Globalisation and HR Practices in Africa: When culture refuses to make way for so-called universalistic perspectives

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ABSTRACT

The paper examines how some factors embedded in the cultural and institutional framework in Sub-Saharan African organisations interact with global perspectives and the degree of resistance they present to changes in human resource management (HRM) processes. The paper considers aspects of the universalistic perspectives that have resonance for human resource practices in Africa. Furthermore, it evaluates the question of the tensions between the contributions derived from indigenous and historical factors, and the inputs from external sources, to human resource management in Africa. The research is based on a survey among 100 practicing African HRM professionals drawn from the major institutional actors in Nigeria.

The research found that, despite the impact of globalisation and the Westernisaion of training and development in Africa, HRM practices remain largely culture-bound. Many aspects of Sub-Saharan African cultures pervade organisational processes, e.g. collectivism and paternalism, that 'refuse' to make way for change. However, the paper concludes that some of these temerarious cultural aspects - often described as counter-productive in much of the literature - could be utilised for community and employee engagement.

The paper makes a significant contribution to the literature on HRM practices in Africa, an area under-researched. It provides an opportunity for African HR managers to be more pragmatic in identifying the contextual issues and begin to identify aspects of African culture that could be value-adding in a fast-changing management landscape. The paper demonstrates that HRM policies have specific cultural orientations and reflect the societal predispositions of the region; this exemplifies how cultural paradigms, the political sphere and organisational life are intertwined in an African context.

Key words: Culture, normative social influence, HR practices, globalisation, Sub-Saharan Africa, universalistic perspectives.

INTRODUCTION

Human resource management in Africa is generally under-researched (Kamoche et al., 2012). Thus, evaluating resourcing practices in Africa is an extremely complex exercise, not least due to this shortage of literature but also owing to socio-cultural and political intricacies. As for many other areas of human resource management, practices tend to vary according to several parameters, including country, culture and the economic system (Mamman et al., 2018; Iguisi, 2014). From south to north and east to west of Africa, HRM practices will differ from but keep some general trends which tend to be issues that run through the field of human resources (Kamoche et al., 2012).

The past decade has been marked by significant numbers of countries transforming their economies to become substantial contributors to the globalised economy. African nations

such Nigeria, Ethiopia and Kenya, etc. have not been exempt. Such economies are characterised by a variety of factors, a central one being the evolution of the industrial relations systems and their institutional arrangements towards more global structures. An important issue which organisational discourses address is that of the efficacy of HR practices, both in terms of the democratisation process and the benefits, and hence competitive advantages that companies might gain (Hack-Polay & Siwale, 2018).

There have been numerous internal and external influences on the initiation and development of HR practices in Africa (Kamoche et al., 2012). On the one hand, there are the cultural and historical imperatives which have shaped the HRM system. On the other hand, there are the influences of the globalisation of economic activities which comes with imported practices by multinational enterprises, some rooted in the Anglo-Saxon and European traditions (Briscoe, Schuler & Tarique, 2012; Reilly & Williams, 2016; Gamble, 2003). As an example, Nigerian transformation is marked by the shift from dictatorship towards democratic political structures; the actors in the organisational system play a significant role in this process. In particular, there appears to have been a linkage between democratisation in the economic sphere and human resource processes (Vredenburgh & Brender, 1993). Universal models of HR practices have long democratic traditions and well-established legislative provisions. The impact of these models on African economies have been subjected to changes through political, social and economic evolution, and the broader drivers of the globalisation process but at the same time they have not been extensively investigated (Hack-Polay, 2018; Kamoche et al., 2012; Kamoche, 2011).

Sub-Saharan Africa is a geographical area which has undergone dramatic political and economic changes and is in a complex transformation process reliant on the ability of its

economy to grow (Lundvall & Lema, 2015; Hack-Polay & Siwale, 2018; Ayiteh, 1992). Human resources in Africa form a crucial element of the overall transformation process and, in particular, in its contribution to the growth and stability of the economy (Mamman et al., 2018; Iguisi, 2014). However, research in many African countries is confronted with the problem of the massive dependency on the state, the legacy of the colonial era and the associated inheritance of conflict between federal, state and local government, the persistence of corruption, and the decades of military dictatorship (Hack-Polay, 2018; Ayiteh, 1992). With evolving economic dynamics and globalisation, there are compelling reasons to examine the degree to which African HRM keeps abreast with these dynamics (Veeran, 2012; Onodugo, 2012; Budhwar & Debrah, 2008). Thus, the main research questions of this research focus on: To what extent do inherited colonial structures conflict with human resource management practices in modern Sub-Saharan African organisations? What dilemma do HR managers face? To what extent is there willingness to challenge these dilemma and what impediments they face?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Outlook of African HRM Practices

