Management Approaches
in
Development Co-operation

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to analyse approaches of managers in development co-operation in facing challenges of complexity, change and the unknown. The research has been conducted as an explanatory case study on four German managers working in public development co-operation in Southern Africa. The analytical framework has been derived from management applications of the sciences of complexity.
One of the main findings of the research is that on the surface development co-operation and development managers today have accepted development as being complex, non-linear and dynamic. However, the approaches used by managers rely on technical and strategic skills to respond to the pressure of accountability and achieving visible results. To achieve success and impact-orientation, governments, donor agencies and the managers involved have to accept development objectives as a political and personal challenge rather than a mere technical task.

Declaration

I declare that this report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Public and Development Management) at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

Anja Radha Desai

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1. Introduction

This research report analyses approaches of managers in development co-operation in facing challenges of complexity, change and the unknown. The research was conducted as an explanatory case study on four German managers working in public development co-operation in Southern Africa.
This introduction acknowledges the need for research on conceptual frameworks for successful approaches in managing development. A short overview of the literature in the field of development management leads the reader to the purpose statement of the study. Detailed background and review on the academic debate in development management is presented in separate chapters. The last part of the introduction describes the research methodology.

1.1. Problem statement

One might be inclined to ask what sets managers in public development co-operation apart from managers in the public sector in general that would ask for special research efforts. The most straightforward answer is that each professional field has its own specific challenges and peculiarities that need careful consideration.

However, it becomes more interesting when bearing in mind that development co-operation deals with interventions in the name of development. The term “development” is an expression saturated with normative evocations but it is also highly contentious. It is generally associated with action, improvement, change, and advancement, implying a condition that is to be turned into something better. Managers in the “business of development” promote their work and their efforts by borrowing heavily from emotional associations of the public. As a reaction managers working in a value-based environment are subjected to more scrutiny than managers working in a profit-oriented sector.

The appreciation of their work by the public expressed through approved budget lines stands on two pillars: Firstly, the legitimacy of their arguments is entrenched in internationally approved norms, agreements and declaration such as the “Millennium-declaration”. The other pillar relates to the outcomes, impact and finally the success that development co-operation can make visible.

Living as we are in times of post-modernity, universal and totality claims have been shed almost completely. Development today is concerned with the search for pragmatic solutions, working in manageable environments and becoming a learning society. There is no blueprint for action anymore as the World Bank admits (World Bank 1999: 21). “The idea that development has multiple goals and that the policies and processes for meeting them are complex and intertwined has provoked an intense debate on the wisdom of traditional development thinking.” (World Bank 1999:14) The term development becomes more of “shaping change” than pointing into one direction (Schwaninger/Körner 2001:1).

In this context the researcher is interested in the human factor as one of the variables of development co-operation. The interventions in development are designed, planned and implemented by managers who build their careers in this field and who are often termed “development experts” or “ development professionals”. One of the problems to be understood by this study is how these experts cope with working on moral high ground and in a complex environment that doesn’t allow for answers in black and white, or asking, in the words of Manamela Matshabaphala (2004): “Is development management a skill or an art?”

The problems being experienced by the managers in development co-operation are:

a) that development has multiple goals and that interventions are becoming increasingly complex and dynamic,
b) that development co-operation is under normative and moral pressure from the public that funds the interventions and
c) that the social, political and economic environment managers work in is under continuous change.

Chapter two describes in greater detail the current situation and working environment in development management.

1.2. Short overview on the literature

The literature to be viewed and studied on the question what management approaches in development co-operation prove to be successful, is very limited although there is a broad range of academic debate and exchange among development experts in the field on certain issues of development management. Since development management is not an established field of research, academics that analyse conditions and challenges for development researchers and practitioners alike, venture out into other relevant disciplines such as business management or social anthropology and anthropology of organisations.

The literature that qualifies to be termed development management literature is scarce and can be divided into three areas: One major field of interest is Organisational Development and it’s applications in a developmental context. Much of the literature emanates from NGOs reflecting on their practice and is seldom conceptualised in a theoretical fashion. The bulk of papers deal with OD approaches and the role of the professional advisor in the developmental process. (a.o.: Blunt 1997; Joy 1997; Reineke, Suelzer 1995) For a manager co-ordinating and implementing a complex development intervention or co-ordinating regional efforts, these analyses only give limited help as they generally focus on advisor and client relationships.

Much work has been conducted on different hypotheses of complexity based on systems theory. Systems approach offers a holistic perspective on change. It looks at dynamics between familiar components in organisations. It recognises different ways of reaching the same result as well as of achieving different results from the same initial input (Felkins, Chakiris 1993:72). The value of the systems models lies in the framework it provides which describes interaction and feedback between actors and factors. Systems theory acknowledges and analyses complexity but only with the aim to determine outcomes through mechanisms of control, feed back, open discussion sessions and analysis of the components. But systems approaches in project planning and implementation grapple with the fact that no one is able to foresee all causal relations between different factors even with the most detailed models.

Linda Dennard (1996:495) shows empathy with the strenuous task of trying to steer the project in a straight forward manner and to keep it in balance with the changes in the environment: “ (…) public administrators have come to see their responsibility as reducing conflict, controlling chaos and creating coherence out of enormous complexity.” She is one of the promoters of applying the new sciences of complexity to management in general. These applications study complex systems that are deterministic in nature but dynamic and non-linear (Cloete, Wissink 2000; Senge 1994; Wheatley1994; Bergquist1993). They appreciate chaos rather than trying to separate single units in order to control or limit chaos. The new sciences do not dispute the findings of modern Newtonian science that many phenomena show regular and predictable behaviour (e.g. after rain sun will shine; the use of force produces counterforce). Chaos theory shows that alongside a world of order, certainty and regularity that will continue to exist; there is a world of randomness and unpredictability that will never go away explains business consultant Urs Merry (1995:23). Douglas Kiel (1994) has developed a simple set of rules for organisational management to enable chaos to reach new creative adaptability to its environment: Flatten bureaucratic structures, liberate decision-making to local autonomous units, include participation processes, diversify the workforce and introduce re-engineering. Read in such a way applications of chaos theory can have much in common with *Total Quality Management* (Evans 1996:492).

Literature on business management offers a huge space for debates on almost every issue regarding management in complex environments (Pycraft *et.al.*2002). Total Quality Management (TQM) has been reflected within development interventions in the shift from activity- oriented planning to outcome- based planning and implementation including methods such as stakeholder analysis and institutionalised monitoring and evaluation.

Strategic management approaches have a long history in development co-operation and have been strongly influenced by systems thinking (Kiggundu 1996; Mann 1999; Bryson 1988; Goldsmith 1996). The strategic management toolbox has developed innovative tools for these purposes such as scenario planning or stakeholder analysis (Human 1998:127ff).

The question though remains whether strategic management approaches can really counter-balance recurrent unpredictability of the environment, a general risk aversion of partners and the manager as well as the relentless pressure of result-oriented performance in the sector of development.

Other management experts and researchers therefore promote the strategic leader (Nel 1993; Matshabaphala 2004; Gibson et.al:401). Strategy and leadership go hand – in-hand where strategies are regarded as initiatives that contain a certain amount of risk and are understood as initiating change processes. In the German context though leadership is considered as elitist thinking with the danger of a few rising above the rest and dictating their lives. The effort to keep leaders in check has led to a proliferation of rules, regulations and stipulated procedures, which is also visible in German businesses and in agencies of development co-operation.

The academic field of social anthropology has taken a long-standing interest in development aid. Beyond Germany, social anthropology has produced numerous case studies and comparative analysis on the effects of development aid and projects on local target groups. It has helped in establishing new methods and instruments in evaluation and participatory planning and implementation. There much focus is on certain issue-based aspects of management such as agricultural extension (Watson 2003; Schoenhuth 2000). Authors such as Susan Wright have researched and elaborated on organisational anthropology. Others have woken up to the potential of ethnographic research of development organisations such as David Mosse and David Lewis (Desai 2003:17).

Much of the anthropological research on development management is focused on the perspective of cross-cultural management (Hofstede 1991; Jack, Lorbiecki 1999; Hueskens 2003). For our purpose of focusing on successful management approaches in development co-operation the actual task within this debate is to develop relations that distil the best out of cultural differences for the benefit of managing development intervention. Concepts of intercultural management though do not inform us on the approaches and strategies development managers devise to challenge their complex environment.

A detailed literature review is presented in Chapter three.

1.3. Purpose of the research

Similar to the studied objects the researcher herself is a professional in the sector of development co-operation. The research is also a personal quest to gain insight into managerial practice, reflect on this practice with current learning and develop own working strategies in future career opportunities. It is secondly an effort to integrate the results of studying for a Masters in Public and Development Management for two years into work realities of the researcher's own professional field. The interviews and the exploration of material on management in development co-operation will therefore be undertaken from a critical collegial point of view.

The purpose of this research is to gain insight into management approaches of development managers. The study aims at integrating experiences and challenges faced by the manager in development co-operation into a framework for development management based on applications of chaos theory and complex systems. It investigates the

factors contributing towards the development of successful managerial approaches.
Based on the findings the research aims to make recommendations for improvement in the management of development.

1.4. Research questions

The research shall be guided by the following questions:

- What is the work reality of executives?
- What are their managerial challenges?
- How do executives perceive success?
- What management approaches prove to be goal-oriented and successful?

1.5. Research methodology

The objective of the study is to gain insight into managerial approaches of development professionals. The study places its emphasis on description and explanation.

1.5.1. Design

The research is qualitative and studies individual cases. Case studies allow for rich and in-depth description and analysis of complex causal links (Yin in Tellis 1997:2).

The framework denounces a perspective that breaks a system into parts to be measured, analysed and added together to gain understanding of the whole. A quantitative approach cannot verify or falsify the hypothesis since the questions are not about 'how much' and 'how often'. This does not mean that at a certain stage of research a quantitative study would not be appropriate. One could imagine a number of qualitative studies such as this one being a basis for a quantitative study on how many managers in which circumstances use what kind of managerial approaches.

The selected managers fulfil the basic criteria of comparability and attributes essential to the study: The German Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development (BMZ – Bundesministerium fuer Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung) achieves its objectives with the help of a wide range of instruments and implementing agencies:
1) DED (Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst - German Development Service) is a so-called QUANGO – quasi- non governmental organisation. Its board is staffed by representatives from different political parties, the BMZ and a network of NGOs and it is funded to 95% by the BMZ. It's main objective is to recruit and second development professionals for interventions and programmes in 42 developing countries currently and generally on meso- and micro-level such as district administrations or within rural livelihood programmes.
2) GTZ (Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit - German Technical Co-operation) is charged with implementing the development programmes agreed upon in government-to-government negotiations. It is Germany's largest agency boasting a vast sectoral and regional expertise. Its programmes are commissioned by the BMZ and increasingly by multi-lateral institutions.
3) KfW (Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau - German Development Bank) is Germany's financial arm of development co-operation investing and supporting infrastructure development, financial systems development, regional development programmes and business promotion. The field of development finance though is only a small part of the bank's portfolio working mainly in Europe and countries in transformation.
4) InWent (Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung - Capacity Building International) was born out of a merger between two training

institutions working both in developing and industrialised countries. Their focus is training and capacity building mainly for small and medium businesses as well as the public sector with a strong cross-country approach.

The managers participating in the study represent these institutions in South Africa. All major German public donor agencies are covered. Three men and a woman have been interviewed which mirrors the gender composition in the sector accurately. The region of Southern Africa has been selected where all participating managers have been working for a minimum of three years. All fulfil positions of middle-to senior level management.

1.5.2. Data collection

On the other hand the selection criteria have also done "purposeful sampling" as Patton is being cited in Merriam's work on qualitative research (Merriam 2001:61). The aim is not to gain an idea of the average managerial approach but to discover, understand and gain in-depth insight regarding work realities and attitudes of managers. Therefore the researcher relied on her contacts and personal acquaintance of the participating managers through work and private circumstances. This of course, may raise questions of subjectivity. The researcher though accepts the thinking of the new sciences that complete objectivity or truth is unattainable. The researcher and her perspective and personal background are an inherent part of the study. The interaction between researcher and participants generates insights that won't be replicable in a different research setting. Interaction and conversations between people are not only about sharing information but always form part of the establishment of relationships.

”Qualitative research is all about relationships to the people we study and to the social phenomena we are studying, the relationships of the people we are studying with the social phenomena affecting their lives, and our relationship to the research process itself. As such, qualitative research hinges on the exploration of the personal.” (Watson 2001:7).

On the whole the research is able to gain insight into real-life complexities that other measurement methods have difficulty to achieve. In the new sciences it is postulated that potentialities emerge through shifting, growing and the loosening of relationships.

1.5.3. Data analysis

Winston Tellis clarifies that “case studies are multi-perspective analyses.” (1997:2)

This means that as in this instance, research data is not only collected in observational and interacting form, primary material such as documents and records are also studied. It considers the actors voice, the reaction of the environment to the actor and collects constant feedback on interim results. The multiple sources thus ensure reliability and triangulation for the study as argued by Yin (in Tellis 1997:2,7).

Qualitative researcher Sharan Merriam (1998: 97-98) names five elements of what to observe in case studies and this research focuses on these as well: The physical setting gives background information to the work reality and work structures of the managers. The observation and verification through unstructured, in-depth interviews concentrates on activities and interactions to understand what is going on in their management approaches. Certain critical instances highlight the manager’s attitude to management and developmental thinking. Conversations between the researcher and the managers inform the main part of the case studies.

Certain phrases are quoted directly if they add value to the analysis. Subtle factors such as non-verbal communication or observations in an out-of-work environment as well as the reflection on the researcher's own behaviour are taken into account and fed into the findings of the case studies.

1.5.4. Data presentation

If one applies the science of complexity to organisations and management in a challenging environment such as development co-operation there are a wide range of implications for managers. The hypothesis of this study is that applications of the science of complexity allow the development of appropriate managerial approaches and that they can be used as an analytical framework for an analysis of goal-oriented and successful management.

The implications of working within development co-operation and the implications of applying chaos theory and complex systems to management are distilled into five categories as presented in Chapter Four. Against these five categories it is possible to observe, study and analyse management approaches of German development executives and receive answers to the research questions.

In each category the findings from the collected data are presented. The findings are also interpreted and analysed according to established categories. The findings and the analyses thereof will enable us to answer what management approaches prove to be goal-oriented and successful.

1.5.5. Research limitations

The research focuses on German development managers. This assures a comparable policy background for the work of the executives and is made easy by the fact that the researcher herself has a German background and can understand the language. Even though the structure of German development co-operation is highly diversified or as other commentators would put it fragmented, the exclusive focus on the managers themselves and their perspectives reduces the differences of the organisational background and make the approaches to management by the executives comparable.

Southern Africa provides the backdrop for the questions and hypothesis of managerial challenges in development co-operation. The region gives the case studies their specific flavour and leads to certain understandings of management approaches in the context of Southern Africa. But the main focus is of a general nature that transcends regional characteristics.

This is also due to the deliberate exclusion of the cross-cultural debate in development interventions. It is the researcher's decision not to study cross-cultural issues of managers working in an environment not being their "home" environment. Cultural understanding and sensitisation is a necessary prerequisite for development managers even if some still behave like the proverbial bull in a china shop. But cultural issues are mainly relevant in the methods and instruments used (Jaeger, Kanungo 1990: 30pp and chapter 3.1.2.) whereas this research is looking at the approaches to address issues of complexity, of unknown destinations and contradicting interests.

The research accepts limitations of time and volume, as is necessary within the constraints of a master's degree paper. Therefore it concentrates only on four German managers working for three different development organisations in Southern Africa.

The necessary limitations have been placed on the description and analysis of the case studies themselves. The analytical lenses provided by the science of complexity should not be so broad as to only generate managerial trends with no possible application to the workplace. On the other hand the insights gained from the participating managers should allow for detailed descriptions and analysis of work approaches that can be generalised for future academic research.

1.5.6. Ethical considerations

All the data received by the interviewees were not confidential to the degree that they could not be used for this research paper. The researcher as a critical colleague of the managers has no interest in derogatory remarks. On the contrary, the data collected is presented in a constructive way to discuss successful management methods in development. Results of the study were shared with the participants prior to the conclusion of the study.

1.6. Structure of the research

Chapter Two sets the boundaries for the case studies and offers the reader background knowledge to the working environment of development co-operation.

The third chapter gives a detailed overview of the academic literature and research on management as it is relevant to development management and the purpose of this paper. The presentation and discussion of the literature has a twofold objective. Firstly, it establishes and affirms the gaps this research report wants to fill. Secondly, it allows for developing an analytical framework for the case studies.

This analytical framework is presented in Chapter Four. Five categories have been differentiated against which the findings are analysed.

Chapter Five presents the findings of the research in detail.

Chapter Six discusses and analyses the findings with the help of applications from the science of complexity.

Chapter Seven concludes the research and answers in summary the research questions. It also provides recommendations for managers in development and for the study of development management.

2. What constitutes development management?

A short historical outline on the term "development" can illuminate the matter and give us the necessary background information to place this paper in the relevant context.

2.1. Development and its meaning

The term "development" first appeared within the framework of the Bretton-Woods System and the reconstruction efforts of after the Second World War in Europe. It is a modernist notion and characterizes the spirit of societies in the early Fifties throughout the industrialised world. After bringing down the Nazis and ending a devastating war, enthusiasm in the West was strong to build market-led, prosperous and democratic societies. A similar enthusiasm arose in the East: The Eastern Bloc had now expanded its influence significantly in Europe. Socialism seemed to be on the rise and with it state-led prosperous socialist societies. To the elites of the developing countries many still subjected to colonialism, the term "development" carried promises for the disadvantaged in a future sovereign state.

To understand the normative strength of the term it is not necessary to distinguish between capitalists and marxists, representatives of self-reliance or socialists for an agrarian utopia. The different conceptual frameworks underlying their various approaches are all modernist and deterministic in their outlook: History and social development would take place according to a pre-fixed set of stages – culminating in a pure and free market economy, or the pure and free communist society. Development was taking place in a linear movement; the future was bright, the present filled with hope. Modernists believe in a set of objectives that can be achieved after prescribing to a certain pattern of activities. The concepts are based on the assumption that each cause or more has a certain effect that can be planned and measured in advance. This has been the case throughout the decades:

In the Sixties development was largely approached in economic terms focusing on the alleviation of capital shortages. A new paradigm answering basic human needs was proclaimed in the Seventies and early Eighties. It was recognised that state-led development alone could not create the necessary social and economic development. This was the introduction of a multi-actor approach but confined to the structures of projects. At the end of the Eighties the debt crisis led to the structural adjustment approach of the World Bank and IMF that emphasised policy reform and economic liberalisation. At the same time, and into the Nineties, with the demise of the socialist empire, it became clear that the answer to development lay neither in a free-market ideology nor in socialist approaches. The market needed an intricate web of capacitated institutions, the state needed the competition of the market to function effectively. During the time of post-modernity, universal and totalistic claims have been shed almost completely. Development today is more concerned with the search for pragmatic solutions and working in manageable environments. The emergence of capacity building and institutions in development in the Nineties was, in part, a response to the experience that many developing countries did not have the management skills and organizational resources to adjust to shifts in the globalised world economy. Single issues such as gender, good governance or HIV/AIDS have taken a hold on debates directing resources and efforts into them. [1]

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[1] For an overview on concepts and paradigms underpinning development efforts see: Todaro (1994),
for basic building blocks and the concept of Sustainable Development see Reed (1996). On the current paradigms of development thinking as an example from one of the leading actors, see: World Bank (1999).

