CONCEPTUALIZING THE CROSS-CULTURAL GAPS IN MANAGING INTERNATIONAL AID: HIV/AIDS AND TB PROJECT DELIVERY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

There appears to be a gap between the billions of dollars inputted into fighting HIV/AIDS and TB and outcomes. This in part can be attributed to the lack of attention in International Development to managing programmes and projects within complex levels of cross-cultural interactions. International Development often ignores management issues, yet Management Studies is left wanting through a lack of engagement with development issues including the fight against disease and poverty. This article attempts to link these two disciplines towards mutual benefit, through a critical cross-cultural approach. It provides contextualization of international development policies/strategies; conceptualization of dominant paradigms; structural analysis of how a programme/project fits into the global governance structure; analysis of complexities and levels of cross-cultural interaction and their consequences; and the process and implications of knowledge transfer across cultural distances. It concludes with implications for policy and practice, as well as what is needed from cross-disciplinary research. This includes how feedback loops can be strengthened from local to global, how indigenous knowledge may be better understood and integrated, how power relations within the global governance structure could be managed, how cross-cultural interaction could be better understood, and how knowledge transfer/sharing should be critically managed.

INTRODUCTION

Whether it is possible to say there is a gap between inputs and outputs in programme and project delivery in the international fight against HIV/AIDS and TB may be contentious. It is of course difficult to compute the trajectory of the pandemic if no interventions had been made. Yet the evidence appears to speak for itself. Over 30 million people are living with HIV worldwide. About 22.5 million of those are living in sub-Sahara Africa with Southern Africa having the worst affected countries. It is estimated that in 2007 between 1.5 and 2 million people died of the consequences of AIDS in sub-Sahara Africa (Kickbush, 2007). Despite being two of the richest countries in Africa, Botswana and South Africa have been

particularly hit. Botswana, for example has 24.1% adult HIV prevalence rate, with the life expectancy rate at birth dropping from 65 years in 1990-1995 to less than 40 years in 2000-2005. Despite both internal and external investment into tackling HIV/AIDS, life expectancy is some 28 years lower than it would be in Botswana without AIDS.

A similar story can be told for South Africa. Although until recently the government had been pursuing a less progressive response to HIV/AIDS than the government of Botswana, Lenneiye (2000) suggests that South Africa's high budget for dealing with TB (one of the major causes of death among people living with HIV is related to tuberculosis co-infection: WHO, 2008) should have resulted in a rapid decline in the incidence of the disease. This has not happens. He asserts that the main challenge is now to identify and tackle the reasons for the gap between resources and achievements.

With some $60 billion per year spent on aid to developing countries through government agencies, supra-government agencies such as UN and World Bank, NGOs and commercial sector organizations often in partnership with government agencies, a similar story may be told of the level of aid effectiveness as a whole. This has been partly recognized in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005). 'Managing for development results' has emerged as one of the key concepts within the debate on how to achieve the development outcomes of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Clearly tackling issues of poor health in developing countries has been a key element on the development agenda.

So, if things have been going wrong; if there are indeed gaps between resources and inputs, and results and achievements, how can this gap be (re)conceptualised? Approaching this from the position of Management and Organization Studies, there are two (or perhaps three) surprises. The first is the scant regard for 'management' in the international development literature. It would appear to be a truism that:

> 'Good organizational management is essential for the well being of human kind. [.......] Effectively managing resources [...] would seem a logical way of alleviating human hardship and poverty, and ensuring the welfare and dignity of all people within the sub-continent, and creating wealth. This can only be driven by a firm understanding of the multicultural context of African countries, based on empirical research and a cross-cultural methodology, and a development of cross-cultural competences in conjunction with local and international stakeholders.' (Jackson, 2004)

The second surprise is also contained in the above. Although the management of international aid is undertaken across borders, and between different cultural groups at international, national and local levels, little regard within the literature is given to the effectiveness and appropriateness of international aid across cultures. Despite a growing body of scholarship in Cross-cultural Management Studies, this appears to be largely ignored by Development scholars (exceptions are Lewis, 2001, in the area of development NGO management, and Dia, 1996, in the area of development in Africa). Reciprocally, fundamental geopolitical theories such as Dependency Theory and Postcolonial Theory, which form part of some socio-political treatments of Development Studies, are generally ignored by cross-cultural management scholars (my third surprise). Similarly, the multiple levels of cross-cultural interaction that pertain in developing regions such as sub-Saharan Africa, together with complex power relations are generally ignored by the extant cross-cultural management literature, such as the oft cited work of Hofstede (1980a/2004). As it is often difficult to apply this scholarship to African countries, so the problem of applying this in Development Studies is compounded.

The main thesis of the current article is that any development 'gap' can usefully, if not essentially, be (re)conceptualized cross-culturally and indeed be managed cross-culturally. However, first it is necessary to transcend some of the boundaries often applied to intra-disciplinary studies in Management and Development respectively. This involves the following inter-related discussions regarding the management of international aid, particularly in tackling HIV/AIDS and TB.

- *Contextualization*: How do wider international development policies/strategies regarding interventions in disease, poverty and inequality influence the final outcomes in tackling HIV/AIDS and TB?
- *Conceptualization*: What is the relationship between the way international development is conceptualized (in terms of dominant Western paradigms) and the way interventions in addressing HIV/AIDS and TB are conceived and managed, and outcomes delivered?
- *Structural relationships*: How does the development organization/project fit into the international governance structure, and how does this influence the nature of outcomes?

- *Cross-cultural interactions and their consequences*: What is the nature of different levels of cross-cultural interaction and what are their consequences in terms of cultural hybridization of organizations and management. How does this influence outcomes?
- *Knowledge transfer*: To what extent do project/organizational managers critically examine transferred-in knowledge, how do they do this, and how does it influence project outcomes?

The aim in this article is to suggest ways in which effectiveness and appropriateness of international development interventions, primarily in the area of HIV/AIDS and TB, may be understood and addressed.

CONTEXTUALIZATION: POLICIES AND OUTCOME

There is a logical connection between the formulation of policies toward fighting HIV/AIDS and TB and the nature and effectiveness of resources applied to this. Yet are all policies appropriate and effective, and if not, why not? Connected questions are: how are policies formulated? Who formulates them? And, what are the various interests vested in such decision making? This section does not seek to answer these questions directly, as they are intertwined with other issues being considered later: namely the way development is conceptualized and the governance structures within which arrangements work. This section rather sets the scene by focusing on co-determinants, consequences and interventions at policy level.