Human resource practices in Africa are inextricably associated with the continent's colonial legacy. Though enjoying a degree of independence presently, African countries still suffer the aftermath of colonial rule (Iguisi, 2014; Ayiteh, 1992). It is, thus, worth investigating if the effect of the colonisation remains prevalent and the extent to which these past experiences influence human resource practices in contemporary Africa. Human resource is a significant area on which these recent developments have had a dramatic impact in redefining the relationships between institutional structures and

decision-making processes. The key actors in organisational systems are essential in this new global environment. Concomitant with this understanding is the recognition that an effective human resource system is an important determinant of organisational and national economic performance (Hack-Polay, 2018; Iguisi, 2014; Reilly & Williams, 1993).

The field of human resource management in many developing economies, particularly Africa, lacks significant contributions in terms of depth of studies and empirical findings (Budhwar & Debrah, 2008). HRM practices are often labelled administrative and clerical as opposed to more strategic endeavours (Okpara & Wynn, 2008; Kamoche et al., 2004) to help organisational performance. Most publications dealing with the development of human resources management generally but only few focus on HRM from the perspective of colonial imperialism across the region (Adeleye, 2011). As a result, the ailment of African organisations is in part due to the failure of HRM and labour relations in addition to political mismanagement (Kamoche, 2002). Apart from the paucity of literature in this area, there appear to be limited publications from African authors with the required exposure and working experiences in these economies. This may not be because of lack of interest or availability but in several cases, funding has remained a profound limitation.

This paper, thus, examines the evolving developments in HR practices in the workplace from a different perspective. For example, the practice of 'labour democracy' varies from industry to industry and from region to region. Some of these workplaces encapsulate freedom of association and collective bargaining; but others have some restrictions though allowing independent trade unions; some others have stringent

restrictions; a final type has practically no freedom of association. Interestingly, the paper reveals that employees are not necessarily searching for freedom of association (which is traditionally pursued by trade unions) but for recognition, which derives from understanding their orientation. Therefore, they wish their minds and hearts to be won by their employers, which is beyond 'filling their pockets' and sometimes beyond the roles of trade unions and collective agreements. Additionally, there has been significant literature on employee voice but understanding employer voice provides even a better platform for effective workplace participation (Kaufman, 2014).

The framework of industrial relations in many African countries is centred on a tripartite arrangement: government and its agencies, workers and their organisations, and employees and their associations. Perhaps of all HRM areas, human resource planning is the patchiest in Africa. It is less often talked about and applied in practice. Few commentators and books will specifically mention this critical area of human resource practice. However, its importance is not arguable. According to Stewart & Rogers (2012), human resource planning is about forecasting to ensure the right people in the right position at the right time. This suggests that planning is the starting point of the HR activity. It enables the development of a clear view of how HRM policies and procedures (or the HR strategy) is aligned with the organisation's overall business strategy. For instance, depending on the business strategy, HR planning will ascertain the type of skills and people required, the training and development needs to be met, reward levels that are motivating and retention strategy as well as succession plans. If an organisation wants to expand nationally or go international, HR planning will be concerned with forecasting staffing levels and skills, look into cultural issues associated with the new location, the development (or maintenance) or organisational culture across all the

offices and incentives or rewards which are adequate to attract quality employees into the new venture, etc.

As it can be seen, human resource planning has a forecasting function which is essential if organisations, and indeed African nations themselves, want to reduce risks as they embark on new paths and take steps into the unknown. Horwitz, Nkomo & Rajah (2004) place the need to formulate critical HR strategies at both organisational and country level as one of the key strategic imperatives facing HRM. The lack of human resource planning in many African organisations removes much strategic dimension from the human resource management function. HRM in many such organisations becomes administrative rather than strategic and reactive rather than pursue proactive activities that would help anticipate change and minimise possible disruptive effects. The literature consistently acknowledges that human resource management in Africa remains more consistent with the traditional personnel function, dealing with mostly day-to-day administrative tasks (Kamoche et al., 2004; Budhwar & Debrah, 2005). However, are HR departments solely to blame for the status quo? It could be argued that the African organisation as a whole has some responsibilities in the lack of strategic stance on human resource. For instance, if the company itself does not have a robust business strategy, as may be the case in many African companies, then the need for human resource planning becomes an unnecessary and redundant activity. If there is no clear goal to work towards, then human resource planning becomes an irrelevant exercise.

