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Employee unethical behavior in organizations: A functionalist perspective

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ABSTRACT

How does unethical behavior of employees manifest in organizations? We answer this question using strain, interest, and ethnos oblige theories in four studies based on data from Ghana and Botswana. We find support across the three theoretical perspectives of a mediated model where strain, interest, and obligation influence unethical behavior via affect and strategies. We also conducted robustness checks using bribery and corruption criteria which support the findings and show more robust effects with ethnos oblige theory than strain and interest theories. We make novel theoretical, empirical, and practical contributions by providing a parsimonious explanation for why employees engage in unethical behavior in Africa. Overall, our studies extend the unethical behavior literature by proposing an integrative model that recognizes the syncretic experiences of employees in Africa.

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Research in organizational functioning has resulted in positive and negative workplace deviance perspectives of employee behavior (Appelbaum et al., 2007; Spreitzer & Sonenshein, 2004; Tian & Ying, 2023). Negative deviant behaviors have been studied since the 1930s particularly by sociologists using functionalist (i.e. strain and interest), conflict, and symbolic interactionist theories. Such negative deviant behaviors are only recently being examined by management scholars in the form of workplace deviance (Tian & Ying, 2023), counterproductive work behaviors (CWB) (Gruys & Sackett, 2003), abusive behavior (Tepper, 2000), organizational corruption (Ashforth et al., 2008); and unethical behavior (Trevino, 1992). A review of the literature shows two major theoretical perspectives of negative deviance: strain and interest. Strain researchers focus on stress as a determinant of workplace deviance. Penney et al. (2011) used conservation of resources theory to investigate how the relationship between conscientiousness and CWB is moderated by resources. In the US, they found that the relationship between conscientiousness and CWB is positive among employees who are low in emotional stability. Further, Fox et al. (2001) found that in the relationship between job stressors and CWB, a behavioral strain response was mediated by negative emotion.

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Interest researchers on the other hand, focus on motivational drivers of workplace deviance. Consistent with that view, Zappalà et al. (2022) defined workplace deviance as voluntary behavior in which employees either lack motivation to conform to, and/or become motivated to violate normative expectations of the social context. Diefendorff and Mehta (2007) also examined the relationship between motivational traits and workplace deviance and found that desire to achieve, desire to perform better than others, and responsiveness to rewards related positively to workplace deviance. Further, Lawrence and Robinson (2007, p. 378) argue that although “organizational control and power are often designed to diminish workplace deviance, they also have the capacity to incite it”. Missing, however, are cultural drivers of workplace deviance. This is unfortunate given the role of culture in organizations and society (Dorfman et al., 2012; Hofstede, 2001). The growing interest in developing countries of Asia and Africa where behaviors of individuals are influenced more strongly by collectivistic, rather than individualistic, attributes suggests that cultural forces are likely to influence deviant behavior (Earley & Gibson, 1998). Consistent with Geertz (1973) who advocated the inclusion of culture in deviance studies, we ask, what explains unethical behavior in African organizations? Is it strain, interest, or ethnic obligations? To answer this question, we examine how strain, interest, and ethnic obligations influence unethical behavior in African organizations.

In the four studies reported here, we answer the question by showing the relative importance of each force. We therefore make four contributions to literature. First, unethical behavior sometimes arises not only from strain and interest of individuals but also from obligations to others. The growing interest in understanding ethical challenges in Africa (George et al., 2016) necessitates studies examining multiple theoretical perspectives of unethical behavior. Such studies are likely to provide ecological validity and make greater contribution to knowledge. Strain is a situational factor that may arise from relations with ethnic members. Some studies suggest that pressure from ethnic members often drive corrupt behavior in Africa (De Sardan, 1999; Parboteeah et al., 2014). Explaining unethical behavior from a strain perspective therefore shifts the lens of understanding from willfulness attributed by previous research to cultural situations.

In addition, individuals may engage in unethical behavior to overcome their inability to achieve goals or the unfairness of those social outcomes (Moore & Gino, 2015). Africa, for example, is replete with such frustrations (De Sardan, 1999; Pierce, 2016). By using interest theory, we show how the desires of individuals, rather than their frustrations, which are linked to the collective interests of ethnic members (De Sardan, 1999), drive unethical behavior. Interest theory suggests that individuals engage in unethical behavior because they are motivated to do so (Greenberg, 1980; Thau et al., 2015). We also argue that individuals’ obligations toward ethnic members are likely to drive them to engage in unethical behavior. The salience of ethnicity in Africa and Asia suggests that employees’ attitudes and behaviors may be driven by obligations to ethnic members as suggested by Kotkin (1993) in the context of Britain, China, Japan, Israel, and India. The obligation perspective challenges and supplements the extant view that strain and interest forces only influence unethical behavior. Next, we elaborate the theoretical basis of our study, generate hypotheses, present our methodology and discuss the results for each study. We conclude with overall discussion, limitations, future research, and conclusion.

Theory and Hypotheses

How organizations function is the primary concern of management scholars. Since the 1970s, they have examined the negative actions of employees (i.e. deviant behaviors) in organizations with a purpose of generating “curative” insights for managers. As a result, a large volume of literature on deviant behavior in organizations has emerged (Appelbaum et al., 2007; Agnew & Brezina, 2019; Anis & Emil, 2022; Agnew, 2020). Although the sociological perspective of deviance focuses on the criminal, illegitimate, and bad actions, the extant organizational perspective of deviance encompasses both negative and positive forms (Garg & Saxena, 2020; Spreitzer & Sonenshein, 2003). Positive deviance refers to “intentional behaviors that depart from the norms of a referent group in honorable ways” (Spreitzer & Sonenshein, 2003, p. 832). Negative deviance focuses on dishonorable violations of organizational norms, policies, or internal rules. Diverse terms have been applied to the latter including workplace deviance (Alagarsamy et al., 2023; Bennett & Robinson, 2003), counterproductive behavior (Harrop, 2022; Mangione & Quinn, 1975), organizational corruption (Ashforth et al., 2008; Wang et al., 2022), antisocial behavior (Celik, 2022; Giacalone & Greenberg, 1997), abusive supervision (Tepper, 2000), and unethical behavior (Letsa et al., 2021; Trevino et al., 2006). According to Robinson and Bennett (1995, p. 556), behavior is deemed deviant when an “organization’s customs, policies, or internal regulations are violated by an individual or a group that may jeopardize the well-being of the organization or its citizens.”

Our focus is on unethical behavior. In proposing his theory of deviance in organizations Tittle (1995) defined unethical behavior to include “direct physical violence, manipulation, or property extraction” (p. 137), “acts of indirect predation where the individual uses others as intermediaries, or uses organizational arrangements to coerce, manipulate or extract property from individuals or groups to benefit the exploiter without regard for the desires or welfare of the exploited” (p. 138), or actions in which the individual perpetrator expresses contempt for, or hostility toward, norms or agents of those norms. Even though some scholars distinguish unethical behavior from negative deviant behavior arguing that the former deals with the breaking of societal rules, while the latter focuses on violation of significant organizational norms (Spreitzer & Sonenshein, 2003), they are just variations of deviance (Ashforth et al., 2008). Unethical behaviors are a major concern in the workplace globally but particularly in Africa where cultural influences – collectivism – impinge on individual actions and can thus generate detrimental effects on individual, group, and organizational well-being (De Sardan, 1999; George et al., 2016; Zoogah & Zoogah, 2020).

Research has identified several factors determining unethical behavior (Bennett & Robinson, 2003; Robinson et al. 2014). Generally, they are categorized as strain and interest predictors. While the former focuses on pressures inducing unethical behavior, the latter centers on motivations of individuals. Even though strain and interest theories support those individual difference factors, the literature misses cultural factors that induce unethical behavior in the workplace. Behavior of individuals is driven by culture (Hofstede, 2001; Sent & Kroese, 2022). It therefore seems important to examine not only the individual difference forces underlying unethical behavior but also the cultural basis of unethical behavior. Given the predominant influence of Western epistemology

in Africa (Zoogah et al., 2020), it is important to examine how strain, interest, and ethnic obligation influences unethical behavior.

Strain

Strain theory has been central to deviance research since the 1930s when Merton (1938) proposed that failure to achieve the American dream, a form of frustration, drives individuals to adaptation behaviors, one of which is deviance. Agnew (1992) elaborated on the traditional strain models by proposing general strain theory (GST) that (1) redefines the strain concept, (2) specifies strain-generated negative emotions as the source of deviance, and (3) incorporates conditioning factors to explain individual differences in adaptations to strain. He defines strain as “negative or aversive relations with others” (p. 61), which has three types: “strain as the actual or anticipated failure to achieve positively valued goals, strain as the actual or anticipated removal of positively valued stimuli, and strain as the actual or anticipated presentation of negative stimuli” (p. 59). The theory posits that strain generates negative emotions that drive individuals to devise coping strategies because such emotional forces create pressure for corrective action. Thus, strain increases unethical behaviors “because it leads to negative emotions such as anger, frustration, depression, and fear” (Agnew & Brezina, 2019, p. 47). Agnew (1992, p. 59) suggests that anger is the “most critical emotional reaction” to strain, but “strain increases the likelihood that individuals will experience one or more of a range of negative emotions.”

Though strain theory – classical and revised – has been criticized as ambiguous (Tittle, 1995), empirical research supports both (Agnew & White, 1992). For example, Tittle (1995) argued that Agnew’s (1992) revision lacks theoretical clarity. Jang and Johnson (2003) also contend that Agnew’s (1992) theory suffers from definition, conceptualization, and operationalization issues. Consequently, studies testing the model have used different conceptualizations – anger, negative emotions, life stress, etc. In this study, we define strain as a pressure or stressor that triggers negative affect and strategic responses before employees engage in unethical behavior. This is consistent with Jang and Johnson’s (2003) assertion that “the three categories of negative relations be referred to as three types (rather than sources) of strain and that strain be equated with stressors, not stress, for conceptual as well as semantic clarity and consistency” (p. 81). Further, the context of the study – Africa – seems to be more aligned with strain as a stressor. The profusion of unemployment, low wages, penury, and other forms of deprivation create strain for individuals in the workplace (Barker, 1984).

We propose that employees who experience strain may engage in unethical behavior which can be perceived as likely to ameliorate pressure for resources. The pressure may drive them to exploit property from their organizations or other employees (Greenberg, 1980; Thau et al., 2015; Wang et al., 2022), violate organizational rules particularly if doing so is perceived to improve their situation, or prey upon coworkers through harassment or other acts that enable them to overcome their stress (Anis & Emil, 2022). Research shows that deviance depends on strain – the actual or anticipated failure to achieve positively valued goals, the actual or anticipated removal of positively valued stimuli, and the actual or anticipated presentation of negative stimuli (Agnew, 1992; Agnew & White, 1992; Alagarsamy et al., 2023; Broidy, 2001; Jang & Johnson, 2003). Failure to achieve positively valued goals is a pressure that might drive an individual to engage in unethical

behaviors (Broidy, 2001). Further, individuals who lose something significant may engage in unethical behaviors (Broidy & Agnew, 1997). Lastly, when an employee experiences a negative situation (e.g. loss of a child) it is likely the person may engage in unethical behavior particularly if the loss is wealth-depleting (Agnew, 2015; Langton & Piquero, 2007). Langton and Piquero (2007) found that “GST was useful for predicting a select group of white-collar offenses but might not be generalizable to individuals committing corporate-type crimes” (p. 1).