The concept of sustainable development seems to be currently the only one providing post-modern pragmatists with an overarching paradigm. It seems to be the result of weaving different strands of thought such as the proponents of a rights-based approach, the approach of human security or understanding development as freedom, into a vision. The Brundtland Report in 1987 made “Sustainable Development” popular in offering North and South a common vision with applicable strategies. It cemented the foundation on which the UN Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 as well as the “Rio+10” conference was to be erected (Reed1996: Chapter 2).

Sustainable Development requires meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all the opportunity to satisfy their aspirations for a better life (Brundtland Report 1987). It rejects linear thinking but asks for acknowledging linkages on all kinds of levels and issues.

“ We recognize that poverty, environmental degradation and population growth are inextricably related and that none of these fundamental problems can be successfully addressed in isolation.” (Brundtland Report 1987:45)

The vision of sustainable development exemplifies the art of reducing complexity into a simple rule: "Meet the basic needs of all and extend to all the opportunity to satisfy their aspirations of a better life for the current and future generations.”

However planning, strategising and implementing programmes according to that rule, heaps many questions onto a developmental planner and manager. Linkages and dependencies between social issues, issues of equality and justice, between economic rules, economic growth and between environmental concerns will arise out of each and every action and project. “The idea that development has multiple goals and that the policies and processes for meeting them are complex and intertwined has provoked an intense debate on the wisdom of traditional development thinking.” (World Bank 1999:14) The term development becomes more of “shaping change” than pointing into one direction (Schwaninger/Körner 2001:1).

Development co-operation is a unique function for a donor government and might be understood by the public as simply helping others. More recent understanding places the public of the donor countries into the category of stakeholder who also has a share in development co-operation. Their share can be the taxes they pay and for which they can expect results such as increased stability, security and prosperity worldwide. (OECD-DAC 1999:19) Due to this donor agencies have come under increasing pressure in recent years to address concerns with aid effectiveness and, in particular, the sustainable impact of their programming. Criticism has been directed most notably to technical assistance within a programme context that involves advisory services linked to funding. (CIDA 1996) This has led to increased efforts by the experts to develop comprehensive and often complex systems of defining impact and measuring impact.

The international and bilateral donor community has further reacted through promoting a policy and programme effort that has evolved into a so-called “Comprehensive Development Framework”. It is based on the principles of ownership of the development process by the respective country, on the principle of “development partnerships” between the state and the private and civil society sector, on long-term developmental visions such as national Poverty Reduction Strategy Processes (PRSP) and on balancing social concerns with a macro-economic framework. (OECD-DAC 1999:15; World Bank 1999:21). These efforts were further

pushed by the Millennium summit of the United Nations in September 2000. The Millennium declaration (Resolution 55/2) states as its goal:
“We will spare no effort to free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanising conditions of extreme poverty, to which more than a billion of them are currently subjected. We are committed to making the right to development a reality for everyone and to freeing the entire human race from want.”
The Millennium Development Goals, as they came to be known are based on ten main indicators that result in clear benchmarks for development. The most central one being the promise to half the proportion of people living in abject poverty and hunger by the year 2015. (Resolution 55/2, 19.) The stark emotional response the declaration evoked by the public is being used to put moral pressure on the experts and managers in development co-operation as well as for greater impact and aid effectiveness.

But the World Bank admits that there is no blueprint for action anymore (World Bank 1999: 21). What are the managerial challenges and which approaches appear to be successfully adoptable?
One visible trend is that interestingly the more holistically and systematically the development process has been approached – working at all hierarchical levels and together with all parts of society, connecting sectors under a common developmental vision and acknowledging linkages between them, accepting the work on national policy level equally important to grass root work – the more refuge has been taken in the development of managerial instruments to steer the process; a process which is essentially political. But the complexity of developmental processes requires a cadre of policy experts who evaluate and discuss interventions and programmes according to the pragmatic and technical criteria inherent to their discipline in a way that removes such issues from the sphere of politics. (Ferguson 1994:19)

2.2. German development co-operation

These recent shifts in developmental thinking have also made their imprint on German development co-operation, which can act as an example for the general trend in development co-operation. There is clearly a shift from projects to programmes and now to managing processes.

German development co-operation is closely linked to Germany's own reconstruction efforts after the Second World War. The success of the American funded Marshall Plan in reconstructing and fuelling Germanys economy in the aftermath of the Second World War, gave optimists the belief that similar developments could be replicated. For the first time in 1952 the German government supported the aid programme of the United Nations. In 1956 it had already established a development aid fund and was supporting development initiatives and sponsoring individuals working on mission stations or in the education sector. From 1961 onward development aid was administered by a dedicated Ministry.
The development sector soon became a diversified structural establishment that often enough confuses partners abroad even today. Most of the national lobby groups, the big churches and civil movements have own associations involved in development co-operation, development dialogue and North-South relations. The five biggest political parties each have established foundations that are also involved in development issues. Most German federal states have few, but own relations with developing countries or provinces in developing countries. All of these associations and foundations receive tax reductions and are eligible for funds disbursed by the BMZ. Semi-public organisations often in co-operation with civil society, were established by the BMZ. These have their specific attributed areas of work such as sending out personal,

implementing projects and programmes, disbursing financial grants, working with civil society or building human capacity. [2]

These various development agencies in Germany are well established, closely inter-linked and to a certain extent determine the policy of the Ministry.

The current mission of German development co-operation (no longer termed "development aid" anymore) can be shortened to "Reducing Poverty - Securing Peace – Forming Globalisation" (BMZ 2004b). In this general definition the mission forms a broad consensus with the German public and political landscape. Development co-operation has left the niche of altruism and is acknowledged as a cornerstone of coherent politics. It is justified on the one hand by supporting the fight against terrorism, civil wars and insecurity, and on the other hand it is evoked to give economic globalisation a human face.

The volume of public German development aid hovers around 0,3 % of national GDP. The five criteria developed under the former government in the early Nineties still form the principles of German development co-operation (Deutscher Bundestag 1995):

a. Observance of human rights
b. Participation in political decisions
c. Rule of law
d. Market- oriented economy
e. Development- oriented governance

As these principles are currently the baseline for development co-operation, support to developing countries is always coupled with efforts

[2] (The development managers who have been interviewed for this research are all Germans working for different German development agencies as described in Chapter 1.5.1.)This does not necessarily have to be the case. The UNDP employs many professionals from developing countries working in other developing countries. The quantity of human resources needed in South Africa for development programmes is in the majority met by local professionals.

for democratisation, decentralisation and good governance. The term good governance has a political and a technical dimension. Up to now, the technical dimension embodies the idea of an effective government with an accountable and non-corrupt civil service, efficient and audited functioning of government institutions and a legal framework with the help of the best management tools. The former has been elaborated by governments of the industrialised world facing economic stagnation and a crisis of the welfare state and has been supported by the events of independent democratic movements in developing countries and in the former Soviet Bloc (McLennan 2001:2, Hyden 1992:187). The political notion of good governance prioritises the democratic mandate within a pluralistic setting, a lean but efficient government, the clear separation of power between judiciary, legislative and executive, and the freedom of opinion, including a free press.

Strategies and interventions derived from the mission of German Development Co-operation are of course often subject to debate and subjugated to political or other interests. Today, two strategies receive prime attention and financial support: One is the *Programme of Action 2015* (BMZ 2001) that goes hand- in- hand with the *Global Declaration on the Millennium Development Goals* and the strategy on crisis prevention and conflict resolution (BMZ 2000). Both strategies rely on multi-level approaches and are politically dependent on horizontal support from other ministries. This fact will be mirrored in the four presented cases where the development managers have to think politically, act on multiple levels and liaise horizontally.

The methodological approaches in German development co-operation have undergone a number of changes in the past five years. Today there is a focus on a selected number of partner countries, and on selected focal areas of co-operation. Countries have been rated and ranked as *Partner*

Countries, Major Partner Countries and *Anchor Countries* (BMZ 2004b; GTZ 2003:1). The Southern African region for example has South Africa as an *Anchor Country* and Mozambique as a *Major Partner Country*. Zimbabwe is completely out of the official aid flow but receives support from the BMZ via German NGOs. Accordingly more or fewer resources flow into these countries. Official development co-operation has only a short history. Individual experts within German development Co-operation had established contact with the ANC long before transition. So it was only natural that some of them were approached for assistance before the first general elections and especially after 1994. A personal agreement between the former German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl and the former President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela laid the basis for continuous co-operation, where there are almost no “German projects” but rather support to South African policies and programmes. (GTZ 2005 b)

Projects are brought together under one programme to achieve larger impact. These programmes will be implemented at different levels and with a large number of co-operating partners and agencies (GTZ 2003). The implementing agencies such as DED, GTZ, KfW or InWEnt have received greater financial and decision-making flexibility at local level. At the same time they are pushed to work more closely together. The new catch phrase is: *Development Co-operation cast into one mould* (EZ aus einem Guss). Executives working for these organisations experience on the one hand greater autonomy and on the other have to work under greater scrutiny and pressure. Their titles have often been changed from project manager to programme co-ordinator. To be a termed a co-ordinator though simply circumvents the description of the actual role. Does the manager occupy a leadership function; is he or she an advisor or simply fulfilling managerial tasks? These questions will be addressed elsewhere in the report.

2.3. Professionals in development

Regional, national and local developmental policies are translated into strategies and developmental programmes. One can differentiate the interventions by financial grants, technical projects and personal assistance coming from multilateral donors, bilateral donors, foundations or NGOs. Interventions are designed, planned and implemented by managers who build their careers in this field and who are often termed "development experts" or " development professionals". There are a large number of people working in "the development sector" (including the researcher) who determine the knowledge, the rules of discourse and the success of certain concepts such as Sustainable Development. The academic critic Joel Samoff notes that at global level institutions such as the World Bank or other donor agencies in their respective countries, have many specialists and a vast amount of resources that not only set the developmental and political agenda but actually determine research agendas, the results of which in return justify the political agenda (1996:619). The perception of the developmental manager though is different: He most probably cannot see himself setting agendas, but would rather see himself facing "permanent white water" (Vaill 1989:2). The autonomy of the manager is counterweighted by the enormous number of complexities he has to consider. His or her mindset and attitude can help or block successful managerial decisions: Linear thinking can lead to frustrations when seemingly necessary conditions to achieve a result have not been met or when focusing on the means obscures the objective.

Development theory and practice are constantly evolving. The speed with which language and modes of development discourses can change is often cause for confusion (Chambers 1997: 189). However, the debates on developmental approaches and concepts, as well as changing terminology often only mask deeper continuities.

In his book *The Anti-Politics Machine* James Ferguson argues that development and community planning become “de-politicised” (1994:20) and development issues become removed from the realm of public debate. The designs of development interventions are done on the basis of technical criteria created by external experts. Under these terms of debate one is allowed to criticize specific aspects of a plan but not the plan as a whole. The critic will be trapped within the discourse created by these forms of apolitical knowledge.

In other instances, development projects become moral endeavours (Curtis 2001: 299). Where social scientists share the premise of discovering underlying social order and “believe that order explains much, though not all, of observed behaviour (…) developmentalists go further. Their common objective is to use the understanding of the underlying order to reform society (that is to make things better).” (Samoff 1996:613) Development interventions contain a high degree of normative assumptions and intention and put the development manager onto the moral stand.

One of the problems to be understood by means of this study is how these experts cope with working on a moral high ground and in a complex environment that doesn’t allow for answers in black and white.

2.4. Current complexities facing a development manager

The general public links high expectations on fulfilment of economic and social improvement to development co-operation (OECD-DAC 1999:19). These expectations cannot be easily met and as one researcher in the field of agricultural extension cynically noted: “Perhaps it is easier for development agencies to promote one idealised approach to development after another, than to confront some of the difficulties that are experienced

in implementing different approaches, especially when the difficulties have political dimensions.” (Watson 2003: 307) In general terms work within development co-operation - be it German or of another country - has undergone and will continue to undergo many changes.
The manager finds himself in a catch-22 situation where he has to appease client, employer and third parties, each with different expectations which lead to pressure in achieving visible, medium-term and measurable results. Impatience often causes programme structures to change frequently. Governmental decision makers change and alter the focus of the programme. Budgets get stalled, expanded and shifted, often within a period of a year or two. The socio- economic context of programmes can be ambiguous and the objectives conflicting. Additionally, the development expert has to make decisions in a foreign culture in a situation of incomplete information and continuous change (Müller-Glodde 1995:215).

The tasks of the designed interventions have not become easier: They are far less technical and more general, but most of all the objectives are rather vaguely defined to fit into the above mentioned overarching strategies.
Turner and Cochrane try to capture this problem in a goal-objective matrix (in: Fedon 1995:6pp). They describe four types of projects. The first has well defined objectives, methods and tasks. It could be a typical construction project. The second has a clearly defined objective but only vaguely identified methods. Such projects are often based on political decisions that are rushed through. The fourth type has well defined methods but unclear objectives and is more commonly found in the high-tech industry where development of products takes place without knowing anything about the later user. The third type has in its infancy stage neither clear objectives nor methods. Usually these will be projects of

organisational change or projects influenced by major political upheaval. Only through test phases and extensive research can areas of project support be identified.

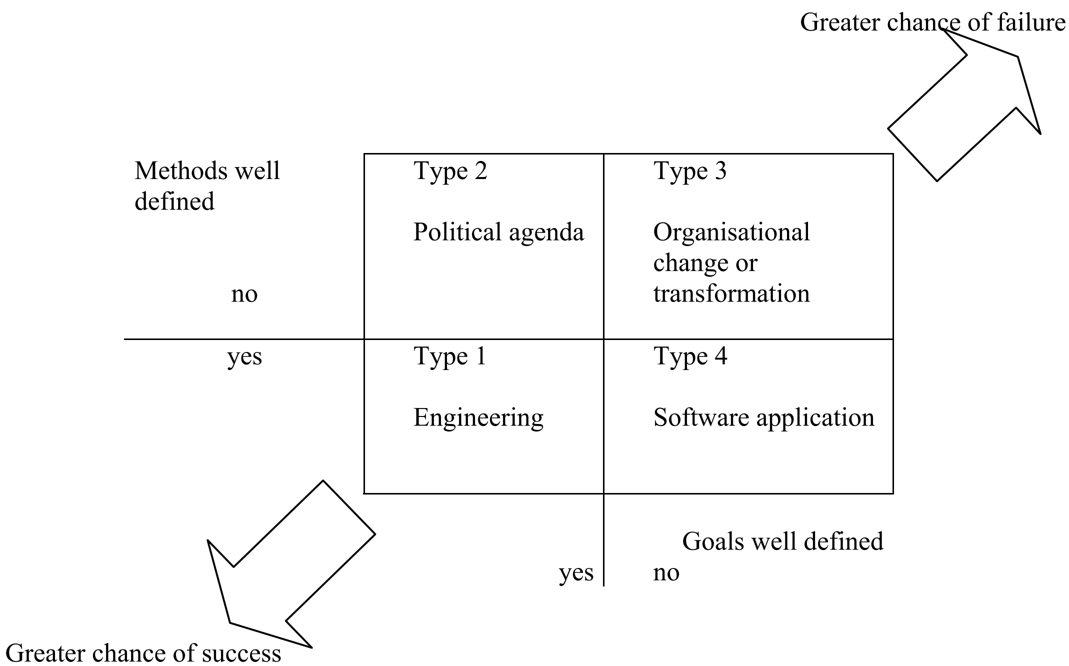

Figure 1: Goal-method matrix adapted from Turner, Cochrane in Fedon (1995)

According to the typology, the development manager in project type three must be able to capture the context in which the project will one day be embedded. The manager in type 2 must be able to act as a coach where project participants have to fight it out for themselves.

In reality, however, development managers have to switch between different roles in different settings. They have to meet different levels of expectations, of certainty and uncertainty, of complexity and of local diversity versus standard procedures and quick results. They have to cope with setbacks, pressure and disruption (Mann 1999:106). More and more so as intervention takes place - on a macro- to meta-level. Parallel to these developments major institutional changes have taken place: There is seldom a clear-cut project set-up anymore. The institutional boundaries have become less rigid: The expatriate from an agency funded by his home country working on a rural development project with other extensionists from only one partner organisation and backed by only one political partner, is no longer a common feature. Instead, donor and recipient governments will decide on a problem area and on a mix of financial grants and technical support. The partners, the strategies, and even the intervention areas will only be defined once the process is under way. There is a clear shift from projects to programmes and now to managing processes. [3] Other developments that produce further complexity are the paradigms that are being promoted by development co-operation itself. They are decentralisation of administration and organisations, participation of civil society and generally of people who are affected by planned decisions as well as mainstreaming of gender or HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa.

To sum it up, the commonality of any of this type of development co-operation lies in a large variety of partners, a loose rein from the deploying organisation, and complex funding structures.

The challenge is to identify a management approach that allows managers to achieve their goals under these circumstances. Or asking in the words of Manamela Matshabaphala (2004): “Is development management a skill or an art?”

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[3] In the literature reviewed the terms projects and programmes are not being used consistently and even the academic literature can be very evasive in this regard. The German donor agency GTZ differentiates between projects and programmes. The latter have a common goal and impact implemented through a coherent set of interventions or projects in a large geographical area, whereas projects are limited in scope and geographic impact. (GTZ 2003:3) For the purpose of this paper the term project shall define a pattern of activities to achieve a specific objective within a given time and cost constraints (Cloete, Wissink 2003:193). A large project can have a number of components or pattern of activities but will still only have one specific objective. The term programme shall be used in the following as a group of projects that are co-ordinated to obtain benefits not available from managing them individually. The management of a programme then is connected to a portfolio of projects. (Matshabaphala 2004)

For many donor agencies the easiest way to face these complexities seems to be through building the capacity of their staff. (CIDA 1996) Training and further education is to become the key for the employer or the stressed manager without necessarily being interested in the content of the training and whether it is readily transferable to the reality on the ground (Fedon 1995: 4). Training in the use of tools and instruments such as Logframes, SWOT matrices and even PRAs are a means to an end and but more often turn into an end in themselves. Instead of enhancing communication and structured thought they often simply become part of a checklist. The example of PRAs illustrates this well: It has become an obligatory part in project planning that is supposed to enhance the efficient operation of the programme and support sustainability. However, with its functional and routine application it loses the potential of its actual mission, i.e. to establish a process where learning and empowerment of communities take place in order to transform government bureaucracy and centralised planning (Musyoki 2002: 375). The centrality and the importance that these tools are attributed with are an attempt to "put certainty into inherently uncertain situations" (Curtis 2001:301). Forms, procedures, and the stringent use of certain tools offer security in handling chaotic, complex and unknown situations and trigger the hope that these lead to successful management of these situations. But they also hinder the manager to recognise opportunities, take chances and risks, and accept the unexpected, as many development practitioners bemoan (Kuhn 2001; Craig, Porter 1997; Chambers 1997). Donald Curtis puts this dilemma into the following words:

"Project management should not become energy absorbing to the degree that there is nothing left for energizing the environment." (2001:301)

2.5. Looking for answers

Within the academic field of public policy implementation similar problems of management in complex and changing environments have been researched extensively over the past twenty years. Today, the dominant thinking is along holistic lines that no longer disect the whole. The modern organisation adapts to changes in the environment to create a fit and balance.