Culture boundedness of HRM

With respect to developing economies, there has been debate about alternative approaches to examining development and participation, e.g. classic accounts of development and participation, contemporary institutional approaches, cultural accounts and dominant

models. However, it is acknowledged that allowing for the periodic emergence and diffusions of alternative models cannot be ignored (Hollinsworth, 2006; Wood, 2010). Aycan *et al.* (2006) alluded to the fact that the model of culture fit suggests that organisational culture is shaped by multiple forces which are unrelated to societal culture, albeit paying attention to selection of organisational and country characteristics is paramount.

The Globe Project (a network of social scientists and management scholars from several cultures working in a coordinated long-term effort to examine t h e interrelationships between societal culture, organisational culture and organisational leadership) identified the Human-Oriented approach as a management orientation based on cultural studies. This perspective identifies such a leadership style as supportive and involving compassion and generosity towards subordinates (Javidan *et al.* 2006). However, Project Globe does not examine the factors that drive this perspective, other than culture in a wider perspective. Furthermore, the work of some scholars (Besamusca & Tijdens, 2015), in comparing the contents of collective bargaining agreements for developing countries (mainly Africa) is quite revealing but it does not elucidate the appropriateness of the contents in the challenging environments of many developing countries; neither does it anticipate any emerging scenarios and the required pragmatism. However, the findings of Hayter *et al.* (2011) - alluding to innovative practices in respect of the applications of collective bargaining and the role of stake holders - provides an interesting trajectory for the paper.

Although, numerous studies (Woods, 2010; Besamusca & Tijdens, 2015; Larmache, 2015) highlight the importance of collective bargaining in the HRM literature, there are limited literature and empirical studies that identify workforce cultural orientation as concomitant to

workforce expectations in developing economies. Neither do Western employment frames of reference represent appropriate theoretical paradigms for the analysis of the socio-economic context inherent to employment relations in many developing economies (Khan & Ackers, 2004; Wood, 2010). The paper also highlights the challenges of the institutional settings (such as lack of pro-labour policies, laws providing social protection, expanding collective bargaining and lowering the threshold for collective agreements) as important 'ingredients' in the sustenance of collective bargaining (Kocer & Hayter, 2011).

The socio-economic challenges

The socio-economic situation has a significant bearing on employee engagement. The study of Black (2005) alluding to the fact that countries with high individualistic tendencies will have relatively low collective bargaining co-ordination is relevant to this study. It highlights the importance of employee engagement beyond collective bargaining because this is the channel for making individual and 'collective indirect demand' (outside of any formal settings) to seek support.

Most HR processes cover various employee benefits. The intention is to demonstrate the commitment of the company to addressing various issues that are relevant to employment relationships. For example, it is common to indicate items such as utility, education support, housing loan, meal subsidy and vehicle loans - to name a few- in conditions of employment. This strong paternalistic approach to management helps to explain the reason why the employee views the employer as an extension of family.

According to the NECA (Nigeria Employers Consultative Association) survey on remuneration practices across member companies, all 8 of the identified best remuneration practices in the participating companies relate to non-financial

compensation (Opute, 2010). Evidence of this emerging trend is confirmed by the HR practitioners interviewed by Wan & Ong (2002). In their empirical study of compensation system in Singapore, Wan & Ong (2002) explain that more companies are offering family friendly conditions that place less emphasis on the payment of wages and salaries.

In a similar study of compensation preferences in Hong Kong and China, Chiu *et al.* (2002) argue that benefits and allowances other than base salary are significant motivating factors in the workplace. From the perspective of key trends of the total reward system in the 21st century, Chen & Hsieh (2006) stress the fact that 'modern reward system embraces everything that is valued by employees in the employment relationship' (p. 66). They further stress the need for a holistic and integrated approach to compensation. Therefore, welfare-driven benefits are crucial factors in compensation management, a consequence of the socio-economic challenges that cannot be ignored.