Two intervening factors in the relationship between strain and unethical behavior are negative affect and strategic coping (Broidy, 2001; Jang & Johnson, 2003). Negative affect which includes self-directed and other-directed emotions refers to the negative emotions that arouse displeasure of the strain. Examples include anger, disgust, displeasure, etc. Strategic coping to strain not only involves careful consideration and planning of how to, but also where, and when, to respond in order to maximize the success of the outcome (Agnew, 2015; Agnew et al., 2002; Jang & Johnson, 2003). It involves cognitive, affective, and behavioral strategizing (Broidy, 2001; Bishopp et al., 2019). These strategies are coping mechanisms that enable effective adaptation to the strain (Agnew & White, 1992; Broidy, 2001; Piquero & Sealock, 2000). Broidy (2001) found that “strain, negative emotions, and legitimate coping are all related, although not always in the expected direction” (p. 9). Jang and Johnson (2003, p. 79) also found that “fully mediating the effects of strain on deviant coping, negative emotions have consistently significant effects on deviance, regardless of whether we use composite or separate measures of inner- and outer-directed emotions and deviance.” However, Moon and Morash (2017) found that in Korea “GST falls short in explaining boys’ and girls’ property and status offending, and in showing how a composite measure of conditioning factors act as a moderator in explaining their delinquency” (p. 484). This suggests that GST might yield different effects in different cultural contexts. A review of the literature shows that in Africa empirical tests of strain have focused on violence (Harris & Vermaak, 2015), prostitution (Nwakanma, 2015), and substance abuse (Steyn & Hall, 2015), but not unethical behaviors in organizations.

We therefore expect strain to relate positively to unethical behavior as mediated by affect and coping strategies. Employees who experience stress are likely to engage in unethical acts which may be perceived as likely to ease the pressure. The Afrobarometer (2022) surveys show that unethical behaviors such as corruption and bribery are common across all sectors of African societies. Dissatisfaction from low wages may drive employees to exploit property from their organizations or other employees; violate organizational rules against extorting money from customers, and prey upon coworkers through harassment or other acts that enable them to overcome their strain. They are likely to strategize cognitively and behaviorally to succeed in achieving their goals. We therefore hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 1: Strain relates positively to unethical behavior through negative affect and strategic coping.

Interest

Unlike strain which focuses on pressures or stress as disadvantages that drive unethical behavior, interest argues that employees take actions in pursuit of gains or advantages (Gino & Pierce, 2009; Ortnier, 1984). In three laboratory studies, Gino and Pierce (2009,

p. 142) found that “the presence of wealth may influence peoples’ propensity to engage in unethical behavior for financial gain.” The desire to be rich or to acquire social prestige is likely to drive employees to engage in unethical behaviors. In other words, employees as rational beings, are likely to strive for what they regard as materially or politically useful for them within the context of their cultural, historical, and economic situations (Geertz, 1973, p. 1975), modern organizations “provide numerous possibilities for pursuing self-interest through unethical means” (Ahmed et al., 2020, p. 98). Sun and Zhang (2019) theorize that faced with a decision situation; rational actors will make decisions based on their egotistical self-interest considering behavioral outcomes that maximize expected utility. Hence, individual employees with high level of egotism may be led to pay more attention to self-gains and to ignore cues related to ethical issues. Thus, interest drives their vocations and avocations (DuBoff, 2019, p. 342).

Interest theory has been studied extensively in anthropology (Ortner, 1984), sociology (Levy, 1973), and psychology (Singer, 1980). Ortner (1984) suggests improvement of the theory by cross-fertilizing “the more sociologically oriented practice accounts, with their relatively denatured views of motive” with some of “the more richly textured accounts of emotion and motivation” in psychology (p. 151). A review of the management literature shows several theories that examine motivations of individuals as drivers of unethical behavior. Motivation is implicated in the definition of Kaplan’s (1975) workplace deviance. Lawrence and Robinson (2007) suggest that individuals have the capacity or motivation to incite workplace deviance.

Ripoll and Schott (2023) investigate the role of interest in the context of public service motivation and found that highly public-service motivated individuals vary their justification of an unethical behavior when the value advanced by this behavior safeguards or puts at risk their interpretation of the public interest. In addition, Diefendorff and Mehta (2007) found that motivational traits such as the desire to achieve and desire to perform superior to others related to workplace deviance. Lian et al. (2014) also found that motivation to self-control and abusive supervision “interact in such a way that the strongest association between abusive supervision and supervisor-directed aggression occurs when subordinates are low in self-control capacity and perceive their supervisor to be low in coercive power” (p. 116). It is therefore likely that employees may be motivated to engage in unethical behaviors.

Specifically, three motives – achievement, power, and self – of employees are likely to drive them to engage in unethical behavior. First, achievement motivation which has been studied extensively across the social sciences (Atkinson & Feather, 1966; Nicholls, 1984; Weiner, 1985), refers variously to situations in which individuals’ competence is at issue (Nicholls, 1984), and the tendency to strive for the attainment of desired ends (Sun & Zhang, 2019; Weiner, 1985). We refer to it as the desire of employees to attain specific outcomes. This motivation, we believe, is likely to drive unethical behavior because the pursuit of goals is a major state attribute (Gino & Pierce, 2009). Consequently, employees who seek to achieve some goals may engage in illegitimate or unethical behaviors. For example, employees may steal from the company to augment their income with the justification of being underpaid (Greenberg, 1980).

Second, the power motive, defined as the ability to affect the outcomes or behaviors of other individuals (McClelland, 1975), is a strong force that drives actions of people. Power motivation has been shown to influence unethical behavior (Pearce et al., 2008). Further,

research shows that frustration of that motive not only leads to negative emotional reactions such as anger, disgust, and hatred (Broidy, 2001), but also strategizing with regards to coping or adaptation (Piquero & Sealock, 2000). Individuals who desire power sometimes use illegitimate means of acquiring it. Pearce et al. (2008) suggest that the extent to which CEOs are motivated by power influences executive corruption as a contingency factor. Besides, Galperin et al. (2011) propose a model that explains why high-status organizational members engage in unethical behavior. Research shows that “power increases self-interested unethical behavior” (Li et al., 2023, p. 1422). Medina et al. (2020) investigate unethical managerial behaviors and misuse of power in a comparative study of the USA and Sweden and found a connection between abusive behavior of managers and workplace bullying. Nevertheless, Li et al. (2023) caution that powerlessness also corrupts when it manifests itself in lying to protect one’s interest. They argue that unethical behavior, specifically lying, helps an individual to self-promote, and lower rather than higher power increases self-promotional lying.

Third, self-motivation, the sense of interest and action as shaped by images and ideals of what matters to people in relationships and in conditions of life, is significant for individuals. Ryan and Deci (2000) argued that there are natural processes of self-motivation which enhance rather than undermine intrinsic motivation, self-regulation, and well-being. They suggest three innate psychological needs – competence, autonomy, and relatedness – that enhance self-motivation when satisfied or lead to diminished motivation when thwarted. Consistent with the view of Ryan and Deci (2000) that self-motivation functions in several domains including education and work, we posit that the desire of employees to enhance or advance their self-goals is likely to drive them to engage in unethical behaviors. Self-goals such as self-actualization through promotion, wealth acquisition, or wellbeing in general, tend to propel managers not only to behave unethically toward other employees (Sun & Zhang, 2019; Tepper, 2000), but also to undermine organizations by defying prevailing norms or exploiting property (Trevino, 1992). In addition to the goading from self-motives, the effect of frustration on the self-motive is likely to induce emotional reaction in the form of displeasure, anger, anxiety, etc.

However, we believe that self-motivation influences unethical behavior through positive emotions such as happiness, enjoyment, and interest in wealth. These affective responses are activated when individuals reflect not only on what they can do in the present with the outcomes of the illegitimate behaviors but also how their anticipated future is likely to be much better (Tittle, 1995; Tittle & Dollar, 2019). To succeed in achievement of their goals, employees are likely to devise plans or strategies. The latter might include unethical acts perceived as likely to enhance the individual’s social standing or reputation. Galperin et al. (2011) suggest that status differentiation in organizations creates social isolation for employees which initiates activation of high-status group identity and deactivation of moral identity. Because of identity activation, high-status individuals are vulnerable to unethical persuasions.

In sum, achievement, power, and self are strong forces that are likely to goad individuals to engage in unethical behavior particularly in social settings where one’s social standing is not only affected by the quest for wealth (Gino & Pierce, 2009; Sun and Zhang, 2019; Li et al., 2023) but also by the avarice and greed of peers and neighbors (Mbaku, 2004). Research shows that the cultural and social mechanisms of Africa which

traditionally controlled unethical behavior seem to have been displaced or replaced with the spike of individualism and its ideological orientation of individual pursuit of happiness (Wahab et al., 2012). We therefore hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 2: Interest relates positively to unethical behavior mediated by positive affect and strategic response.

Ethnic Obligation

Both strain and interest center on pressure and individual advantage respectively as explanatory factors for unethical behavior (Ortner, 1984). However, they ignore culture, a major factor in deviant behavior (De Sardan, 1999; Geertz, 1973). To fill the gap, ethnos oblige theory centralizes culture in explaining behavior of individuals. The theory is based on ethnicity and has been leveraged in the African collectivistic culture (Zoogah & Zoogah, 2020) because ethnicity shapes African development (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2015), politics (Posner, 2005), employment (Burgess et al., 2002), jobs (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001), and interactions in the workplace (Sangmpam, 2017).

Furthermore, traditional Africa is characterized by relational humanism (Hord & Lee, 2016) which manifests through the numerous ethnic groups or tribes which were micro nations prior to colonialism (Maathai, 2010). Since the ancient Kemetic period members of those tribes have been socialized through Maat to demonstrate their obligation to the group and its members (Karenga, 2004; Lentz, 2005; Soyinka, 2012). Ethnic obligation applies this notion to the organizational context (Zoogah, 2018) because “the extensive ethnic and linguistic diversity affects how individuals, groups, and organizations relate to one another, and has a bearing on how business is done as well as the costs of doing business in Africa for global companies” (George et al., 2016, p. 381). Ethnic obligation refers to an individual’s sense of duty to be benevolent and agentic in his/her dealings with members of the same ethnic group (Zoogah, 2018). It is part of the tribe which has “successfully defied the laws of social and political change that tried to relegate it to an irrelevant anachronism and a residue from the pre-colonial past” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008, p. 177).

