards to guide the selection or evaluation of behavior, people, and events" (1997, p. 80). Values form the core of culture and are among the first things children learn, even unconsciously. It is also essential to make a distinction between intensity and direction when discussing values. If we embrace a certain value, it means that the specific matter has relevance for us (intensity) and that we identify certain behaviours as "good" and others as "bad" (direction). Furthermore, values serve as the central components that surround the self to maintain and enhance the self-esteem (Mayton et al., 1994).

Hofstede (1980a) defined culture as the collective programming of the mind which differentiates between various cultural groups. In this sense, culture includes systems of values. Culture determines the identity of a human group in the same way as personality determines the identity of an individual. The term culture is not limited to countries, regions or ethnic groups within or across countries; it can also apply to other collectivities such as organisations, families, gender, different generations, religious groups and social class (Hofstede 1980a, 1990, 1991, 1998).

## Distinction between Individual-Level and Culture-Level Value Dimensions

Cross-cultural value studies often take place on two distinct levels of analysis, namely individual or cultural. It is a challenge to draw a sharp dividing line between individual personality and collective culture, and also to determine which phenomena are culture specific and which are human universals. The individual level, or individual personality, is the unique part where no two individuals are exactly alike; it provides for a wide range of alternative behaviours within the same collective culture (Hofstede, 1980a). It follows that individuals have the ability to deviate from the mental programmes, to adapt to contradictory contexts, to react in ways that are creative and innovative, and to learn new behaviour (Booysen, 1999).

This view corresponds with the interpretive perspective on culture as discussed by Berry (1997a). According to this perspective, individuals are not viewed as mere pawns or victims

of their cultures, but as human beings who appraise cognitively and interpret their respective cultures in different ways.

On the individual level, values represent the motivational goals that serve as guiding principles in the lives of individuals. It is on this level that individuals will experience conflict or compatibility when pursuing their individual goals. Smith and Schwartz (1997), for example, pointed out that individuals might experience conflict when they seek authority for themselves while being humble at the same time. It is, however, possible to pursue, for instance, authority and wealth simultaneously.

On the other hand, culture-level values refer to the socially shared, intangible ideas about what is good or desirable in a society or cultural group. These values assist group members to decide whether their behaviour is appropriate and to justify their choices to other group members. Cultural values are also utilised as standards against which to evaluate organisational performance, for example, productivity, inventive products and processes, and social responsibility. Just as on an individual level, social institutions will experience conflict or compatibility with regard to collective values when pursuing individual goals. However, the dynamics of these relations are not the same as with the individual level values. As mentioned above, values relating to authority and humility are not always compatible on the individual level, whereas they could be compatible on the cultural level. On the cultural level, it is possible to accept that authority is desirable to organise human relations, while showing humility towards individuals in positions of authority (Smith & Schwartz, 1997).

## DIMENSIONS OF CULTURE

Hofstede's (1980a, 1991) Value Belief Theory implies that cultures influence individual values and behaviour. Cultural values signify implicit and explicit ideas of what is right and desirable in society, and these explicit and implicit values are passed on to members of society through formal and informal socialisation processes (Schwartz, 1992, 1999). In his comprehensive study, Hofstede (1980a, 1991, 1998) measured the values of the employees of

IBM subsidiaries in 72 different countries. A factor analysis of the results produced four bi-polar value dimensions, which he labelled:

- Individualism/Collectivism, or the degree to which people in a country have learnt to act as individuals rather than as members of cohesive groups;

- Power Distance, or the degree of inequality among people that is considered normal within a culture;

- Uncertainty Avoidance, or the degree to which a culture prefers structured over unstructured situations; and

- Masculinity versus Femininity, or the degree to which values like assertiveness, performance, and success (masculine) prevail over values like quality of life, service, and caring (feminine). Project-GLOBE (den Hartog et al., 1999; House et al., 1997; House et al., 1999) substituted Hofstede's Masculinity and Femininity dimension with two cultural dimensions labelled:

    - Gender Egalitarianism versus Gender Differentiation, or the extent to which an organisation or society minimises gender role differences; and

    - Assertiveness, or the degree to which individuals in organisations or societies are confrontational, assertive or aggressive in interpersonal relationships.

In subsequent research, Bond (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987; Hofstede & Bond, 1988) identified a fifth value dimension, which he labelled "Confucian work dynamism". Hofstede renamed this dimension Long Term versus Short Term Orientation (Hofstede, 1990, 1991, 1994a, 1998; Smith & Schwartz, 1997).

Project-GLOBE (den Hartog et al., 1999; House et al., 1997; House et al., 1999) identified two more cultural dimensions, namely:

- Humane Orientation, or the degree to which individuals in organisations or societies encourage and reward other individuals for being fair, altruistic, friendly and caring; and

- High Performance versus Low Performance, or the extent to which an organisation or society encourages and rewards members for performance improvement and excellence.

It appears that the focus in the psychological literature is strongly on the Individualism/Collectivism dimension (See Carpenter, 2000; Eaten & Louw, 2000; Hui, 1988; Kashima et al., 1995; Rhee, Uleman & Lee, 1996; Triandis, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1995b, 1996; Triandis, McCusker & Hui, 1990). Hofstede cautioned about this notion of describing cultural differences in general by using the Individualism/Collectivism dimension only, "The usefulness of the five-dimensional model … is precisely that it discriminates among different kinds of cultural influences" (Hofstede, 1994b, p. xiii).

Individualism/Collectivism

The Individualism/Collectivism dimension describes the relationship between the individual and the various groups that exist in a particular society. This is reflected in how people prefer to live together, for example, nuclear families, extended families, tribes, and so forth (Hofstede, 1980a).

Attributes associated with collectivism include individual goals that are compatible with the goals of in-groups. This gives priority to in-group goals when there is discrepancy between the two sets of goals. There is a focus on the needs of in-group members during social exchanges, engaging in communal relationships, paying more attention to norms than to attitudes when predicting social behaviour, and maintaining harmony within the in-group.

Features of individualism include individual goals that may or may not be compatible with in-group goals. Individuals will give priority to personal goals when there is a discrepancy between the two sets of goals. The focus is on individual needs during social exchanges, engaging in exchange relationships, paying more attention to attitudes than to norms when predicting social behaviour, defining social space by using individuals as units of analysis and

accepting confrontations within in-groups (Rhee, Uleman & Lee, 1996; Triandis, 1993, 1995b, 1996).

Project-GLOBE (den Hartog et al., 1999; House et al., 1997; House et al., 1999) adapted Hofstede's Individualism/Collectivism continuum to include the Triandis Collectivism scale (Triandis, 1995b). The essence of Hofstede's dimension is independent versus interdependent behaviour and concern for individual versus collective interests. Project-GLOBE named this dimension Collectivism I. Triandis' Collectivism scale measures Collectivism separately from Individualism and is thus not conceptualised on a bipolar continuum. Triandis (1993) suggested that individualism and collectivism can coexist and are emphasised more or less depending on the situation. This scale measures the degree to which individuals express pride, loyalty and cohesiveness in their organisations or families. Project-GLOBE refers to this scale as Collectivism II (Booysen, 2000; House et al., 1999).