Much attention in recent years has been placed on addressing the issue of HIV/AIDS. For example USAID has allocated $6 billion of its budget since 1986 not only because of humanitarian reasons, but also because the high incidence of HIV/AIDS threatens the prosperity and stability of developing countries around the world[1] (although one might add that this is a miniscule amount compared with US defence spending). The emphasis on tackling major health issues, as a priority in international development, should be situated in the context of international development itself: How is international development conceptualized, and by whom? How are these conceptualizations turned into policy? How

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[1] See website of United States Agency for International Aid website:
http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/global_health/aids/ (accessed 27 February 2009)

does this affect the way programmes and projects are initiated, managed and assessed? How does this affect the outcome of such programmes and projects?

The central role of disease (HIV/AIDS; TB & Malaria) in perpetuating Africa's poverty is documented for example by Whiteside (2002) who discusses the cyclical relationship between poverty - HIV/AIDS - poverty. If poverty contributes to, and exacerbates the incidence of HIV/AIDS, so does the prevalence of HIV/AIDS contribute to increasing poverty at the micro (family) level, and ultimately at the macroeconomic level (for example altering availability of labour and goods). Yet the fact that HIV/AIDS prevalence rates are highest in Africa's wealthiest countries Botswana and South Africa indicates that this is not a simple relationship. Social inequality may be a big factor. For example the UN Human Development report uses the GINI index for measuring inequality over the entire distribution of income or consumption (0= perfect equality; 100=perfect inequality). For Botswana the index is 61.0, for South Africa it is 57.8, for Zambia 50.7 and for Zimbabwe 50.1 (UNHDR 2009). Not only does this indicate that inequality, and poverty at a micro level, is likely to contribute to the incidence of HIV/AIDS, the disease also contributes to the increase in poverty at the family level (as Whiteside, 2002, shows) and therefore increased inequality at the macro level.

Interventions, to tackle HIV/AIDS and its effects may therefore be directed at many factors, and not simply targeting the direct effects (supply of antiretroviral drugs) and personal prevention or protection (education, condom supply, promotion and marketing). Whiteside (2002) lists as determinates of HIV/AIDS at the macro-environmental level: wealth, income distribution, culture, religion and governance. At the micro-environmental level he lists: mobility, urbanization, access to health care, level of violence, and women' rights and status. At the behavioural level he lists: rate of partner change, prevalence of concurrent partners, sexual mixing patterns, sexual practices and condom use, and breast feeding. At biological level he lists virus sub-types, stage of infection, presence of other STDs, gender, and circumcision. Interventions can therefore be at all or any of these levels. For example at the macro-environmental level social policy can tackle wealth redistribution; legal reform can tackle human rights issues; and, debt relief and terms of trade can be tackled through international agreements. At the micro-environmental level Whiteside (2002) suggests social and economic policy, legal reform and employment legislation, and condom promotion and marketing interventions. Interventions at these two levels are directly addressed at poverty issues. At behavioural level, behaviour change communication, blood safety and

antiretroviral therapy during pregnancy; and at biological level, STD treatment is suggested (Whiteside, 2002).

However, Jones (2004) contends that international policy favours preventative interventions, rather than providing anti-retroviral drugs. He proposes that such policy choices are situated within prior cultural interpretations of the disease, and that like 'development' itself should be seen as cultural and political exchange. In this way an 'optic of developmentalism' skews policy away from treatment towards prevention (Jones, 2004: 387). This is not just a result of the protection that patents confer on pharmaceutical companies, and the economics of market forces, but also the way the 'developing' world is perceived in the eyes of the West: an issue specifically discussed in the next section. These perceptions run from seeing Africans as promiscuous, and seeing Africa as too corrupt, to seeing Africa as 'too lacking in adequate development to be considered for treatment' (Jones, 2004: 396). That is, there is not only a perception of a lack of infrastructure to ensure delivery and administration of medication, but there is also a perceived self-responsibility problem as USAID states: 'Ask Africans to take their drugs at a certain time of the day, and they don't know what you are talking about (quoted in Farham, 2002: 95, who goes on to report 88.5% adherence to a treatment regime after 48 weeks by patients at one Cape Town hospital).

These issues may be relatively well rehearsed in Development Studies, but are important to consider first as they form part of the overall consideration of cross-cultural appropriateness, and cross-cultural management.

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Figure 1 about here
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Figure 1 provides a conceptualization of the connections between disease (HIV/AIDS, TB), poverty and inequality, and how interventions fit into this conceptual space, and how projects may be seen as fitting into international development interventions as a whole. Perceptions of where and how to intervene may be determined through consideration of a cross-cultural framework, which will be developed over the next few sections. Once this is regarded in the wider context of international development policy, this brings us into issues of (1) the discourse of development, and the means and objectives of development. It also brings us to the questions of (2) who is involved in the interventions, and why? It also raises issues of (3) the relationships among these different stakeholders or actors in these interventions. While

addressing these questions, it is important to bear in mind the wider context of the relationships between HIV/AIDS and TB, poverty and international development, by first addressing the discourses of international development.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF DEVELOPMENT: WESTERN PARADIGMS, SOUTHERN REALITIES

Globalization (and imperialism) provides a scenario where 'developing' countries are such because of the existence of 'developed' countries. This can be conceptualized in two fundamental ways. Dependency Theory (Frank, 1969) suggests that today's third world underdevelopment is the underside of the same globalizing conditions that led to the first world being developed. The latter's development is dependent on the former's underdevelopment. The prime mover in this was capital seeking profits. This is easiest in countries where labour and resources are cheap and governments are weak. The structural consequence of this is to reproduce the process, and to block local initiatives pursuing their own development paths (Schech and Haggis (2000). This represents an economic or institutional theory, originally based on Marxist critique of modernity theory. Modernity theorists see the 'Third World' as originally underdeveloped or untouched, and whose trajectory, and the aim of international development, is to modernize in the direction as the 'First World'.

The second way that this can be conceptualized is through Postcolonial Theory (Said, 1978/1995; Bhabha, 1994; Spivak, 1996). Here the 'developing' world is represented in the eye's of the 'developed' world. Western imperialism, through Western culture has developed a systematic 'body of theory and practice' that constructs or represents the 'Orient' (in Said's, 1995: 49, terms). In colonial times, this has portrayed images of the 'noble savage', the 'wily oriental', where westerners are regarded as 'rational, peaceful, liberal, logical…without natural suspicion and Easterners as irrational, degenerate, primitive, mystical, suspicious, sexually depraved, etc. These representations are carried over to western intellectual and cultural production including research, and development practice. The acceptance and internalization of such representations by the developing world itself can mean two things. Firstly, there is both an acceptance and challenging of these representations that constitute hybrid forms of presentation of the nature of inhabitants of the third world; and secondly, that because this challenging itself grows out of the cultural and intellectual representations of western discourse, that this 'contamination' of the colonized means that they can never refer

back to an 'authentic' identity in pre-colonial times. Any conceptualization of this identity would be by definition seen through the eye's of the colonizer's representations (see Kapoor's, 2002, examination of dependency and postcolonial theory). This is similar to the Dependency Theory critique of modernity theory: that the 'developing' world was created by imperialism (as a form of globalization) and does not exist apart from a developing-developed world dependency. The culturalist view of Postcolonial Theory brings us to the same point: a concept of purity of local or indigenous thought or practice does not exist.