Theories on complexity in the public sector are mostly based on systems approaches. They focus on questions of governance and management between a range of actors, different authorities and overlapping issues. These have interesting applications to the public sector that is currently undergoing irreversible trends of decentralising and de-bureaucratising, economic efficiency and client responsiveness (e.g. Aucoin 1998). The field of development co-operation where it is part of the public sector also clearly follows this trend.[4] These approaches inherently follow the question of efficiency and control and do not break away from standard procedures. They are consistent with notions of incremental change where the manager can adjust in small and sequential shifts. (Merry 1995:14)

There is an increasing concern with some development practitioners (Among others: Fedon 1995; Kaplan 1999; Chambers 1997) that the new paradigms of democracy, decentralisation and diversity should be more than just a new fad. The new methods and instruments of professionalism just help us run faster on the hamster wheel having difficulty to catch up with the tasks and objectives of the new paradigms. There is little to no space to reflect on one's own development and involvement in the picture.

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[4] In the German Development Co-operation authors such as von Schumann (1992) or Schwaninger, Körner (2001) apply the Systems Management Approach to development management.

3. Literature review on managing development

We asserted that every professional field boasts managers with their own specific challenges and peculiarities and the literature review will give a detailed overview on the academic debate and research on management as it is relevant to development management and the purpose of this paper. The presentation and discussion of the literature has a twofold objective. Firstly' it will establish and affirm the gaps this research report seeks to fill. Secondly, it allows for developing an analytical framework for the case studies.

The problems and challenges of management in development co-operation as described in the background can be summarised as follows:

- Development objectives are mostly vague and yet normatively saturated.
- Boundaries of programmes and tasks are often permeable and fluid.
- The development interventions can become a centre of conflicting interests and/or complete neglect.
- The manager works with plenty of autonomy and in a hierarchy of only a few levels, but also experiences overlapping authorities, a dependency on clients and the deploying organisation.
- The manager faces a world of chaotic change and uncertainties.

Against this background that is a challenge to any professional manager, the literature and debate on management approaches in development interventions is limited. In the following pages literature from business management, anthropology, development management and training will be discussed and analysed as to how relevant this literature is for the purpose of this study.

3.1. Business management

Business management for example offers a huge opportunity for debates on almost every issue regarding management in complex environments. The past has seen new approaches come and go, but more generally the approaches seem to complement each other and build up on previous experiences.

The movement for Total Quality Management (TQM) has swept over the management scene in the last decade.[5] TQM has become a way of thinking and working that meets the needs and expectations of the customer. Quality becomes the concern of the whole organisation. Within development interventions the shift to outcome- based planning and implementation include methods such as stakeholder analysis and institutionalised monitoring and evaluation. They reflect the experiences with TQM. TQM allows for more holistic thinking but within a given framework. Donor agencies such as the DED and InWEnt have adopted principles of the European Foundation for Quality Management (EFQM) and have introduced quality procedures into their regular business. DED is even registered as adhering to EFQM principles (DED 2004).

Constraint management or business re-engineering acknowledge that reality cannot be simply portioned into small packets and worked on - one after the other[6] (Kiel 1994:164ff). The sum is more than just its elements as a famous saying goes. As a principle, business re-engineering focuses on the process that should be integrated at the very beginning and not at

[5] For an overview on TQM see Pycraft *et.al.* 2002:731ff. It describes the history, the contributors to the approach and its current value.
[6] For a gripping read on the principles of constraint management in the form of a thriller see Goldratt, Eliyahu 1992

the end rather than single specialist functions or activities. (Pycraft *et.al.*2001: 670f.) This insight is mirrored in development co-operation where the specialist expert imparting his knowledge is no longer the nodal point of a project, but where the process of common learning and looking for solutions is to become the centre of the intervention. Another principle is that work should be organised around outcomes and not tasks that have been adopted by development co-operation. The instruments of these approaches though are otherwise often of limited use to development co-operation where production or service processes are not at the core but catalyst processes of initiating change.

The Balanced Scorecard approach by Norton and Kaplan (1996) that has been developed primarily for the business sector has proven to be more invigorating for development organisations: the development of a common vision and mission helps to align disparate players within the organisation. The focus and reduction on a few objectives, indicators and activities for key areas help prioritise in a sea of possibilities and intervention areas. At the same time the Balanced Scorecard works as a monitoring instrument to check the outcome. But soon enough the crux of the matter appears: The Balanced Scorecard in development co-operation works for institutions but not for interventions aiming at changing institutions and processes. It turns into one of these instruments that in some instances become to be too rigid and too time consuming. Most important though they don't reflect fast changing project set-ups and situational contexts.

Strategic management approaches have a long history in development co-operation and have been strongly influenced by systems thinking. It appeals to many management professionals beyond the business sector. Strategy as a term implies a conscious decision on a specific set of activities against other possible activities. The decisions refer to a significant and widespread effect; they define the position of the organisation or project in relation to its environment and have the ability to move the organisation closer to its long-term goals. (Pycraft 2002:71; Vaill 1989:162)

The field of development has gained much from economic debates on strategic management and has developed it further to suit its own needs. To name a few: Moses Kiggundu (1996) is an ardent supporter of strategic management in the African Public Sector as well as Pete Mann (1999). Bryson (1988) and Arthur Goldsmith (1996) are two academics making a case for strategic management in development programmes.

Strategic management requires thinking, planning and acting (Bryson 1988:47) and is more detailed: It consists of developing a mission and goals, analysing the external environment and internal resources, formulating a strategy, implementing the strategy and constantly monitoring and evaluating the performance in the light of the strategy concerned (Goldsmith 1996:1432; Vaill 1989: 162ff). Strategic thinking and acting requires focusing on identified priorities to achieve results in the future. "Precisely because of the strictures it puts on choices, the strategy helps making sense of complexity and uncertainty." (Goldsmith 1996:1434)

Strategic management is also concerned with retaining certain levels of control in a complex context. It differentiates between internal and external. External control of future situations is often beyond our means but the strategic manager will still have to devise ways of dealing with them. The strategic management toolbox has developed innovative tools for these purposes such as scenario planning or stakeholder analysis. (Human 1998:127ff).

But again the techniques promoted can turn into a pointless ritual if the manager doesn't take the task seriously of confronting reality and changes, making decisions and thinking options through. The question though remains if strategic management approaches can really counter-balance recurrent unpredictability of the environment, a general risk aversion on the part of partners as well as the manager as the relentless pressure of result-oriented performance in the sector of development. The Management by Objectives (MBO) technique is similar to strategic management in its future orientation, but can even less steer through "pemanent white water" (Vaill 1989:1ff.;Jaeger 1990:138)

Other management experts and researchers therefore promote the strategic leader - a term which implies movement. Matshabaphala describes strategic leadership as thinking, acting and influencing others to enhance a sustainable advantage (21.01.04). The concept of leadership has taken off in the past 10 years and is being debated especially in the American sphere. In Africa the concept of a leader who is concerned with giving people direction, alignment and motivation receives a more positive emotional response than the manager who is simply task oriented (see Nel 1993; Matshabaphala 2004). Common to the concept in its different variations is the individual attempt to affect the behaviour of others to achieve a certain goal. (Gibson et.al:401) Leadership approaches must be differentiated from behavioural theories describing the leader, the situational concept defining the leader through his followers, the trait theory to the contingency theory examining specific situations that help leaders to emerge. Strategy and leadership go hand in hand where strategies are regarded as initiatives that contain a certain amount of risk and are understood as initiating change processes. A strategy remains a piece of paper if it is not combined with energy and commitment of a certain team that reaches in to the organisation, out to clients and partners and on into the future. (Vaill 1989:164ff) The business guru Kotter compares the tasks of a manager to those of a leader in bringing about and implementing strategy. Where the manager has to plan and budget, the leader establishes direction. Where the manager organises and does the staffing, the leader aligns people. Where the manager is involved in controlling and problem solving, the leader motivates and inspires. (1996:26) A strategic leader has a sense of purpose.

As we will see later in the case studies on Germans the concept of leadership is fraught with difficulties: Contemporary Germany has been marked by the years of the Nazi-regime. German identity and behaviour are often to be interpreted as a reaction to past misgivings. With regard to the concept of leadership this mutates into a distorted and inhibited approach. Hitler named himself the “Fuehrer”, the leader of Germany and since then the term has had a negative connotation. It will be circumvented through terms such as guide (“leiter”) or lead level (“Fuehrungsebene”). Whoever presents him-or herself as leader will be viewed suspiciously until the last doubt of him usurping power in any institutional set-up has been put to rest. Leadership is considered as elitist thinking with the danger of a few rising above the rest and dictating their lives. The effort to keep leaders in check has led to a proliferation of rules, regulations and stipulated procedures, which is also visible in German businesses and in agencies of development co-operation.

The transfer of concepts and approaches from the corporate world to public development co-operation takes place in day-to day work situations as described above. But they have neither been systematically applied to establishing a development management approach in general nor to German development co-operation in particular.

3.2. Anthropological view on management

The academic field of social anthropology has taken a long-standing interest in development aid.

In Germany its counterpart "Entwicklungsethnologie" only took off in the late Eighties (Bliss 2001). There are but few links in Germany between academics and practice, neither through individual anthropologists nor through institutional agreements. Development anthropology is not compulsory at any of the major anthropological institutes. Anthropologists might have an ambiguous attitude towards development, seeing it as a destructive force wiping out fragile cultures. Some even consider it as a-theoretical, social or political, but not scientific. (Schoenhuth 2000:5)

Beyond Germany social anthropology has produced numerous case studies and comparative analysis on the effects of development aid and projects on local target groups. It has helped in establishing new methods and instruments in evaluation and participatory planning and implementation. Anthropologists have also produced few cases and phenomenological studies on the work environment and attitude of development managers. There is much focus on certain issue-based aspects of management such as agricultural extension (Watson 2003; Schoenhuth 2000). Authors such as Susan Wright have researched and elaborated on organisational anthropology. Others have woken up to the potential of ethnographic research of development organisations such as David Mosse and David Lewis (Desai 2003:17). Interestingly they don't get stuck in the description of organisational structures and behaviours but analyse how the actors interpret the events they are forming and how they recruit support and achieve growing coherence in their arguments. He points out that development interventions are not driven by theory but rather by practice. (Mosse 2003:9) “The concept of ‘interface’ has highlighted actors and their practices as the main in negotiating meanings into development (…)” (Desai 2003:21) It remains unknown how many development actors actually study such insights and papers as the practice of development interventions has seldom been able to reflect consciously on these issues.

Much of the anthropological research on development management is focused on the perspective of cross-cultural management.
Cross-cultural management has developed into an own discipline. For the purpose of this research the matter shall be discussed in greater detail to clarify the thrust of this paper and the positioning of the author on this issue:

Issues of cross-cultural management are supposedly directed to daily management situations and are not developed into holistic approaches. Cross-cultural management as practised in the business sector and in development co-operation have their own ideological foundations and serve specific purposes. They are often unhistorical and not embedded in socio-political strategies of the viewed population. (Hüskens 2003:5-6) In his fascinating book *Orientalism* Edward Said (1979) analyses the Orient as a product of the West. He recognises the need for culture as an explanatory attempt and as a façade. Behind the façade there are bewildering politics, conflicting economic interests and the complex effects of globalisation. Within cross-cultural or intercultural management ‘culture’ becomes a static, monolithic factor that is essentially constructed knowledge (Jack, Lorbiecki 1999).

In the context of management training, in cross-cultural sensitisation the trainer holds the key to other cultural standards and norms and in offering his knowledge to the participants he guarantees them instant managerial success. In reality though the trainer often enough slips a veil over cultures in flux and remains transfixed in binary thinking that is so typical of the Occident. The binary nature of cultural categories (just to name a few: traditional – modern, black – white, masculine – feminine, democracy – authority) disguises more pertinent issues of power and knowledge.

A typical example of such thinking is the article writtenexplicitly for development managers intending to work in South Africa by the Germans Mayer and Boness (2003) about South African cultural standards. "Cultural standards" have been developed in Germany out of Geert Hofstedes "mental software" based on four opposite categories of distance between authority and hierarchy, between collectivism and individuality, between masculinity and feminity as well as between risk taking and risk aversion. (Hofstede 1991; Mayer;Boness 2003: 173-174) The article in question ads a further three dimensions of multi-culturalism, time[7] and spirituality. The result is as expected: The dimensions are filled with ethnographic pictures of Zulus, Xhosa and "White" (the latter being synonymously used with the term "the West"). The authors do not touch on issues such as history, power relations or migration.

There is a debate within cross-cultural management in development-co-operation on the cultural fit of Organisational Development (OD) interventions[8]. What is important for our purpose are the warning voices of

[7] here comes the African myth revisited…
[8] As an example the discussion in *Public Administration and Development* in 1997 can be cited. Here academics and practitioners led heated disputes on the cultural appropriateness of OD interventions.

those practitioners trying to stay sane between those who bedevil OD as a dominant Western concept totally unfit for many developing countries and those whose only possible way of intervention is through OD. Critics of OD try to prove with the help of Hofstedes cultural dimensions that dominant and underlying values of OD such as openness and egalitarian societies run contrary to values and cultural mindsets in the South (Blunt 1995). Alfred Jaeger has also based most of the value analysis on Hofstedes work in his book on *Management in Developing Countries*. Interestingly his conclusion is that the values dominant in most developing countries actually fit to a certain extent with emerging "radical literature on management" in the West. (1990:142ff) Intuition, consultative-based decision-making and people orientation can even further OD efforts.

Cultural differences between people and communities must result in appropriate methods. Cultural differences, however, should not impinge on finding common ground for vision, objectives and challenges to be faced in designing development interventions.
First and foremost for analysing a foreign culture is that there should be an awareness of own cultural background. Only then will he/she be able to accept different social behaviour as neutral in values and relative to the environment. Comparisons on scales such as those of Hofsteede – e.g. a culture being more authority distanced or less – seem to be purely quantitative and free of any value judgement. But by reflex each mind will give the result a qualitative judgement. For a Westerner a low authoritative distance in society is per se positive and thus a foreign culture will be graded against a scale that has no or only little importance to it. (Mueller-Glodde 1995:215ff)

"Culture and tradition are not to be seen as an obstacle to development anymore but as the prerequisite for innovation and creativity." (Schoenhuth

2000:3) For our purpose of focusing on successful management approaches in development co-operation, the actual task within this debate is to develop relations that distil the best out of cultural differences for the benefit of managing the development intervention. Concepts of intercultural management though do not inform us on the approaches and strategies development managers devise to challenge their complex environment as described at the outset. Aspects of culture sensitivity might simply add on the complexity the manager is experiencing.

3.3. Development management

The non-governmental sector (NGO) has produced much material on development management. Here the focus is mostly on basic management issues and methodologies with regard to non-profit management in small entities and at grass root level. There are, however, organisations such as *CDRA* in South Africa and *PRIA* in India who develop and write on approaches to face the challenge of managing processes and to revert changes and dynamics of interventions into something new and creative. (Kaplan 1999) Their work is concrete and specific and focuses among others on the development of the self. As Kaplan from *CDRA* puts it: Development Capacity "is more about the ability to keep moving, changing and improving one's response-ability…" (1999:10) Arguments are based on practical experience in the field and are seldom conceptualised in a theoretical fashion. A common problem, however, is the perspective of a developmental process being non-linear, unpredictable and sourced through energy flow. The notion of energy is often filled with spiritual meaning, ecological inter-connectedness or with the acknowledgement of the new paradigms of natural sciences. (PRIA 2000) These thoughts and experiences will echo later in the presentation of the case studies.

German development agencies themselves will not be able to inform in depth on commonly used management approaches. Job descriptions can only give us an inclination for the tasks but they don't mention approaches to achieve the tasks. Further capacity training as well as most workshops for executives are concerned with technical issues such as an introduction of quality standards or policy-oriented matters. In daily work realities there is no visible space for an exchange between executives on approaches to management where successes, failures and cases can be discussed e.g. in a peer group setting. Exceptions to the rule are training and workshops on inter-cultural management.

The GTZ (German Technical Co-operation) is one organisation that is to a certain degree concerned with the question of management issues. At times, individual managers co-operate with consultants or academics to elaborate on approaches and to produce case studies. (Stockmayer 2003; Schwaninger, Koerner 2001; Reineke, Sülzer 1995; von Schumann 1992) These results though have not yet systematically been brought into internal communication and knowledge channels.

A bulk of papers deal with OD approaches and the role of the professional advisor in the developmental process. (a.o.: Blunt 1997; Joy 1997; Reineke, Suelzer 1995) Development managers not only handle programmes and interventions but can also have the task of advising a partner organisation on change management, policy issues or strategic management. Sometimes they are even placed within an organisation.
To keep the distance between the advisor/expert, the demands of the clients and the assigned advisory task is a delicate balancing act as described by Albrecht Stockmayer, a senior manager with GTZ (2003) and Rolf-Dieter Reineke (1995). Professionalism can be measured according

to how well a consultant adjusts the advisory brief with the demands of the client. The balancing act has to be accomplished between establishing trust and keeping professional integrity, between helping out and being present and last but not least, between empathy and the advisory brief. If the manager is able to describe perceptions of realities and problem solutions analysed on a meta-level in a clear and transparent fashion to the client he or she might have achieved a lot (Fedon 1995:19). For the consultant it is essential that the developmental process be judged not by its outcome but by the demonstrated consulting competence and his/her professional performance criteria. (Joy 1997:468-470) The reality places pressure on the consultant between achieving impact and acknowledging organisational processes. This is reflected in the results of the case studies.

Much work has been conducted on different hypotheses of complexity based on systems theory. The systems approach offers a holistic perspective to change. It looks at the dynamics between familiar components in organisations. It recognises different ways of reaching the same result as well as achieving different results from the same initial input (Felkins, Chakiris 1993:72). The value of the systems models lies in the framework it provides which describes interaction and feedback between actors and factors and stresses thecyclical nature of e.g. policy-making and management. Systems theory acknowledges and analyses complexity but only with the aim to achieve results that can culminate in efforts to determine outcomes through mechanisms of control, feed back, open discussion sessions and the analysis of the components.

The positioning of the development manager is a discussion embedded in a systems approach. Should the manager be a direct employee of a donor or act as programme co-ordinator within the intervention? Regarding the

German debate Markus Schwaninger and Markus Körner (2001), the latter also a GTZ manager, attempt to clarify the role of managing complex programmes. They distinguish three different levels of organisation in a programme: Firstly. the manager as part of the whole development aid programme of a specific donor in country x, secondly, responsible for a specific programme and thirdly, responsible for different projects or components. Traditionally one would describe these tasks as being on the three different levels in a hierarchical relationship. In more complex programmes and with the perspective of systems thinking this understanding is problematic. Operational management, decision-making and organisational intelligence have to be available at all levels in order not to create blockage in communication and information between the two levels. (Ibid.:8-9; Goldratt 1992) Management thus has a specific task for each level: Normative management with a focus on sustainability, strategic management with a focus on effectiveness and operative management with the task of efficiency. A manager given the lead for such a complex programme has to be able to co-ordinate, delegate and lead responsibilities and competencies of staff members and partners (GTZ 2003:12).