On the *organisational level,* the degree of individualism/collectivism in a society will strongly affect the nature of the relationship between individuals and the organisations that employ them. In collectivistic societies, there is a greater emotional dependence of members on their organisations, with organisations, in return, assuming a broad responsibility for their members. If this does not happen, there is dissonance between people's values, which would either lead to a shift in people's values toward more individualistic behaviour, or pressure towards a different collectivistic order, such as state socialism. Employees also display a greater moral involvement with the organisation, while persons admitted into positions of influence would be more involved with problems inside the organisation.

Parkes, Bochner and Schneider (2001) conducted research to determine person-organisation fit by only focussing on the individualism/collectivism value dimension. They found that collectivists were not only more committed to their organisations, but that they also had a longer tenure than individualists. Gelfand, Bhawuk, Nishii, and Bechtold (2004) added that important decisions tend to be made by groups and that selection of employees in collectivistic organisations can sometimes focus on relational attributes of employees. Furthermore, jobs are designed in groups to take full advantage of the social and technical

dimensions of the job, while compensation and promotions are based on what is fair for the group, as well as on considerations of seniority and personal needs. Motivation in the organisation is socially oriented and accountability for organisational failures and successes rests with the group. Avoidant, compromising, and accommodating conflict resolution tactics are preferred.

In individualistic organisations, employees display a greater calculative involvement with the organisation. Here members assume that they are independent of the organisation, while persons admitted into positions of influence would not be as involved within the organisation, but more with the world outside the organisation. These organisations are more interested in the work that employees perform, and not their personal or family welfare. Important decisions are left to the individual. Selection focuses first and foremost on employees' knowledge, skills and abilities. Compensation and promotions are based on equity, where individuals are rewarded in direct relation to their contributions. Motivation in these organisations is individually oriented. Accountability for organisational failures and successes rest with the individual, and direct and solution-oriented conflict resolution strategies are preferred (Gelfand et al., 2004; Hofstede, 1980a).

Hofstede concluded that this dimension is also more visible in organisational theories originating in different countries, "The strong feelings about the desirability of individualism in the United States make it difficult for some Americans to understand that people in less individualistically oriented societies want to resolve societal and organizational problems in ways other than the American one" (1980a, p. 219).

Kirkman and Shapiro (2001) conducted research to determine how team members' cultural values influence the productivity, co-operation and empowerment of self-managing work teams (SMWT). These authors defined SMWT as teams whose members are collectively responsible for a number of activities previously performed by a manager, such as assigning jobs, planning and scheduling work, making production or service related decisions and taking appropriate action on identified problems. Cultural values such as individualism/collectivism may create resistance to SMWT, which could lead to destructive

team outcomes. For successful SMWT, it is crucial for employees to work collaboratively and interdependently. The results showed that there is a positive association between a team's level of collectivism and its effectiveness. This was ascribed to the fact that high collectivism directly and indirectly facilitated high levels of interdependent co-operation between team members. Cox (1994) also mentioned the increased focus on teamwork in organisations (even in individualistic cultures), but that these practices fail because organisational reward systems are seldom aligned with this practice and continue to promote individualism.

Differences between employees on this dimension can also manifest in how managers prefer to allocate rewards and how employees prefer to receive them. Employees high on collectivism often favour an equality norm in which all members of a workgroup participate equally in the rewards, whereas employees high on individualism often favour an equity norm in which rewards are based on the individual contribution of each member (Cox, 1994).

## The Independent/Interdependent Self

The relationship between the individual and the group is closely linked with societal norms and therefore impacts directly on an individual's self-concept. According to Schwartz and Bilsky (1990), individualism/collectivism is a major dimension of value differentiation at both societal and individual levels. The individual-level equivalent of individualism/collectivism is the definition of the self as interdependent in collectivism and independent in individualism (Kim & Sharkey, 1995; Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 1994a, 1994b; Mpofu, 1994; Sato & Cameron, 1999). Markus and Kitayama (1991) maintained that the interdependent self is most significant and complete when it is imbedded in the appropriate social relationship. As such, the interdependent self cannot be conceptualised as a "bounded whole" (p. 227), for it changes structure with the nature of the specific social context. In individualistic cultures, the aim is to become independent from others and to discover one's unique attributes. This view is based on a conceptualisation of the self "as an autonomous, independent person..." (p. 226) and is referred to as an independent self.

Power Distance

Some societies have formal systems of dominance while others attempt to minimise dominance. Hofstede (1980a) contended that inequality in a society could occur in physical and mental characteristics, social status and prestige, wealth, power, laws, rights, and rules. Social inequality is multi-dimensional. Some members of the society may have unique mental characteristics, but not wealth. Others may enjoy wealth and power, but not status. The conflict between status consistency versus overall equality is, according to Hofstede, one of the basic concerns in any human society.

Power refers to the potential of one individual to control or manage the behaviour of another individual, more so than the other way around where both individuals belong to the same social system. Power distance refers to the degree of inequality between more powerful and less powerful individuals (Hofstede, 1980a).

Carl, Gupta, and Javidan (2004) added that power bases, like land ownership, are stable and scarce in high power distance societies where power is seen as an essential dimension in providing social order. Furthermore, there is limited upward social mobility, and information is highly controlled and localised. Democracy does not ensure equal opportunities in societies where only a few people have access to resources, skills and capabilities, which contributes to low human development and life expectancies. In lower power distance societies there is a large middle class and power base, such as knowledge and skills, are temporary and shared. Power is experienced negatively and seen as a source of dominance and corruption. There is a high upward social mobility, and information is freely available and widely shared. Democracy ensures equal opportunity and development for all members of the society, where most members have access to tools, resources and capabilities for autonomous and entrepreneurial initiatives.

It follows then that there will be inequality of employees' abilities and power in organisations. The unequal distribution of power, formalised in a hierarchy, is not only the essence of organisations, but also essential to contain disorder and chaos. Power in organisations is

mainly exercised through the superior and sub-ordinate relationship. This relationship resembles that of parent and child, and of teacher and pupil, inasmuch as people often carry over values and norms from these earlier relationships into the organisation. Families and school environments differ significantly among cultures and, as a result, these differences play out in the exercise of power in organisational hierarchies (Hofstede, 1980a).

It is essential to consider that these value systems are those of both superiors and sub-ordinates, and not only that of superiors. Power and inequality dynamics in organisations reflect the values of both parties, just as disparities between groups in society are maintained by both dominant and non-dominant value systems. Subordinates are accomplices in how power is exercised in the system, and reflects the collusion by both parties to maintain the status quo. Power only exists where it is matched by obedience ― the need for independence is matched by a need for dependence (Hofstede, 1980a).

Referring to effective SMWT, Kirkman and Shapiro (2001) mentioned that it is crucial for members to take on the authority and responsibility that has previously been expected of management. Individuals from high power distance cultures tend to be submissive in the presence of managers, avoid disagreements, and are very sensitive to actions that could be interpreted as insubordination. As such, they are comfortable where decisions of a strong leader take precedence over team decisions. Results of the research showed that the effectiveness of SMWT was lower in high power distance teams, because members resisted self-management and the type of autonomy that is characteristic of effective SMWT.