Briggs and Sharp (2004) examines the resurgence in interest of indigenous knowledge in international development in this light. They state that this is a result of the failure of western-centred development approaches, and an unquestioning confidence in the validity of science and western knowledge, and the denigration of local approaches. Indeed, the western rational approach was seen as the norm, and local actors face development issues simply as a result of deviating from that norm. Development therefore involves bringing them into line with the universal knowledge of scientific truths. Briggs and Sharp (2004) assert that this was the position whether it applied to management of the soil or management of people. The failure, they propose, of this approach to development is evidenced by ever increasing levels of poverty (they refer to living standards having declined in 54 countries between 1990 and 2001, 21 one of these being in Africa: UN Human Development Report 2003). Hence Escobar (1995) sees the dominance of western knowledge not through a privileged proximity to the truth but as a result of historical and geographic conditions coupled with the geopolitics of power. This view sees indigenous knowledge as valid as western knowledge, if not greater in value for addressing local issues. The recognition of indigenous knowledge also provides alternatives by which to challenge conventional development praxis, and ways of empowering neglected communities (Briggs and Sharpe, 2004).

However, there is debate about whether the West wants to hear indigenous voices (for example hooks [with a small h, from an autobiographic position in the third world], 1990, and cited in Briggs and Sharpe, 2004) asserts that western researchers want only to know about her experiences. They do not want to hear her explanations. This would require them to relinquish their position as experts. There is also a debate about whether 'the subaltern' (in the language of Postcolonial Theory) can ever really speak in terms of a true 'indigenous' knowledge (Spivak, 1988).

The first issue is whether that voice will be heard, unless it is expressed in the language, and within the experience, of the West. That is, it may be dismissed as unscientific, unless it can be expressed in the language of formal science. The World Bank's (1998:8) emphasis on incorporating indigenous knowledge (IK) into development initiatives appears to reflect this view when they state 'IK should complement, rather than compete with global knowledge systems in the implementation of projects' (quoted in Briggs and Sharpe, 2004:667), indicating an incorporation of limited indigenous approaches to the wider scientific approach of development practices, rather than indigenous knowledge presenting any challenge to existing value systems of western scientific approaches. There appears to be a lack of tolerance of indigenous knowledge and value systems challenging dominant world views or criticizing existing terms of debate and proposing different agendas. The aim appears to be simply adding to the existing ways of doing things (Briggs and Sharpe, 2004)

The second issue is whether an indigenous voice can ever truly be indigenous, and know itself as such in a globalized world where the perceptions of the Third World by the West have been adopted and internalize by 'indigenous' people in the Third World. An example is the extent to which indigenous management practices (such as *ubuntu* in South Africa) can be used and articulated given the dominance of western management practices through universalized management training and education. This debate is taken up later, when looking at how the management of projects may be conceived cross-culturally.

There appears to be a fundamental relationship between the way international development is conceptualized and the way interventions in addressing HIV/AIDS and TB are conceived and managed, with, for example, Briggs and Sharpe (2004) providing further weight to an assumption of a gap between inputs and outputs in international development through the way development is conceived by the 'developed' world. A key element in this, and the way programmes and projects are managed, is the nature of involvement in development projects. Who are the main actors and why?

STRUCTURAL RELATIONSHIPS: FITTING INTO THE GLOBAL GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE
Poku and Whiteside (2002) point to a shift in health and social policy formulation away from the World Health Organization to the primary institutions of global economic governance, namely the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. As a result there has been a shift

away from concepts of equity and social justice in health provision, to markets and efficiency. An example (among many) of market forces in the supply of vaccines in developing countries, where combined with enforcing US style patents allowing pharmaceutical companies to set their own price together with higher demand in developing countries has meant that ciprofloxacin (a potent antibiotic and one of the most successful antiretroviral drugs available) was twice as expensive in Uganda as in Norway (Poku, 2002). She further points towards the attitude of the World Bank in quoting 'if the only effect of the AIDS epidemic were to reduce the population growth rate [in developing countries], it would increase the growth rate of per capita income in any plausible economic model' (World Bank, 1992, cited by Poku, 2002)

Poku and Whiteside (2002) assert that the public health services and healthcare are now seen as threatening public finances, and a burden on governments, rather than a productive investment for human development. This has been led by the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPS) amongst much criticism over the last two decades. This has largely led to a shift away from state initiated healthcare standards and legislation to IMF/World Bank leadership providing a multiplicity of unaccountable actors in the health arena (Poku and Whiteside, 2002; Thomas, 2002, Heyward, 2002). Worldwide at national level this may mean contracting out essential elements of health service provision. Internationally public-private partnerships are playing a greater role in global governance and policy related issues. Pharmaceutical companies donation programmes are an example of this together with the emergence of 'new philanthropists' such as the Melinda and Bill Gates Foundation which at the end of 1999 had donated $6 billion for vaccines (compare this with USAID's budget for HIV/AIDS of $6 billion since 1986 and the entire WHO annual budget of less than $1 billion) (Poku and Whitside, 2002). Such players are making fundamental decisions about the allocation of resources and nature of projects in the management of HIV/AIDS and TB. Heywood (2002) also points out the role of pharmaceutical companies, and the predominance of, and imposition of US patent conventions (through WHO membership) on the availability of vaccines.

The UN response to the issues of coordinating these many players in global governance in the health arena was to set up the Global AIDS Fund, later (2002) to become the Global Fund to fights HIV/AIDS, TB and Malaria. Its board comprises representatives of governments, NGOs, civil society and private sector, with ex officio members including from UNAIDS and World Bank. The single biggest private commercial sector donor appears to be the Melinda

and Bill Gates Foundation. The Global Fund administers funds through country coordinating committees, where often the local fund agent is KPMG or PriceWaterhouseCoopers.