Besides that systems approaches in project planning and implementation grapples with the fact that no one is able to foresee all causal relations between different factors. Holger Nauheimer, a consultant on organisational development, gives the following example: “12 variables result in 66 linear and 220 triangular relations. To elaborate a planning base that facilitates sustainable growth, the most important factors must be identified and arranged in a context that considers systemic effects. In such a complex environment, linear planning tools lose their effectiveness.”

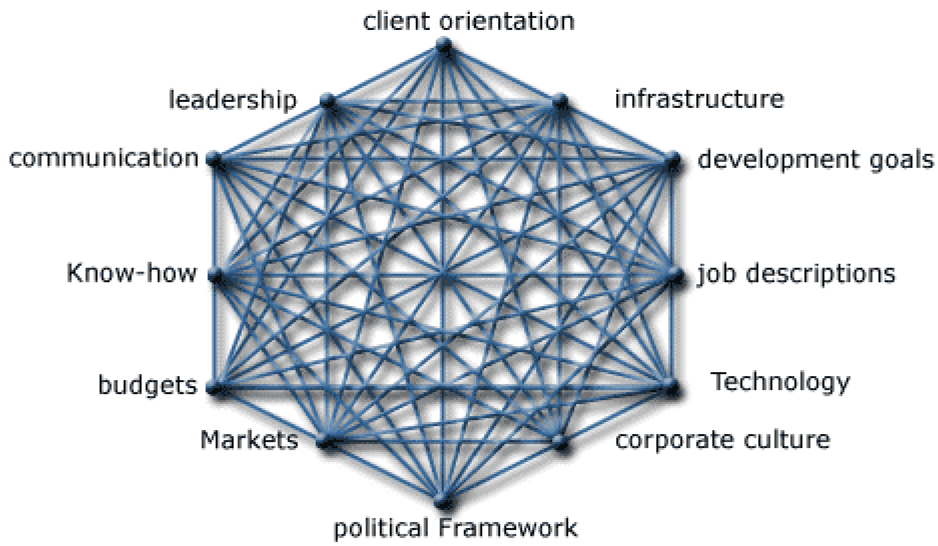

Figure 2: Interrelations in complex systems. Nauheimer 2005

Complex mathematical models or diagrams of organisational relations are the kind of answers to this dilemma. Another answer lies in the analysis of networks with regard to questions of governance and management between a range of actors, different authorities and overlapping issues. Flattened hierarchies, decentralised structures and early participation of those concerned have been instrumental to allow better communication and information flow as conceptualised in *New Public Management* and *Good Governance* efforts. But the more actors are brought in, the more permeable the boundaries of institutions and their tasks become, the more complexity will arise and the more efforts into further communication and information management will be necessary. This has repercussions e.g. on programme and project planning which can be taken as an example for what it means when non-linear perspectives are applied to management. Planning is sometimes still understood as a one-time task or as a very detailed exercise that will be undertaken at certain dates of the year.

Project feasibility studies often build the basis for planning an intervention. The trouble is that initial small local studies provide partial insight to very specific developmental problems, but under pressure of time and success the results get compounded and generalised. Suddenly the possible becomes likely and likely outcomes become results to the extent that standard approaches get introduced. (Samoff 1996) Linda Dennard (1996:495) shows empathy with the strenuous task of trying to steer the project in a straight forward manner and to keep it in balance: "Operating from this view, public administrators have come to see their responsibility as reducing conflict, controlling chaos and creating coherence out of enormous complexity." She then describes how this "nearly impossible role" forces managers to rely on mental constructs of the environment. Order can then only be realised in objective expertise and not in the experience of the citizen or of nature (Ibid.). The social environment gets forced into our constructed models. This explains why we experience certain forms of behaviour as not according to the "norm" or why we cannot understand why certain modes of development meet with unusually strong resistance from the target groups supposed to be benefiting from the development. (Pieterse 1pp)

Within complex programmes strategic planning is now seen as a continuous task discussed and negotiated with a core team. The project plan doesn't assume to cover the total project period. Planning must become a continuous process. Plans lay down the character of hypothesis against which management can continuously check their decisions and consequences. (PMI 1996; Goldsmith 1996:1437; Schwaninger, Körner 2001:17) To use project planning in a continuous process is all the more relevant in programmes with a large number of players. In development aid today tools such as the *Log-frame*[9] and the former German variant, *ZOPP* (goal oriented project planning) are commonplace planning tools to develop purpose, goals, input and outputs. The current debate around planning and monitoring is about *result-based management*[10] where so-called "impact chains" analyse the inputs, activities and outcomes according to their achieved impact. Outcomes do not necessarily lead directly to the goals but have to be analysed according to who uses them for what purpose. The problematic point with this method is the attribution gap between the users of the outcomes and the stated impact.

In instances of once- off planning, consequences such as risk aversion and opting for easily achievable goals are commonplace. Another consequence is sticking to the plan come what may and organising all activity around it: measurement, reports, evaluations and workshops with partners on planning, reporting on the plan and discussing reasons for deviation that consume a lot of energy. (Curtis 2001:303; Schwaninger, Körner 2001:15) Planning tools such as the Project Planning matrix have their place in development planning. All the more when they are not used in a formalised manner but as a means to achieve "a relational contract" (Curtis 2001:303) between the management, the partners and the beneficiaries. Indicators can become a base to reach a common understanding on the project quality (Nauheimer 1997:1). Discussion

[9] A typical Log-frame has a vertical and a horizontal logic and is supposed to reflect the causal relationships between the different levels and to present them in a transparent manner (European Commission 2003:7).

	Indicators	Means of verification	Risks and assumptions
Goal			
Purpose			
Outcomes			
Activities	Inputs	Costs	

[10] Result-based management tends to develop impact chains. A simplified model may look like this: input / activities → outcomes → use and user of outcomes → measurable impact → goal impact e.g. millennium development goals

about assumptions and risks[11] at regular intervals would help to bring out diverse interests and fears rather than offering exit points when the sea gets rough. Tools such as scenario planning offer open and creative ways to planning.[12]

As one can easily see from the above the manager in development co-operation has to be able to use certain tools and instruments in planning, decision-making and implementation. Tools and instruments have their place in a continuous reflection by the manager on the purpose of the programme. Management literature emanating from public development co-operation is mostly concerned with obtaining methodological skills to be successfully operational. But is it all about technical skills?

In a paper on the changing demands in development co-operation the geographer Henner Meyer-Rühen (2002:2) names five important abilities of development managers that can give us hints on where to look for managerial approaches in turbulent environments:

a. To give professional and issue-oriented advice
b. To facilitate processes
c. To advise on organisational development
d. To be knowledgeable on judiciary issues and institutionalisation
e. To manage and communicate effectively

As a geographer Meyer-Rühen knows that these abilities are not easily available among current experts and executives. At least the skills to

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[11] This would be the right hand column in a Log-frame.

[12] Together with the help of the GTZ the South African Presidency produced four scenarios on the future -10 years ahead - to help the ministries to adapt policy, to plan ahead and implement creatively. About 60 people from all walks of life participated in the discussions and workshops over a period of two years. "*Memories of the future. South African Scenarios 2014*" (The Presidency 2003)

facilitate processes and to manage and communicate effectively hint at soft skills that aren’t obtainable through technical training.
Interesting insights in appropriate management concepts have come with a concern for curricula of development management training as offered mainly by British institutions. The academic Pete Mann (1999:109) from the University of Manchester asks us to reflect on the purpose of the training and what one wants to bring out in a development manager. His five points are:

1. Achieve emotional resilience and be open to experience
2. Ability to dis-identify and live a reflexive practice
3. Think strategically and ask fresh questions
4. Take action and calculated risks
5. Rely on experience- based problem solving and tap your tacit knowledge

These skills are more concerned with personal mastery than with technical knowledge. The words of Mann resound with Alan Kaplan’s (1999) requirement the development of the self. Robert Chambers is even more critical: “ The personal dimension is a bizarre blind spot in development.” (1997:231) Self-critical awareness is often non evident, neither in one’s own actions nor in one’s perception of the action of others.

This chapter and especially the skills mentioned by Pete Mann, the GTZ managers, Alan Kaplan and Robert Chambers give us an indication for what approaches and patterns to seek out as well as what gaps to be aware of in this research on management approaches in development co-operation.

3.4. Paradigms of the new sciences applied to management

Within academic research of public policy implementation similar trends to those in public development co-operation such as management in complex and changing environments have been researched extensively over the past twenty years. Applied theories dominate the literature. The concept of *networks* (Kickert,Klijn,Koppenjan 1997), *actor-centred institutionalism* (Mayntz, Scharpf 1995), *multi-actor approach* (O'Toole 2000) and most importantly *New Public Management*[13] have accompanied and fostered the trends of decentralising and de-bureaucratising, economic efficiency and client's responsiveness in the public sector. While administration was mainly concerned with procedures and rules, *New Public Management* is now looking at targets and outcomes. The public sector is no longer the sole distributor and producer of developmental goods but takes on its new task as facilitator of socio-economic activities. Development co-operation where it is part of public administration also clearly follows this trend.

The applications to management of the "Paradigms of the New Sciences ", also termed the "Science of Complexity" - which shall be of further interest to us - have taken systems theory and concepts of efficiency a step further.

For the past 15 years, there have been several efforts to apply the (not so new) paradigm in the new sciences to management related issues. Chaos theory, new evolutionary theory and quantum physics have each in their own right contributed to a reflective practice of organisation and management. These approaches are all based on the assumption that in real life, systems are mostly out of balance rather than stable (Cloete, Wissink 2000:41).

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[13] as an example for a divers range of authors: Aucoin 1998; Mintzberg 1996; Hoggett 1996;

These applications study complex systems that are deterministic in nature but dynamic and non-linear. Complex systems can be steered with the help of systems analysis and strategic tools; they can be forecast and action can be prescribed – if these systems are detailed and not dynamic. Mixing many ingredients into a recipe involves detailed complexity, but it is not a dynamic act. Dynamic complex systems distinguish themselves from detailed complex systems in that they only make cause and effect subtly visible, that they often involve time lags as well as having consequences locally and another set of consequences in a total different place and time. It is the perspective of the applied new sciences that simulations with thousands of variables and complex arrays of detail can actually distract us from seeing patterns and major interrelationships. (Senge 1994:71ff)

Chaos theory appreciates chaos rather than trying to separate single units in order to control or limit chaos. How this can be of interest to management is described by Margaret Wheatley (1994:44), a consultant in organisational change, through sketching a typical situation where frustration is rife: A project is running, the team collects enormous amounts of data, defines key problem areas and sets up task forces to work on five problem areas. The longer the task forces analyse the issues the more they see the problems as interrelated. Linkages are visible everywhere, but the taskforces are still working independently from each other. Solutions are increasingly difficult to develop and frustration and fatigue abound.

The new sciences do not dispute the findings of modern Newtonian science that many phenomena show regular and predictable behaviour (e.g. after rain sun will shine; the use of force produces counterforce).

Chaos theory shows that along a world of order, certainty and regularity that will continue to exist; there is a world of randomness and unpredictability that will never go away. (Merry 1995:23) A metaphor in this context is the sand heap that can easily accommodate another grain of sand. After the next hundred grains it might simply accommodate new ones through adjusting the pile slightly. But the next sand grain can produce a crisis; the structure becomes unstable, takes on a new form and stabilizes again. (Bergquist1993:96) The changes can be determined to a certain extent, but there will always be a random element in the timing and movement. Apparent chaos on one level actually points in the direction of further complexity.

Putting this into organisational practice, the manager would be less concerned with erecting boundaries than developing common visions and missions. (Bergquist 1993:65pp; Wheatley 1994:42; Dennard 1996:496) Another famous metaphor is the metamorphosis of a caterpillar into butterfly. The form is different and the relation between the subject and the outer world has changed. But both belong to one common generic building block.

Chaos theory nevertheless is said to be deterministic in nature meaning that it has both answers and methods for getting the answers (Overmann 1996:499). Interestingly the most chaotic of systems never goes beyond certain boundaries (Wheately 1994: 21). It stays within a certain shape. Douglas Kiel is fascinated by these results and has applied them to public administration: By knowing how much change occurs, managers can determine whether work systems are stable or unstable and what the attractors of change are instead of analysing all the variables and factors and relationships that make up a workplace as described under the chapter systems thinking (1994:110).

Chaos theorists have also experimented on the phenomena of how a few basic rules being randomly applied always result into shapes of highly complex order (Wheatley 1994:130-131). Peter Senge and Margeret Wheatley both use the metaphor of a jazz band where the leader invites the players, sets the tempo and offers a basic rhythm. (Senge 1994; Wheatley 1994:44) The outcome of the music will be predictably creative and more than one individual can conjure up alone. It remains for William Bergquist (1993:200) to warn us however, that negative basic structures and dynamics of a system can also be replicated into all subsystems. Douglas Kiel (1994) develops a simple set of rules for organisational management to enable chaos to reach new creative adaptations to its environment: Flatten bureaucratic structures, liberate decision-making to local autonomous units, include participation processes, diversify the workforce and introduce re-engineering (see 3.1.) Read in such a way applications of chaos theory can have much in common with *Total Quality Management* (Evans 1996:492).

The manager is automatically and not out of choice a change agent who bears responsibility for the outcomes of his actions, “without the comfort that comes with a sense of control” (Evans 1996:492). William Bergquist (1993: 13) describes the leaders’ cum managers’ key abilities as being able to master the unexpected and rogue events as well as to be able to tolerate ambiguity. He or she will only be able to provide directions once the movement and dissipation begins. (Ibid:98-100) Karen Evans (1996:492), in her article that establishes a ground for a positive vision of management and society in the new sciences, places importance on the ability of a leader to impart strong organisational values, a drive to improve and excel, an optimistic attitude and a commitment to an open organisation that lets democracy flourish. With regard to organisational culture Douglas Kiel (1994: 153f) points to the ambiguity that strong organisational values can have. They are promoted for the sake of organisational stability and internal balance. Wearing the lense of the science of complexity a single viewpoint or one set of values makes a system dangerously vulnerable when the environment changes dramatically. The answer could be to develop norms and organisational culture that value openness, exchange of knowledge and experience and continuous learning. Authors such as Peter Senge (1990) who has become the guru of the learning organisation build their arguments on the basis of the new sciences. Likewise, the whole concept of Knowledge Management that has taken off in the last ten years, based on the realisation that many organisations are not doing well today because they simply do not change quickly enough to respond to their rapidly changing environments. "They seem to have a learning disability" (Oyomno 10.11.2003). Harbouring the ideal to be a learning system ensures that the organisation never views itself as stable but as constantly changing with every new process of learning.

Parts of the application of the new sciences derive from an evolutionary perspective: The Darwinist approach states that all life competes with each other over space and resources and only the fittest survive. In the Darwinian view there is no growth of complexity, but just a blind force. The new sciences ask what if life is not naturally competitive but co-operative? What if destabilisation is just another way of developing new complex forms of life? For development management this can amount to interesting questions about the way interventions are planned and executed. Karen Dennard (1996:498) gives the example of a conflict such as displacement through development of dams, where policy makers must ask themselves if it is more effective to address the conflict itself, to address the underlying imbalance that created the conflict or if it wouldn't it be more appropriate to assist the system in seeking a new, less divisive balance?

Another example could be current development co-operation such as the German practice (as described under 2.2.) where good governance and democracy are cornerstones of development support. The implication of the evolutionary perspective is to support democracy as it occurs, not to plan for when it happens (Dennard:497).

Another postulate is that structures or activities can be tied to a specific event, but are inevitably linked to other historical events and actions (Wheatley 1994:18). The debate on Sustainable Development is explicitly built on this perspective and culminates in the acceptance that evolution is irreversible and resources have their limits. (Brundtland Report 1987) The organisational consultant Uri Merry gives Sally Goerner (Goerner in Merry 1995:187) space to unfold her point on attaining necessary "evolutionary competence": The five competencies are based on:

1. The realisation of our connectedness,
2. The fostering of diversity, difference and experimentation,
3. The development of energy flows,
4. The development of identity around being a learning system and
5. The easy movement between forms and structures.

The representatives of the application of the science of complexity to management remind the managers to be more aware or as stated earlier to be more conscious. These thoughts are mirrored in the call for a reflective practice by development experts as described in chapter 3.3. The manager needs to be able to reflect. Practical experience in the work environment and social events have already made us aware of some of the phenomena of the science of complexity.

4. Giving the research its analytical framework

Up to this chapter we have established the purpose of the study and have given a detailed description of the background to the studied object. In the third chapter we gave a comprehensive overview on the literature concerned with development management and the influences on development management approaches. The last part concerned itself with the application of the new sciences to management and provides us with the analytical lenses through which to study our object of development management.

The following will give clarity on the analytical framework, the limitations of the research and its methodology.

Viewing development management through the lenses of the paradigm of the new sciences, the environment and its subsystems can be characterised as follows:

The environment is

- Full of paradoxes: Globalisation and fragmentation are mutually conditional. The reduction of boundaries produces the wish for clear identities. Cyclical patterns coexist with random elements. Different inputs can achieve the same result and different results can rest on just one input.
- Continuously undergoing change that is not predictable.
- Most of the time in a state of imbalance.
- Not reducible into smaller components

The components composing the environment

- Are continuously self-renewing.
- Change their outward appearance whilst their inner characteristics stay the same.

- Are linked to each other.
- Continuously affect each other and the events linked to them are irreversible

If one applies the science of complexity to organisations and management in a challenging environment such as development co-operation there will be a wide range of implications for managers. The hypothesis of this study is that applications of the science of complexity allow the development of appropriate managerial approaches and that they can be used as an analytical framework for an analysis of goal-oriented and successful management. Distilling these implications into five categories, it will be possible to observe, study and analyse management approaches of German development executives and receive answers to the research questions.

The categories circle around the attitude and thinking about ‘development’. What is the manager’s understanding of development in contrast to this researcher’s implication that development is a complex process that is based on normative objectives? This mindset or outlook of the manager will influence his/her understanding and approach to change, control and interdependency. What attitude the manager has to change should be described and analysed and what his or her approaches are to change in plans, strategies and their implementation. The manager’s approach to planning, implementation and monitoring as a means for control is the next category of analysis. The manager’s understanding and approach to links and connections in the work environment as they affect relations, interventions and outcomes will be subsumed under the category of interdependence. Lastly, it will also influence the issue of consciousness: What is the manager’s perception of his role and the ability to reflect?