<div align="center">Uncertainty Avoidance</div>

A basic fact of life is that we are daily living with conscious uncertainty. Excessive uncertainty creates insufferable anxiety and therefore society has developed ways through technology, law and religion to cope with the inherent uncertainty. Hofstede (1980a) categorised all human artefacts as technology, all formal and informal rules that guide social behaviour as law, and all revealed knowledge of the unknown as religion. Technology aids societies in defending societies against the uncertainties caused by nature. Law assists in

defending against the uncertainties caused by the behaviour of others, while religion helps to accept the uncertainties societies cannot defend themselves against. It is clear that no society can objectively build effective defences to protect against uncertainty, but it helps to contain the anxiety subjectively.

As with the previously mentioned value dimensions, different societies adapt to uncertainty in different ways. Totalitarian ideologies, for example, try to avoid anxiety caused by a low tolerance for freedom, because freedom implies uncertainty in the behaviour of oneself and others. Hofstede (1980a) stated that on the level of national cultures, norms for the tolerance or intolerance of ambiguity exists, which are independent of the norms for the dependence of authority (Power Distance). Cultural tendencies towards rigidity, dogmatism, traditionalism, superstition, racism, and ethnocentrism, all relate to Uncertainty Avoidance rather than to Power Distance. It follows that societies high on uncertainty avoidance experience higher levels of anxiety on account of their discomfort with unstructured situations. These societies focus on planning and stability as ways of dealing with life's uncertainties (Booysen, 1999).

Sully de Luque and Javidan (2004) expanded on the above by stating that members of high uncertainty avoidance societies tend to formalise their interactions with others and document agreements in legal contracts. They rely heavily on formalised policies and procedures, and establishing and following intricate rules, while taking more calculated and moderate risks. It comes as no surprise that members of these societies show less tolerance for breaking rules and a stronger resistance to change.

Low uncertainty avoidance societies tend to be more informal in their interactions with others and rely on the word of others rather than contractual agreements. As a result, they rely on informal interactions and norms rather than on formalised policies, procedures and rules. They  are also less calculating when taking risks. Members of these societies show more tolerance for breaking rules and show less resistance to change (Sully de Luque & Javidan, 2004).

The ways societies deal with uncertainty avoidance also affect how they structure organisations to deal with uncertainty. Just as societies use technology, law and religion to cope with uncertainty, organisations use technology, rules, and rituals. Technology creates short-term predictability in an uncertain future, while rules reduce internal uncertainty caused by the unpredictability of the behaviour of their members and stakeholders. Hofstede (1980a) differentiated between the authority of rules and the authority of persons. The first relates to Uncertainty Avoidance, while the second relates to Power Distance. When the person who gives the order is irrelevant, as long as the position is assigned to the giving of orders, it refers to the authority of rules or Uncertainty Avoidance. When the authority of the person is put above the system of rules (arbitrary will of the leader), it suggests high Power Distance.

Rituals in organisations support social cohesion, since they concur with the values of the people involved. Meetings often serve a ritual purpose, having their own liturgy, sacred language, and taboos. However, uncertainty avoiding rituals do not make the future more predictable. They only relieve some discomfort caused by uncertainty and allow members to continue functioning (Hofstede, 1980a).

On an operational level, organisations in high uncertainty avoidance societies will inhibit new product development, but facilitate the implementation stage with elaborate risk aversion and control procedures. Organisations in low uncertainty avoidance societies will facilitate new product developments in the initiation phase through higher risk taking and minimal planning and controls. Sully de Luque and Javidan (2004) also reported that high uncertainty avoidance organisations tend to rely on structured assessment techniques such as assessment centres, structured interviews and various verification procedures when recruiting new employees, while low uncertainty avoidance organisations prefer low-risk, interpersonal recruiting practices such as employee referrals, internal recruitment, internships, and apprenticeships.

<div align="center">Masculinity versus Femininity</div>

"The only difference between women and men which is absolute is that women bear children and men beget them" (Hofstede, 1980a, p. 262). Nevertheless, most societies acknowledge

that certain behaviours are more suitable to females and others to males. These roles often represent comparatively random choices mediated by cultural norms and traditions. There is a common trend among most societies to allocate a more nurturing role to women, whereas men are supposed to be concerned with economic and other achievements. This pattern of male assertiveness and female nurturance leads, according to Hofstede (1980a), to male dominance in matters of politics and economic life. Terms like "aggressive", "ambitious", and "competitive", are typical descriptions of masculine behaviour, while "affectionate", "compassionate", and "understanding", often refer to feminine behaviour.

On the other hand, there is evidence of variation on the common gender role pattern in some cultures. Due to active feminist movements in many societies, some women and men do not take the traditional pattern of male dominance for granted and try to develop alternative role distributions. Since only a small part of gender role differentiation is biologically determined, gender role patterns are almost completely the result of socialisation. Socialisation implies that both males and females learn their place in society, and once they have learnt it, the majority of them want to keep it that way. The same dynamics are salient here as with the superior-subordinate relationship mentioned in the section dealing with power distance. That is, in male dominated societies, most women collude to maintain male dominance (Hofstede, 1980a).

Organisations in high masculinity societies often have goals that concur with the achieving role of the male, and as such, are almost always led by males with a climate established by males. This leads to prejudice against female leaders and supports the general pattern of male dominance in most societies that males have a higher status than females and are therefore not expected to take orders from females (Hofstede, 1980a).

Project-GLOBE (den Hartog et al., 1999; House et al., 1997; House et al., 1999) substituted Hofstede's masculinity/femininity dimension with two cultural dimensions labelled:

• Gender Egalitarianism versus Gender Differentiation, or the extent to which an organisation or society minimises gender role differences; and

- Assertiveness, or the degree to which individuals in organisations or societies are confrontational, assertive or aggressive in interpersonal relationships.

According to Booysen (1999, 2000), high Assertiveness and low Gender Egalitarianism indicate high Masculinity, while low Assertiveness and high Gender Egalitarianism indicate high Femininity.

Gender Egalitarianism

Emrich, Denmark, and den Hartog (2004) mentioned that certain societies are more gender egalitarian, in that they purposefully attempt to reduce gender role differences, while others are more gender differentiated and endeavour to maximise these differences. They continued by arguing that Hofstede's (1980a) Masculinity versus Femininity dimension includes aspects of assertiveness, gender egalitarianism, humane orientation, and achievement orientation, which makes it difficult to interpret findings obtained with the specific dimension.

Gender Egalitarianism is conceptualised and measured as two components in Project-GLOBE. Firstly, as values, beliefs, and attitudes held by members of a society regarding gender stereotypes and gender-role ideology, and secondly, as behavioural manifestations like gender discrimination and gender equality. High gender egalitarian cultures are inclined to have more women in positions of authority, while women have a greater role in community decision making. They also have a higher percentage of women participating in a labour force where there is less occupational gender segregation. It follows that these societies have higher female literacy rates with similar levels of education between males and females. Low gender egalitarian societies have fewer women in authority positions. Women have a lower status in these societies and have no role or a smaller role in community decision making. There is a lower percentage of women participating in a labour force where occupational gender segregation is evident. Furthermore, low gender egalitarian societies have lower female literacy rates and a lower level of education of females relative to males (Emrich et al., 2004).