Overall, government recipients account for 64% of funds expended, 18% of funds go to multilateral organizations, 12% to NGOs, 2% to private sector, and 4% to faith based organization recipients[2]. For example, all South African recipients listed on the Global Fund website are provincial or national governments, as are those in Botswana. It should be noted however that those organizations tasked with implementation are mainly NGOs and other civil society organizations. An inspection of original (successful) proposals submitted to the Global Fund confirms this[3]

Seckinelgin (2005) contends that the role of civil society is to act as a conduit between policy structures and the people. The governance structure, he suggests, is as follows: international organizations such as the World Bank, and UNAIDS (the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS); individual donor countries such as the US, UK, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands and their aid organizations (e.g. USAID, DfID); national governments and their policy intervention channels; and national civil society. At local level community groups and NGOs, both local and international, work with national or transnational NGOs (Seckinelgin, 2005). He suggests that UNAIDS, as a coordinating body and comprising a number of UN related organizations, has played a key role in establish a *de facto* governance regime in relation to HIV/AIDS. He proposes that this governance system does not just manage, but also constitutes what he calls the 'agency' (or, for example, the NGOs capacity/capability to deal with HIV/AIDS) of the various actors involved. People with the disease are constructed in a way that is independent of their everyday lives. This allows them to be governed within the domain of international HIV/AIDS policy, which is produced by certain languages, technologies, and (I would add) logics and culture.

In simple language, the international (western) systems and concepts for addressing HIV/AIDS are largely complied with by NGOs working on the ground, or they do not get funding. They cannot survive within the international framework of how the HIV/AIDS pandemic is conceived and managed, if they do not conform. Seckinelgin (2005: 354) adds that 'practices of governance articulate ways of managing the structure of the institutional arrangement, decision making process, and the capacity for implementation within the

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[2] http://www.theglobalfund.org/en/distributionfunding/ (accessed 27 February 2009)
[3] For example, a proposal submitted by the government of Botswana:
http://www.theglobalfund.org/search/docs/2BOTH_201_0_full.pdf (accessed 27 February 2009)

context', and '[C]onsidered from this perspective. HIV/AIDS governance becomes a set of complex inter-constitutive relations creating legitimacy for civil society actors'.

The main implementers of policy emanating from policy structures within the governance regimes, where NGOs are regarded as service delivery tools, do not have a role as participants in deciding which policy approaches to follow. Seckinelgin (2005) also contends that NGOs gradually internalize ways of relating and thinking that are independent of their community relationships, and that the process of know-how transfer within the relationship with the international governance regime leads NGOs to a particular way of thinking. He argues therefore that NGOs in the HIV/AIDS context should be analysed within this governance structure to evaluate what they can do. They should not be regarded as an abstract organizational form constituted as reified civil society. One consequence of this international resource base of NGOs working in this field is that because of the lack of accountability between international donors and people benefiting from these services, 'people are depoliticized as receivers of aid' (Seckinelgin, 2005: 361).

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Figure 2 about here

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This therefore brings us to the issue of the relationships among these different actors or stakeholders, from policy formulation within the international governance regime and the involvement of multilateral and bi-lateral funders, as well as private sector foundations and funders, and international NGOs; the national governments (perhaps complying, but also contributing to policy formulation at the international level; and certainly affecting it at national level: for example there are major differences between Botswana and South Africa in HIV/AIDS policy); local governments, hospital and clinics, university departments, NGOs and other community based organizations; and the beneficiaries (people living with HIV/AIDS/TB; affected communities; etc). An attempt at charting these relationships is shown in Figure 2.

The starting point for investigating the management of projects or organizations should be to locate the project/organization within its governance context, irrespective of where one enters as a site of research. For example, if the focus is on building a case study of a project at the level of a local NGO, then its relationships in the governance structure should be established, as should its inputs into policy formulation where these exist, and the way policy is fed down and interpreted.

CROSS-CULTURAL INTERACTIONS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

When we start to look at the way HIV/AIDS and TB projects are managed, the above is the macro-context within which we have to situate any managers' values, attitudes, perceptions, actions and results. It contextualizes the story in terms of cultural, institutional and power/influence relationships, but is still only part of the story. Looking at this cross-culturally we can already see inter-continental interactions at work, and this should form an important part of our analysis. In particular, this will involve the transfer of knowledge from North to South, or from West to East, or from Metropolis to Periphery depending on the perspective employed. Broadly this involves the geopolitical processes that have come to be known as globalization, and which in the African context involves the hybridization, or creolisation of cultures (Ahluwalia, 2001 :128).

So, how do we understand this hybridization, and what relevance has this understanding to the gap between resources inputted into health projects, the management of projects, and the results obtained?

Levels of Cross-cultural Analysis

The first stage is to consider the complexity and dynamics of cross-cultural influences on the management of projects or organizations. This involves understanding the different levels of cross-cultural interaction, and the dynamics of cultural crossvergence and organizational hybridization. Levels of cross-cultural interaction can be understood as follows (Jackson, 2004):

- *Inter-continental*: the dynamics of Western-indigenous interaction of cultures, management systems and international-local governance structures. The appropriateness of management principles and the transfer of knowledge in particular are raised when considering this level of interaction. Hybridization of organization and management forms takes place through historical and current foreign and

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indigenous influences, involving power relations, with the potential of developing management organizations that are highly adaptive to their environments, or mal-adaptive organizations that are likely to fail because of their lack of relevance or appropriateness.

- *Cross-border:* inter-country interaction. This was discouraged in Africa under colonial administrations, but is becoming more important in economic cooperation within regional associations, particularly for the commercial sector. The dominance of Northern-Southern interaction in international development may militate against cross-border interaction and cross-fertilization of ideas and technologies. Such relationships perpetuate former metropolis-periphery (in the language of Postcolonial Theory) arrangements. A consideration of cultural difference and similarities is important at this level of analysis, as well as cross-border exchange and learning. For example, lessons could be learned by investigating both Botswana and South Africa, not simply as an exercise in comparison, but to enable organizations and managers in these respective countries to learn from each other.

- *Inter-ethnic:* day-to-day issues of conflict, harmony, and power relations among ethnic groups. The importance of understanding at this level, among other aspects, is in addressing the area of conflict resolution, and in the provision of equal opportunities: an issue particularly important in South Africa as in many other African countries. Expectations of one ethnic group may be different in the workplace to the expectations of another group. Within the organization, one ethnic group may be perceived to be more powerful than others (Jackson, 2004). Also field workers in an NGO may be from a different ethnic group to clients in the field. Different beliefs, for example the validity of traditional medicine versus use of western scientific methods, may influence interactions. This may have implications for the outcome of projects. In addition, historical inter-ethnic relations, for example in South Africa, may also affect the way research data are collected: black interviewees may answer differently depending on whether the interviewer is white or from the same ethnic group or not. Gender interaction (together with inter-ethnic interactions) may also confound our own research results, as well as project outcomes.