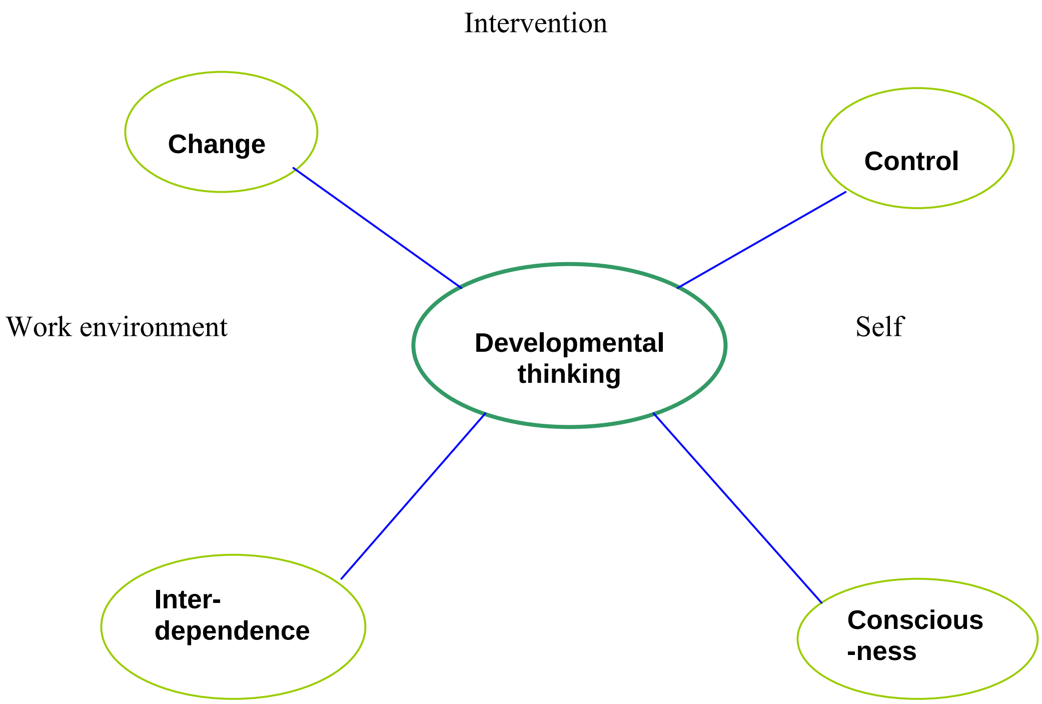


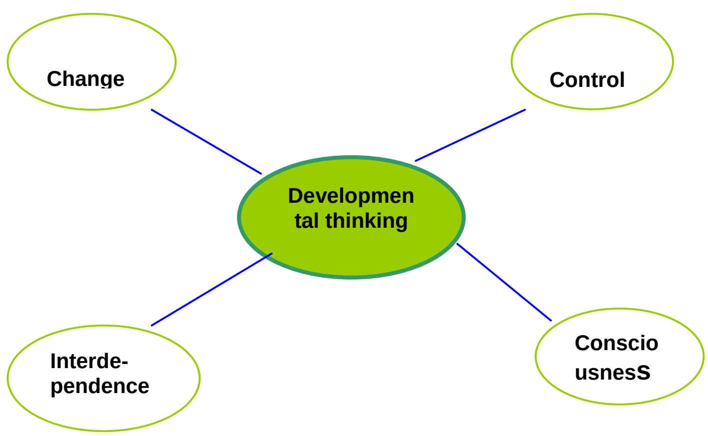
Figure 3: Distilling applications of the science of complexity into categories for the study of managerial approaches in development co-operation

5. Presentation of the findings

As stated in chapter 1.3. the purpose of the study is to gain insight into management approaches of development managers. The study aims at integrating experiences and challenges faced by the manager in development co-operation into a framework for development management based on applications of chaos theory and complex systems. It investigates the factors contributing towards the development of successful managerial approaches.

For this purpose the researcher observed the work reality of executives, studied their managerial challenges and learnt how the executives perceive success.

5.1. Presentation of findings against the category of development



We established earlier that the term 'development' as used in the field of development policy and development co-operation has a normative thrust. Beyond that 'development' is generally regarded today as a complex and dynamic process. The process is meant to have a clear outcome in the sense that an issue will change for the better even if the process is rocky and not mapped out.

The use of images can give us hints on certain attitudes and approaches to development that managers have. Images that are commonly used in development co-operation are mostly related to moving objects and remain very much in the modernist notion of taking on the perspective of the mechanic. Terms such as ‘energy’, ‘holistic’ or ‘intuition’ are regarded with distrust and are considered as un-professional. The term ‘holistic’ is the closest development managers would verbally rub shoulders with the new sciences of complexity. The four managers (Q,X,Y and Z) participating in the research all came up with different metaphors:

> Y: “Development and staff responsibility is comparable to tending a garden. Cut out the weeds, nurture the flowers and fruit and hope that they will all come into bloom.”
>
> Q: “Development is like a complex machine where different people in different positions turn different screws. This can lead to ineffectiveness, but also to the acceptance that development needs support from different levels ”
>
> Z: “A very simple metaphor of development aid could be the relation of a parent to a baby: The baby can’t ask and complain, but it is generally acknowledged that it needs help to change its nappies and be fed. A few months later it will help you attending to him and after two years it will go to the loo by itself and eat independently.”

The comparisons might sound paternalistic. At the same time they express the dilemma of capturing in a sentence the relationship between the vision of the manager’s work, their own role within it and the approach to achieve the vision. It is a task that prefers simplistic answers. One manager tries not to fall into that trap and echoes the realisation of the new sciences for development processes:

> X: "You are part of an historical process at a specific geographical location working with certain people. There would also be a process taking place without you but a different one. You are a developmental catalyst."

Although experience often breeds cynicism, a major motivation for working in this field and not e.g. in the private sector is the belief in a deeper meaning of being part of development co-operation. Q explains:

> "It is not simply a job. I can change things for the better. This gives me strength."

The other managers wouldn't go that far but also summarise their decision to work in development co-operation as it being meaningful. 'Having an interest in the issue' on which the manager is working is sometimes used simultaneously with 'doing meaningful work'. It appears that the managers accept the normative intentions but shy away from taking a moral stand. X makes it clear though that do-gooders (in German: *Weltverbesserer*) often do more harm than good. They simply shouldn't be employed. Instead

> "It is important that managers follow a mix of doing meaningful work, in a professional way, which they enjoy and in which they are successful."

Although managers acknowledge complexity and un-linear modes of movement it does not necessarily reflect on their further approaches to developmental issues. For example the modification from projects to programmes and process facilitation and from specific project locations to regional approaches makes life tough for managers. They struggle with the problem as Y laments:

> " The bigger the region the more un-specific the work becomes."

There is a need for the development managers to achieve tangible results and have contact with the ultimate beneficiaries. This need is emotional and professional at the same time since initiation of catalytic transformational processes on the mega-system needs to be informed by the realities on the ground. Managers do fall into the trap of concentrating and spending a whole lot of energy on small-scale and tangible project components. Where the participating managers gave longer statements and narratives in the interviews it was on those parts with regard to small and clear-cut activities. On the one hand they acknowledge to devote more time on these components than would be necessary for achieving the overall programme objective. On the other hand visible results are necessary to create motivation, to have argumentative support and actually show that development in certain instances is possible.

A manager has it much easier if the personal professional background corresponds with the topic he or she is working on. This helps in building relationships with stakeholders. It is even more important in the sense that it saves energy which is needed for understanding certain processes. Z is often frustrated when attending high profile meetings on a diverse range of issues that bring together a number of experts in the field:

> ”On many occasions I am the sole representative of my organisation establishing strategic partnerships with actors who are important to our positioning. They represent a specific programme or sector or even only a specialised issue whereas I represent my organisation on a wide range of topics. I am not sure that they understand my role and they surely wonder about my ineptitude on certain matters. This is not a nice feeling”

It is not correct, however, o assume that a professional qualification in a specific field such as agriculture is a must if you work on a rural development programme. The managers find professional knowledge helpful but do not consider it a basic condition even if they themselves have the appropriate background. Q says:

> " You simply start off from where you have your abilities and strengths. Sector specialists would often be lost. Generalists are more important."

Only one manager feels his professional background gives him the authority to analyse and judge certain issues in his specific field.

The picture becomes clearer when the professional background of the interviewed managers are scrutinised. The majority understood his or her academic qualification less as training for a specific job than as chance to gain understanding of a certain professional field.
All the interviewed managers do not have linear running career paths and at certain points in time their decisions could have brought them into a totally different professional field. This gives them strength and resilience in trying times. If the worst comes to worst, they know that they can move on to other opportunities. For one participant though reflecting on his past career path is more painful: It was not a path of opportunities but more of being part of lucky draw that secured him a time bound contract. The issue of self-perception in approaching a managerial position will be explored more deeply under the category of the 'consciousness' – under chapter 5.5.

The above-mentioned non-linear career paths are mirrored in the environment of the workplace of development co-operation. Not only is the environment instable and under continuous change so is the workplace. Generally limited job contracts are in place and even the senior positions only have a contract for two to three years for a specific programme. The contracts can be renewed and extended but this is not solely dependent on the manager's performance. As discussed under 2.3. programmes and projects are subject to political change of direction, budget constraints and other influences. Most of the managers play it cool and accept the situation. But it does affect their concentration and energy when the mind is busy with personal future plans at regular and short intervals. Y is the only one to admit this:

> "Within development work only long-term plans and responsibilities make sense. My insecure future affects my work and the willingness to develop long-term ideas."

This personal situation also feeds into the strategy which managers adopt, that is to work parallel to tangible and short-term results as well as on long-term and participatory outcomes.

All the participants were very clear on the necessary skills for successful management. Methodological skills were subsumed under "maintaining a professional standard" (Q and X) and were not of much further interest to the managers. Although they all mention a certain amount of experience in life as being the most important factor, this seems to be more of a warming up statement into the matter since they do not elaborate on crucial events in life. A manager must also be open to new experiences and be empathic to other fellow human beings. X says:

> "One must have common sense, be empathic and be able to understand others people's feelings and perspectives – be they partners or staff members."

This ability paired with skills and allowing your intuition to lead the way can help you to take successful decisions. Y cautioned, however, that emotional resilience and high frustration tolerance must also be available.

The managers all commented on the relationship between the head office in Germany in contrast to the country office and their activities in Southern Africa. As described in the background section on German development co-operation the roles between head and country offices have changed. The head offices have delegated much of their decision-making authority to programme managers and country offices. To a certain extent budgetary planning as well as staffing can now be done by the manager responsible for a programme. Combined with the mentioned new focus on result-based monitoring in development work, this gives the development manager much greater autonomy but also places him/her under great pressure to perform. Since the head offices have lost some of their former importance and authority they place greater importance on formerly neglected crosscutting issues such as knowledge management or HIV workplace policies. These are now being pushed with fervour by the head offices in Germany. And suddenly the interest of the head office as to how the development manager performs is reduced to the crosscutting issues that are actually not part of his core business.

Another danger lies in the fact that more energy has to be put into job performances for the sake of the head office and less for the sake of developmental objectives. This thought was rejected by the managers, but stated indirectly: They lament the numerous visits from head office personnel, who are locally less knowledgeable and experienced, sucking their time and energy whilst having to impress them. Z's remark is exemplary for the other managers:

> "Nowadays you don't have one counterpart at head office but many. They are often sector specialists and expect you to be one as well, whereas your job might encompass his or her field but also much more than that. And this they just don't see."

The deploying organisations seem to undergo continuous internal transformational processes that place a lot of stress on the manager working 'out there'. The organisations are involved in various organisational development processes brought about by different factors.

Budgetary shortfalls lead to the establishment of new expenditure frameworks. New management approaches such as knowledge management and the introduction of certified quality management systems introduce a whole range of new colleagues, working groups and procedures to which managers in South Africa also have to apply to. Privatisation tendencies and mergers in Germany lead to major upheavals and unclear decision-making processes for longer periods of time. Q says:

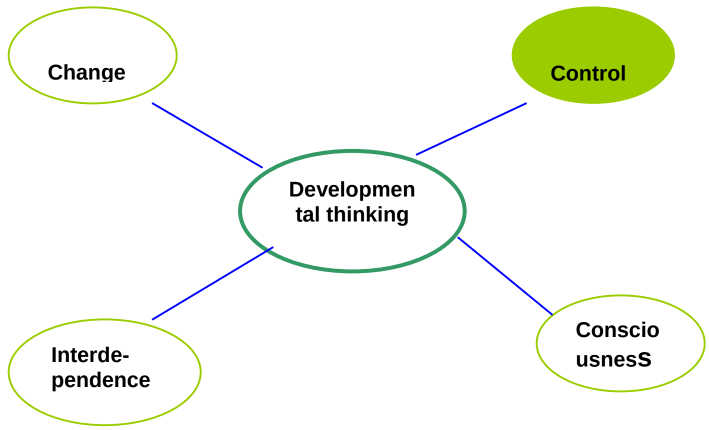
> " Some of the changes make sense and we look forward to their implementation. But all in all, the head office seems to be very busy with itself. We often do not see the effect of another round of new procedures, questionnaires and working groups."

Z is really frustrated:

> " I cannot wait until they have sorted out their change processes. I need support or rather backing for certain decisions and strategies now and not in one year. I do not have the luxury of contemplating my decisions in another round of meetings."

The last point will be reserved for the fact that at national and regional level in which the four participating managers work, participative approaches are most common. This has a lot to do with the social and political situation in South Africa where the development partners are self-confident and politically agile and know what they want from which donor. Success for the managers measured by the agreed upon outcomes cannot be achieved by sheer force of money or politics, but needs a continuous convincing presence. The framework of their programmes have already set them limitations in the sense that they can only act as advisors and facilitators of development.

5.2. Presentation of findings against the category of control



The term " control" in any work environment is basically used for ensuring work procedures against previous planned objectives and strategies as well as against set quality standards. In development jargon the term used for this purpose is "Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation" (PM&E). The basic questions are: Who monitors what and how, for whom and for what purpose? The answers to these questions ultimately determine the way in which the monitoring and evaluation system will operate. It becomes complicated, however, when many projects have intangible objectives and an almost utopian vision such as is the case with the interventions of the interviewed development managers.

It should also be kept in mind that as discussed in the background to this paper, the development debate has become de-politicised and confined to bureaucratic management issues. Questions of power and diversity of interests by different players are not considered to be relevant to the management of the programme. But a change in political priorities will play themselves out in the objective setting or in the support given to certain programme components as X has experienced:

> “ Currently the Minister is under pressure to raise the salaries of civil servants. We won’t be able to discuss our roll-out plans for certain nation-wide training just now. It is supposed to be a major step in our strategy but suddenly its on the backburner – the configuration of interests has changed.”

Applications of blueprint management approaches to controlling would have assessed the programme component as dramatically impaired. If the manager is lucky this risk would have been mentioned in his planning matrix beforehand. But it would still leave him with no clue on how to move further and ‘regain control over the process’.

All managers are continuously checking and monitoring their programme. This results in managers identifying new issues or new links to existing problems that helps them in preparing a new concept or a change in objectives. This simple logic, however, doesn’t help when between the divers interests of the stakeholders a common agreement cannot take place. Z is in a difficult position:

> “ I am seconded by an organisation to work for my current employer. The organisation that seconded me has the right to get reports and give feedback on my work plans that have to be acknowledged by myself to a certain extent. My current employer is undergoing a major organisational change process. With the result that different people have similar rights to get involved in my strategic planning. In the field staff members and partners also put pressure to get their interests through.”

A simple strategic plan will be taken apart and put together again more than ten and will not be recognisable in the end to the executive in charge. This means that his possibility of control through methodological tools such as a *Log-frame* is limited.

Z has had similar experiences with setting up a capacity building programme:

> "The project manager in Germany applied for the funding of a capacity building programme 'Consequences in Privatisation of Municipal Services'. The partners we identified and invited for the first planning workshop were interested and agreed to the drafted programme. At the first workshop a completely new set of people and organisations took part. They had different interests that they wanted to be included. The project manager in Germany wasn't available at that date, so we had to negotiate with him at a later stage. The results had to be fed back into the next workshop. New consultants stepped in with their ideas. After many loops we have now set up a capacity building programme on 'Management of Privatised Water Services'".

Tools such as stakeholder analysis or project planning matrices are used to structure discussions around changing objectives, strategy and operational schedules. Q describes these sessions as intensive work with an informal inner circle of partners, staff and members of her own agency on reflecting the ongoing work, feeding it into new plans and deciding on activities. Manager X has institutionalised this process:

> " From next year on we will have a political programme steering committee that checks on the work in progress and reflects on the current planning matrices."

The managers use planning tools as the means to reach a common understanding. Y describes his situation:

> "I have different settings and situations in which I try to motivate my colleagues and to align them to a common understanding of the developmental process we are involved in."

Control in development co-operation and the use of monitoring instruments by the interviewed managers go beyond checking progress against formats and written documents. Alignment and motivation of the important actors emerges as one of the most important issues. Alignment of staff and stakeholders is the major concern of all the development managers. X says:

> “ You have to coerce them; you have to offer them something; you have to talk sweetly or sternly. You want to keep them on track.”

Y sees himself as:

> “ A gardener nursing the plants to grow in the direction I want them to. At other times I see myself as a therapist where the others can get rid of their problems after which they can get back to work.”

Q agrees and adds:

> “ You have to be able to drink tea with the Minister and be able to sit naturally with the village elders in the dust. You have to meet them face- to -face and make them feel at home.”

The deploying organisation of the manager also influences the amount of control a manager may use and the perspective he takes on control as a means of management. Some of the employers keep their managers out in the field on a tight leash: Executives complain about numerous timeframes and formats for reporting. Y insists that:

> “Everything from the head office has priority. My other work then has to wait.”

But more important seems to be that many decisions have to go to Germany for authorisation. This greatly reduces the negotiation abilities and the credibility of the managers in aligning stakeholders and motivating them for change. One has to acknowledge, however, that some donor organisations have come a long way already in decentralising and devolution. More often it seems to clash with the necessity of the head offices to achieve accountability internally to their external funders and the public. The perspective on the level of necessary control will surely vary between head office and the development managers based in South Africa.

The executives all confirm that they have a lot of authority over their assigned budget[14]. This helps them to support priorities or changes in priority setting. Z acknowledges that he has certain discretion over budget titles enabling them work according to his plans and strategies. Q uses her discretion to extend her authority to the inner circle of planers and implementers involved in her programme:

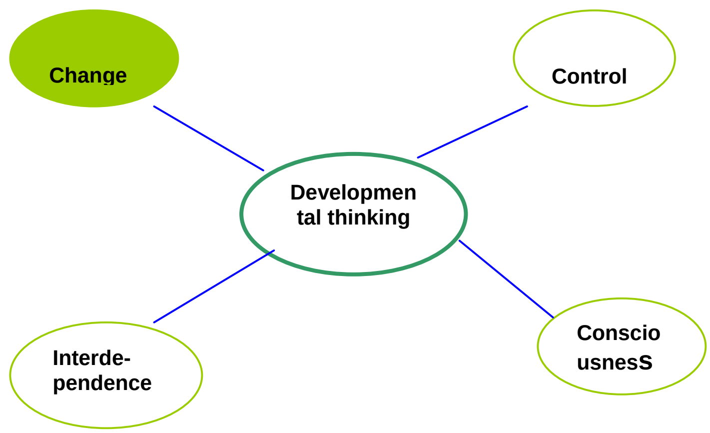
> " Most of the time we allocate and shift our budget as our intuition tells us to. We don't waste time calculating all the details of an operational plan."

And X is also sure of his authority:

> "As long as the partners support you and the development of common ideas, plans and strategies, I have no trouble to explain any budgetary changes."

[14] Assigned budgets are part of the financial volume that was agreed upon in the government-to-government negotiations in the bilateral co-operation. In reality budget cuts are quite common and spending is often only possible in the second half of a financial year. The last month of a financial year can be quite hectic when suddenly the former budget cuts are taken back and extra money has to be accounted for in one month.