Assertiveness

"Broadly speaking, cultural assertiveness reflects beliefs as to whether people are or should be encouraged to be assertive, aggressive, and tough, or nonassertive, nonaggressive, and tender in social relationships" (den Hartog, 2004, p. 395). From this it follows that high assertiveness cultures value assertive, dominant, and tough behaviour for everyone in the society ― stressing equity and performance. This is different to Hofstede's (1980a) Masculinity versus Femininity dimension, where men are supposed to be assertive and tough in masculine societies, while women are expected to be tender. Social gender roles overlap in feminine societies. High assertiveness societies value and encourage competition, success and progress. They appreciate direct and explicit communication and members are encouraged to express and reveal their thoughts and feelings. Members try to have control over the environment and results are emphasised over relationships. They attach importance to taking initiative and require challenging targets (den Hartog, 2004).

In contrast, members of low assertiveness societies appreciate modesty and tenderness, and find assertiveness socially unacceptable. They value cooperation, have sympathy for the weak and encourage warm relationships between people, emphasising equality, cohesion and quality of life. Due to this, they prefer to communicate indirectly and emphasise "face saving". In contrast with members of high assertiveness societies, members of low assertiveness societies value harmony with the environment more than controlling the environment (den Hartog, 2004).

According to den Hartog (2004), a high assertiveness organisation encourages the need to make quick decisions and to take the risk of these decisions. There is strong internal competition, while risk-taking individualists, who strive to become the best, are rewarded. Hofstede (1980a) stated that the focus in these organisations is on the aggressive pursuit of market growth, earnings and on career advancement. Booysen (1999) added that these organisations are often characterised by strong-willed and determined management practices.

Low assertiveness organisations are characterised by the typical "nurturance aspects", such as relationships with the manager and other team members, cooperation and participative behaviour, stimulating atmosphere, power sharing, empowerment and collaborative team work (Booysen, 1999; Hofstede, 1980a).

Long Term (Future) versus Short Term (Present) Orientation

Bond (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987; Hofstede & Bond, 1988) extended Hofstede's research by identifying a fifth value dimension to the Hofstede set, which he labelled "Confucian work dynamism". Hofstede interpreted this dimension as a dynamic orientation towards the future and a more static orientation towards the past and present. He renamed this dimension Long-term versus Short-term Orientation (Hofstede, 1990, 1991, 1994a, 1998; Smith & Schwartz, 1997).

A long-term orientation includes values like thrift (being sparing with resources), perseverance towards slow results, a willingness to subordinate oneself for a purpose, large savings quota with funds available for investment, and having a sense of shame. A short-term orientation includes values like fulfilling social expectations, small savings quota with little money for investment, quick results expected, personal steadiness and stability, and protecting "face". The values on the one pole, perseverance and thrift, are more orientated towards the future, while the values on the opposite pole are more static and refer more to the past and present.

According to Ashkanasy, Gupta, Mayfield, and Trevor-Roberts (2004), cultures with a low future orientation (or high present orientation) show the ability to be spontaneous and to live in the moment. They are often free of past worries or future anxieties, but do not always realise that their current behaviour may influence the realisation of their future goals. Furthermore, these cultures have lower levels of economic success and have a tendency to spend rather than to save for the future. Individuals of high present orientation cultures are often less intrinsically motivated, and value instant gratification, emphasising immediate rewards.

In contrast, cultures with high future orientation show the capability to formulate future contingencies, define and purposefully attempt to achieve future goals, and develop strategies for meeting their future aspirations. However, members of these cultures do not always appreciate situational realities, due to a neglect of their present personal and social relationships. These cultures also seem to achieve economic success and have a propensity to save for the future. Individuals are more intrinsically motivated and appreciate the postponement of gratification, emphasising long-term success (Ashkanasy et al., 2004).

Organisations in societies with a high future orientation have a longer strategic orientation, with a flexible and adaptive leadership. It is likely that these organisations have an organic structure which is capable of dealing with erratic circumstances through a systemic network of relationships. Due to the high future orientation, the emphasis is on visionary leadership that is capable of interpreting patterns in the midst of a chaotic and uncertain future. Low future orientation societies often have inflexible and maladaptive organisations and leadership with mechanistic organisational structures with the aim of protecting the organisation from any unforeseen events, changes and uncertainties. These organisations emphasise more transactional leadership practices that focuses on repetitive and routine tasks (Ashkanasy et al., 2004).

As mentioned before, Project-GLOBE (den Hartog et al., 1999; House et al., 1997; House et al., 1999) expanded Hofstede's (1980a, 1991) cultural value dimensions by identifying the following two cultural value dimensions:

### Humane Orientation

This value refers to the degree to which individuals in organisations or societies encourage and reward other individuals for being fair, altruistic, friendly and caring.

At the societal level, humane orientation is related to practices, such as the creation and implementation of human rights norms and laws that protect the unfortunate in society, and a

lack of discrimination against minorities. A low humane orientation refers to exploitative behaviour, concentration of wealth in the hands of very few, widespread poverty, discrimination against minorities, distrust, lack of empathy and extreme disciplinary treatment of violators of the law.

According to Kabasakal and Bodur (2004), members of high humane orientation societies view others, like family, friends, and even strangers, as important and subscribe to values of altruism, benevolence, kindness and generosity. As such, members of the close circle receive material, financial, and social support, but concern extends to all people. Members of these societies have a strong need for belonging and affiliation, and they are also held responsible for promoting the well-being of others ― the state is seldom actively involved. People are encouraged to provide social support for each other, and children are often expected to provide material support for their parents in their old age.

In low humane orientation societies, self-interest is very important and members subscribe to values of pleasure, comfort and self-enjoyment, while power and material possessions motivate people. There is predominance of self-enhancement and as a result, a lack of support for others. The state is expected to guarantee social and economic protection of individuals, while individuals are expected to solve personal problems on their own. Children in these societies are not expected to support their parents in their old age (Kabasakal & Bodur, 2004).

At the organisational level, humane orientation reflects healthy working conditions, respect and concern for employees, while low humane orientation is indicative of exploitative behaviour, neglect of employee welfare, and viewing employees merely as machines doing the work rather than human beings (Booysen, 1999).

<div align="center">High Performance versus Low Performance Orientation</div>

This value dimension refers to the extent to which an organisation or society encourages and rewards members for performance improvement, innovation and excellence. In highly individualistic societies, performance orientation manifests on the individual level, whereas in

collectivistic societies it manifests at the group level. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the cross-cultural study of Hofstede (1980a) did not identify this dimension directly, but his masculinity/femininity dimension incorporates attributes such as challenge, advancement, importance of performance at school, and job recognition (Javidan, 2004).

Javidan (2004, p. 243) stated that this dimension "is an internally consistent set of practices and values that have an impact on the way a society defines success in adapting to external challenges, and the way the society manages interrelationships among its people." High performance orientation societies value training and development and tend to emphasise results more than people, while valuing assertiveness, competitiveness and materialism. Furthermore, the focus is on rewarding individual achievement and organisational performance appraisal systems emphasise achieving results. As a result, these societies tend to value what the individual does more than who the individual is. They value a sense of urgency in everything they do and seem to view time as a limited, sequential and linear commodity.

Low performance orientation societies value societal and family relationships, while emphasising loyalty and belongingness. They respect quality of life, regard being motivated by money as unsuitable, and view merit pay as potentially detrimental to harmony within the group. Hence, these societies have organisation performance systems that accentuate integrity and loyalty. They view feedback and performance appraisal as judgemental, and assertiveness as socially undesirable. Consequently, these societies value who the individual is more than what the individual does. Since they tend to view time as a circular and continual commodity, they often have a low sense of urgency ― time is to be savoured and not rushed (Booysen, 1999; Javidan, 2004).