Ethnic obligation regulates interactions of ethnic members with each other (Karenga, 2004). It is therefore likely to explain unethical behavior particularly in societies with salient ethnicities because it indicates how individuals adhere to socially prescribed obligations and how those obligations affect their behaviors inside and outside organizations. Indeed, Kotkin (1993) notes that ethnic obligation accounts for the dominance of the British, Japanese, Chinese, Jews, and Indians in world business. Ethnos oblige is similar to noblesse oblige, “a social norm that obligates those of higher status to be generous in their dealings with those of lower status” (Fiddick et al., 2013, p. 318) which has been applied to scientific discovery (Over & Smallman, 1973), careers (Garth, 2004), fairness (Fiddick et al., 2013), corporate social responsibility (Crouch, 2006), economic choice (Tost et al., 2015), and inequality across cultures (Pratto et al., 2000). As a result, it is likely to influence unethical behavior.

Zoogah (2018) suggests that objective and subjective outcomes of individuals depend on their perceived sense of duty to ethnic members and groups as manifested in benevolent and agency expectations. Benevolence has been defined as an ‘other-oriented’ desire to care for the protection of another (Hosmer, 1995). However, Zoogah and

Zoogah (2020) define it as the expectation that ethnic members show generosity and dependability toward each other. Dependability refers to the degree to which ethnic members can count on each other particularly in times of need (Zoogah & Zoogah, 2020). It enables ethnic members to obtain relational resources to fulfill their goals (Lentz, 2005). Generosity generally refers to an individual's willingness to give and nobility of thought or action (Vogt & Laher, 2009). Maat, the ancient philosophy of Africa, enjoins individuals to demonstrate it by assisting members of the tribe who are in need (Karenga, 2004; Sweet, 2003). In Africa, the expectation to be generous is part of the moral ideal (Karenga, 2004) and therefore seems to border on moral compulsion (De Sardan, 1999). Both dependability and generosity suggest that benevolence is an attractive mechanism; it is oriented endogenously toward ethnic members. Agency, on the other hand, is a reflective mechanism that reflects on the ethnic group through interactions with non-ethnic members. As a capacity of an actor to use social instruments or mechanism to achieve specific outcomes, it may be purposeful or unintentional (Zemba et al., 2006). Zoogah (2018) defined agency to encompass honor, an estimation by self or ethnic members of an individual's worth (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996), and representation, the extent to which the individual speaks for or acts on behalf of the tribe or ethnic group, especially in external contexts.

Both benevolence and agency are significant mechanisms for the generativity of the ethnic group and necessary expectations that are transformed to outcomes through centralization and strategies of individuals (Lentz, 1995). Individuals who believe strongly in benevolence and agency, make the expectations a part of their being such that their activities, attitudes, and behaviors are oriented by obligation (Karenga, 2004; Muehleman et al., 1976). In other words, they centralize the norm. Centralization refers to "a commitment to a norm or standard, such that the actor would be expected to commit energy to its defense and maintenance even when external supports or pressures are not available" (Campbell, 1964, p. 396). Centralization is indicated by the degree to which an ethnic member prioritizes the tribe and its members (i.e. forethought) and the degree to which they expend psychological and other resources (e.g. loyalty and determination) to uphold, protect, or promote the ethnic group and its members (Lentz, 1995). Centralization of benevolence and agency have been shown to lead to positive social and personal benefits such as ethnic capital (Dia, 1996). Individuals who fail to centralize the obligation tend to experience negative consequences like social opprobrium (De Sardan, 1999; Lentz, 1995).

To minimize the costs and to enhance the benefits of centralization it is likely individuals may devise cognitive, affective, or behavioral strategies to achieve the desired outcome (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008, p. 2008; Zoogah & Akoto, 2018). The development of strategy in response to exogenous forces has been observed in institutional research (Oliver, 1991) which shows culture as a major element, cognitive social information processing perspective of personality (Mischel & Shoda, 1995), and self-regulation (Bandura, 1997; Mischel & Ayduk, 2002a). Strategies show how individuals who centralize benevolence and agency are likely to fulfill the obligations. Strategic response therefore refers to the fundamental way in which employees effectuate their ethnic obligation.

Consistent with studies showing centralization as an intervening variable between benevolence or agency and outcomes of individuals (Zoogah & Zoogah, 2020), we propose that ethnic obligation is likely to influence unethical behavior through

centralization and strategizing. First, the obligation to be benevolent may drive unethical behavior. To be benevolent towards one's ethnic members, employees need resources. If tangible resources such as money, materials, equipment, etc., are not readily available, employees are likely to engage in exploitative behaviors. Second, agency may drive unethical behavior because it also requires tangible and intangible resources. Honor, as an indicator of agency, is status-centered (Appiah, 2010). To maintain the status, employees are likely to engage in unethical behavior. They may engage in predatory behaviors to maintain the status within the ethnic group. Representation, as an indicator of agency, often involves gifts particularly at ceremonies in Africa (Lentz, 2005; Zoogah & Zoogah, 2020). In other words, it requires resources (De Sardan, 1999). For example, an employee may 'help himself to the office petty cash' to fulfill the ethnic obligation of representing others at a funeral.

These actions are likely if the employees centralize benevolence and agency. In other words, those who have forethought and commitment to the tribe are likely to uphold the benevolence and agency obligations. Employees who centralize their obligations may devise strategies (cognitive, affective, or behavioral) to enable them to respond effectively (Zoogah & Akoto, 2018). Strategic response is important because of the onus on the one to live up to the expectations of the tribe or ethnic group (De Sardan, 1999) and the disapproval from modern organizations which oppose unethical behavior (Tittle, 1995). Employees therefore must strategize how they respond to the expectations not only to be successful but also in a socially acceptable way. Like centralization, we expected strategic response to intervene in the relationship between benevolence and agency and unethical behavior. So, we hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 3a: Benevolence relates positively to unethical behavior through centralization.

Hypothesis 3b: Benevolence relates positively to unethical behavior through strategic response.

Hypothesis 3c: Agency relates positively to unethical behavior through centralization.

Hypothesis 3d: Agency relates positively to unethical behavior through strategic response.

Methods

Study 1

Data and Procedure

To examine strain, we followed the procedures used in GST (Agnew, 1992; Broidy, 2001). We collected data from workers participating in an employee development program at a university in Kumasi, Ghana between January and May 2018. After coordinating with the faculty responsible for the program, we sent a Qualtrics survey link to the participants. They had 2–3 weeks to respond to questions on the strain factors and demographics (see measures for more). We followed up twice and obtained 414 responses. Three weeks later, we sent the second survey which contained items on the dependent variable – negative deviant behaviors and demographics. After three weeks and two follow-ups, we obtained 326 responses. Due to a substantial (70%–100%) reduction in the responses to both surveys we did not use missing data techniques. Using both identity codes and demographics, we matched responses of survey 1 and 2 to obtain a final sample of 154.

Measures

The dependent variable, *unethical behavior* was adopted from Peterson's (2002) ethical climate questionnaire. Even though the scale focused on ethical behavior, the items centered on unethicity. We modified some items to fit the African context by change "stealing inexpensive company items such as pens and stationary" in Peterson's (2002) scale, to "taking inexpensive company items such as pens and stationary without permission." Participants indicated the frequency with which they enacted unethical behaviors in the past two years. We categorized the items into predatory (2-items, $\alpha = 0.65$), exploitative (2 items, $\alpha = 0.63$), and defiance (3 items, $\alpha = 0.68$) based on factor analysis. Sample items were "Taking stationary from work without permission", "distorting the truth or falsely representing something to get something you could not otherwise obtain", and "purposely destroying property that did not belong to you" respectively. Items are anchored on a 5-point scale (1 = Never, 2 = once, 3 = twice, 4 = three times, 5 = four or more times). Confirmatory factor analysis results suggested a 3-factor model ($\chi^2 = 25.6$, $df = 13$, $\chi^2 / df = 1.97$; Tucker-Lewis index – TLI = 0.96; CFI = 0.94; root mean squared error of approximation – RMSEA = 0.09) fit the data better than a 2-factor ($\chi^2 = 32.8$, $df = 12$, $\chi^2 / df = 2.73$; TLI = 0.91; CFI = 0.89; RMSEA = 0.12) or 1-factor ($\chi^2 = 39.9$, $df = 11$, $\chi^2 / df = 3.63$; TLI = 0.86; CFI = 0.84; RMSEA = 0.24) model.

Strain factors were adopted from the GST literature. Items for the four strain factors and two mediators are all adopted from Broidy (2001). *Blocked goals* were measured with five items: "How successful have you been in reaching each of the five goals listed over the past two years," followed by "career goals, social life goals, family life goals, financial goals, and health goals" (1 = not successful at all, 5 = totally successful) ($\alpha = 0.66$). *Unfair goals* were also on a 5-item scale. A sample item is "how fair have the outcomes associated with your goals been over the past two years," followed by the same goals as above (1 = very unfair, 5 = very fair) ($\alpha = 0.76$). *Life stress* consisted of six life stresses – (money problems, job difficulties, health problems, relationship problems, change in household composition, and job difficulties) ($\alpha = 0.63$). Respondents were asked the extent to which they "experienced the following life events in the past year" (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree). *Life hassle* is similar on a 5-item scale. A sample item is "to what extent are you bothered by not being respected in society" ($\alpha = 0.67$).

For the mediators, we focused on *negative affect* and *coping strategies* consistent with previous research on GST (Agnew & White, 1992). Affect indicators – *negative emotions towards life in general* (14 items, Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.85$) and *negative emotions towards bad things* (14 items, Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.89$). A sample item of negative emotion is "when I am unable to reach my goals, I feel ... (followed by negative affect terms such as angry, disappointed, frustrated, resentful, etc.)." A sample item of negative affect toward bad things is "when bad things happen to me, I feel" ... (followed by negative affect terms such as angry, disappointed, frustrated, resentful, etc.). The second mediator, *strategic response*, focused on cognitive (7 items, Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.64$), and behavioral (4 items, Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.60$) indicators. Sample items for cognitive and behavioral coping strategies were "I ignore it and think about the goals I accomplished," and "I try to avoid dealing with the problem" respectively. Each of them is prefixed by "when I am unable to reach a certain goal ... " and "When bad things happen to me ... "

Analysis

We used the SEM command in STATA v.16 to analyze the data and compared the results with Mplus v. 8. The results were similar. We tested alternative models in addition to the hypothesized model. The goodness of fit indices shows that the hypothesized model – a second order structural model – did not fit the data well ($\chi^2 = 39.9$, $df = 11$, $\chi^2 / df = 3.63$; TLI = 0.86; CFI = 0.84; RMSEA = 0.24). So, we revised the model to a 1st order structural model which showed good fit to the data ($\chi^2 = 19.4$, $df = 9$, $\chi^2 / df = 2.2$; TLI = 0.93; CFI = 0.97; RMSEA = 0.10). We used modification indices to improve the fit consistent with theory. The resultant model is shown in Figure 1(B) (Alternative Model 1). It was better than the alternative model (C) and the hypothesized model (A).

Results

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics and correlations. The control variables do not relate at a significant level to strain, affect, strategy, and unethical behavior factors. Also noticeable is the small to moderate correlation between unethical behavior factors – predation, exploitation, and defiance. In the structural equation model (see Figure 1 (C) – Alternative model 2) the measurement model which shows the relationship between the manifest variables and the latent variable, was significant for coping strategies and unethical behavior. Cognitive strategies ($\beta = 0.98$, $p < .0001$) and behavioral strategies ($\beta = 0.96$, $p < .0001$) relate to the latent variable, coping strategies. Predation ($\beta = 0.68$, $p < .0001$), exploitation ($\beta = 0.54$, $p < .0001$), and defiance ($\beta = 0.55$, $p < .0001$) also relate at a significant level to unethical behavior.