5.3. Presentation of findings against the category of change



Manamela Matshabaphala (21.01.04) reminds us that strategy and leadership are two sides of the same coin when strategies are regarded as initiatives that contain a certain amount of risk and are understood as initiating change processes.

The objectives of the programmes and envisaged changes for the better can be quite intimidating. They range from having ‘Sustainable and Affordable Energy Sources for all people in Sub-Saharan Africa’ (ProBEC 2005) to ‘Support to the Public Sector Reform in South Africa’ (GTZ 2005). The change that is envisaged should result in achieving the objectives and thereby contributing to e.g. the goals of German development co-operation of reducing poverty and securing peace in a given region. The instrument of the Log-frame format tries to capture the causal relationships between activities, outcomes and objectives, while determining the risks and threats to the programme. But the managers do not strategise around the risks and assumptions, so much so that the researcher cannot stop wondering if they have just been defined as an excuse in case of failure. Z states the reality when he says:

> “You can define the indicators yourself. Who says that you are on the right track? Even if the relevant stakeholders participate, the general tendency is to define them in such a general, achievable and risk-aversive manner that you don’t have to be afraid of a later evaluation.”

In this reality anticipated change can lose its social, economic and empowering thrust for the targeted beneficiaries.

A lot of effort is being put into establishing result-based monitoring systems. The managers watch the developments cautiously. X comments that a lot of time, energy and resources are being used to establish these systems.

> ”Common sense could you give you the answers more easily and quicker.”

The researcher could see that the better resourced an organisation was the more effort went into the development of result-based monitoring systems and the measurement of impact. One of the reasons is the necessity to raise the organisations profile vis-à-vis their donor, the BMZ. This is a very German motive since as described in chapter two the German developmental institutional landscape is so diverse but always under pressure to be merged.

Attempting developmental objectives is mostly understood as a process of slow and incremental change as is the case of the observed managers. Q says:

> “ The changes we see are only possible on a small scale, they are never revolutionary. These aren’t chic or sexy. They are participatory and slow developments. You have to be resilient and willing to drill through thick planks.”

Development happens in small steps and stages that can be calculated and foreseen.

There is another interesting finding that often becomes a contradiction: The very organisations whose executives are charged with initiating change in a developing country are frequently managed in ways which effectively prevent them from changing in a transformational way themselves (Blunt 1992:222). This is not to be misunderstood in relation to the situation of an organisation having a stable organisational culture with certain values as its foundation. But when the dominant values favour stability it can become counterproductive to change efforts of the development manager.
Manager X laments the in-transparencies of his agency with regard to staff performance, assessment and salaries. Z grumbles:

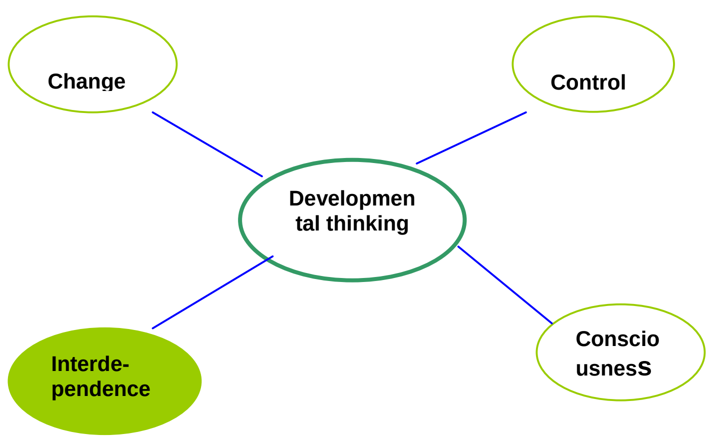
> "The merger of my deploying organisation with another development organisation just added up on structures instead of allowing a total transformation of functions and form."

The findings based on the experiences of the managers with regard to quality management and the researcher's own experiences, point in the same direction. DED has embarked on a process named "*Quality as Process*" which is accredited by the European Foundation for Quality Management (DED 2004). It allows all staff to participate in defining quality against pre-set specifications in certain areas of work and to give recommendations for improvement. The process can produce much enthusiasm in the beginning, but due to fixed standards and procedures and the institutionalisation of the process, creative ideas by staff members beyond the pre-set specifications cannot be recognised and picked up. The attitude of the manager to leadership and his openness to invite change and fuel it once it has started, plays an important role: A manager can feel stuck because of ad hoc directives and changing policies from his employer or by resistance met by partners such as Y experienced.

The development manager has to rise to the challenge of recognising changes in the internal and external environment, feeding them in a creative way into the organisational systems and at the same time keeping the intervention steered on the proposed normative outcome. Attempts by others to change the route in different directions or to include new issues have to be resisted at the same time. The balancing act between a) picking up new threads and chances to reach the objectives via a new road and b) prioritising issues to keep on track and stay focused on the objective is an art. Manager Q seems to be clear on this:

> "Partners always try to broaden the scope of our intervention. I can become very strict, however. We can only work on certain issues. Our goal is set so high that you could surely and legitimately do many things. It is my job to reduce our scope and stick to it."

5.4. Presentation of findings against the category of interdependence



This research makes use of the new science of complexity as an analytical instrument in which a major feature is the interdependence of variables and factors evolving into highly dynamic and complex structures.

This feature is not new to the world of development co-operation. The significance of the debate on Sustainable Development in the Nineties was the acceptance of inter-connectedness in the world in its positive as well as its destructive aspects.

Development Co-operation has therefore moved beyond pure horizontal (e.g. intervening on district level throughout the province) or vertical (e.g. improvement of one sector by working from micro- to macro level) approaches. Either geographical impact areas are defined for an integrated development approach or sector focal areas are negotiated in a chosen geographical impact area.

In one case the programme focuses on a certain issue that is visible only in small and defined geographical areas but involves all levels of political and administrative structures impacting on many other issues and geographical areas. Q understands the interdependence of variables and how issues are linked through different levels and groups of stakeholders, but she complains about the rising complexity this creates:

> “This thinking of mine leads me straight into the problem of having to manage a vast and complex programme with a huge number of construction sites.”

Setting boundaries is a deliberate act. An act by the manager for example to prioritise, strategise and be able to decide within complex environments. As Q said:

> “The objectives are so broad, there are ten times more possibilities than we can focus on. It is my job to reduce our activities and stick to them.”

The ability to develop relations between variables and stakeholders within an intervention often depends on the available resources and the attitude of the development manager. He is the one who organises the process of planning and implementation. Q gives an example of her programme:

> “The whole project idea came from dedicated people within my employing agency. But because the idea couldn’t win enough support to be implemented in one country the arguments were brought onto a more meta-level. The programme was designed for a region but the resources approved were far and few. Now I was much more dependent on the stakeholders in the region, on their ideas and priorities. A long process of exchange about the problem issue, the possible approaches and programme designs began.”

For development managers to look beyond the boundaries of their intervention and to create synergies is not only a question of the right attitude. Sometimes the simple fact of having or not having a big budget makes the difference as Q described above and elaborates further:

> “ It was a positive thing to have just a few financial resources. Because of this we were forced to work together with other projects of our agency and of other agencies. We also developed completely new and creative ideas for implementation. With enough money we wouldn’t have been dependent on the others and would have had a completely different programme today.”

Asked what consequences lack of funds had to his programme manager Y also describes similar situations as Q:

> "I try to contact a diverse range of people and players to achieve what I could have had easier with my own money. But in some cases I just get stuck. My budget for travel expenses is so low that I reduce my work after the money has been spent in the first five months."

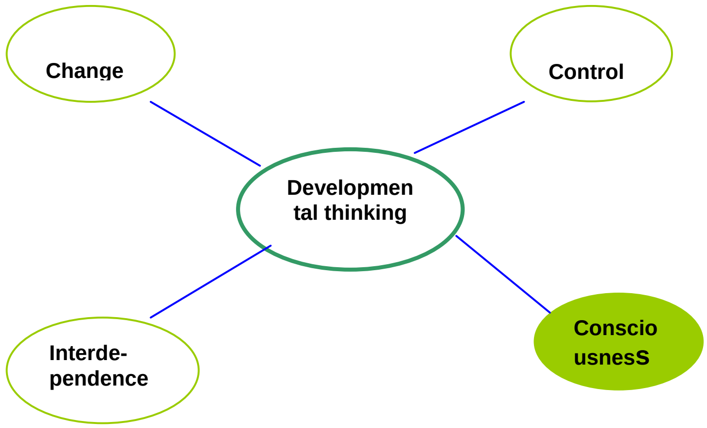
The manager X underlines the above from a different point of view:

> "You have to take the opportunities as they arise to further your goals. Suddenly you find yourself working together with partners that are completely out of the scope of the former plan."

The establishment of steering committees or networks of actors is a typical instrument to make use of interdependencies and to create synergies. The findings of the research though show that they often are not seen for what they are: plain instruments and not means in themselves. In many instances network meetings consume a lot of time and resources to develop new structures. These structures often stay in place even after achieving the goal they have set themselves or they lose focus of their instrumental value and become means themselves. Z comments on his experience:

> "Representatives of former trainees established a network that is still meeting today although their representative functions have become obsolete since the numbers of members of their associations have dwindled considerably in the meantime."

5.5. Presentation of findings against the category of consciousness



In conventional development programmes the main focus is on the delivery of resources – be they technical, financial or about skills or even political clout. There used to be a counterpart lacking resources and an opposite transferring resources. In more recent development interventions and in the case of the German managers who are participating in this study, the relationship between recipient and donor are understood as more complex. The lack of resources or the weaknesses of capabilities are no longer in the foreground of attention but rather the process between recipient and donor to reach common visions that have been moulded into a set of achievable objectives. As mentioned earlier in chapter 5.4. the understanding managers have of a development intervention is to facilitate a process which is already in motion. All the interviews and the additional observations made of the development managers during their interaction with their counterparts result in the understanding that the establishment of good relationships is crucial to the success of the intervention.

At an early point in the career of a development manager there will be a psychological assessment of his or her attitude to the *other*, of his or her openness to new experiences and their resilience with regard to achieving set objectives. In general this will be the one and only moment where there was and ever will be time for the manager to reflect on the personal in work related issues. Out of the three organisations involved only the GTZ, most probably due to its size[15], has an established human resource management system in place that includes further screening at certain intervals. This screening that is a pre-requisite for scaling the career ladder, however, does not include a session on personal aspects of work, personal development or the like. Asked if the development managers have a space where they can discuss work related problems or exchange management approaches there was a clear “NO” for an answer. Q admits thoughtfully:

> “It wouldn’t be too bad to exchange and brainstorm with colleagues, but I also don’t take time for any such kind of exchange. Nobody approaches me and I don’t approach anybody either.”

From a certain level of seniority it becomes difficult for the managers to be able to reflect individual behaviour among colleagues. Z says:

> “It makes you vulnerable. You never know if it might not be carried out of the room to ears that wouldn’t be able to comprehend to which situation the reflective statement belonged.”

X goes even further and says cynically that the risk in the job comes only from colleagues who act as snipers and wait for the moment to bring you down. Even during the interview setting it was the prerogative of the one female to criticize herself and admit to weaknesses. Where the men

[15] The GTZ currently employs some 9400 staff in more than 130 countries. Around 1400 are seconded experts, approximately 7000 are national personnel. It maintains offices in 66 countries. (GTZ 2005b)

opened themselves up it was only by means of irony or cynicism. Generally, lack of time is the reason mentioned most commonly for any question related to establishing another group – in this case for reflection and exchange. In a work environment where managers rush between meetings, the notion of another meeting is absurd.

Another important finding with regard to this category of consciousness, concerns the fact that certain actions by the managers are driven by the need for professional acknowledgement and visible success.
Self-confidence of the manager plays itself out more freely if he is involved in a programme dealing with a currently important issue. Managers of programmes where topics are regarded as irrelevant or consist of being a pain in the neck of substantial developmental improvements, are continually trying to justify their work. The latter group has to make sure that they achieve certain visible and tangible results or that they get visible external support such as third- party funding.

But for all managers it is necessary to work beyond the core responsibilities and tasks. If there are no major glitches your work will be registered as O.K., but never more than that. Manager X explains:

> "Everywhere but especially if you work according to objective-oriented-management you will find a high concentration on the additional tasks and less on the core team. This is the same with our South-African counterparts. Sometimes you even get your basic salary for the core responsibilities and additional perks for successful achieved additional tasks."

6. Interpretation and Analysis

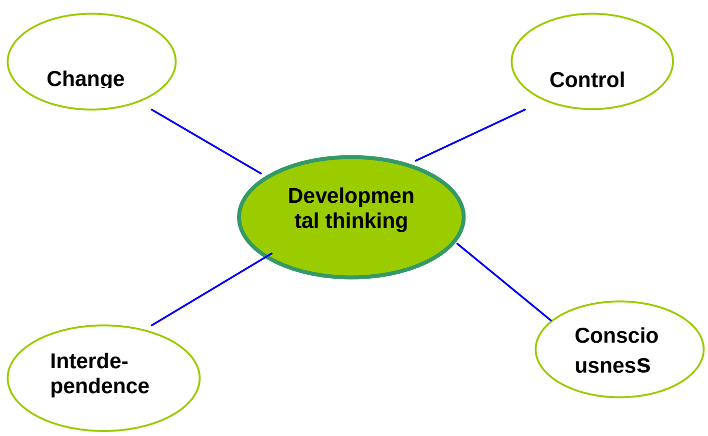
The findings will enable us to answer the question as to what management approaches prove to be goal-oriented and successful.

The findings presented in the five categories of:

- developmental thinking,
- control,
- change,
- interdependency and
- consciousness

uncover, that the way the manager approaches his work is based on his perspective and thinking about development. They also result in the understanding that successful managers have the ability to reflect on their role and position in the developmental context.

6.1. Interpretation and analysis of the findings against the category of development



The use of images by the managers has given us hints on certain attitudes and approaches to development they harbour. The results of the case studies correlate with both academic and practioners' debates on the term 'development'.

Robert Chambers (1997:190) compares two possible perspectives on development with the image of the ‘high ground’ as opposed to the ‘swampy lowland’. Working on the “high ground” amounts to detachment from reality and viewing development in a pathological way whereas the “swampy lowland” means actual involvement and being part of a process. The following statement by a humanitarian aid co-ordinator in post-war Sarajevo is more a description of the present development policy and development profession than a colourful metaphor of development (Circus Sarajevo 1999): “As with a puzzle we are all busy moving pieces around trying to construct the whole picture of which no one has ever seen the model.”
No manager can and wants to take himself out of the normative intentions development co-operation has. The entrance statement in a study undertaken by the OECD for the members of the DAC (Development Assistance Committee) talks of the strong moral imperative the people of developed countries have in responding to the situation of extreme poverty and human suffering (OECD/DAC 1999:7).

Peter Vaill, an organisational guru for the corporate world, applies insights from the science of complexity as well as from Taoist philosophy. His point of departure is the Newtonian thinking that views the detachment of a manager from an organisation or the “managed” as a pre-requisite allowing him or her to plan and execute interventions. “Intervention - The very word implies that one is standing outside” and is not part of the motion or the developmental process (1989:181). Thinking along the lines of Tao and the science of complexity the manager is viewed as an elemental part of the development process that exists in the very moment and where singular strands of action cannot be separated from another. Vaill comments that “there has not been much emphasis in our culture to be effective in the moment.” (182)

The images of development do necessitate acknowledging the question of cultural background. Since the age of enlightment the Western world considers terms such as ‘movement’, ‘change’ and ‘development’ per se as positive. This is not the same in every other culture. Questions such as: ‘Why should I change my surroundings?’ are legitimate in a different cultural setting. (Müller-Glodde 1995:195) It is important to note that not only executives act with normative intention. The host country will also view the manager as a player with certain normative intentions. Besides that, expectations and reactions to him will be guided by former experiences with this type of person.

Underlying the statements of the managers as mentioned above is, that the development process they are involved in, is supposed to have a clear outcome - be it ‘*mainstreaming HIV/AIDS into development programmes’* or that ‘*everybody should be able to satisfy their energy needs in an affordable and sustainable manner through efficient use of biomass energy’*. Even if a clear outcome is given, executives still tend to struggle with the developmental process that we have described earlier as complex, un-linear and dynamic.

Making use of our analytical instrument may help to cope with the seemingly chaotic process of development: Chaos theorists have experimented with shapes of plants to understand how a few basic rules having them randomly applied always result into same shapes of highly complex order (Wheatley 1994:130-131). Nature creates shapes through replicating dominant patterns at several levels of scale. Vegetables, leaves and coastlines are all based on the fractal principle. A certain shape can be predicted given a very few rules and applied randomness: “Nature creates the complexity and harmony of form we see everywhere.” (Ibid.)

The analogy of fractals transferred to development and social behaviour, says Robert Chambers (1997:195): "is that not centralisation and complex rules, but decentralisation and a few tendencies are the conditions for harmonised and complex local behaviour."
His statement implies that certain behaviour can be predicted throughout the organisation although they become implemented through self-determination of the members. Peter Senge and Margaret Wheatley both use the metaphor of a jazz band where the leader invites the players, sets the tempo and offers a basic rhythm. (Senge 1994; Wheatley 1994:44) The outcome of the music will be predictably creative and more than an individual can conjure up alone. It remains for William Bergquist (1993) to warn us though that the negative basic structures and dynamics of a system can also be replicated into all subsystems.

The findings on the qualifications, career paths and necessary abilities described by the interviewed managers make it very clear that their tasks are less of a technical nature than of facilitating processes. The necessary abilities are more personal traits than methodological skills.
This corresponds with the abilities Pete Mann wants to bring out in his students of development management (1999:109): For future and current development managers it is of major importance to achieve emotional resilience and be open to new experiences. Equally important for Pete Mann is to rely on experience- based problem solving and to tap into your tacit knowledge. This corresponds with the opinion of the participating managers. Whereas the commonly stated answer to necessary skills of a development manager was almost always answered by means of:

> "A manager should also be able to think and work in a structured way." (Y, Z, Q)

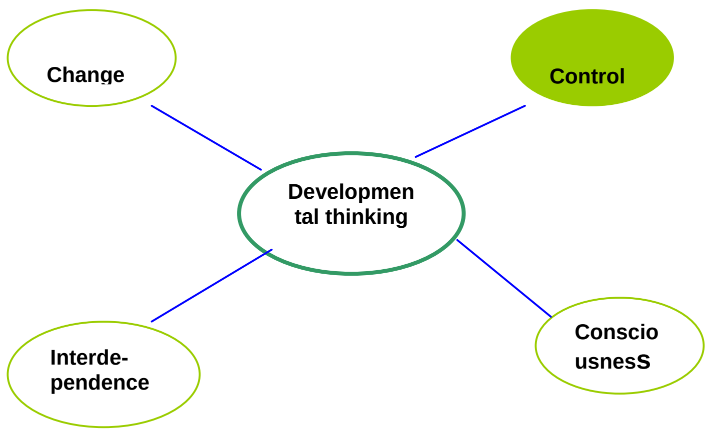
It was not possible to bring out reasons for naming this ability. One answer could be the difference between what Peter Senge terms "detail complexity" versus "dynamic complexity" (1994:71-72). The former has many variables in a given situation whereas the latter exists when there are many cause-and-effect relationships and when it is difficult to measure any specific intervention. To work in a structured way can help in detailed complex situations. But it is of limited use in dynamic complex situations. In the latter situation it is necessary not to work on one task after the other but rather parallel on different construction sites with a mind map as backup.