According to House et al. (1999, p. 186), the above-mentioned cultural value dimensions do not only reflect the dimensions of Hofstede's value belief theory, but also McClelland's (1987) theories of national economic development and human motivation. The humane orientation, power distance, and performance orientation dimensions are theoretically similar to the affiliative, power and achievement motives in McClelland's Implicit Motivation Theory.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NATIONAL AND ORGANISATIONAL CULTURES

The use of the term "culture" for both nations and organisations implies that the two kinds of cultures are similar, which is not accurate. National cultures differ mainly in the values that are acquired in early childhood by the majority of their members. Organisational cultures are more superficial, consisting mainly of the visible practices of the organisation that are acquired during socialisation processes of new employees. Since employee values have been internalised in the family of origin, the school and the broader community, the organisation can only influence employees' values to a limited extent. Hofstede (1991, 1993, 1994a, 1999) pointed out that culture is composed of four elements, namely symbols, heroes, rituals, and values ― and that the difference between national and organisational cultures is due to the different roles played in each by these four manifestations of culture (Figure 1).

*Symbols* are words, objects, gestures and pictures that have a specific meaning only recognised by members of the specific national or organisational culture. At the level of national culture, symbols include language and at the level of organisational culture, that of slang, acronyms, status symbols and dress codes. New symbols are relatively easily developed and old ones disappear, while symbols from one group are regularly copied by another group. According to Hofstede (1991), this is the reason why symbols have been placed in the outer, most superficial layer of Figure 1.
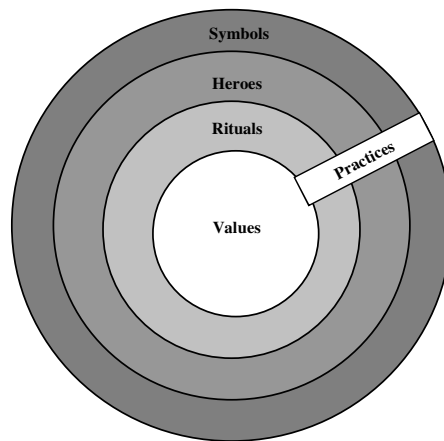


**Figure 1        Manifestations of Culture (Hofstede, 1991, p. 9)**

*Heroes* are people who serve as models for behaviour within a culture. Hofstede (1991) mentioned that these people can be dead or alive, real or even imaginary in a specific culture. Recruitment and selection processes in organisations are often based on hero models of the ideal employee, with organisational founders becoming heroes later in the history of their organisations.

*Rituals* are collective activities which are considered socially essential within a given culture. Societal rituals include ways of greeting and social and religious ceremonies. Organisational rituals include how and when organisations conduct meetings, ways of communicating, informal activities, like who can be late for what activity, and so forth (Hofstede, 1994a).

Hofstede (1991) considered heroes, rituals, and symbols as practices. Practices are observable by members of other cultures or organisations (out-group members), but the deeper, cultural meaning of these practices are not visible to out-group members. The cultural meaning of these practices can only be interpreted by in-group members.

The core of any culture consists of *values*. As mentioned earlier, values are "broad feelings, often unconscious and not open to discussion, about what is good and what is bad, clean or dirty, beautiful or ugly, rational or irrational, normal or abnormal, natural or paradoxical, decent or indecent" (Hofstede, 1994a, p. 13). As such, values cannot be observed by out-group members, they can only be inferred from the way people behave under various circumstances.

Hofstede (1991) compared employees of various organisations within the same national cultures and the results showed considerable differences in practices, while differences in their values were much smaller.

At the national level, cultural differences exist predominantly in values and less in practices (as can be seen in Figure 2). At the organisational level, cultural differences exist mainly in

practices and less in values. Hofstede (1991) incorporated an occupational level where individuals will have to acquire both values and practices when entering an occupational field.
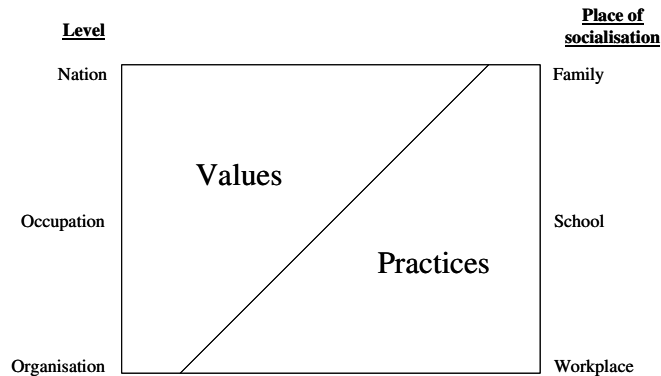


**Figure 2        The Nature of Cultural Differences (Hofstede, 1991, p. 182).**

The differences between the values-practices balance is explained by the place of socialisation on the right of Figure 2. Values are acquired during early youth, mainly in the family of origin or later at school. Organisational practices are internalised during socialisation processes at the workplace.

Hofstede pointed out that descriptions of organisational cultures often reflect the values of the founder-leaders of organisations only. He acknowledged that the values of founder-leaders shaped organisational culture, but through the process of shared practices. "Founders-leaders' values become members' practices" (1991, p. 183).

CULTURAL CHANGE

Societies and people change continuously. Globally, loss of traditions coexists with support for their preservation, re-establishment and even the invention of new traditions. Due to globalisation and ever-increasing technological developments in communication, cross-border commerce, and other forms of cross-cultural interaction, societies are more exposed to influences from other societies than ever before. This is impacting on social dynamics and creating cultural challenges that may result in changes in any of the cultural dimensions. In

recent years, a major focus in cross-cultural psychology also emerged which views cultures as changing contexts due to the increased contact with other cultures, but also because of their own internal dynamics (Berry, 1997a; Berry & Sam, 1997; Hofstede & Soeters, 2002; House et al., 1999).

Despite these ever-increasing changes and exposure to the cultural values of other societies, Hofstede (1980a, 1984) and Hofstede and Soeters (2002) were convinced that values, and therefore culture, in the sense of collective mental programming, change very slowly. This is because the collective mental programming is shared by the majority of people in a society, and it has become crystallised in the institutions of the society such as in families, in educational structures, in religious organisations, in the form of government, in work organisations, and in science (Hofstede, 1980b). Although there seem to be changes in the scores of the measurements of the cultural value dimensions over time, they are still very unique to specific cultures and the differences between cultures remain remarkably stable. Hofstede and Soeters referred to the Japanese society as an example, "So we expect Japanese society to become somewhat more like Western societies in terms of Individualism, but at the same time to remain as 'strange' to foreigners as it has always been before" (2002, p. 13).

The sub-cultural groups in plural societies are often not numerically, economically, or politically equal in power (Berry, 1997b). South Africa is such a culturally plural society, and the different sub-cultural groups with their distinctive cultural value dimensions are significantly interacting with each other on a daily basis, especially in the work environment. This raises a practical question: What happens to the cultural values of the various sub-cultural groups that have developed in specific and often exclusive cultural contexts when individuals of these sub-cultures interact and attempt to live and work together in the culturally plural South African context?

According to Berry (1997b) and Berry and Sam (1997), many theoretical perspectives have been developed during the study of cultural transitions. Some common meanings are, nonetheless, widely shared and refer to the concepts of acculturation and acculturation strategies.