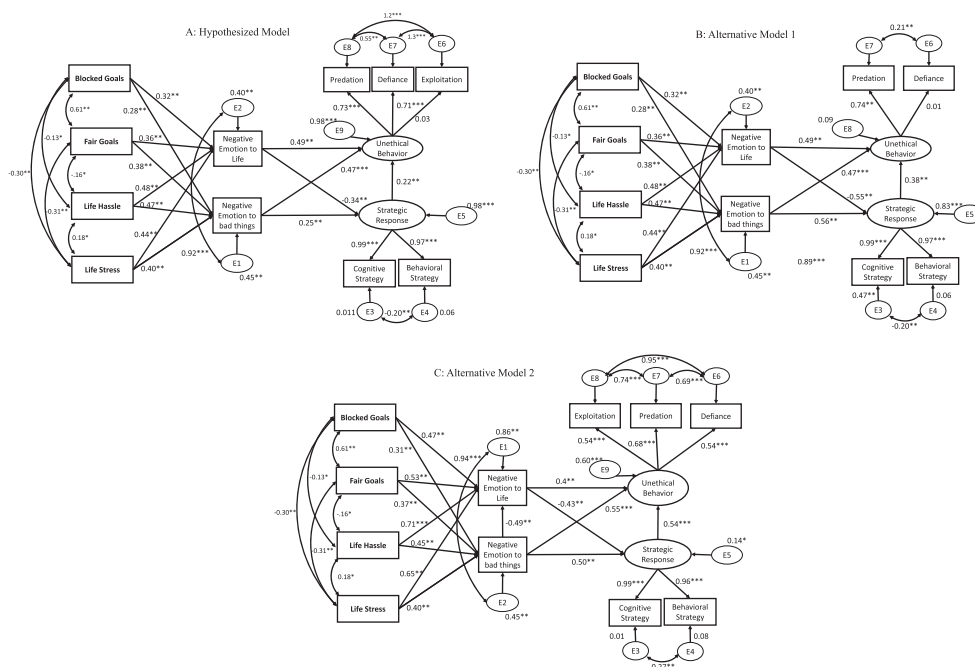


Figure 1. Structural equation modeling results of strain effects (Study 1) (A) Hypothesized model. (B) Alternative model 1. (C) Alternative model 2.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and correlations (Study 1).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Gender	1.00																
Age	.09	1.00															
Employment	-.02	0.18*	1														
Job Tenure	.09	.57***	.07	1.00													
Tribal Status	-.04	.14‡	.01	.18*	1.00												
Marital Status	.07	-.42***	.15‡	-.28**	-.06	1.00											
Blocked Goals	-.14‡	.18*	-.19*	.08	-.13	-.24**	1.00										
Fair Goals	-.14‡	.09	-.16*	-.11	-.09	-.15‡	.633***	1.00									
Life Hassle	-.10	.11	-.10	.03	-.01	-.05	-.13	-.15‡	1.00								
Life Stress	.13	-.02	-.07	-.02	.11	.06	-.30***	-.30***	.19*	1.00							
NRGB	-.13	.03	.06	.07	.12	-.04	-.16*	-.09	.33***	.31***	1.00						
NRBT	-.16*	.05	-.05	.00	.12	-.11	-.15‡	-.04	.27**	.19*	.72***	1.00					
ECS-Cognitive	.07	.04	.20*	.11	-.09	.06	.24**	-.26**	.07	.18*	.39***	.27**	1.00				
ECS-Behavioural	.11	-.02	.09	.00	-.05	.09	-.11	.18*	.06	.21*	.34***	.26**	.65***	1.00			
Predation	.11	.05	-.14‡	.07	-.16*	-.04	-.01	-.01	-.12	-.03	-.05	.03	.14	.12	.16*	1.00	
Exploitation	.15‡	-.06	-.17*	-.16‡	.01	.07	-.02	-.18*	-.13‡	.07	-.01	.04	.05	.01	.34***	1.00	
Defiance	.13	.10	-.11	.00	.03	.02	.08	-.12	-.21	.03	-.04	-.04	.06	.01	.19*	.60***	1.00
N	151	154	154	123	153	154	152	154	154	154	155	155	153	152	152	149	151
Mean	.64	2.30	1.19	1.23	1.97	2.62	3.21	3.73	1.46	2.80	2.40	2.33	2.29	2.39	1.58	1.19	1.07
SD	.48	.63	.39	.48	.97	1.49	.51	.57	.76	.69	.50	.55	.86	.82	.80	.41	.33
Min	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	-1.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Max	1	5	2	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5

‡ = $p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; NRGB = Negative Reaction to Goal Blockage; NRBT = Negative Reactions to Bad Things.

The structural model suggests that blocked goals ($\beta = 0.47, p < .001$), unfair goals ($\beta = 0.53, p < .001$), life hassle ($\beta = 0.71, p < .0001$), and life stress ($\beta = 0.65, p < .0001$) relate positively to negative emotions towards goal blockage (NELG). These results suggest that the more respondents experience strain, the greater the likelihood that they expressed negative emotions towards life. Blocked goals ($\beta = 0.31, p < .01$), unfair goals ($\beta = 0.37, p < .01$), life hassle ($\beta = 0.45, p < .001$), and life stress ($\beta = 0.40, p < .01$) relate at a significant level to negative emotions towards bad things (NEBT). The more respondents experienced strain from life in general, bad things happening to them, inability to achieve their goals and the unfairness of blocked goals, the greater the likelihood of negative affect toward the strain factors. NELG ($\beta = 0.40, p < .01$) and NEBT ($\beta = 0.55, p < .001$) relate positively to coping strategies suggesting that participants who reported negative affect were likely to devise coping strategies. NELG ($\beta = -0.43, p < .01$) and NEBT ($\beta = 0.55, p < .001$) also relate at a significant level to unethical behavior. It suggests that negative affect influences unethical behavior. However, NELG is negative suggesting that participants who expressed negative affect towards life were less likely to engage in unethical behavior even though they reported devising coping strategies.

The significant results suggest that strain factors relate to unethical behavior through negative affect and coping strategies. As shown in [Figure 1](#), the indirect effects of blocked goals ($\beta = 0.14, p < .05$), unfair goals ($\beta = 0.19, p < .05$), life hassle ($\beta = 0.14, p < .05$), and life stress ($\beta = 0.17, p < .05$) through negative affect are significant suggesting that affect, and coping strategies intervene in the relationship between strain and unethical behavior. The R^2 suggests that 61.4% of the variance in unethical behavior is explained by all the predictors but 71% and 59% of the variance is explained by strategic response and negative affect respectively. There is therefore support for hypothesis 1.

Discussion

In this study, we find that strain relates significantly and indirectly (through negative affect and coping strategies) to unethical behavior. Overall, the findings seem to support Agnew's (1992) GST. Even though he focused on crime, unethical behavior is part of negative deviance (Langton & Piquero, 2007). Further, extant research suggests that CWB such as those examined in this study are forms of deviance (Howald et al., 2018).

One major surprising finding is that strain factors have a negative indirect effect via NELG to unethical behavior. This suggests that even though the participants may express negative emotions toward life in general, that affect reduces unethical behavior. One reason might be that the participants demonstrate moral rectitude; they do not seek redress through their negative affect. Another reason might be that it reflects a state of helplessness where they resign themselves to the situation. Future research needs to untangle these issues. More importantly, the structural equation modeling results were significant, but the fit indices suggest that the model does not seem to fit the data. It might be because we tested a Western model in an African context which can be problematic (Barnard et al., 2017).

Study 2

Data and Procedure

We followed procedures used in interest research to examine the process by which interests of participants influence unethical behavior (Ortner, 1984). We collected data from

workers in Ghana and Botswana undertaking MBA programs. Like Study 1, the participants completed Survey 1 and 2 in two periods separated by a three-week interval. A few surveys that had missing information were excluded. The final sample was 290.

Measures

The dependent variable, *unethical behavior* is the same as that used in Study 1 and comprises three indicators – predatory (3-items, $\alpha = 0.65$), exploitative (3 items, $\alpha = 0.63$), and defiance (3 items, $\alpha = 0.68$). Confirmatory factor analysis results also suggested a 3-factor model ($\chi^2 = 25.6$, $df = 13$, $\chi^2 / df = 1.97$; Tucker-Lewis index – TLI = 0.96; CFI = 0.94; root mean squared error of approximation – RMSEA = 0.09) fit the data better than a 2-factor ($\chi^2 = 32.8$, $df = 12$, $\chi^2 / df = 2.73$; TLI = 0.91; CFI = 0.89; RMSEA = 0.12) or 1-factor ($\chi^2 = 39.9$, $df = 11$, $\chi^2 / df = 3.63$; TLI = 0.86; CFI = 0.84; RMSEA = 0.24) model.

The independent variable, *interest*, was indicated by self-motivation (3-item, $\alpha = 0.89$), achievement-motivation (3-item, $\alpha = 0.89$), and power-motivation (3-item, $\alpha = 0.84$). We adopted Chen et al. (2014) cognitive meaning of money which focused on respect, achievement, and power. A second-order CFA results support the 3-factor model ($\chi^2 = 47.65$, $df = 24$, $\chi^2 / df = 1.97$; TLI = 0.98; CFI = 0.96; RMSEA = 0.05) fit the data better than a 2-factor ($\chi^2 = 92.5$, $df = 25$, $\chi^2 / df = 3.7$; TLI = 0.92; CFI = 0.90; RMSEA = 0.15) or 1-factor ($\chi^2 = 104.4$, $df = 27$, $\chi^2 / df = 3.85$; TLI = 0.84; CFI = 0.81; RMSEA = 0.28) model.

The mediators were positive affect (two factors) and strategic response (rationalization and resource mobilization). *Positive affect* is measured with the positive component of Watson et al. (1988) short positive and negative affect scales (PANAS) ($\alpha = 0.96$). It requires respondents to select words that describe their positive feelings and emotions (e.g. excited, joyful, pleasant). *Rationalization*, the justifications offered for unethical actions, was measured with 5-items ($\alpha = 0.74$). A sample item is “*there is nothing wrong with cheating at work at least once.*” Resource mobilization was measured with 4 items ($\alpha = 0.89$) we created because we could not find a relevant scale. A sample item is “*I mobilize resources when I want to execute tasks effectively*” (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree).