These three levels of cross-cultural interaction are important to (and it could be assumed, affect) health and development projects. International NGOs, for example, import assumptions and methods to developing regions. Southern NGOs often have dependency

relations with the North, and adopt imported assumptions. Cross-fertilization of ideas and technologies are important across borders in the South, and cross-cultural differences should be taken into account at cross-border level. Finally, inter-ethnic interactions may be prominent within local NGOs for example (where they are not, exclusion may be taking place where employees are recruited predominantly from one ethnic group), and often with and among local clients.

Yet often cross-cultural differences appear to be most fundamental at inter-continental level, and may be particularly important when looking at the transferability of management as well as scientific and medical principles, particularly from North to South, and assuming the international governance structure described above. Of primary importance in considering this is the concept of *locus of human value* (Jackson, 2004). 'Western' management (American, French, Scandinavian, etc) encompasses many different approaches to managing people and organizations. Culturally these approaches appear to be linked by an *instrumental* view of people in organizations as a means to an end. This distinguishes them from 'non-Western' views that see people as an end in themselves (Jackson, 2002b). Concepts such as viewing human beings as a 'resource' reflect this view (i.e. 'Human Resource Management'; but also terms such as 'human capital' reflect this view).

In cultures that stress the value of a person in themselves (and often as part of a wider social collective), imposing a perception of persons as only having a value in what they can do for the organization (a resource), rather than valuing them for who and what they are, runs contrary to many 'non-Western' cultural values systems. There is evidence that the NGO sector is adopting the idea of human beings as a 'resource' quite uncritically, and culturally insensitively (Fowler, 1997, for example). This may also be the case in other sectors involved in HIV/AIDS and TB projects, and within those organizations depicted in Figure 2 in private, public and NGOs sectors, and within the management of the projects themselves.

Jackson (2004) suggests that *locus of human value* is an important factor in understanding the different management systems in Africa, their appropriateness, and how they often combine in hybrid forms in individual organizations. The next section focuses on those different forms of management, and explains their significance to understanding the cross-cultural context of managing projects in the area of HIV/AIDS and TB.

Hybridization: Culturally Crossvergent Identities

'Management' is not universal (e.g. Hofstede, 1980b). Western management taught in African countries, for example through MBA programmes, may be entirely inappropriate (Jackson, 2004). One way of understanding this is to conceptualize the different types of management systems operating in organizations in Africa. Jackson (2004) suggests that, conceptually, there are at least three.

Post-colonial management. When academics look at management in developing countries they see and describe management systems that appear to be left over from the colonial era, without identifying these as such and assuming they are typical of 'African' management (Kanungo and Jaeger, 1990 is an example of this): hierarchical, centralized, authoritarian or at best 'paternalistic', rule bound, lack of flexibility, distrustful of employees. Management in developing countries is thus seen in this pejorative sense. The obvious solution within modernity/modernization theory (discussed briefly above), is to move towards a 'Western' approach: results/market focused; often consultative/participative; and using a 'contingency' approach that balances a task and people focus. Multinational corporations operating in Africa appear to be driving this approach, as well as agencies such as the World Bank/IMF, are urging this movement, at a macro level through structural adjustment programmes with influences in the public sector; as well as conditions of funding from bilateral agencies and international NGOs (e.g. Taylor, 2002).

Yet moving organizational management towards 'Western' approaches and away from this 'African', or rather post-colonial management system appears to be a similar dynamic to that which imposed post-colonial management in the first place. Dia (1996) posits a disconnect thesis: institutions were imposed on communities during the colonial era. This gave rise to the systems of management and control that have continued to be seen as 'African' (African chiefs are often seen as being dictatorial, authoritarian and non-consultative; but read Ayitter, 1991, as an antidote to this view). Yet these post-colonial systems continue to alienate African employees (see Jackson's, 2004, findings on employee motivation). Yet a question remains: are so-called 'Western' (or more accurately Anglo-America) management systems any more appropriate in Africa?

Western or 'post-instrumental' management. Modern Human Resource Management (HRM) systems in Western countries no longer reflect a 'hard' instrumentalism (such as in McGregor's System X or the scientific management of Taylor) which see human beings as an

expendable resource. Such systems have adopted a 'contingency' principle that uses task- and people-focused approaches as appropriate, or a hard-soft approach. However, there is evidence to suggest that where Western HRM methods have been adopted in 'emerging' economies such as the former Soviet countries, they have taken the harder forms (Jackson, 2002a). There is also evidence of this in Africa. Participation and empowerment are part of the discourse of contingency instrumental approaches (see Taylor, 2002), rather than part of a humanist approach that values people as an end in themselves. In countries such as South Africa in the commercial sector Jackson suggests participatory approaches are often being used on a tactical basis, at an operational level of the organization: the objective and task is provided to a work team, which can then implement the decision in any way it wishes within budgetary and other constraints. Strategic decision-making processes are within the sphere of the organization's (often foreign) elite, and without reference to a wider stakeholder base (Jackson, 2004).

Applying this within the governance structure discussed above, we can see that this may be the case with, say local NGOs, who have to work within a prescribed strategic framework, and interpret and implement this strategy/policy within operational constraints (see Figure 2).

If prevalent within project organizations, this could lead to a 'contractualizing' organizational culture where staff themselves use the organization in an instrumental way (Jackson, 2002). This has been seen in some NGOs where job security and pay is seen above any humanitarian values the staff may have towards the mission of the NGO (Jackson and Haines, 2008)

Humanistic ('African Renaissance') Management. Humanistic approaches to management are being articulated within Africa. This is particularly manifest in South Africa through the concept of *ubuntu* (from the isiXhosa 'Ubuntu ungamntu ngabanye abantu' - 'People are people through other people). For example Lovemore Mbigi (1997) has publicized this concept in his popular management writings. A number of public and commercial sector organizations have implemented management development programmes based on these principles that seek to capture 'indigenous' African values.