Acculturation

Acculturation refers to those phenomena that result when members from culturally diverse groups come into constant personal contact with ensuing changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups (Berry, 1997b; Berry & Sam, 1997).

It is also crucial to distinguish between collective or group-level acculturation and individual level acculturation. During collective acculturation, there is a change in the culture of the group, and during individual level acculturation there is a change in the psychology of the individual. Group-level acculturation can range from relatively superficial or behavioural changes, to more deep-seated psychological changes. The behavioural changes relate to cultural learning and the adoption of the observable or external aspects of the other culture(s), which could include language, fashion, social skills, and more. This can also refer to the so-called symbols and rituals as depicted in Figure 1. Subsequently, there is the deeper individual or psychological acculturation that relates to more complex processes where the norms, values, ideologies, beliefs, and attitudes of the other culture(s) are internalised (Berry, 1997b; Berry & Sam, 1997).

The distinction between collective and individual acculturation is important in examining the systematic relationships between the two sets of variables, and because not all individuals participate equally in the acculturation process experienced by their group. "While the general changes may be profound in the group, individuals are known to vary greatly in the degree to which they participate in these community changes" (Berry, 1997b, p. 7). Marino, Stuart and Minas (2000) also mentioned that the level of acculturation may fluctuate according to individual and group needs, as well as opportunities for integration of other culture's values.

An explanation offered by Berry (1997b) is that new knowledge and roles could be acquired quickly without affecting individual values, resulting in group members being highly acculturated in one aspect of life (knowledge and practices) and not in others (values and beliefs). The variation between individual members could also be as a result of the salient sphere or domain. In private domains, like the home or extended family, cultural maintenance
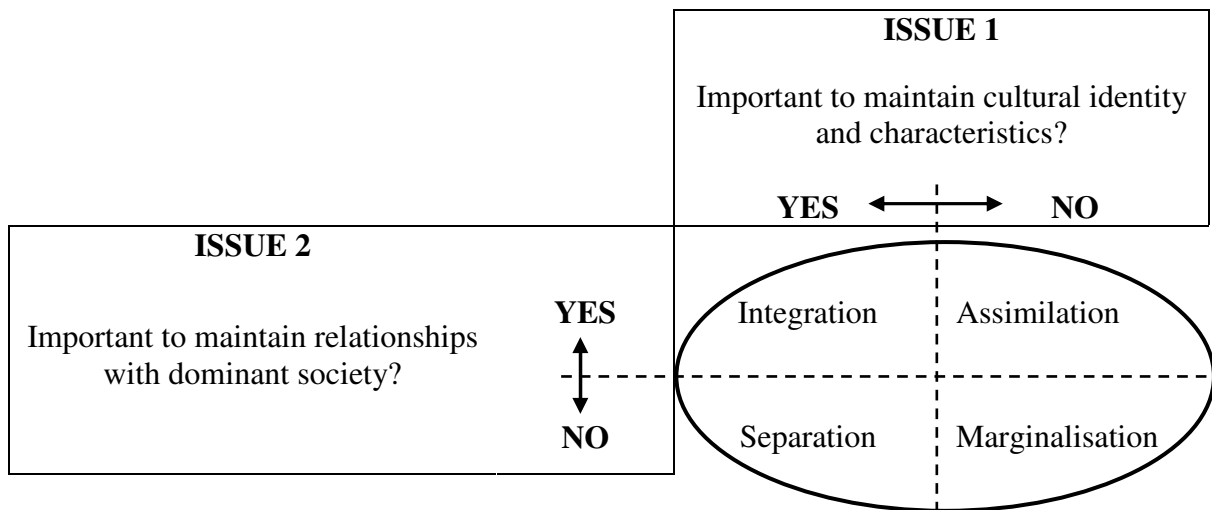
may be preferred, compared to public domains, like the work place where there is often more inter-group contact.

Shriberg, Shriberg and Lloyd (2002) described a metaphor that can be useful to understand the above-mentioned process of acculturation. They compared culture with the metaphor of an iceberg, where only a small portion of the huge iceberg is in sight. The visible part refers to the external or explicit aspects of the culture, for example architecture, dress, transportation, food, knowledge and practices, and it is often these aspects that are acquired relatively easily during acculturation. The invisible part of the culture iceberg refers to the internal or implicit aspects of culture like attitudes, assumptions, beliefs and values, and these are not easily acquired during inter-cultural contact.

<p align="center">Acculturation Strategies</p>

Berry (1997b), Berry and Sam (1997), and Triandis (1995a) wrote that individual members of cultural groups in plural societies must deal with the issues on how to acculturate. These issues refer to cultural maintenance versus contact and participation. The former signifies how important cultural identity and characteristics are to individual group members and to what extent it should be maintained, while the latter refers to what extent individuals should remain primarily in their own cultural group or become involved in other cultural groups. When these two issues are considered simultaneously, four acculturation strategies emerge (see Figure 3).

Integration entails that each group maintains its culture, while maintaining contact with the other culture. This allows for some degree of cultural integrity to be maintained. Assimilation occurs when individual group members do not maintain their own culture, but seek daily interaction with the other culture. This strategy is sometimes referred to as the notion of the "melting pot". When the group chooses to maintain its culture whilst avoiding interaction with the other groups, separation occurs. Marginalisation occurs when there is neither interest in maintaining cultural identity (often due to compulsory cultural loss), nor contact with the other culture (often due to exclusion or discrimination) (Berry, 1997b; Berry & Sam, 1997; Triandis, 1995a).

| ISSUE 1 |
| --- |
| Important to maintain cultural identity and characteristics? |

YES ⟷ NO

| ISSUE 2 | YES |
| --- | --- |
| Important to maintain relationships with dominant society? | NO |

| | |
| --- | --- |
| Integration | Assimilation |
| Separation | Marginalisation |

**Figure 3        Acculturation Strategies (Berry & Sam, 1997, p. 296).**

Core and Peripheral Cultural Values

Blignault (2002) distinguished between core and peripheral family ecological values and the role of family members in the transfer of these values in a group of young adult South African females. *Core values* related to the basic relationships of the individual, namely relationship with the self, relationship with others, and the meta-physical relationship with God. Aesthetic, recreational, political, national, cultural, authority, and environmental values where identified as *peripheral values*. Considering Blignault's (2002) identification of core values, the question can be asked whether certain cultural values could be identified as core cultural values. Furthermore, do these cultural values change during the process of acculturation discussed earlier, and if so, do certain cultural values (labelled peripheral values) change before others (core values)?

Hofstede (1980a, 1991) determined cultural values by aggregating the values of individual members within the specific cultures. Individual scores are a product both of a shared culture and of unique personal experiences. This results in individual variation in value scores due to the unique personalities of different individuals. The average scores reflect the central drive of their shared enculturation and point to the fundamental, collective cultural values (Bond,

1997). Hofstede (1980b) also emphasised that culture is not a characteristic of individuals, but that it consists of a number of people who were conditioned by comparable life experiences.