METHODOLOGY

The data is based on a survey among 100 current HR managers involved in dealing with recent Sub-Saharan HRM practices. The managers were from various organisations in the public and private sectors. The data was collected during a conference gathering Nigerian HR managers in Lagos. The sample was the census of all the participants as all delegates contacted were willing to take part in the research and 64 valid questionnaires returned were analysed. The HR managers were all very experienced, with length of service ranging from 5 to 20 years. This is a further rationale for not excluding any of the participants from the survey.

The data gathered was analysed through SPSS. For reliability, we used Cronbach's Alpha and the result 0.957 is much higher than the standard 0.70. For Communalities, we used Principal Component Analysis and all the values are from 0.714 to 0.910. For variance analysis, one way ANOVA was performed. All the significant values are below 0.05, therefore, the mean values have statistically significant differences. For Model fit, this study used R-squared (Mean value 0.884), RMSE (Mean value 0. 289), MAPE (Mean value 2.484) MaxAPE (Mean value 43.391) MAE (Mean value 0.086) and MaxAE (Mean value 1.436). The researchers resolved to the use of descriptive statistics only for this paper in order to present in a concise and simple way the data. A critical perspective we take here is that the findings have to be intelligible to the audience to increase the usefulness of this empirical paper for the participants and local organisations. A subsequent paper will use tests of correlation and complex statistics to produce a more sophisticated examination of the findings. Thus, in this paper we make use of descriptive statistics in the form of percentages to describe the basic trends observed.

RESULTS

The results of the empirical study reveal that a cultural characteristic, such as collectivism is significant in determining any participation structures. Although collective bargaining appears to be the most common means of participation in developing economies, there appears to be some new scenarios emerging. A significant conclusion of the paper is that the cultural characteristics of collectivism and paternalism are very prominent in the workplace.

In contrast, individualism is hardly practised by the average employee. The study has revealed that employees tend to value cohesion within their work groups. The recently amended Trade Unions Act 2005 in Nigeria, for instance, cancelled automatic check-off system and is, thus, a significant example. There are no records of individuals who have ceased to be financial members of trade unions in the workplace though they consider themselves non-members. Even when employees were required to contract out during the era of automatic check-off system, there was no records of employees contracting out of trade union membership. It is believed that the society frowns at individualism from every perspective.

Persistent particularistic practices in African HRM

The results of the survey indicate a particular perception of the organisation among the HR managers. Most of the HR managers surveyed were inclined to view the company as an extension of the family (73.4%). This indicates some support for Hofstede's (1980) findings which place African societies in the collectivistic groups of cultures.

TABLE 1 HERE…

The idea that the organisation represents an extension of the family is further reinforced in the views of the participating HRM managers who indicated that they feel certain pressure from their local communities and relatives to employ people who are close to them, e.g. kinship and those from the same tribal group. There appears to be strength in the normative social pressure, with 80% of participants reporting this.

TABLE 2 HERE…

Besides normative social pressures, African HR managers also come under intense political pressure to do 'favours' to people in office. These pressures can often be coercions or threats to the managers' positions. The percentage of participants who agree or strongly agree that they have experienced this practice is nearly 83%, which denotes significant interference of political life with organisational realities. Table 3 shows the data for political influence.

TABLE 3 HERE…

The results in Table 4 show that nearly 40% of the managers attested to being uncomfortable with political interference and normative social pressure. This compares to just over 20% who feel comfortable and accept these practices. About 41% are neutral on the issue. The small proportion of managers who are uncomfortable with these practices may attest to the cultural embeddedness of African organisations and managers. This lack of vigorous rejection of favouritism contrasts sharply with the managers' awareness of the negative consequences of potentially employing people who lack qualifications and skills and who may not fit into the organisations. The results in Table 4 show the overwhelming majority of HR managers (over 84%) being aware that such employees can have lower performance and drive down the overall performance of the organisation.

TABLE 4 HERE…

TABLE 5 HERE…

HR managers' resistance to political and normative social pressure: risks and counter-resistance

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There is, however, a growing movement towards resisting external political and social pressures in order to maintain the autonomy of the organisation. Table 6 shows that a significant majority of the managers (86%) believed that strategies could be developed to curve the weight of these potentially damaging particularistic practices. It is not clear what these strategies might be but it is clear that there is some willingness on the part of the African managers to address the issue. However, the efforts and strategies geared at dealing with nepotism, favouritism and political interference may be limited in scope due to fear of political punishment (as asserted by 88% of the managers – Table 7) and culture (as expressed by nearly 91% of managers – Table 8).