It may be misleading, however, to suggest that this approach has had a tremendous and profound effect on management in South Africa. Yet it serves as an ideal, and may well represent an approach that is more in line with African employees' values of a person, and a humanistic *locus of human value*. However, evidence from other organizations in countries that have not necessarily come into contact with *ubuntu* principles from South Africa, are

attempting to reintroduce 'African' values. For example, from a group interview with key managers in Afriland First Bank in Cameroon (Jackson 2004):

> 'In our traditional culture it isn't the chief who makes the decision. Every stone is turned, by bringing people together. With individual decision-making there is a chance that you will make a mistake. So decisions are taken at the group level. We are like an African family that is trying to ensure our stability for the longer period. But in our family the chief cannot always see that he is doing wrong….. In the north of the country you have isolated big trees in savannah areas. So people gather around the tree. They solve community matters, preventing small problems becoming destructive. This is the model here. Every month people gather without consideration of rank, to discuss internal matters. There is no general manager present. We look at good news. We discuss things that are not right. We ask people what they think and to decide upon the issue in respect to their individual operating unit.'

The extent to which this represents an 'indigenous' approach is difficult to tell from the perspective of Postcolonial Theory and the position of the 'subaltern' discussed above. Yet where management approaches better reflect values and expectations within the community in which projects operate, they may be seen as more relevant and appropriate to the lives of project staff, and therefore engender more commitment to the mission of the project, and more involvement of community and staff.

Although the three theoretically conceived management systems are unlikely to be found in sub-Saharan Africa in any pure form, they represent historical and current cultural influences on modern day management practices in various hybrid forms across sectors.

There is one tendency in the international management literature to accept the *convergence* thesis that, due to globalization, cultures are coming together (e.g. Hickson and Pugh, 1995), often through the economic power and hegemony of American influence. This may be held implicitly within some sectors of the international development industry, where the transfer of knowledge from north to south is undertaken quite uncritically.

The *divergence* thesis, offers an alternative. This suggests that (national) cultures although changing, remain essentially different from each other, and these differences should be taken into consideration when managing across cultures (e.g. Hofstede, 1980a in the management literature, and Schech and Haggis, 2000 in the development literature).

A third thesis is becoming more current: *crossvergence* (see Priem, Love & Shaffer, 2000, for a review). This suggests that through different cultural influences hybrid forms of management are developing, some highly adaptive to their operating environment, some maladaptive (Jackson, 2002b). This tells us something about what happens when people and organizations from different cultural group and countries interact, although these theories do tend to miss out the importance of power and ideology in the development of hybrid forms: for example, the power relations within the governance structures discussed above. It may be that African organizations cannot simply go back to supposed management methods that existed before colonial times. History perhaps cannot be defied. Within an understanding of cultural differences and cross-cultural dynamics, power relations and institutional arrangement have to be integrated and understood. Going back to our discussion above about the critiques of modernity/modernization theory in development studies, any analysis must involve both aspects, in this case dependency theory (focusing on institutional arrangement) and postcolonial theory (focusing on cultural aspects). In other words, knowledge flows (e.g. regarding western scientific approaches to combating disease; managerial knowledge) within the governance structured outlined above involve both cultural issues (e.g. the formulation of what constitutes 'scientific' knowledge, or what constitutes appropriate and effective management of projects), and institutional issues (the nature of the governance structure).

Within the governance structure, and across cultures, the transfer, and transferability of knowledge is a major issue. It is to this we now turn.

TRANSFERRING KNOWLEDGE ACROSS CULTURES, AND WITHIN GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE

Managing the process of the transfer of knowledge begs the question of the direction of transfer. A major assumption in international power dynamics, for example between donor agency and recipient NGO, and within modernity/modernization theory (see discussion above), is that knowledge moves from North to South. It is important, firstly, to consider those aspects that may relate to successfully (and appropriately) managing the transfer of knowledge, namely: an understanding of the nature of knowledge and its transferability; and a capacity for managing the internal dynamics of transfer-in of knowledge and its acceptance and use within the project organization. The latter involves considering the nature of knowledge and its transferability, the leadership of project organizations, decision-making and stakeholder involvement, and the management of change within project organizations.

Project Leadership and the Transfer-in of Knowledge

Cultural differences in management styles and leadership, in organizational hierarchy as well as the way decisions are made in the project organization may influence first the identification of relevant knowledge, secondly the intake of that knowledge, thirdly its internal dissemination and the uptake of knowledge, and fourthly the organizational learning processes. Bhagat et al's (2002) points to the problems of transferring knowledge from individualistic to collectivistic cultures, and from lower to higher power distance cultures (following Hofstede's, 1980, cultural values concepts). One particular issue is the transfer of tacit knowledge of complex systems from cultures that are individualistic (which tend to rely on explicit, codified knowledge and which exemplify many developed and Western countries) to cultures that are collectivistic (which rely on tacit knowledge, and which exemplify many developing and non-Western countries). Bhagat et al (2002) also describe the level to which cultures are vertical (high power distance) or horizontal (low power distance) and the difficulties of transferring organizational knowledge between them. Project managers, where they adopt Western leadership styles which are drawn from individualistic and relatively low power distance cultures may then experience problems of acceptability and applicability lower down the organization (where staff may not have been so exposed to western management training for example).

Decision-making, Stakeholder Involvement and Transfer-in of Knowledge.

There are significant differences among countries in the way decisions are made in organizations (Bhagat et al, 2002). These may relate to cultural factors such as power distance for example in staff-boss relations, and uncertainty avoidance or the level of tolerance of ambiguity (Hofstede, 1980). The level of participation and the inclusion and empowerment of the wider stakeholder base may have implications in the decision-making process for assessing the appropriateness of imported knowledge and technologies. In sub-Saharan Africa for example Jackson (2004) notes in the commercial sector the apparent lack of involvement of wider stakeholders in decision-making at the strategic level as we saw above. Decision-making at this level often includes the decision to import management processes and technologies. This may be the level at which decisions should incorporate a wider 'indigenous' or local knowledge from employees and community to help determine the fit between imported and local knowledge.

The nature of decisions relates to the fabric of values within a society. We have already given the example of the instrumental regard for people as 'resources' that may be contrary to a more humanistic view in many developing societies where people see themselves as having an intrinsic value (Jackson, 2002b). Many decisions have a value content, particularly when they relate to and affect people (e.g. employees, local community). Imported management principles may go against local cultural values, and may be seen as unethical. Recruiting staff on the open market, rather than from the local community in consultation with community leaders may be such an example. Imported concepts of gender equality may also go against local cultures (Schech and Haggis, 2000), and opposing views of ethicality in this regard may need serious and sensitive consideration. A related ethical question in the context of decision-making is the power imbalance between Northern and Southern partners. The imposition of Western views of accountability and efficiency as a condition for funding, for example, may itself be an ethical issue.