Numerous authors (Bond, 1997; Dorfman & Howell, 1988; Ferdman, 1995; Hofstede, 1980a, 1980b, 1991; House & Hanges, 2004; Schwartz, 1999) cautioned against the ecological fallacy when interpreting cultural values ― assuming that something that is true at the group level is true for every individual of that group. The cultural values refer to the common elements or norms within each society, and not to individual values. It was mentioned earlier that the individual level equivalent of individualism/collectivism is the definition of the self as interdependent in collectivism but independent in individualism. Considering the ecological fallacy, this cannot be interpreted to mean that individuals high on collectivism will display an interdependent self, while those high on individualism will display an independent self.

Although cultural values are focussed on the group level, they consist of the values expressed and enacted by individuals. As noted earlier, Hofstede (1980a, 1991) determined cultural values by calculating the average scores of the individual group members. According to Berry and Sam, this gives an indication of "the central thrust of their shared enculturation, independent of individual differences due to unique experiences or heredity" (1997, p. 95). Ferdman asked the following question: "Is the group's culture in the mind of each member, or is it an abstract notion at the collective level?" (1995, p. 42). He concluded that the group culture exists in the mind of each individual as that individual's theory of the code that other group members are following. This code may be unconscious, but it is used to construe events and also shape decisions about how to behave.

One should keep in mind that it is individuals from different cultural groups interacting with each other during intercultural contact. Whereas the different South African sub-cultural groups lived very separate lives during the Apartheid era (pre-1994), individuals of the various groups are now spending more time interacting with each other than before. Çileli (2000) pointed out that values are generally more stable in stationary than in changing societies. Given the changing South African socio-political, legal, and economic contexts, it is likely that cultural values of the four South African sub-cultural groups may change as

individuals are exposed to the norms, values, ideologies, beliefs and attitudes of the other South African sub-culture groups.

Hofstede (1980a, 1980b) focused on the change of the Individualism/Collectivism dimension of various societies. "These show a consistent increase in individualism, which can be proven to follow, rather than precede, the increase in wealth in the countries concerned" (Hofstede, 1980b, p. 395). A society's degree of economic evolution or development, globalisation, and Westernisation is a major determinant of societal norms.

Of all the cultural value dimensions, the individualism/collectivism dimension relates most closely to a country's level of economic development (Hofstede, 1980a, 1980b). As the level of economic development increases, more women are found in the labour force, the average marrital age increases, people become more dissatisfied with their current living conditions, and materialism escalates. Despite the shift to greater individualism due to economic development, this does not seem to impact on any of the other value dimensions (Hofstede & Bond, 1988; Hofstede & Soeters, 2002).

It would thus seem that changes in the individualism/collectivism dimension are linked to the increase in wealth. As more individuals from the various sub-culture groups in South Africa are sharing in the country's wealth and resources that were previously not accessible to all sub-culture groups, it is likely that this value dimension will not be too difficult to change. However, the extent and priority of change in the other cultural value dimensions need to be determined.

<div align="center">SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM</div>

The cultural value dimensions discussed in this chapter could be interpreted as social constructions. Gergen (1985, 1997, 1999, 2001) is seen as one of the best-known spokespersons of social constructionism (Liebrucks, 2001; Maze, 2001). Gergen maintained that social constructionism is "principally concerned with explicating the process by which people come to describe, explain, or otherwise account for the world (including themselves)

in which they live" (1985, p. 266). He pointed out that the term "constructivism" is also used in referring to the same movement, but that it is also used in reference to Piagetian theory and to a movement in twentieth century art. As such, he proposed the use of the term constructionism to avoid uncertainty. Durrheim (1997) explained that various kinds of constructionism have influenced psychological theory, especially relating to individual constructions. He pointed out that social constructionism, by contrast, accentuates the social, historical and collective aspects of human consciousness. As such, an important concept of social constructionism revolves around finding meaning that moves away from reality as an objective truth.

Social constructionism encourages one to challenge the objective basis of conventional knowledge by suspending commonly accepted understandings of categories such as gender, race, beliefs, sexuality, emotions, and so on. Since the objective criteria for identifying these categories are very much restricted by culture, language, social context or history, the position of social constructionism is that beliefs about reality are created in social interaction. These beliefs about reality are not dependent on social interaction. Instead, social interaction merely plays an important role in the construction of these beliefs about reality. "Reality" does not refer to reality itself, but only to the beliefs we have about reality.

As such, social constructionism is described as a critical and radical approach which "…questions the scientific and non-political nature of psychology, traditional research methods and the very nature of reality itself" (Jarvis, 2000, p. 132). It encourages people to suspend their fixed ideas, which will allow them not only to interpret the world in different ways, but also to investigate multiple realities. It is then that they can consider the possibility that the things they have come to believe as significant and true, might be interpreted differently by someone interpreting it from another perspective.

Social Constructionism and Scientific Knowledge

In the sociology of scientific knowledge, the social constructionist viewpoint emerged from empirical studies of knowledge production in the natural sciences that had mostly been

conducted in laboratories. Forerunners of social constructionism in the natural sciences maintained that facts are not inventions of individual scientists, but outcomes or constructions of the research collective. This did not imply that they believed reality to be constructed by individuals; it focussed on the processes that lead to the acceptance of *discursive constructions,* such as hypotheses, laws, and theories, as valid, or as representations of the facts. In their studies of science, social constructionists found that from the data gathering to data analysis and interpretation, there are no fixed rules during the scientific research process. There is always some level of discretion and room for interpretation. There are standards of scientific research, but they only serve as guidelines that are often interpreted in different ways, depending on the context (Liebrucks, 2001).

*Material constructions* refer to the viewpoint that scientists design experiments, build scientific measurement apparatus and prepare substances in anticipation of the findings they are expecting to find. If the outcome is not successful, researchers will often change the design, adjust the measuring equipment or replace one substance for another until they find what they were looking for. The guiding principle is not on speculation and elimination, but to keep on trying until the specific theory or hypothesis is confirmed. The scientific research process does not take place in a social vacuum. It is embedded in a society. A major component of scientific knowledge production is dependent on the conceptual and methodological framework of the scientists. Scientists who have been socialised in different ways and whose conceptual backgrounds differ from each other, will often hold completely different perceptions of the specific research questions. The different perceptions and conceptual backgrounds do "not transpose them to different worlds; rather they afford them different perspectives on the one world they are both living in" (Liebrucks, 2001, p. 372).

Social Constructionism and Theoretical Psychology

Whereas natural scientists devoted their attention primarily to the constructions about beliefs and about reality — manipulating material objects to justify these constructions — psychologists concerned themselves with the construction of reality itself, or the construction of persons and their minds. In this context, *discursive constructions* refer to properties of

persons that exist only in the context of a specific discourse, relative to the meaning system of a community which cannot be recognised independently of this context. This statement can be explained by roles. For instance, a person cannot assume the role of, for example, an *iNyanga* (herbalist or traditional medicinal healer in Zulu culture) if he or she is not regarded as such by others, or if there is no meaning system providing for such a role.

Furthermore, the question as to what psychological concepts like 'emotion,' 'attitude,' and 'values' mean, are seldom raised. These concepts are taken from ordinary language and the outcome of research regarding these psychological concepts should be consistent with the use of the term or concept in everyday conversations and not something completely different that has been developed in a laboratory. Consequently, psychological research should be based on a clear understanding about the meaning of day-by-day psychological concepts. Unfortunately, our understanding of how these concepts are used is implicit and the role of social constructionism is often to make knowledge regarding these psychological concepts explicit. It is when researchers interpret these concepts as constructions within a particular history, culture and social relationships that they can consider various possibilities and alternatives  (Gergen, 1999; Liebrucks, 2001).