TABLE 6 HERE

TABLE 7 HERE

TABLE 8 HERE…

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Discussion

A significant result of the study is that collectivism, which characterises most African societies (Hosftede, 1980), runs through organisational processes and human resource management (HRM) practices. The study confirms the relevance of culture to, and critically, the culture-boundedness of HRM practices (Wan & Ong, 2002). This indicates that there is little separation between organisation and the communities in which they are established (Iguisi, 2014; Mamman, Kamoche, Zakaria & Agbedi, 2018). This is evidenced in the views of the HR managers who accept that the organisation is an

extension of the family. With globalisation and the dissemination and spread of so-called universalistic practices, one would assume that most African managers would espouse the view that sees a strict separation between organisations and society. This argument is more plausible due to the fact that more and more managers are undertaking their management education in the West and are, therefore, exposed to global practices (Madimutsa & Pretorius, 2017; Budhwar & Debrah; 2010). The African managers showed accept and support the intertwining of work and family. This indicates the temerity of African cultures and the way in which they 'refuse' to give way to 'global' 'universalistic' perspectives. This leads us to pose the question of the integration of culture into HRM practices (Madimutsa1 & Pretorius, 2017; Chen & Hsieh, 2006)). A number of authors (e.g. Mamman, Kamoche, Zakaria, & Agbedi, 2018; Briscoe, Schuler & Tarique, 2012; Iguisi, 2014; Wan & Ong, 2002) argue that human resource management practices are different from one socio-economic and cultural sphere to another. We therefore propose that there is a necessity to work with culture as opposed to attempting to suppress it. After many decades of attempts of westernisation of African HRM (Kamoche, 2011), there is little evidence of a complete transformation or convergence with Western approaches. This suggests that culture and modernity can live together and as such form dynamic capabilities.

Organisations and HRM departments need to manage the integration between culture and the organisation in view to utilise the positives that would help organisations to grow more organically (Briscoe, Schuler & Tarique, 2012). For example, social pressures on HR managers to employ people from the locality may not be necessarily asymmetric with contemporary strategic HRM practices whose choices and strategies are often built on rationalities. In an African economic context, dominated by unemployment and

significant pockets of poverty, employing local people can contribute to poverty alleviation (Hack-Polay, 2018) and improvements in the vitality of the locality. From a strategic HRM perspective, there is a cost-saving aspect that is plausible. In fact, employing people from the local area could cost the organisation less and enable the company to deploy its surplus of profit for further investment, e.g. expansion, addressing social responsibilities, etc. This demonstrates that there are elements of culture that fit strategic HRM perspectives that can be used to energise the organisation and gain competitive advantage.

However, another aspect of particularistic practices in African HRM is rejected by HR managers. That is the aspect concerning political interference. The managers believe that political interference is toxic for African companies. Pressure is often linked to asking HR managers to employ people who are unqualified or under-qualified. Such politically recommended employees are often from the politician's family or mistresses; these recommendations may not necessarily be from the locality. There is therefore no argument to suggest that the politically recommended employees would add to the vitality of the area. Thus, there is no business case for such practices. Politically recommended employees can become less useful because, in some cases, they can attempt to take control and be the eyes and ears of the recommenders. This then seeds fear and suspicion in the organisation and inhibits innovation and creativity (Hack-Polay, 2018; Kamoche, 2002; Onodugo, 2012; Ayiteh, 1992). This is largely why the African HR managers surveyed, in their majority, rejected political interference and showed willingness to develop strategies to combat the practice. However, their fear about vigorous action in the fight against political interference attests to the potency of this practice and its resilience. Political interference extends to the extent that it even

diminishes the power of the trade unions which are often the organisms that can put up meaningful resistance to the presence of political powers in the daily life of the organisation (Kamoche, 2002).