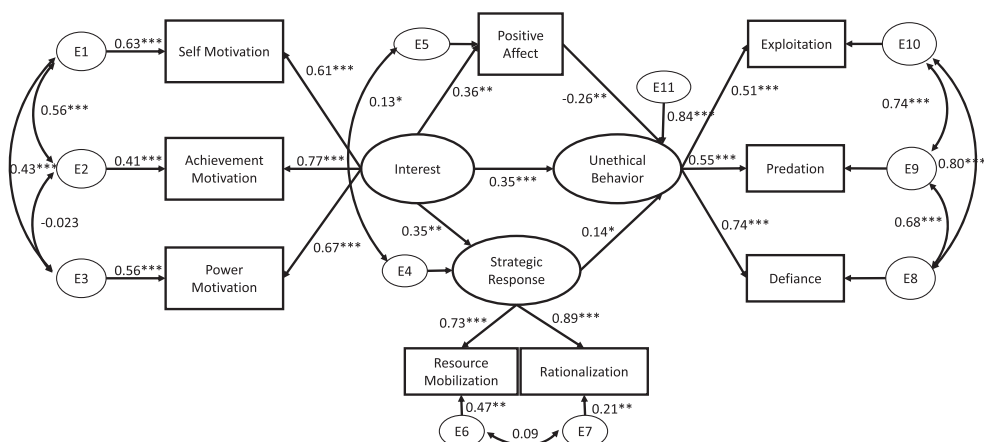
Analysis

We used the same technique as in Study 1 by computing hypothesized and alternative models of SEM. The goodness of fit indices show that the hypothesized model ($\chi^2 = 78.4$, $df = 24$, $\chi^2 / df = 3.3$; TLI = 0.96; CFI = 0.97; RMSEA = 0.09) fit the data better than alternative model ($\chi^2 = 129.4$, $df = 36$, $\chi^2 / df = 3.59$; TLI = 0.89; CFI = 0.92; RMSEA = 0.12) and model 2 ($\chi^2 = 131.6$, $df = 38$, $\chi^2 / df = 3.46$; TLI = 0.88; CFI = 0.90; RMSEA = 0.15). We used modification indices to improve the fit consistent with theory. About 89% of the variance in unethical behavior is explained by the interest factors (R^2). Achievement motivation ($R^2 = 0.64$); self-motivation ($R^2 = 0.77$), and power motivation ($R^2 = 0.73$) explain the variance in unethical behavior. The resultant model is shown in Figure 2.

Results

Table 2 shows the descriptive statistics and correlations. The control variables do not relate at a significant level to interest, positive affect, strategy, and unethical behavior factors. Also noticeable is the moderate correlations between predation, exploitation, and defiance. The results of the structural equation model (see Figure 2) show that the measurement model was significant for interest, affect, strategy, and unethical behavior.

Structural Equation Model Results of Interest Effects

**Figure 2.** Structural equation model results of interest effects.

The R^2 (not shown in Figure or table) suggests that 82% of the variance in unethical behavior is explained by all the predictors but 40% and 21% of the variance is explained by strategic response and positive affect, respectively.

First, self-motivation ($\beta = 0.71, p < .001$), achievement motivation ($\beta = 0.81, p < .001$), and power motivation ($\beta = 0.72, p < .001$) relate positively to the interest latent variable suggesting that personal desire, success outcomes, and power drives underlie the interest of participants in committing unethical behavior. Second, resource mobilization ($\beta = 0.71, p < .001$) and rationalization ($\beta = 0.64, p < .001$) relate positively to the strategy latent variable. Third, predation ($\beta = 0.70, p < .001$), exploitation ($\beta = 0.76, p < .001$), and defiance ($\beta = 0.73, p < .001$) relate positively to the latent variable. The structural model suggests that interest relates positively to positive affect ($\beta = 0.45, p < .001$), strategy ($\beta = 0.23, p < .01$), and unethical behavior ($\beta = 0.43, p < .001$). The effects suggest that the interest of participants did not only determine unethical behavior but is also mediated by their positive affect and strategic response. Fourth, positive affect relates negatively to unethical behavior ($\beta = -0.33, p < .01$) suggesting that participants who express positive emotions are less likely to engage in unethical behavior. Lastly, strategic response ($\beta = 0.23, p < .01$) relates positively to unethical behavior. Strategy and positive affect serve as mediators given that the covariance of the error terms is significant. The indirect effects of interests' indicators are also significant¹ supporting the mediation role. In sum, there is support for hypothesis 2.

Discussion

In contrast to Study 1 that showed pressures inducing unethical behavior, this study focused on perceived advantages (i.e. interest) associated with unethical behavior. Noteworthy is that positive affect has a negative, rather than positive effect as we expected. The more participants expressed positive emotions regarding their interest, the less likely they are to engage in unethical behavior. However, to fulfill their interests, they strategize before engaging in unethical behavior (Gino & Pierce, 2009). That might probably be to outwit potential monitors. The alternative models in which we proposed positive

Table 2. Descriptive statistics and correlations (Study 2).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1 Age	1.00												
2 Gender	−0.33	1.00											
3 Job Tenure	0.59***	−0.05	1.00										
4 Organization Tenure	0.62***	−0.01	0.82***	1.00									
5 Organization Size	0.14	0.00	0.07	0.11	1.00								
6 Self-motivation	−0.13	0.10	−0.14	−0.14	0.05	1.00							
7 Achievement Motivation	−0.03	0.14	0.00	−0.05	0.08	0.57***	1.00						
8 Power Motivation	−0.14	0.10	−0.13	−0.20*	0.03	0.74***	0.58***	1.00					
9 Rationalization	−0.16	0.04	−0.17	−0.18*	−0.04	0.21**	0.08	0.23**	1.00				
10 Resource Mobilization	−0.04	0.02	−0.01	−0.07	−0.09	0.09	0.07	0.11	0.01	1.00			
11 Defiance	−0.15	0.05	−0.27**	−0.20***	−0.06	0.19**	0.05	0.23**	0.25**	0.04	1.00		
12 Predation	−0.14	0.07	−0.23	−0.20*	0.03	0.18*	0.00	0.29***	0.25**	0.05	0.62***	1.00	
13 Exploitation	−0.19*	0.07	−0.16	−0.15	−0.05	0.19**	0.03	0.27***	0.26***	0.05	0.70***	0.67***	1.00
N	287	290	288	283	287	289	290	290	290	289	290	290	290
Mean	32.55	0.56	5.64	5.94	2.64	3.58	4.02	4.44	2.23	4.11	1.7	1.21	1.32
SD	7.43	2.3	5.02	5.02	1.16	1.64	1.73	1.47	1.67	0.52	0.98	0.94	0.85
Min	12	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2.4	1	1	1
Max	69	29	34	34	4	7	7	7	20.6	5	4.5	5	3.7

affect as driver of strategizing was not significant suggesting that the two mediators are independent mechanisms. This is supported by the positive (strategizing) and negative (affect) effects. However, both are influenced by motivation.

Study 3

Data and Procedure

We followed the same procedures as in Studies 1 and 2 by collecting data from workers in Accra, Ghana in (2018) using a random approach and three selection criteria – currently working, consent to participate in two surveys, and willingness to identify them by their phone number to match the surveys completed in February and April. Individuals who did not participate in the 2nd survey were excluded from the analysis resulting in a final sample of 154 participants.

Measures

We measured *unethical behavior* the same way as in Study 1 and 2. Predatory (3-items, $\alpha = 0.77$), exploitative (2 items, $\alpha = 0.76$), and defiance (3 items, $\alpha = 0.73$). Confirmatory factor analysis results suggested seemingly no difference between a 3-factor model ($\chi^2 = 33.95$, $df = 28$, $\chi^2 / df = 1.79$; $TLI = 0.97$; $CFI = 0.95$; $RMSEA = 0.074$), 2-factor ($\chi^2 = 31.82$, $df = 28$, $\chi^2 / df = 1.52$; $TLI = 0.98$; $CFI = 0.97$, $RMSEA = 0.06$) and 1-factor ($\chi^2 = 25.21$, $df = 20$, $\chi^2 / df = 1.26$; $TLI = 0.99$; $CFI = 0.98$; $RMSEA = 0.043$) model in terms of fit with the data. As a result, we chose the 3-factor model in line with the principle of consistency.

We adopted Zoogah's (2018) *ethnos oblige* scale to measure ethnic obligations. It has been used in other studies (see Zoogah & Akoto, 2018; Zoogah & Zoogah, 2020). Generosity was measured with 5 items ($\alpha = 0.86$). A sample item is "*it is expected of me to be generous toward my ethnic group members.*" Dependability was measured with 4 items ($\alpha = 0.83$). A sample item is "*It is expected that members of my tribe can trust me.*" Honor was measured with 4 items ($\alpha = 0.84$). A sample item is "*I have to live by my tribe's code of conduct.*" Representation was measured with 3 items (0.62). A sample item is "*I am expected to think first of my ethnic group members.*" They were anchored on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree).

The mediators focused on strategic response – voice (expression of sentiments about the situation), diversion (refocusing attention away from the situation), and withdrawal (removing oneself from the situation). We measured *voice* with 2 items ($\alpha = 0.52$), *diversion* (3 items; $\alpha = 0.77$) and *withdrawal* (2 items; $\alpha = 0.61$). Centralization was measured with ethnic commitment (affective - 3 items, $\alpha = 0.75$; and normative - 4 items, $\alpha = 0.69$). Sample items for affective and normative components are "*I am very happy being a member of my tribe,*" and "*I feel I owe my tribe quite a bit because of what it has done for me.*"

Results

Table 3 shows the descriptive statistics and correlations. The control variables do not relate at a significant level to ethnic obligation, commitment, strategic responses, and unethical behavior factors. Also noticeable is the moderate correlations between predation, exploitation, and defiance. In addition to CFA results on the factor structure of unethical behavior which supported the 3-factor model as in Study 1 and 2, the factor

structure of ethnic obligations was also supported; the 2nd order CFA showed the items of each factor loading well on the factor and the factors loading well on the dimensions (benevolence – generosity and dependability; agency – representation and honor; centralization – commitment and forethought). The data fit the 2nd order structure ($\chi^2 = 398.6$, $df = 223$, $\chi^2 / df = 1.78$; $TLI = 0.98$; $CFI = 0.99$; $RMSEA = 0.062$) better than the 1st order structure ($\chi^2 = 498.5$, $df = 230$, $\chi^2 / df = 2.17$; $TLI = 0.91$; $CFI = 0.94$; $RMSEA = 0.10$).

The substantive SEM results are shown in Figure 3. The model suggests 85% of the variance in unethical behavior is explained by all the predictors (R^2) but 54% and 13% of the variance is explained by strategic response and centralization respectively. The measurement model was significant for obligation in the hypothesized and alternative models. In the hypothesized model, generosity ($\beta = 0.76$, $p < .001$), dependability ($\beta = 0.77$, $p < .001$), honor ($\beta = 0.71$, $p < .001$), and representation ($\beta = 0.33$, $p < .01$) relate positively to ethnos oblige suggesting that the benevolence and agency underlie the obligation of participants. Second, affective ethnic commitment ($\beta = 0.76$, $p < .001$) and normative ethnic commitment ($\beta = 0.58$, $p < .001$) relate positively to the centralization latent variable. Third, the manifest variables voice ($\beta = 0.35$, $p < .01$), diversion ($\beta = 0.25$, $p < .01$) and withdrawal ($\beta = -0.54$, $p < .01$) relate to the latent variable – strategy – showing them as indicators. Fourth, predation ($\beta = 0.68$, $p < .001$), exploitation ($\beta = 0.69$, $p < .01$), and defiance ($\beta = 0.76$, $p < .001$) relate positively to unethical behavior.