Change Management and Transfer-in of Knowledge
The appropriateness of change management methods may vary across cultures. Western (that is Anglo-American) management principles often fail in other countries because cultural differences occur in the way uncertainty and ambiguity is handled (uncertainty avoidance: Hofstede, 1980), the way hierarchy is structured, and the way participation/empowerment is managed (power distance: Hofstede, 1980). At local level, the way change is implemented, who is involved, and how they are involved may need careful discussion with local stakeholders, and methods devised that are conducive to local practices and values. This may entail on the one hand a wider stakeholder consultation and involvement, and on the other hand, much clearer guidance to employees about what should be done, and the reason for and nature of their involvement. This may be an important part of knowledge transfer as this often involves change of some kind, and the importing and use of western knowledge may involve a degree of change either within the project organization itself, or within the community within which it operates.

Knowledge transfer, and the way this is managed within the institutional power relation in the governance structure examined earlier, is an important aspect of hybridization of management systems within project organizations: it is the process by which the project organization becomes what it is today. A challenge is therefore to understand how knowledge

is transferred, adapted and utilized within an individual project, and within the HIV/AIDS and TB governance structure as a whole, and within its interlinking parts.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY, PRACTICE AND RESEARCH

It becomes obvious from the above discussion that any gap between inputs of resources and outcomes in tackling this major pandemic is not attributable to one aspect alone. The argument throughout this article is that little attention has been given to critical issues involved in the management of programmes and projects, and above all that cross-cultural management issues have largely been ignored in International Development as a whole. Much of the problem appears to stem from the lack of interest from Management scholars in these crucial social development issues. This is reciprocated in the lack of interest in management in Development Studies. Few articles on management, or from management scholars, are to be found in Development journals. Indeed, it is also rare for an article to be published on the International Development sector in management journals. Yet the argument remains:

- organizations, programmes, projects and (sometimes substantial) resources are 'managed' (with varying degrees of effectiveness and appropriateness), despite any knee-jerk reaction to perceived 'managerialism' in the International Development sector;
- programmes and projects are managed across often huge cultural spaces, from North to South (with mostly substantial power inequality within the relationships); but normally not across (e.g. African) borders and with little cross-border interaction that could be conducive to mutual learning; and, frequently inter-ethnically within the project organization itself or between national or local policy 'interpreters' and local policy 'implementers' (CBOs, small NGOs) or between project organization and client groups and communities.

A consideration of cross-cultural management within the International Development sector could contribute to reducing the gap between inputs of resources and outputs. Yet the growing sub-discipline of Cross-cultural Management (having spawned at least two international journals, a substantial body of scholarly articles over a broad array of management journals and significant library of books) has failed to take on board international development issues and to learn from the 80 per cent of the Globe we call 'developing'. It is the poorer for it in terms of theory development, as well as social impact.

Particularly missing, and perhaps a reason why this sub-discipline has not been seen to be directly relevant to Development Studies, is a wider reference to power dynamics within the global context. Geopolitical aspects of cross-cultural interaction has not been incorporated within theory development that has often remained at the level of simplistic national cultural comparisons.

From the above discussion, the implications for policy, practice and research appear to be as follows:

1. *Contextualization*: Feedback loops from local to global levels appear to be weak, with consequent low policy inputs from 'implementers' of policy at local level (see Figure 2). Although this issue may be well rehearsed in Development Studies, with a high awareness of power relations between funders and recipients, this is an area where more awareness of both power dynamics and cross-cultural differences and implications could be developed among policy makers, with management structures developed that can incorporate different stakeholders with different cultural values and priorities. The extent to which this is being seen to be undertaken should be the province of research among the different players within the governance structure. This could be fed into decision-making and policy structures.

2. *Conceptualization*. There appears to have been a failure of Western approaches to development, particularly within the modernization project. Similarly, attempts to integrate 'indigenous' knowledge have had limited success. A failure to incorporate indigenous logic and rationale, rather than just gather local suggestions, appears to be one explanation. The Postcolonial critique of the 'indigenous' in terms of this being able to be articulated (can the subaltern speak?), provides another explanation. This general failure of intercultural knowledge generation/exchange may explain a substantial proportion of the gap between inputs and outputs in international development. Research into different conceptualization of development, among the various actors within the global governance structure may be an important aspect of informing policy makers and practitioners. Yet this is fraught with danger given the Postcolonial critique. Globalization is pervasive and probably irreversible. Indigenous knowledge can only exist as a hybrid: a product of cultural crossvergence, where the power dynamics are stacked against the 'subaltern'. Investigating cultural identities, by positioning individuals and organizations at the interface of cultural influences; raising awareness of these influences of cultural values on decision-making, policy

formulation, interpretation and implementation through, for example focus groups comprising (inter)actors in the global/local governance structure may be a tentative step forward.

3. *Structural relationships:* The complexity of the global governance structure, as well as the seemingly lack of accountability of the more powerful players within it, together with the culturally boundedness of decisions made at the 'top' of the governance structure and the apparent cultural distance with those (e.g. living with HIV/AIDS) may provide some explanation of the gap between resources inputted and results. Strengthening the feedback loops from South to North would help policy makers to strategically align decisions with needs on the ground. How this might be achieved more successfully should be the subject of further research. Raising awareness of players by sharing information, particularly at local level, of their position within the governance structure may also have an impact, where apparent duplication of functions and fund seeking may be an issue. Locating the project organization in its position within the global governance structure should be a starting point for any research in this area.

4. *Cross-cultural interactions and their consequences:* Programmes and projects in international development appear to be undertaken with little consideration and no analysis of cross-cultural interaction at the various levels. There is little evidence in the literature, for example on the management of NGOs which itself is very sparse, of any thorough going treatment of cross-cultural interaction. Similarly, the way cultural crossvergence leads to particular emergent organizations in the sector appears not to be understood in the scholarship in this area. This is not just a huge gap in the literature. This lack of understanding, if judged but the lack of articulation, with the sector may contribute to any gap between resource inputs and results achieved in such areas as HIV/AIDS. It must be admitted (again) that cross-cultural management scholars have not particularly helped, as the research in this area in Africa is both sparse, and sometimes misguided. Understanding differences in cultural values is useful, but limited in terms of informing policy makers and practitioners how to manage differences, and importantly, how to manage the transfer of knowledge, amidst power relations.

5. *Knowledge transfer:* Knowing that there are cultural differences between, say, a donor country and a recipient country is useful, but this does not help policy makers and practitioners to manage knowledge flows. Management theory is largely North

America in origin. Transferring principles of participatory management from North to South requires a knowledge of relevant cultural difference. In simple terms this may be a difference in power distance (Hofstede, 1980), where expectations of hierarchy and inequality may be such in a sub-Saharan countries that participatory management may not be readily acceptable. This information then predicates a decision: either, use more authoritarian management methods as this will match the host culture; or, make a judgement that participatory methods are (morally/ethically) superior to authoritarian management, and introduce them anyway. Recognition that any such decision is based on a cross-cultural interaction involving a power relationship, involving the juxtaposition of at least two different value systems may be the first stage in successfully managing these issues.