An important player in development co-operation is the deploying organisation of the foreign executives. It is not only the organisation's policies and strategies that impact directly on the managers and their work and lastly on the kind of interventions they design and on the facilitation processes they accompany. The deploying organisations seem to undergo continuous internal transformational processes that place a lot of stress on the manager working 'out there'. As described in the findings privatisation tendencies and mergers lead to major upheavals and unclear decision-making processes for long periods of time.

The statements of the managers describe aptly how organisations involved in prolonged change processes struggle to bring order and system into these processes. Typical products are new and highly detailed manuals and legal - all based on the absurd assumption that they will fulfil a demand that is unlikely to change for the next ten years. These same organisations aren't able to read the writing on the wall that announces further mergers and re-structuring. These same organisations might have recently embarked on establishing learning communities within the system or might have developed post-modern incentive programmes. The science of complexity terms such organisations "hybrid organisations" (Bergquist

1993: 173ff), where modern and post-modern structures co-exist and at the same time produce conflict. The development manager has to work in the force field of temporary systems and permanent structure.

6.2. Interpretation and analysis against the category of control



The term “ control” in any work environment is basically used for ensuring work procedures against previously planned objectives and strategies as well as against set quality standards. In production terminology the most common term is “controlling” where budget flow, product quality and operations are checked with the help of statistics and inspections and where the results are fed back into management. (Pycraft 2002:342ff.) Responsible people in charge of production lines need to control among others, schedules and use for these purpose different tools e.g. the critical path method. The service sector and even more so development co-operation need methods that can capture the complex and dynamic nature of their products.

In development jargon the term used for this purpose is “Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation” (PM&E). A typical project cycle consists of identification, preparation, appraisal, implementation and monitoring and evaluation. In the model one phase feeds into the next; in reality one phase constantly feeds back into every other phase.

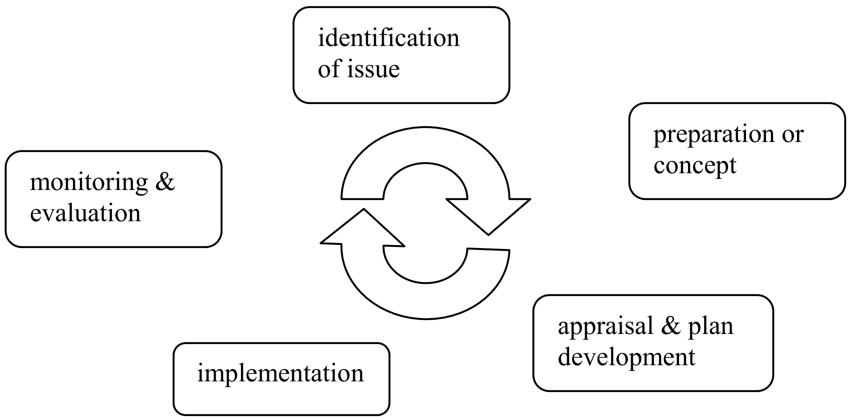


Figure 4: The project cycle (Baum Tolbert 1985:334)

Most of the textbook literature still categorises M&E as part of the implementation phase. More recent literature appreciates and recognises the need for M&E as part of all phases but most of all for plan development and implementation. (Cloete, Wissink 2000: 196ff.) Standards and procedures for M&E must be built in early to have criteria against which measurement is possible. The basic questions are: Who monitors what and how, for whom and for what purpose?

Common tools and instruments for M&E in development co-operation such as the *Log-frame Approach* and *Project Cycle Management* have been described under paragraph 3.3. Lauro Roper and Jethro Pettit (2002: 265) lament the fact that reporting systems and monitoring procedures "are geared towards the control over resource flows, rather than towards learning and innovation."

Other critics such as Donald Curtis view these instruments as "attempts to put certainty into inherently uncertain situations". The danger lies in losing sight of the underlying causes of uncertainty such as a diversity of interests (2001:301).

Applications of Chaos Theory will support these findings: It can show that in a world of order, certainty and regularity that will continue to exist, there is a world of randomness and unpredictability that will never go away. (Merry 1995:23) One example is the process of budgeting in public administration that has been researched extensively: Budgeting is a very regulated procedure that nevertheless reveals a spectrum of behaviour from seemingly stable to apparent instability. A change in a middle level management position, a citizen's complaint to a well- connected buddy can redouble in effect many times over. Draft after draft, revision after revision, meeting after meeting emerge and dissolve until some semblance of the final budget is visible. (Overmann 1996:488)

The chaos metaphor is often used in the social sciences with a negative connotation. Chaos theory though derives its faith in superior levels of order stemming from a long-term sense of order. What is seemingly chaos e.g. at departmental level may point to new order configurations on a higher organisational level. Let us recall the experience manager Z gave us in chapter 5.2.:

> "The project manager in Germany applied for the funding of a capacity building programme 'Consequences in Privatisation of Municipal Services'. The partners we identified and invited for the first planning workshop were interested and agreed to the drafted programme. At the first workshop a completely new set of people and organisations took part. They had different interests that they wanted to be included. The project manager in Germany wasn't available at that date, so we had to negotiate with him at a later stage. The results had to be fed back into the next workshop. New consultants

> stepped in with their ideas. After many loops we have now set up a capacity building programme on 'Management of Privatised Water Services'".

Studying the example of manager Z in his capacity building programme for privatised services we can also identify the phenomena of "dissipative structures" which the science of complexity differentiates from "conservative structures" (Merry 1995:58f). Conservative structures are closed systems that conserve their energy as opposed to dissipative systems that are essentially open systems with permeable boundaries maintaining their coherence by energy flow. Energy in dissipative structures is in constant flow between the environment and the system. In contrast to entropy, dissipation describes a gradual loss of energy without leading to the destruction of the system. New forms and structures that are more complex in their characteristics can emerge. In the example of manager Z, the programme received a lot of 'energy flow through' but didn't collapse completely. A new programme emerged which involved new players and became more complex. "Dissipative structures demonstrate that disorder can be a source of order, and that growth can be found in dis-equilibrium not in balance." (Wheatley 1994:20)

The more complex a system is, the more sensitive and vulnerable it becomes to external influences and the more energy is needed by the system to maintain its coherence. (Merry 1995:65) Applied to development co-operation the more open projects and programmes become and the more localised and autonomous, the more time and effort needs to be devoted to internal communication. There is a permanent tug between stabilising the system through more communication and participation and destabilising the system through fluctuations and energy flow. (Merry 1995:65, Kiel 1994:15)

On the other hand complex, dissipative structures are not as vulnerable as closed and conservative structures. Once energy flows into closed structures or put in other words once an external influence penetrates the closed system it will receive a shock and may break down and dissolve. The dynamic instability of dissipative systems allows it to alter its basic structure as it responds to pressures of change but still remains a specific part of a whole as described earlier in the image of caterpillar and butterfly.

These statements coincide with Nauheimer's (1997:1) approach to use planning tools as a means to reach a common understanding or according to Curtis (2001:303) to actually establish a relational contract on objectives and plans. The findings show that being in control over the developmental process according to your objectives or according to your Log-frame becomes a matter of aligning partners and colleagues.

These observations on alignment of stakeholders can easily be linked to the debate on leadership as a necessary component of understanding successful management. Jan Kotter's (1996:26) opinion resonates in the findings: Where the manager has to plan and budget, the leader establishes direction. Where the manager organises and does the staffing, the leader aligns people. Where the manager is involved in controlling and problem solving, the leader motivates and inspires.

The findings contribute to the perception that donor organisations have already come a long way in decentralising and devolution. As an example the executives all confirm that they have much authority over their assigned budgets. The statements of the managers demonstrate great self-confidence and do not show any sign of fear of losing control. A fear and a reality, however, that David Craig and Doug Porter are wary of is:

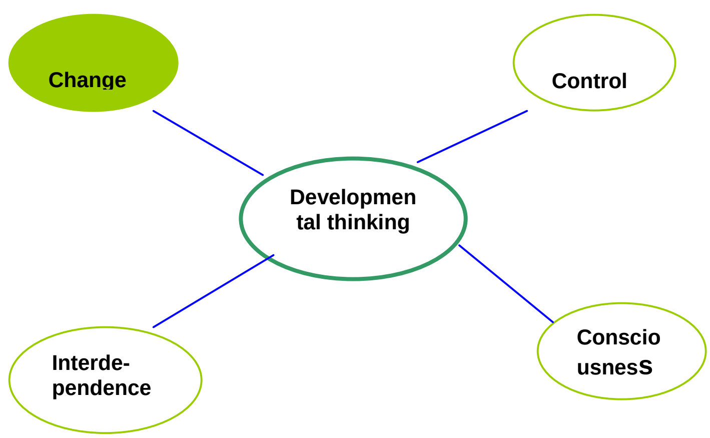
“The two aims, participation and effective management, are deeply contradictory. (…) Generally the balance of control (and project resources and funds) ends up inside the organisations which are managing the projects.” (1997:229)

This situation appears to be more common at grass roots level, where so-called ‘modern, technical knowledge’ as well as political and economic power create a visible gap between project designers and implementers and beneficiaries. In our case studies the interventions are not directed at end-users and beneficiaries but only indirectly through training of human resources, capacitating institutions and supporting the development of procedures and standards to allow good corporate and social governance. The problem observed by Craig and Porter is not so relevant in the case of South Africa, which is not at all dependent on the input of the German donors. The South Africans are able to make use of the interventions of the Germans to their liking whereas the development managers in neighbouring states experience much higher possibilities of pushing their interests and agendas through.

Interpreting and analysing the findings in the category of control we can conclude by listening to Douglas Kiel (1994). He translates the fractal principle - mentioned earlier under 6.1. - into organisational management applications and develops a simple set of rules to enable chaos reaching new creative adaptations to its environment: Flatten bureaucratic structures, liberate decision-making to local autonomous units, include participation processes, diversify the workforce and introduce re-engineering (see 3.1.). Rather than being obsessed with control measures and rescue-operations the manager should concentrate on managing and guiding the information and changes from the environment on the system.

Rather than confusing order with control, Margaret Wheatley (1994:23) begs us to begin the search for order by identifying patterns of self-organising systems. Loosening control over your overseas staff through head office e.g. reducing the number of signatures on contracts and official agreements can actually increase work productivity and present creative solutions to problems by staff members. At other times though it can create havoc. Tightening control over your field staff to e.g. ensure an eight-hour working day can actually reduce productivity because of grumbling staff that abhor being treated like children. Chaos can actually result both from loosening and tightening control although in both cases stability and higher productivity were the aim of the manager. (Kiel 1994:135)

6.3. Interpretation and analysis against the category of change



In the daily reality of development co-operation the determination of risks and assumptions e.g. in the log-frame format shouldn’t be an excuse given in advance if the objectives haven’t been achieved. It shouldn’t be an excuse for a point of exit when realities throw the plan off track, as the two development practitioners David Craig and Doug Porter (1997:233) experienced. The determination of risks and assumptions can be used to plan strategies around existing conflicting interests to actually initiate change. And change is actually what development is all about.

The findings show that the programmes are not discussed by their potential for change and the implications thereof that they create during the developmental process. They are planned and targeted in a de-politicised manner of management. The best example to illustrate this is the whole topic of indicators that are defined as part of the log-frame approach and result-based management approach (see footnote 9 and 10). Let us recall the statement of one manager who says:

> "You can define the indicators yourself. (…) The general tendency is to define them in such a general, achievable and risk-aversive manner that you don't have to be afraid of a later evaluation."

In this reality anticipated change loses all of its social, economic and empowering thrust for the targeted beneficiaries. Risk aversive development interventions play into the hands of development critics such as Arturo Escobar (1995) and James Ferguson(1994), who claim that in the best case, development co-operation is just a way of talking without any real impact on actual societies and in the worst case is possibly a cynical manipulation in the interest of preserving a status quo where some of the rich are getting very much richer, while the poor are not getting any less poor.

Then again research in Public Administration has brought to the fore that even 'simple' re-design processes in matters such as staff appraisal systems can trigger change in employee performance and in the external image of the organisation in strange ways (Kiel 1994:9; Cederbloum/Pemerl 2002). Development co-operation is experiencing just that: Re-orienting the attention away from for example 'xy number of clinics built’, the attention is now on achieving impact and outcomes and being able to measure the amount thereof. The reports back to head office don’t include numerous facts and figures on number of trainees or clinics built but instead try to visualise the impact achieved. The impact of this specific intervention though might only be tangible after a number of years. This in turn results in a drop in reportable outcomes by the responsible manager. Since the media and public of the donor country have difficulties in understanding the intricacies of development co-operation, they might reach a negative impression of ineffective development aid. The project officers for their part get pushed into a defensive position and in their turn tend to produce more tangible results by raising inputs, defining more general indicators and narrowing their view on developmental possibilities thus reducing the scope for change.

Attempting developmental objectives as with the case of the observed managers is mostly understood as a process of slow and incremental change. Practitioners of development such as the managers in the case studies of Robert Chambers (1997), as the veteran expert on PRA methods, already view a developmental process that allows for time in contrast to quick- fix interventions as an achievement.

The dominant mind-set of managers today focuses on adaptation and equilibrium. “Adaptive organisations adjust to changes in the environment as a way to create harmony between the environment and the organisation.” (Kiel 1994:13) Adaptation though is also just another term for ‘catching up’ and doesn’t imply transformational change that at certain stages might be necessary to accomplish developmental impact. The introduction of community development workers in the public service delivery system in South Africa might serve as an example: The central government has to be seen acting on their promise of service delivery. They want to catch up and be in contact with the communities. Community development workers are the new instrument for the central government to have *an eye and ear* close to the communities. But the employment of community development workers trained in the fast track might not be able to pull off the necessary transformational change in the problematic interface between communities and local governments.

The paradigm of the new sciences and their approach to change expands beyond the adaptive model. Dissipative change as described under 5.2. must allow for organisations and structures to break up and seek entirely new forms. For structures to stay viable and open to change it is necessary to keep the system off balance so that it can change and grow. Such structures are frequently called self-renewing and their main characteristic is resilience rather than stability. (Wheatley 1994:78, 88)
For the development manager it becomes complicated when attempts at keeping systems open and in des-equilibrium collide with the preserving self-interest of his donor-organisation. “The essential point is that organisational culture may limit just that diversity and fluctuation necessary for creative change.” (Kiel 1994:153)

The paradigm of the new sciences when applied to management reminds us to recognise the differences of linear systems and non-linear systems (Evans 1996:492).
Whereas in linear systems a small change in one variable can lead to a predictable change in the outcome and can in most instances be corrected, in non-linear dynamic systems such change can have unpredictable and enormous effects. The butterfly metaphor is the most famous example of such non-linear effects: The slight flapping of a butterfly wing in Japan can be the cause of a major storm in France. A small event in a specific place and time can create unknown global effects.

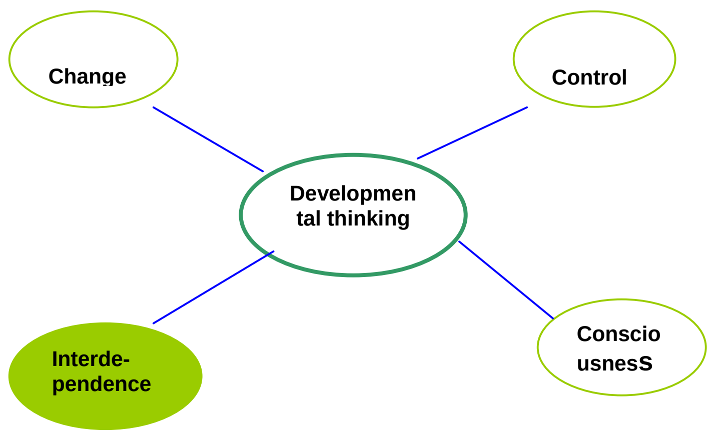
(Bergquist 1993:95; Kiel 1994: 7) It can also create multiple effects of the same phenomenon.

Peter Senge (1994:81-83) gives another example: A pond has one lily pad in one little corner, but everyday the number of lily pads double. It would take 30 days to fill the ponds with lily pads, but for the first 28 days no passer-bye would even notice the increase in lily pads. Suddenly on the 29th day the pond is half full. To understand this effect while it is in process is very difficult. Time lags do not let us see the pattern of change instead we too often only concentrate on snapshots of a situation.
To use another image of manager X: The indicators of development interventions are somewhat like the side-view mirrors of a car. You still have to stop the car when the side-view mirrors give an all clear but a tyre goes flat. "The system shouldn't be locked into any one form but instead be capable of organising information e.g. on change in the structure that best suits the present need." (Wheatley 1994:91)

Opening the boundaries to new clients and partners brings in a new form of energy. As the managers experienced and as Douglas Kiel (1994:160) observed in his research on Public Administration, moving closer to a new partner or to the client "generates an increased potential for fluctuations that may alter the course of management's best intentions." And he goes on in clarifying the pros and cons of this reality: "Seeing these fluctuations as negative or positive elements of public management must be considered within the necessity of openness and citizen involvement in democratic governance. (…) The expected benefits of citizen involvement and the political support gained by allowing citizen input are obvious, but the public manager must be prepared for the unintended consequences of openness." (Ibid.:160-161)

An a-political stance that simply reduces developmental goals of good governance or sustainable use of energy to managerial challenges cannot appreciate the dimensions of Douglas Kiel's argument. It would play into the hands of development critics such as Arturo Escobar (1995) and James Ferguson (1994).

6.4. Interpretation and analysis of the findings against the category of interdependence



It is recognised that a system's behaviour is much more than summing up individual behaviour. A complex and dynamic system can never be reduced to its parts, because the behaviour we are interested in evaporates when we try to reduce it to a simpler sub-system (Merry 1995:59). Studying the parts, gathering numerical data, contemplating the variables and creating models of analysis we hope to arrive at knowledge of the whole (Wheatley 1994:27). Every part is to have a certain place and there are supposed to be clear-cut boundaries between different parts and functions. Such is the case in German Development Co-operation where each donor agency knows which part to play, and where a lot of effort and time is spent on clarifying tasks and roles as to create synergy and not duplication. But again and again squabbles occur over an agency treading into another agency's territory. Boundaries have an "elusive nature" (Ibid.:41). The science of complexity doesn't accept anything as unconnected and independent from the other. Boundaries are just deliberate creations of human beings (Merry 1995:20).

These statements are not new to the world of development co-operation. The significance of the debate on Sustainable Development in the Nineties was the acceptance of inter-connectedness in the world in its positive as well as its destructive aspects. The Commission on Sustainable Development made public: "We recognize that poverty, environmental degradation and population growth are inextricably related and that none of these fundamental problems can be successfully addressed in isolation." (Brundtland Report 1987:45) This debate was carried even further as the phenomena of 'globalisation' resulted in the production of new conceptual approaches.[16] In its simplest sense the term refers to the widening, deepening and speeding up of global interconnectedness. Globalisation can be understood as a "set of processes which embodies a transformation (..) of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and the exercise of power" (Held et al. 1998:16). Globalisation is often seen as a post-modern development and as the embodiment of the new science of complexity since it diffuses former centres of power and builds up networks of exchange and action that are in constant flow and motion.