Conclusion

The research has shown that, despite globalisation, several critical aspects of African HRM remain close to and intertwined with culture and tradition. The practices of recruitment and selection, approach to collective bargaining are particularistic as they depart from the so-called universalistic or global practices. HR managers in Sub-Saharan Africa face a dilemma as they attempt to navigate the global and the local. Despite the criticism often directed at African organisations as mined with corruption and favouritism, African HR managers find rooms to see positives in some cultural practices that are vilified by the outside world. They see no blatant contradictions between some of the local practices and effective HRM practices. For instance, employing relatives or people form the locality are not perceived to be diverging from strategic HRM thinking. In fact, some cultural practices serve to fulfil organisations' social responsibilities and, in other cases, can permeate strategies for competitive advantage. The research, therefore, found that HRM practices that are close to traditions can work organisationally if HRM is able to weed out toxic particularistic practices and integrate others that are geared at value-adding, community-enhancing and capacity-building.

Limitation of the research and future perspectives

The research presents some limitations that limit its generalisability. First, the sample size could be widened to provide more perspectives. Second, the data was collected in a single country. Despite the fact that some of the managers surveyed were from other

nationalities, the researchers believe that a systematic sampling strategy covering a range of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa will increase the validity of the research and its generalisability. For example, there may be differences between East, West, Central and Southern Africa due to various levels of socio-economic determinants. Future research could also consider the differences between Anglophone and Francophone countries due to the different colonial experiences which may have bearing on how current HRM practices are articulated in Sub-Saharan Africa. Consideration of gender will also enhance our understanding, given that more and more African women have been educated in the past three decades and have emerged as significant players in the African HR management arena.

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Table 1 - The average Nigerian employee views the organisation as an extension of the family, so looks up to the company for various supports

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	6	9.4	9.4	9.4
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	11	17.2	17.2	26.6
	Agree	32	50.0	50.0	76.6
	Strongly agree	15	23.4	23.4	100.0
	Total	64	100.0	100.0	

Table 2 - HR managers still come under pressure from the community (relatives) to employ family members.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	1	1.6	1.6	1.6
	Disagree	4	6.3	6.3	7.8
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	4	6.3	6.3	14.1
	Agree	36	56.3	56.3	70.3
	Strongly agree	19	29.7	29.7	100.0
	Total	64	100.0	100.0	

Table 3 - Political influence is still an issue in recruitment and selection in the organisation.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	1	1.6	1.6	1.6
	Disagree	4	6.3	6.3	7.8
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	6	9.4	9.4	17.2
	Agree	32	50.0	50.0	67.2
	Strongly agree	21	32.8	32.8	100.0
	Total	64	100.0	100.0	

Table 4 - You feel comfortable about responding positively to employ relatives or 'recommended applicants' with respect to recruitment.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	6	9.4	9.4	9.4
	Disagree	19	29.7	29.7	39.1
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	26	40.6	40.6	79.7
	Agree	12	18.8	18.8	98.4
	Strongly agree	1	1.6	1.6	100.0
	Total	64	100.0	100.0	

Table 5 - The points raised in questions 9 & 10 above can influence individual and organisational performance.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	1	1.6	1.6	1.6
	Disagree	3	4.7	4.7	6.3
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	6	9.4	9.4	15.6
	Agree	33	51.6	51.6	67.2
	Strongly agree	21	32.8	32.8	100.0

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Total	64	100.0	100.0	

Table 6 - HR managers 'under pressure' (resulting from questions 9 & 10 above) can develop strategies to resist or deal with such pressures

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	1	1.6	1.6	1.6
	Disagree	2	3.1	3.1	4.7
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	6	9.4	9.4	14.1
	Agree	42	65.6	65.6	79.7
	Strongly agree	13	20.3	20.3	100.0
	Total	64	100.0	100.0	

Table 7 - There could be 'negative consequences' for resisting pressures from relatives or politicians in relation to questions 9 & 10 above.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	2	3.1	3.1	3.1
	Disagree	7	10.9	10.9	14.1
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	5	7.8	7.8	21.9
	Agree	39	60.9	60.9	82.8
	Strongly agree	11	17.2	17.2	100.0
	Total	64	100.0	100.0	

Table 8 - Culture plays a significant role in the work place in Nigeria.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	1	1.6	1.6	1.6
	Disagree	1	1.6	1.6	3.1
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	4	6.3	6.3	9.4
	Agree	27	42.2	42.2	51.6

	Strongly agree	31	48.4	48.4	100.0
	Total	64	100.0	100.0	