The structural model suggests that ethnic obligation relates positively to ethnic commitment ($\beta = 0.51$, $p < .001$), strategic response ($\beta = 0.99$, $p < .001$) and unethical behavior ($\beta = 0.45$, $p < .01$). The negative relationship between ethnic commitment and strategic response ($\beta = -1.80$, $p < .01$) suggests that for every unit increase in centralization, strategic response reduces by about 2 units. However, both ethnic commitment ($\beta = 0.50$, $p < .01$) and strategies ($\beta = 0.26$, $p < .01$) relate positively to unethical behavior. They show that participants who perceive benevolence and agency centralize and strategize before engaging in unethical behavior. For a 1 unit increase of ethnic obligation centralization as indicated by ethnic commitment increases by about 0.51 while strategic response increases by 0.99, and 0.45 of unethical behavior. Further a 1 unit increase in centralization (and strategic response) unethical behavior increases by 0.50 and 0.26 respectively. The significant positive effects suggest that centralization and strategic response mediate the relationship between unethical behavior and ethnic obligation. The significant covariance of their error terms further provides evidence of the mediation. The indirect effects of obligation and its indicators are also significant² supporting the mediation role. In sum, there is support for hypotheses 3a-3d.

Discussion

The findings of Study 3 seem like those in Study 1 and 2: the structural attributes are supported: ethnic obligation influences unethical behavior directly and indirectly. The mediators are also significant. One difference in this study, however, is the mediation of ethnic commitment. The commitment literature shows it as an affective attribute (Allen & Meyer, 1990; Vandenberghe et al., 2004). Further, one of the manifest variables is affective commitment which refers to the person's loyalty to the tribe because of emotional reactions. A second difference is the focus on voice, diversion, and withdrawal strategic responses. The strategic behavior literature shows voice (Van Dyne & LePine, 1998), diversion (Oliver, 1991), and withdrawal (Mingus & Burchfield, 2012) as forms of

Table 3. Descriptive statistics and correlations (Study 3).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Age	1.00														
Job tenure	.51***	1.00													
Organisational tenure	.62***	.73***	1												
Generosity	-.04	-.03	.06	1.00											
Dependability	.05	-.09	-.02	.58***	1.00										
Representation	.07	-.02	.13	.42***	.49***	1.00									
Honor	.02	-.04	.06	.53***	.52***	.45***	1.00								
Loyalty commitment	.00	-.03	.00	.32***	.36**	.29**	.05***	1.00							
Normative commitment	.01	-.07	-.05	.31***	.36**	.26**	.47***	.94***	1.00						
Withdrawal	-.08	.05	.07	.04	.02	.03	.13	.11	.13	1.00					
Diversion	-.01	.05	.13	.03	-.06	.02	-.06	.03	.00	-.01	1.00				
Voice	-.03	.06	.01	-.02	.00	-.08	-.07	.07	.00	-.09	.25**	1.00			
Exploitation	.01	.04	-.01	.22**	.15*	.11	.19*	.16*	.17*	.12	-.04	-.05	1.00		
Predation	.01	-.04	-.03	.12	.12	.06	.10	.03	.03	.06	-.07	-.06	.60***	1.00	
Defiance	.03	-.12	-.07	.14*	.15*	.06	.13	.03	.03	.13	-.01	-.18*	.54***	.64***	1
N	153	150	144	154	154	154	154	151	151	151	152	152	153	153	153
Mean	28.63	3.96	4.46	4.45	4.01	2.95	4.7	3.28	3.34	2.64	3.38	3.28	.98	.88	1
SD	7.45	3.51	4.68	1.56	1.56	1.05	1.39	1.11	1.18	1.18	1.16	1.18	1.14	1.14	1.02
Min	4	.25	.25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
Max	54	20	25	7	7	5	7	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4.33

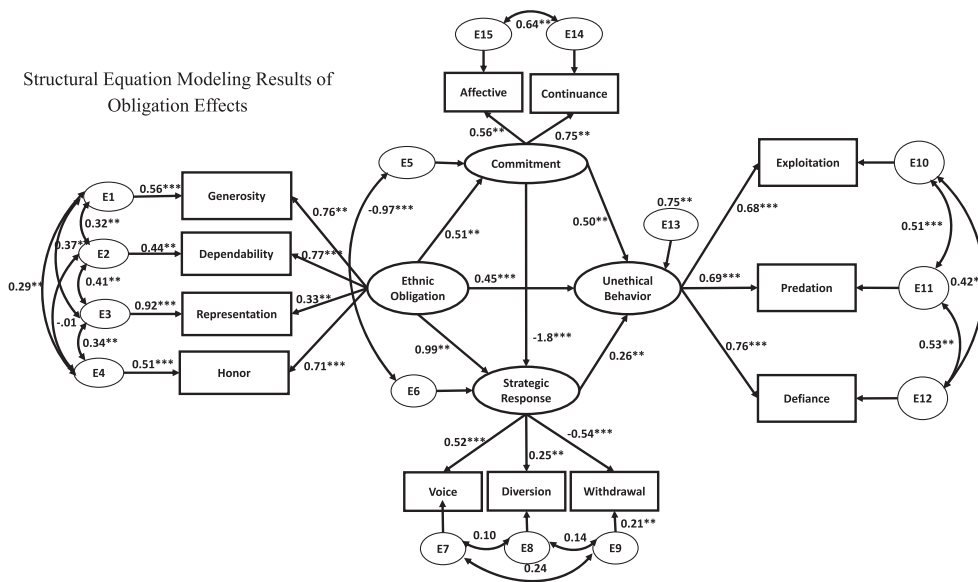


Figure 3. Structural equation modeling results of obligation effects.

strategic responses to situations. We were interested in how ethnic processes influence the response of individuals in unethical situations. Lastly, these three studies are discreet; they are not integrated in a single study for us to determine which model is better at predicting unethical behavior. That limitation necessitated Study 4.

Study 4

Data and Procedure

We followed the same procedures as in Studies 1, 2, and 3 by collecting data from workers in Ghana and Botswana in 2020. The samples (Botswana = 100; Ghana = 96) did not show significant difference ($t = -0.0803$, $n.s.$; $H_a: Pr(T < t) = 0.4681$, $n.s.$; $Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.9361$, $n.s.$; $Pr(T > t) = 0.5319$, $n.s.$)

Measures

We measured *unethical behavior* the same way as in Studies 1, 2, and 3. Predatory (3 - items, $\alpha = 0.77$), exploitative (2 items, $\alpha = 0.76$), and defiance (3 items, $\alpha = 0.73$). Confirmatory factor analysis results supported a 3-factor model ($\chi^2 = 33.95$, $df = 28$, $\chi^2 / df = 1.79$; TLI = 0.97; CFI = 0.95; RMSEA = 0.074), over a 2-factor ($\chi^2 = 31.82$, $df = 28$, $\chi^2 / df = 1.52$; TLI = 0.98; CFI = 0.97, RMSEA = 0.06) and or 1-factor ($\chi^2 = 25.21$, $df = 20$, $\chi^2 / df = 1.26$; TLI = 0.99; CFI = 0.98; RMSEA = 0.043) model in terms of fit with the data.

We measured *ethnic obligation* with the same indicators – generosity ($\alpha = 0.86$); dependability ($\alpha = 0.83$); honor ($\alpha = 0.84$), and representation (0.62) – as in Studies 1, 2, and 3. They were anchored on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree). We measured *interest* with self-motivation (3 - items, $\alpha = 0.89$), achievement-motivation (3 - items, $\alpha = 0.89$), and power-motivation (3 - items, $\alpha = 0.84$) indicators as in Chen et al. (2014). CFA results support the 3-factor

model ($\chi^2 = 47.65$, $df = 24$, $\chi^2 / df = 1.97$; TLI = 0.98; CFI = 0.96; RMSEA = 0.05) fit the data better than a 2-factor ($\chi^2 = 92.5$, $df = 25$, $\chi^2 / df = 3.7$; TLI = 0.92; CFI = 0.90; RMSEA = 0.15) or 1-factor ($\chi^2 = 104.4$, $df = 27$, $\chi^2 / df = 3.85$; TLI = 0.84; CFI = 0.81; RMSEA = 0.28) model. Strain factors were adopted from the GST literature. Items for the four strain factors and two mediators are all adopted from Broidy (2001). *Blocked goals* ($\alpha = 0.66$) and *life stress* ($\alpha = 0.63$) were measured the same way as in Study 1.

For the mediators, we focused on *affect*, *centralization*, and *strategic response* consistent with previous research on GST (Agnew & White, 1992), *ethnos oblige* (Zoogah, 2018), and interest (Lawrence & Robinson, 2007) theories, respectively. Affect was measured with Watson et al. (1988) short positive and negative affect (PANAS) scale ($\alpha = 0.96$). Centralization was measured with ethnic commitment – ($\alpha = 0.75$) and forethought ($\alpha = 0.75$) as in Study 2. Strategic response was measured with three indicators (rationalization – $\alpha = 0.89$, resource mobilization – $\alpha = 0.76$, and coping strategies – $\alpha = 0.89$) as in Study 3.

Results

Table 4 shows the descriptive statistics and correlations. The control variables do not relate at a significant level to strain, interest, and ethnic obligation indicators. Also noticeable is the moderate correlations between predation, exploitation, and defiance.

The fit indices show that alternative model 3 has a better fit with the data ($\chi^2 = 696.75$, $df = 129.00$; $RMSEA = 0.080$; $AIC = 4892.39$, and $BIC = 5048.70$) than the hypothesized model ($\chi^2 = 710.23$, $df = 135.00$; $RMSEA = 0.10$; $AIC = 4893.04$, and $BIC = 5033.72$). The alternative model 3 suggests 1.03% of the variance in unethical behavior is explained by all the predictors (R^2) but 4%, 9%, and 32% of the variance is explained by affect, strategic response, and centralization, respectively. Average R^2 of the exogenous manifest variables for interest, ethnic obligation, and strain were 54%, 32%, and 19% respectively. The coefficients are summarized in Figure 4.³

The measurement model was significant for obligation in all the models. In the summarized model (Figure 5), generosity ($\beta = 0.74$, $p < .001$), dependability ($\beta = 0.61$, $p < .001$), honor ($\beta = 0.50$, $p < .001$), and representation ($\beta = 0.24$, $p < .05$) relate positively to *ethnos oblige* consistent with our expectations. Self-motivation ($\beta = 0.72$, $p < .001$), achievement motivation ($\beta = 0.73$, $p < .01$), and power motivation ($\beta = 0.75$, $p < .001$) were also significant and positive in relating to the latent variable, interest. Blocked goals ($\beta = 0.09$, *n.s.*) did not relate significantly to strain but stress ($\beta = 0.60$, $p < .001$) related positively. The manifest variables of the mediators also related significantly and positively except coping which related negatively ($\beta = -0.05$, $p < .001$) to strategic response.