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[16] The phenomena of *Globalisation* have produced a flood of books and articles. Talk shows and other related media are trying to come to terms with it. The current debates are mostly about analysing and interpreting the phenomena for different fields such as culture, language, migration, finance etc. For an overview on the globalisation debate, their hypothesis and strands of thought see the publications of Kofmann and Young from1998 and from David Held *et.al.* in 1998.

Complexity science doesn't criticise reduction, priority setting and deliberate decision making. However, it reflects on how these decisions evolve. Instead of cutting down the programme e.g. on mainstreaming HIV/AIDS within German development co-operation in South Africa by trying to separate strands of outcomes and activities, applications of the new science of complexity to management suggest to look rather for the connecting elements between different strands of outcomes in different programmes. The connecting elements with the best leverage could then be supported.

Part of identifying connecting elements and linkages between the manager's programme and other related effortshappens through the development of relationships. Management becomes a social process characterised by relationships and linkages between individuals, events, agents and the environment. A development manager's field of action is bound by the interplay of donor agency, donor government and recipient government, beneficiaries and other stakeholders. When observing through the lenses of applied complexity science the managers' leverage of achieving success is often described as establishing and using relationships to further goal orientation. The purely task-oriented manager belongs to the modernist notion of a machine like bureaucracy where a certain input gets processed to achieve a certain output:

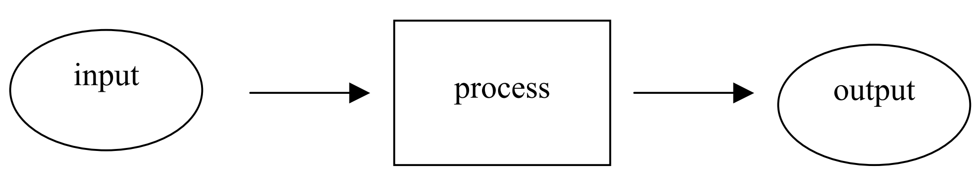

Figure 5: Management process (Cloete & Wissink 2002)

This approach fails to describe how the actual transformation of input to output takes place. The process remains a black box (Cloete,Wissink 2001:39f). Interestingly the applications of complexity science to management come to the same conclusion as the so-called model of 'African management'[17]: The process of management becomes more crucial to the outcome than the input. The ability of the manager to recognise the major relationships that underlie a problem or blockage can help gain new insight into what might be done. (Curtis 2001; Stockmayer 2003) The relations define the process and how these relations are treated to bring about a certain outcome in a creative process.

Peter Senge (1994) promotes the continuous process of dialogue between all stakeholders. Dialogue as opposed to discussion and debate is approached in a climate of inquiry. Ideas are put forward to be investigated and not to gain any support against other ideas. (Merry 1995:193) This should be extremely relevant to development co-operation where the outcomes are supposed to be benefiting the poor or the society as a whole in a developing country. Participative methods such as PRA are per se not to be equated with dialogue as Robert Chambers cautions again and again (1997: 102ff). The focus should be on learning and inquiry so as to collectively reach deeper into more complex levels of understanding and to unveil hidden patterns.

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[17] Concepts of "African Management" are hotly debated. (Mbigi 1993; de Liefde 2003; Matshabaphala 2003) The main question is if a management style really exists that is purely "African"? The Zimbabwean Lovemore Mbigi (1993) for example names his concepts "Ubuntu" for a consultative approach to decision-making or "Nhorowondo" for developing an identity of cultural roots which then inform our decision-making. But do these concepts offer approaches that are unique to Africa? Two management consultants in India, Kalra and Munjal (2003) have attempted to define the consultative managerial leadership as distinctive and special to the Indian context. It seems to be more of a reaction to set consultative and people-oriented approaches in contrast to the North American participative style of managerial leadership.

For relations in development co-operation to flower and for synergy to become enhanced another major consideration is the matter of transparency. It is necessary to establish trustworthy and good relationships with your partners as X explains:

> "They have to be able to rely on you and not be afraid of any hidden agenda."

The establishment of relationships takes up a lot of room in the literature of development management although the perspective is one of the consultant working on short to medium-term contracts outside of the deploying organisation. This consultant acts as an advisor to a certain client organisation. Two of the managers participating in this study are in a similar kind of situation that can be illustrated as follows:

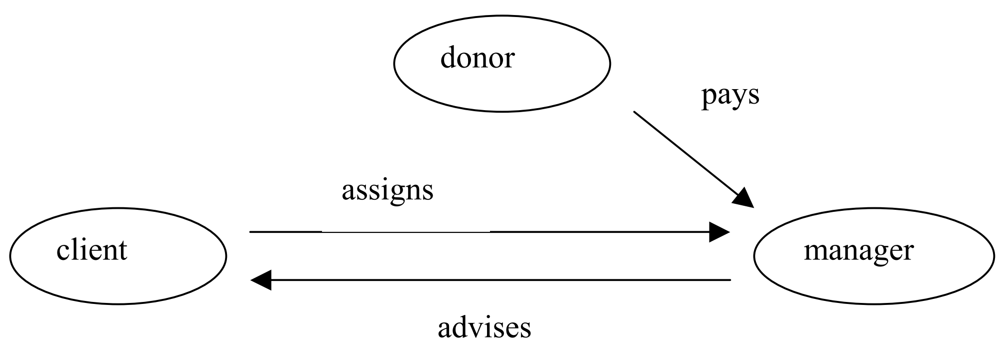


Figure 6: Split accountability for the advisor in development co-operation

The manager as an advisor has to split his loyalty between the donor who pays him and who wants to see certain results and the client with his needs. The development process can become slow and difficult when questions of loyalty and professional behaviour emerge. The consultant doesn't act merely as facilitator but as an "insightful outsider [who] can often bring a fresh perspective or a new way of seeing," argues Blunt (1997:346). The UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) explicitly promotes external advisors who "stimulate policy change" and become “allies” in the development process (Cheema, Maguire 2001:203-204). Arguments against a naïve and positive view of the external change agent are formed through past experience where detrimental behaviours of consultants have had long lasting and disastrous effects for the development of a certain project or cause.

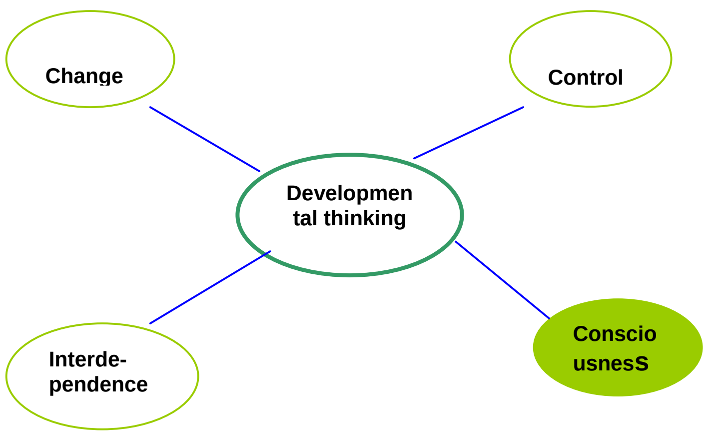
Albrecht Stockmayer (2003), a German expert on good governance, names three important factors for a professional relationship to clients within development co-operation: Firstly a manager in the role of advisor goes about his task of analysing the issue at stake, developing solutions and working on reforms in a participatory manner. The external advisor shouldn’t get involved in those areas where the client does not ask him to do so. Secondly, he has to balance carefully between the demand of the client for advice and his terms of reference given to him by his employer. He has to accept his terms as a possible interpretation of the intervention in South Africa and make this transparent to the partner. He also has to develop trustworthy relationships with the client without buying himself e.g. into the informal and powerful network by abiding with the dominant arguments and positions. Thirdly, the manager has to be aware of the fact that after a certain time he might tend to identify with problems and arguments of the client and lose his “professional distance”.

The matter of relationships not only between variables and factors of inputs but actually between human individuals often determine much of the intervention’s outcome. One can make leaps and bounds in coming closer to the achieved outcome by simply having some of the following valuable exchanges as Donald Curtis (2001:305) describes based on his involvement in a change project in the Northern Cape: “The chat in the corridor with the head of department after hours, when the phones have stopped ringing and reflection is possible. Or the chance meeting of the member of the Executive Council while shopping with family."

For the development manager to be successful he has to be able to analyse the relationships in the developmental context with regard to the impact he wants to achieve. Always reflecting on his purpose, he has to be able to open and close boundaries to his environment. This then would reduce fears such as the OD critic Peter Blunt voices. He is apprehensive that the pendulum has swung too far and that all focus is now on the process whereas the overall objective has been left aside. (1995:61)
As observed and described in chapter 5.4. relationships between individuals, organisations and subsystems define the mode of development process. It becomes important to how relations are treated and formed. Margaret Wheatley (1994: 43) explains that her understanding of quantum physics and the science of complexity have affected her organisational life in many ways. Instead of analysing parts to death, she looks now for patterns of movement over time and focuses on qualities like rhythms and shapes. The time she spent on detailed planning she now looks at structures that might facilitate relationships. "I have come to expect that something useful occurs if I link up people, units or tasks." (44)

If complexity sciences are applied to management in development co-operation and if open boundaries are described as important to establish dissipative structures, then the trend in development co-operation to focus on impact has to be broadened. Not only the boundaries in the interventions set-up have to be permeable, but also during the process of the intervention clear mission statements have to replace structural boundaries (Bergquist 1993:67). Instruments such as steering committees or networks of actors have to be seen as what they are: plain instruments and not means in themselves. In many instances network meetings consume a lot of time and resources to develop new structures. These structures often stay in place even after achieving the goal they have set themselves or they lose focus of their instrumental value and become means in themselves. Just as Margaret Wheatley (1994: 21-22) has observed: “These structures take so much time, creativity and tinkering attention that it is hard not to want them to be permanent.”

6.5. Interpretation and analysis of the findings against the category of consciousness



We have established that the field of development co-operation and the tasks of experts in the field of development work is equivalent to being involved in permanent change processes. Development experts, advisors and managers initiate change and movement in other societies, regions and economic or socio-political environments. The irony of the situation has not only occurred to the organisational development expert, Alan Kaplan, that “development practitioners are not required to pay attention to their own development as human beings as part of effective development practice. The development practitioner’s own development and processes of learning are entirely removed from the picture.” (Kaplan 1999:5)

Interestingly the individual expert or development manager involved in the intervention is beyond his expertise a blank in the picture. Robert Chambers also noticed this during his work in India on PRA: “The personal dimension is a bizarre blind spot in development. Behaviour and attitudes have simply not been on the development map.” (1997:231)
The observed managers cite time constraints and workload as hindrances to personal reflection. At this stage Alan Kaplan would surly get annoyed and would interfere: “To pay attention to our own development is not a luxury and it is not an addendum to other capacities; it is a central requirement of the discipline. At the very least, how can we possibly presume to intervene in others’ development, if we do not understand our own, or if we are not prepared to engage in our own?” (1999:10)

Personal change is a minefield; it is value-laden and only faith-based organisations can stand a chance of approaching the topic head on. The question that matters to the analysis of the findings is: What hints do the science of complexity give on personal issues in development work?

Peter Senge (1994) promotes the continuous process of dialogue between all stakeholders. Dialogue as opposed to discussion and debate is approached in a climate of inquiry. Ideas are put forward to be investigated and not to gain any support against other ideas. (Merry 1995:193) In Western culture dialogue has long been supplanted by discussion. Here the idea is to score through arguments that convince the others of one’s righteousness and the fault of the other. It is a matter of either/or. For development managers participating in this research this is essentially the dilemma that obstructs personal interaction with colleagues.

Since Peter Senge emerged in 1994 triumphantly with his book *The fifth discipline,* the past years have seen a plethora of articles on the learning organisation which is about solving this dilemma. Its success is due to parallel discussions on knowledge management and the electronic possibilities of information systems as well as the limits of Total Quality Management approaches to transformational change.[18] Its success is also due to the acceptance of organisations being part of complex social systems that are undergoing rapid change and over which management cannot exert full control. Rather than isolating oneself from outer developments an organisation ought to be closely attuned to it – a culture of debate and argument cannot help in this regard.

The approach of the learning organisation as attributed to Mark Easterby-Smith and quoted in Roper and Pettit (2002:259) is “pragmatic, normative and inspirational”. It is pragmatic in the sense that it is action oriented. It is normative in the sense that it implies certain values such as encouraging dialogue and different perspectives, working collectively, fostering leadership and valuing different learning styles. It is inspirational in the sense that individuals are engaged in “a quest for knowledge” – which is work related but also stands for a quest for more self-knowledge (259). These attributes are highly demanding and necessitate a certain attitude and mindset.

The idea that development should be a mutual learning experience was powerfully expressed by Paolo Freire’s *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) as well as Christian thought to the early concepts of learning as a personal and structural transformation. But clearly we find as so often with development fads that empowering concepts can degenerate into technical rituals. Once the “pragmatic, normative and inspirational value” of

[18] For an overview and different perspectives on learning organisation in development co-operation see volume 12 of *Development in Practice*, Numbers 3 & 4, August 2002. It focuses mainly on the NGO-sector.

the concept of a learning organisation gets lost through its translation into e.g. learning teams having to deliver learning concepts for an entire organisation or through its translation into e.g. ‘six learning sessions for executives’, the development manager is left again with no space to reflect on the personal.

7. Conclusions and recommendations

The study succeeded in investigating and making important findings on the contributing factors to goal-oriented and successful management approaches in development co-operation:

It appears to the researcher that on the surface development co-operation and development practitioners today have accepted development as being complex, non-linear and dynamic. They have accepted development processes to be messy, outcomes to be vague and the process of change already being a major part of any intervention.

The findings, measured against the five categories of complexity science, can be summarised as follows:

a) The manager cannot and does not want to remove himself/herself from the normative intentions of development co-operation. But this does not turn the development manager into an expert with a mechanistic perspective following blueprints throughout.
b) The manager puts tools and instruments of control into use for aligning partners. At the same time accountability and reporting relies heavily on quantitative and visible measurements.
c) The manager is in limbo between producing predictable and visible change for the better and the acceptance that change is at the most slow and mostly unpredictable.
d) The manager realises that much of his work is dependent on the interconnectedness and the relationships between stakeholders.
e) The manager separates his work for developmental change from the development of his own self.

Recommendations

Based on the above conclusions, the study makes the following recommendations:

a) The approaches of the manager reflect modern and post-modern strategies and their use at the same time. This at times produces conflict and intense stress: The regulations and procedures around reporting and controlling often do not allow for deviations. Instead, in order that development agencies and their managers are able to genuinely reflect on this dilemma and to develop a way forward to facilitate *butterfly effects* and promote *fractal principles,* a parallel world of self-referencing and self-applauding research and reporting is being set up to meet the pressure of achieving the *Millennium Development Goals* (MDG).

⇨ To achieve the objectives of the MDGs governments, donor agencies and the managers involved in development interventions have to accept the objectives as a political and personal challenge rather than a mere technical task.

b) This recommendation is also one to be put across to academia, which even today is still very much concerned with teaching instruments, methods and concepts to future development managers. Let us recall the statement of the participating managers that methodological skills are necessary but not the cause of achieving success. Pete Mann's five important results for training in development management (1999:109) also hints at other necessary abilities:

   1. To achieve emotional resilience and be open to experience
   2. The ability to dis-identify and live a reflexive practice
   3. To think strategically and ask fresh questions

4. To take action and calculated risks
5. Rely on experience- based problem solving and tap your tacit knowledge

The science of complexity is a perspective and school of thought that allows for the individual to reflect on his or her role and personal development as a means to embed the work within a broader developmental context. The presentation of different schools of thought in seminars on development management and how they impact on your attitude to work and perspective on development is an important contribution. In postgraduate studies, there should be room for reflection and the exchange of experiences with the personnel in managing developmental programmes and this should be included in the curricula. In the researcher's opinion, this should be stressed especially for students in the public and non-profit sector in South Africa. This country has a government that embraces its role as being developmental allowing only for limited space to its staff and the public debating the different meanings and implications derived from this attitude.

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Appendix: Questionnaire

Interview guide
to gain insight into management approaches of
German development managers through the application of a framework
based on chaos theory and self-organising systems.

A. Introductory phase
Words of thanks
Explanation of study purpose and interview schedule
Clarification of questions

1. I am interviewing you as a development manager.
   Are you a manager? Do you enjoy your work? What do you enjoy most of all?
   How do you define development and what does it mean to you?

B. Description of the job and it's setting

1. What is the objective of your current assignment?
   What was the objective of your assignment when you took over the post? When was that?
2. Who is your client? Ultimate target group?
   With whom do you have working relations? Mention maximum five
3. Is your objective/programme/intervention based on a planning or strategic document such as a log-frame?
   Who has been working on the definition of the objective and the log-frame or other document?
   Who is working with it and at what times?
4. Who has the ownership over the intervention?
   Is this an important question at all?
5. How is your position located within your organisation and within the programme?
6. Do any resources accompany your intervention? Do you have authority over them?
   Look for physical, financial and human resources

C. Role and functions of the manager

1. How would you characterise your function or your role as manager?
   Facilitator? Sparring partner? Scapegoat? Trainer? Catalyst? Change Agent? Other?
   Probe for dominant means of communication such as e-mail, face-to-face, phone in certain situations`
2. Describe a typical day or a stressful and a routine one.
   Interject with questions to pull out details of work reality. E.g. what do you mean by…
3. What are your five most dominant tasks – in times of energy and time
   Which of them relate directly to your objective?
   Are there other tasks that you would like to focus on instead?

4. What does monitoring and control mean in your context and what does it imply?
   Probe on staff matters, monitoring systems, budget control, visits into the field etc.
5. How do you go about prioritising within your different tasks?
6. Tell me about decision-making power in your programme?
   Give two examples
7. Do you remember an occasion when somebody interfered into your work?
   Describe that situation. Interject with questions to pull out details.
   Does interference bother you?

D. Success in management perspective

1. Is the stated objective of the programme also the objective you are aiming at or have you defined for yourself a different objective against that you measure yourself? If yes, why?
2. In relation to the stated (and/or your) objective has the intervention covered so far 10%, 25%, 50% or almost the entire road?
3. In relation to the objective when would you be a decisive step closer?
   With regard to time and issue
4. What is your plan in reaching the next decisive step?
5. I am interested in your perception: What is the dominant factor in achieving or not achieving the next step? What are other factors? Can you explain your answer through an example or story/anecdote?
6. How do you rate the factors
   experience, formal qualification, intuition, varied tools and methodologies,
   weak □ medium □ strong □ very strong □
   for a development manager to be successful?
7. What will happen when you leave? What implications will it have?
8. What do you associate with risk?
   In your perception: Do you have a risky job?
9. Could you describe the term success for me in the context of your work?

E. Performance and the Self

1. Where do you see yourself in professional terms in ten years?
2. How does your performance get measured?
   What helps in being measured positively?
3. How should your performance get measured?
   Against objectives, staff content, client content, performance indicator
4. Where do you discuss problems and work related issues?
5. Making the circle complete: Do you enjoy your job as a manager?

F. Conclusion

Thanking the interviewee for his and her participation
Explanation of further procedure (e.g. second and third round of interviews; case studies to be scrutinized before submission)
Open to questions (also of personal kind) to the interviewee