The answer does not appear to be in simply adopting extant Cross-cultural Management theory into Development Studies. Such theory and empirical study has itself been shaped within the confines of the hegemony of 'Western' management and psychological principles with little attention given to the 'developing' world. This perhaps reflects a still present trend in academia, to work in subject 'silos' and to isolate oneself from other academic traditions. Yet both Development Studies and Management Studies are young fields of study, often drawing from common social and economic science roots. When approached critically, and cross-culturally, both can learn from the other. After all, both areas of study are about managing resources and knowledge globally, while having impact effectively and appropriately at local levels. Yet often the one is ultimately about reducing poverty, while the other is about increasing wealth. Should these two objectives be mutually exclusive?

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Prevention/
protection **Disease** ARV treatment

Equitable supply of drugs
and treatment

Education

Access to
Housing healthcare

Poverty **Inequality**

Legal reform/
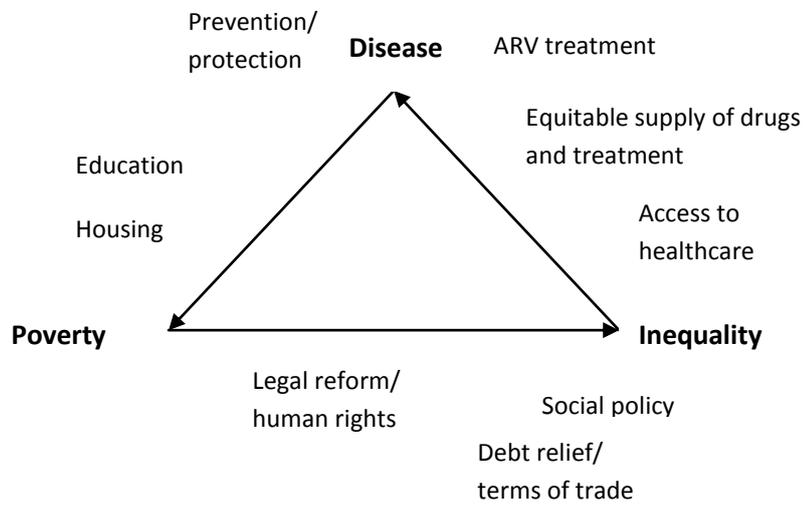human rights Social policy

Debt relief/
terms of trade

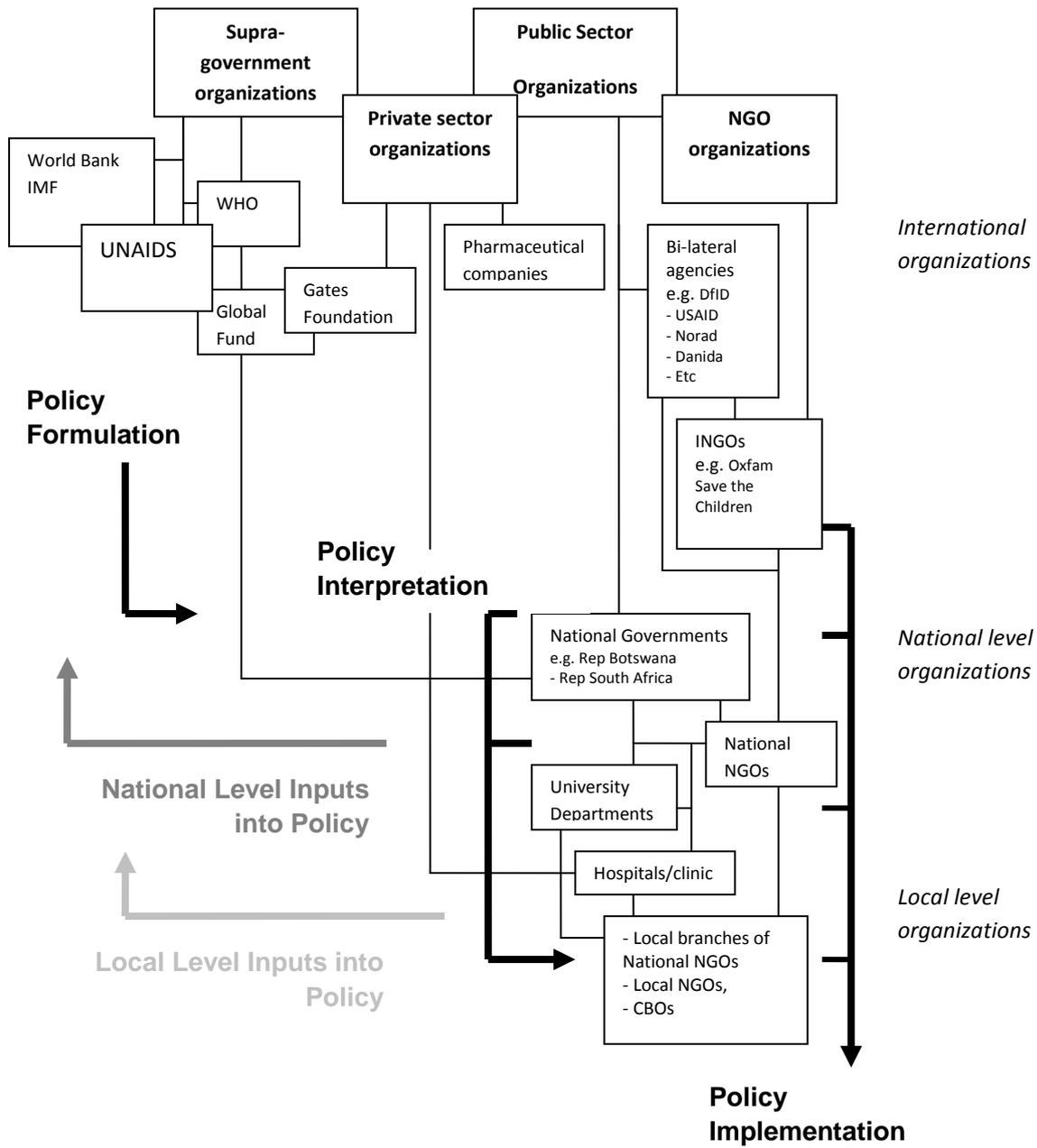Figure 1 Co-determinants, consequences and interventions

Figure 2 Relationships among different actor in the governance structure