The structural model shows that interest ($\beta = 0.20$, $p < .01$), strain ($\beta = 0.32$, $p < .01$) and obligation ($\beta = 0.42$, $p < .01$) relate positively to centralization suggesting that employees' interest, strain, and obligations drive them to prioritize and commit to the ethnic group. However, obligation has a greater effect as indicated by the beta followed by strain and interest. Obligation also has a positive effect on affective reaction ($\beta = 0.18$, $p < .01$) suggesting that the benevolence and agency of employees is likely to increase their affect. Affect does not relate to centralization ($\beta = -0.09$, *n.s.*) but relates negatively to strategic response ($\beta = -0.06$, $p < .05$) and unethical behavior ($\beta = -0.19$, $p < .01$) suggesting

Table 4. Descriptive statistics and correlations (Study 4).

#	Variable	M	SD	Min	Max	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	UEB-Predatory	0.93	0.89	0	4.33	1						
2	UEB-Defiance	0.74	0.99	0	4	.44***	1					
3	UEB-Exploitation	0.6	0.87	0	5	.57***	.41***	1				
4	Resource Mobilization	4.12	0.75	1	5	0.03	-.16+	-.06	1			
5	Rationalization	2.12	1.15	1	7	.42***	.34***	.42***	-.03	1		
6	Coping	0.61	0.78	-1.3	3	0.03	-1	0.08	.23*	-.05	1	
7	Ethnic Commitment	1.85	0.77	0.5	3.33	.19*	0.03	0.14	0.01	0.13	0	1
8	Forethought	2.8	1.13	1	5	.16+	0.07	0.12	-.03	0.09	-.03	.45***
9	Positive Affect	3.44	0.89	1	4.8	-.26***	-.03	-.18+	0.15	-.09	0.1	-.03
10	Negative Affect	1.65	0.66	1	3.44	-.06	0.02	0.05	0	-.03	-.05	0.09
11	Blocked Goals	0.66	0.41	-0.2	1.2	0.11	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.02	0.05	-.03
12	Life Stress	2.63	0.8	1	4.5	0	-.01	0.03	-.09	0.05	-.01	.25**
13	Generosity	3.53	1.46	1	7	0.07	0.01	0.19	0.02	.15+	0.04	.32***
14	Dependability	4.11	1.28	1	7	.16+	-.04	0.1	0.15	0.06	-.16+	0.1
15	Honor	4.05	1.17	1	7	.17+	0.02	0.06	.18*	0.16	-.04	.45***
16	Representation	2.67	1.04	1	5	-.15+	-.02	0.09	0.01	-.05	0.1	0.15
17	Self-motivation	3.51	1.51	1	7	0.05	0.1	0.03	0	.33***	0.15	-.09
18	Achievement motivation	3.95	1.45	1	7	0.09	0.12	0.08	-.17+	.20*	0.07	-.03
19	Power Motivation	3.98	1.53	1	7	-.02	-.06	0.04	-.01	0.15	0.01	-.08
20	Age	37.9	11	19	69	0.05	-.17+	-.02	0.04	-.23*	-.01	-.02
21	Gender	0.45	0.5	0	1	0.13	-.02	-.02	0.07	-.04	-.04	.18*
22	Job tenure	7.31	6.45	1	31	-.01	-.03	-.09	-.03	-.20*	0.11	-.03
23	Organization tenure	9.08	7.84	1	33	0.01	-.01	-.01	0.09	-.18+	0.12	-.02

N = 119; UEB = unethical behavior: + $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

#	Variable	M	SD	Min	Max	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
8	Forethought	2.8	1.13	1	5	1							
9	Positive Affect	3.44	0.89	1	4.8	-.01	1						
10	Negative Affect	1.65	0.66	1	3.44	0.07	.20*	1					
11	Blocked Goals	0.66	0.41	-0.2	1.2	0.1	-.08	-.02	1				
12	Life Stress	2.63	0.8	1	4.5	.39***	-.17+	0.06	-.03	1			
13	Generosity	3.53	1.46	1	7	.47***	.24*	-.01	-.16+	0.11	1		
14	Dependability	4.11	1.28	1	7	.36***	.31**	0	0.02	-.01	.66***	1	
15	Honor	4.05	1.17	1	7	.48***	0.14	0.06	.17+	.22*	.38***	.53***	1
16	Representation	2.67	1.04	1	5	.31**	0.07	0.12	0.1	.24**	.44***	.17+	.26**

(Continued)

Table 4. Continued.

#	Variable	M	SD	Min	Max	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
17	Self-motivation	3.51	1.51	1	7	0.01	−0.1	0.04	−0.12	.25**	0.12	−0.1	0.1
18	Achievement motivation	3.95	1.45	1	7	0.13	−0.13	0.02	−0.01	.22*	0.02	−0.09	0.03
19	Power Motivation	3.98	1.53	1	7	.20*	−0.07	−0.01	−.18+	.30**	0.04	−0.09	−0.04
20	Age	37.9	11	19	69	0.01	−0.01	0.09	.19*	−.29**	.20*	.39***	0.1
21	Gender	0.45	0.5	0	1	.17+	0	0.02	−.15+	0.01	0.04	0.08	0.04
22	Job tenure	7.31	6.45	1	31	−0.1	−.21*	0.13	0.11	−.17+	−0.15	0.04	.22*
23	Organization tenure	9.08	7.84	1	33	−0.1	−0.03	.18+	.22*	−.26**	0.01	.19*	−0.02

N = 119; UEB = unethical behavior: + $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

#	Variable	M	SD	Min	Max	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
16	Representation	2.67	1.04	1	5	1							
17	Self-motivation	3.51	1.51	1	7	0.12	1						
18	Achievement motivation	3.95	1.45	1	7	0.08	.69***	1					
19	Power Motivation	3.98	1.53	1	7	0.16	.56***	.81***	1				
20	Age	37.9	11	19	69	0.13	−.23*	−0.13	−.19*	1			
21	Gender	0.45	0.5	0	1	0.08	0.01	−0.05	0.07	0	1		
22	Job tenure	7.31	6.45	1	31	0.06	−0.11	−0.06	−0.01	.63***	0.08	1	
23	Organization tenure	9.08	7.84	1	33	0.09	−0.15	−0.14	−.25**	.67**	−0.02	.69**	1

N = 119; UEB = unethical behavior: + $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

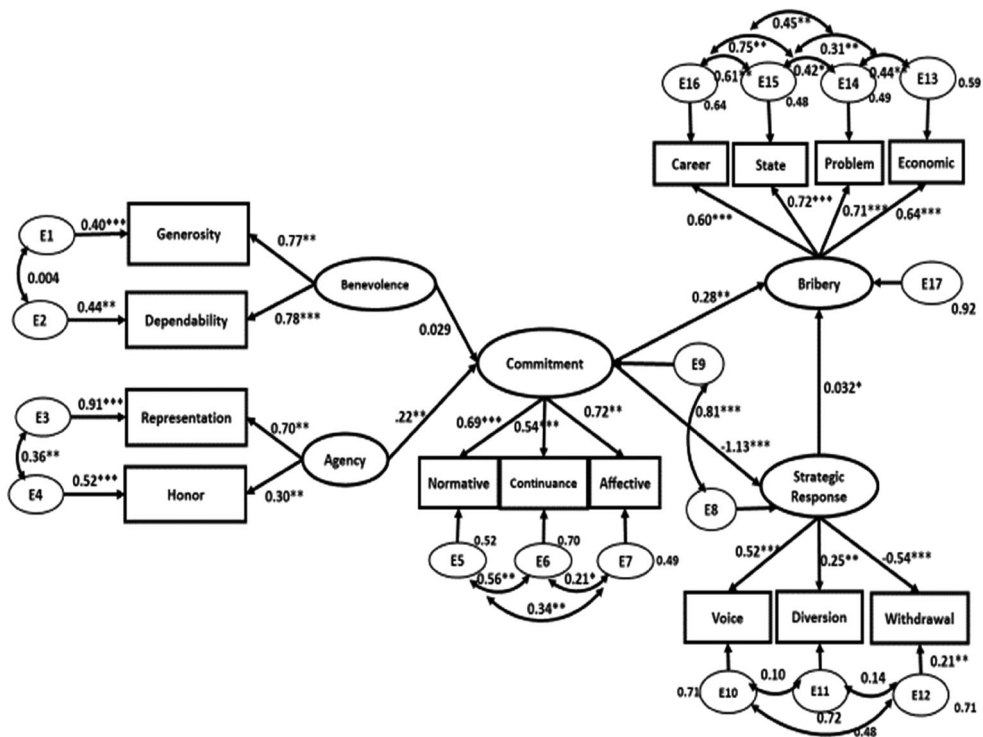


Figure 4. Robustness checks model.

that the more employees showed positive affect the less they were to strategically respond to and actually engage in unethical behavior; they were more likely to do so, however, with negative affect. The more employees centralized their ethnic groups the less they were to strategically respond ($\beta = -0.10, p < .01$) but the more they were to engage in unethical behavior ($\beta = 0.14, p < .01$). Finally, strategic response relates positively to unethical behavior ($\beta = 0.29, p < .01$) suggesting that the more employees strategized, the more likely they were to engage in predatory, exploitative, and defiant behaviors in the organization. Interest ($\beta = 0.23, p < .01$) and obligation ($\beta = 0.12, p < .01$) but not strain ($\beta = 0.05, ns$) were also significant and positive suggesting that as interest and obligation increase, employees are more likely to strategically respond to unethical behavior. In sum, the model shows mediation of affect, centralization, and strategic response in the relationship between interest, strain, and obligation with unethical behavior. The indirect effects of obligation, interest, and strain were significant⁴ supporting the mediation role. As shown in Figure 5, the effect of obligation and interest on unethical behavior seem stronger than that of strain. In sum, this study provides additional support for the hypotheses on the effects of strain, interest, and ethnic obligation on unethical behavior.