*Material constructions* are seen as the properties of persons that are created by discourses but which are still identifiable at the level of behaviour patterns. Gergen (1999) pointed out that relationships and the influence of historical and cultural tradition are significant in creating meaning during this process. An example is provided by certain skills. The *iNyanga* could not have learned how to heal someone if he or she had not been instructed by someone else during the educational process. His or her performance during consultations with patients can be described on the level of behaviour patterns. However, it is not possible to understand the origin of the behaviour without understanding the content or background of the instruction or education.

To be seen as a proper member of a community, members must be able to act appropriately in a given situation by conforming to the rules of that community. These rules are often in conflict with one another. Although they provide for some flexibility from time to time, new

rules have to be created or old rules adapted to be applied in new situations. Liebrucks affirmed that social constructionists "…do not deny that human conduct has its natural foundations in human ethology" (2001, p. 380) when they refer to the importance of rules and conventions in our daily psychological functioning.

When we are born, our psychological functioning is not much further developed than that of the higher primates. We do, however, have the ability to transform psychological functions, like thinking, memory and attention, to a higher level by our ability to acquire new information through the tool of symbolic means. As we grow up, others will direct our attention by language and gestures ― either by pointing out certain things, trying to change our perspectives, ordering and shaping our actions, encouraging or restraining us, evaluating our behaviour, and setting goals ― and gradually we become persons in the full sense of the word (Liebrucks, 2001). During this process, our world-view (our sense of how things work, what is valuable, why things are the way they are), sense of self, our identity and purpose, and ideologies are constructed. This corresponds with the view held by Gergen that "…the process of understanding is not automatically driven by the forces of nature, but is the result of an active, cooperative enterprise of persons in relationship" (1985, p. 267).

<div align="center">Construction of Social Categories</div>

Social constructionists maintain that the beliefs about reality, which are constructed in social interaction, are important in the construction of institutions and persons. Not only do social processes or interactions play an important role in the formation of beliefs about reality, but in a "dialectical way our beliefs also affect social processes via our discourses and actions" (Liebrucks, 2001, p. 365). Jarvis (2000) and Edley (2001) explained that people can only interpret the world as it is represented in their culture and language. Language is, therefore, very important in social constructionism, because the language we use to describe something, affects our perception and interpretation of it. As such, discourses can give rise to forms of social life, such as gender, race, social class, and national identity.

The insight that people can only interpret the world as it is represented in their culture and language, played a significant role in the Value-Belief Theory of Hofstede (1980a, 1991). Hofstede interpreted the responses of more than 100,000 employees of an organisation represented in more than 40 countries to derive four dimensions from a factor analysis of culture averages. This four-factor map enabled cross-cultural psychologists to build a theoretical structure for explaining cross-cultural differences in behaviour. The Chinese Culture Connection (1987, p. 144), however, pointed out that these "…dimensions of cultural variation…may themselves be culture bound", due to the fact that social science, researchers and instrumentation involved were Western in origin. Hofstede (1990) acknowledged that the questionnaire that had been used was composed by Western minds and that it took an instrument developed by Asian minds to find a fifth dimension of national culture differences.

On the word of Rodkin (1993), constructionists do not agree with the generally held belief that categories like race, ethnicity or gender consist of intrinsic traits. These ascribed traits are created collectively and majorities are often accused of constructing minority definitions in order to maintain majority domination. Constructionists view these categorisations as social constructions that are defined by society, and in their view society is defined by power. A similarity between people is their tendency to build stereotypes of others solely based on their perceptions of prominent differences, for example, between "femaleness" and "maleness" or "blackness" and "whiteness".

Even though people often make these stereotypical judgements of so called out-group members, or dissimilar others, without being consciously aware of it, it is clear that people categorise. A reason given for this is that people need to reduce the huge amount of information they are being bombarded with on a daily basis, into manageable units, or schemas. Despite obvious evidence for the existence of individual differences among out-group members, people still find it meaningful to construct mental categories, although they are not static. Categorisation is a universal and involuntary aspect of human nature over which people only have some control (Rodkin, 1993).

Implications of Social Constructionism

When reading books and articles on social constructionism, one cannot but agree with Jarvis, "This is complex stuff..." (2000, p. 132). In discussing the idea of dividing the construct into ontological and epistemic senses of social constructionism, Edley wrote that the "conflation" and "confusion" of concepts within social constructionism has "fuelled countless academic arguments" which have "often been exploited for rhetorical effect" (2001, p. 439). However, many social constructionists do not see language as the only reality. Most understand that descriptions and explanations are seldom neutral or value-free due to a specific context, and most also agree that discourses can give rise to forms of social life, such as gender, race, and sexual orientation.

Gergen, Gulerce, Lock, and Misra asked the question, "To what degree and with what effects is psychological science itself a cultural manifestation?" (1996, p. 497). These authors emphasised that cultural manifestations are interpreted by researchers within their individually lived cultural experiences. As such, the science is based on the assumptions of psychological functioning of the individual researchers. Considering this, as well as Liebruck's (2001) viewpoint of discursive and material constructions and their role in the scientific knowledge and theoretical psychology research process, it seems appropriate to analyse and interpret findings of the results of the present study as supportive of constructionist thought. It must be emphasised that this interpretation will, however, be more moderate than that of constructionists like Gergen (1985).

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter discussed the importance of values in order to distinguish between cultures and sub-cultures when investigating individual and cultural changes in the dynamic social context of the world we live in. Values form the core of culture. On the individual level, values represents the motivational goals that serve as guiding principles in the lives of individuals, and on the culture-level they refer to the socially shared ideas about what is good or desirable in a society or culture group. The five bi-polar value dimensions identified by Hofstede

(1980a) and Hofstede and Bond (1988), as well as the two cultural value dimensions identified by Project-GLOBE (House et al., 1999) were discussed in detail, after which differences between national and organisational cultures were highlighted.

Considering the discussions regarding cultural change and acculturation, it became evident that societies, cultures, and individuals change continuously as a result of globalisation, cross-border commerce, technological developments in communication and other forms of cross-cultural interaction. Hofstede (1984) expressed the opinion that values change very slowly, but it was argued that changes in the cultural values of the South African sub-culture groups could be a reality, due to the uniquely South African context where different sub-cultural groups with their distinctive cultural value dimensions are meaningfully interacting with each other on a daily basis. The possibility of certain cultural values (peripheral values) changing before others (core values) was also examined.

This chapter also explored the theory of social constructionism in relation to cultural value dimensions. This theory challenges the objective basis of conventional knowledge by suspending commonly accepted understandings of categories such as gender, race, sexual orientation, and so forth. Culture and cultural values are social constructs that are learned through social interaction, and as such, people often interpret the world as it is represented in their culture and language. Constructionists reject the idea that such categories consist of intrinsic traits due to the obvious evidence of individual differences among members belonging to the same categories. Being aware of the fact that statistically significant differences between various categories or groups can entrench certain beliefs that are not necessarily true on individual level or are not practically significant, a decision was made to interpret findings and results of the present study mindful of constructionist thought.

The concept of leadership in general, and transformational and transactional leadership in particular, will be presented in Chapter 3. This chapter will also explore the concepts of new economy leadership and female leadership.