Discussion

In this study we sought to determine the effects of obligation, interest, and strain on unethical behavior. The first finding is that the effect size (standardized coefficients of

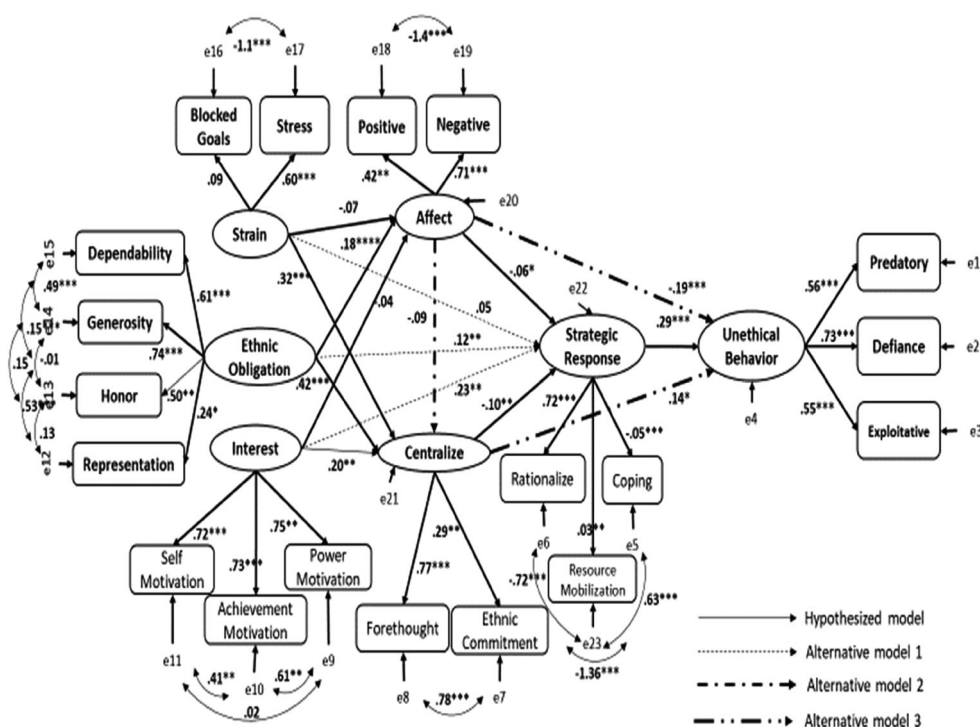


Figure 5. Results of strain, obligation, and interest forces on unethical behavior.

the indirect effects) of interest ($\beta = 0.11$) is stronger followed by strain ($\beta = 0.10$) and obligation ($\beta = 0.04$). This is probably because of the greater effects of the manifest variables of the interest latent variable. The second and more notable finding is that ethnic obligation influences unethical behavior via affect and centralization unlike interest and strain which relate to unethical behavior via centralization only. Third, there seems to be core and peripheral paths. The former is via affect while the latter is via centralization. All the three factors use the core path, but only ethnic obligation uses the core and peripheral paths. For example, ethnic obligation relates to unethical behavior via (1) affect only, (b) both affect and strategic response, and (c) only strategic response. Lastly, centralization and strategic response seem to be major mechanisms by which strain, ethnic obligation, and interest influence unethical behavior.

Overall Discussion

Contributions

Our principal aim in these studies was to investigate the extent to which unethical behavior in organizations in Africa could be explained by two Western-based (strain and interest) and one Africa-based (ethnos oblige) theories. Research in the social sciences has examined the question of why individuals commit unethical behaviors resulting in diverse explanations (see Tittle, 1995 for a detailed review). Sociological views range from functionalist, to conflict, and symbolic interactionist theories (Tittle, 1995).

Agnew's (1992) GST, the perspective adopted in this paper, defines strain as "negative or aversive relations with others" (p. 61). Interest theory focuses on advantages to be achieved for others with whom one has relations (Ortner, 1984). Relatively sparse, however, are cultural (particularly African) explanations of negative deviance even though Geertz (1973) advocated it. The cultural norm – *ethnos oblige* – suggests that individuals are likely to engage in behaviors (positive and negative) because of obligations to members of their ethnic group (De Sardan, 1999; Lentz, 1995).

Common to all three theories is the 'relationship with others.' We expected respondents to engage in unethical behavior out of pressure, perceived advantages, or obligations arising from their relationship with others. We found support for strain, interest, and ethnic obligation as explanations of unethical behavior. Our findings suggest that responses to those forces depend on respondents' emotional reactions, and development of strategies that ensure effective outcomes of unethical behavior. The empirical findings suggest that affective reaction and strategic responses mediate the relationship between the forces (strain, interest, and obligations) and unethical behavior. First, when individuals are driven by strain, interest, and obligation, they are likely to react emotionally to the force. That affective reaction is likely to determine how they respond (Agnew, 1992). Second, the forces (and affect) lead them to devise strategies to enact unethical behavior effectively. Affect may also relate to strategic response directly (Study 1 and 2) or not (Study 3). In the study that combined all three theories (Study 4), there was confirmation of the strategic response and centralization as mechanisms by which strain, interest, and obligation influence unethical behavior. We also found only ethnic obligation can influence unethical behavior via two paths – affect and centralization; strain and interest forces influence unethical behavior via centralization path only.

Given that motivational theory suggests aversive tendencies, positive outcomes, and sense of duty as motivational drivers (Kanfer, 1977) our model integrates the functionalist and cultural theories. We term it an integrated functional model of negative deviant behavior (see Figure 6). Our model proposes dual mediation. It combines negative and positive affect as indicated by the covariance relationship in the empirical models. In addition to the focus on the positive elements of deviance, it integrates the cultural elements that drive deviant behavior (Geertz, 1973). Our model thus seems consistent with the functionalist perspective of deviance which shows the importance of various aspects of society for social stability and other social needs (Tittle, 2007). The relative importance and dominance analyses showed similar explanations of the variance in unethical behavior.

Implications

There are several theoretical and practical implications of our findings. Theoretically, the findings suggest that unethical behavior in Africa is driven by cultural, social, and personal factors. This syncretism of forces seems consistent with the cultural embeddedness of corruption in Africa (De Sardan, 1999). In addition, they seem to have the same structural process – trigger, emotional reaction, planned response, and enactment of behavior. In other words, different theoretical lenses can be used to understand the same phenomena. This is because of the syncretic experiences of Africa – traditional

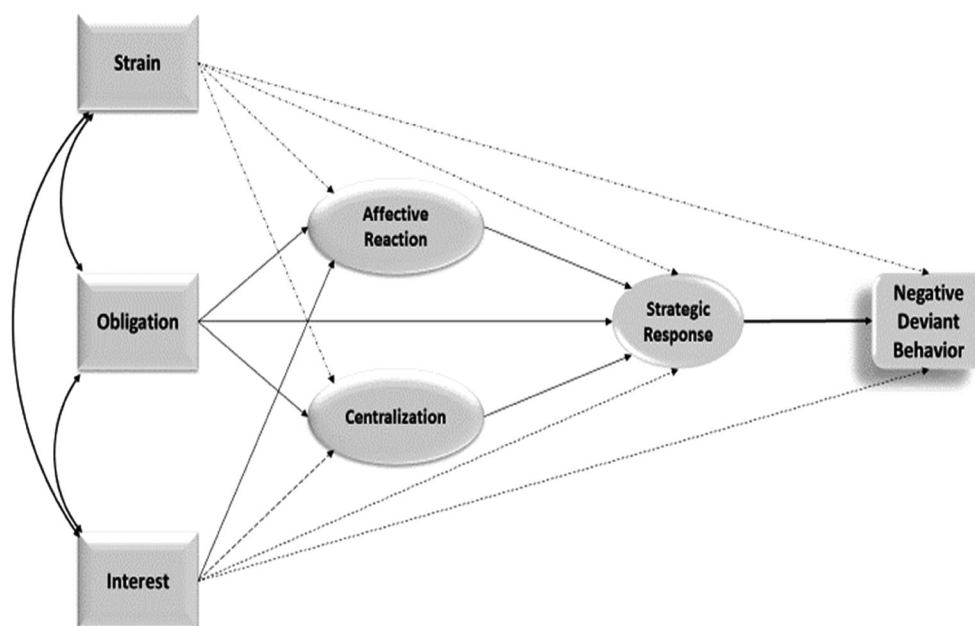


Figure 6. Integrated functional model of negative deviant behavior.

systems, colonial injections, and post-colonial structures (De Sardan, 1999). Consequently, some advocate metatheoretical perspectives as explanations of African phenomena (Holtbrügge, 2013). The integrated model we propose fits with this extant call for research on indigenous management (Holtbrügge, 2013; Jackson, 2013; Zoogah et al., 2015).

Further, we contribute to theory through the process approach. The process-approach to variance explanation is arguably more impactful than the static approach (Van de Ven & Poole, 2005). Process models not only suggest the use of multiple factors, but they also elaborate on the nature of the relationship. As shown in these studies, the forces do not directly influence unethical behavior; rather there is an intervening mechanism. Third, we contribute to indigenous management by showing how ethnic obligations influence unethical behavior. Indigenous research seems more effective and appropriate for African Management because it enhances the epistemic density of Africa (Jackson, 2013; Zoogah et al., 2015).

Limitations and Future Research

Like all studies, ours has its limitations. First, we focused on only 2 countries – Ghana and Botswana. Given that unethical behavior can be observed in all countries (De Sardan, 1999), we encourage future studies to use the integrated model we propose in other countries. We also encourage future studies to develop autochthonous theories that help explain other forms of deviance. We focused on only one contextual theory – *ethnos oblige* – which is not sufficient. African values, beliefs, and behavioral norms might be drawn upon to explain ethical and unethical behavior in work and non-work

Table 5. Summary of Indirect Effects.

Variable	Coping Strategies			
	B	SE	z	(β)
Blocked Goals	1.83	0.08	25.16***	0.30***
Unfair Goals	1.99	0.07	23.31***	0.34***
Life Hassle	1.91	0.04	27.14***	0.44***
Life Stress	1.86	0.05	27.55***	0.40***
	Unethical Behavior			
	B	SE	z	(β)
NRBG	−0.17	0.19	−0.88	−0.16
NRBD	0.53	0.26	2.03*	0.69*
Coping Strategies	0.15	0.10	1.61	0.37*
Blocked Goals	0.31	0.16	1.96*	0.14*
Unfair Goals	0.34	0.16	2.05*	0.17*
Life Hassle	0.29	0.15	1.95*	0.19*
Life Stress	0.27	0.14	1.88 [†]	0.17 [†]

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; NRBG = negative reaction to blocked goals; NRBD = negative reaction to bad things.

contexts. Third, studies on ethical behavior in Africa can serve as models. The theories that explain ethical behavior might not be the same as those that explain unethical behavior. However, our studies are consistent with the extant call for metatheoretical approaches in theory development (Holtbrügge, 2013). In addition, future research may examine the institutions in Africa and how they influence unethical behavior. As the “rules of the game” (North, 1990), institutions might encourage or normalize unethical behavior. This is consistent with De Sardan’s (1999) view that the ‘corruption complex’ is embedded within the culture of African countries, and George et al.’s (2016) call for studies of institutions in Africa and their influence on organizations and business. We also encourage experimental studies of unethical behavior which seem to be lacking in Africa (Zoogah & Nkomo, 2012). Lastly, it is likely there might be interactions or nonlinear relationships between the forces and criterion. We therefore encourage studies of dynamic effects.

Conclusion

In this paper, we report on four studies that examine strain, interest, and obligation as forces that drive unethical behavior. We found affective reaction, centralization, and strategic response as intervening mechanisms in the relationship between three explanans and unethical behavior. In the combined model which tests all the factors, ethnic obligation is the only factor that indirectly influences unethical behavior via two paths – affect and centralization. It seems more ontologically valid than the other two forces. Based on those findings we propose an integrative motivational model of unethical behavior. We believe this meta-theory is likely to explain unethical behavior (and possibly ethical behavior) in organizations particularly those that operate in Western and non-Western contexts with salient ethnicities.

Notes

1. Not included due to space constraints. Mediation results may be obtained from the first author.
2. Not included due to space constraints. Mediation results may be obtained from the first author.

3. We run several alternative models but summarize the major ones in Table 5 and in Figure 4. The alternative model with direct effects seems to have a better fit with the data than the other models as indicated by the fit indices.
4. Not included due to space constraints. Mediation results may be obtained from the first author.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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