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COOPERATION ACROSS CULTURES: AN ANALYSIS OF INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE IN DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS

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IN DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS

Abstract

Behavior, attitudes, and values differ extremely throughout the world. Whenever two members of different groups such as cultures, nations, or societies interact, such differences become a determining factor for the process of interaction. When thinking of such areas where interactions among members of different cultures constitute a crucial precondition, development cooperation comes to one's mind right away. Development policy and cooperation take place in intercultural settings as members of so-called more developed countries interfere in the development of so-called less developed countries, which always includes a cultural component. Hence, such international and intercultural interactions require a competent way of dealing with cultural differences. Consequently, this paper examines the extent to what intercultural competence is a determining factor for the success of organizations of development cooperation. It does so by analyzing the case of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit* (GIZ) in Bolivia. Bolivia represents a highly interesting context for studies dealing with interculturality as the country has passed a constitution in 2006 which explicitly includes concepts of interculturality (*interculturalidad*).

Accordingly, the concept of intercultural competence is analyzed on (1) the individual level of the employees of GIZ Bolivia, (2) the organizational-structural level, and (3) the level of the organization's context. In a following step the same is done with the concept of success. This then allows linking both concepts which emphasizes that they are closely linked to each other. Thus, subsequently, the paper highlights some recommendations and presents the case study's results in the light of theory by linking the empirical findings and the theoretical framework.

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1 INTRODUCTION

In Bolivia, direct eye contact indicates trustworthiness, whereas in South Korea eye contact is not considered good etiquette. When attending a Danish colleague's home for dinner it is polite to be a few minutes earlier whereby a Spanish host would expect the guest to be at least some minutes late. Being invited to a yurt in Mongolia, the traditional Mongolian housing, never step on the threshold as this is considered to bring bad luck to the whole family. – Such a list can be carried out endlessly but already those few examples indicate impressively that behavior, attitudes, and values differ extremely throughout the world. Whenever two members of different groups such as cultures, nations, or societies interact, such differences become a determining factor for the process of interaction. Those distinctions are often referred to as cultural differences. The quantity of interaction situations among persons with different cultural backgrounds has increased significantly within the last decades and can be found in personal, business and political life (cf. Samovar/Porter/McDaniel 2006a: 6f.). When thinking of such areas where interactions among members of different cultures constitute a crucial precondition, development cooperation comes to one's mind right away. Development policy and cooperation take place in intercultural settings as members of more developed countries interfere in the development of less developed countries, which always includes a cultural component. Such international and intercultural interactions require a competent way of dealing with cultural differences. The capability to acknowledge cultural differences and act accordingly constitutes one crucial aspect of the successful workflow within development cooperation – an impression which was gained during some work experience in the field of development cooperation in Mongolia in 2010 and which is strengthened when one considers relevant literature regarding this topic. As an example, Holtz can be mentioned who outlines that development policy and cooperation is per se intercultural, and therefore, intercultural competence constitutes one key qualification in this context, which enables successful global actions and sustainable cooperation (cf. Holtz 2006: 354). Yet, despite the fact that the quantity of approaches regarding intercultural competence has increased and the topic has gained importance within the last years (cf. Bolten 2007: 5), it is still required to deepen and strengthen intercultural sensibility within development cooperation (cf. Holtz 2006: 354). As intercultural competence has not been a topic of great importance for a long time, further research regarding diverse aspects need to be done (cf. ib.).

Thus, driven by the need for further research and the topic's practical relevance, this master thesis approaches the impact of intercultural competence on the success of work in the field of development cooperation. Accordingly, the research question is:

To what extend is intercultural competence a determining factor for the success of organizations of development cooperation?

A wide and diverse range of aspects is included in or linked to this topic, which also leads to the fact that there are many possibilities on how to approach it. In the following, a short overview on the approach chosen for this study will be given.

First of all, chapter 2 will present basic theoretical considerations - as this provides a sound foundation for any analytical research - and herewith conceptualize the theoretical framework relevant for the thesis' analysis. As a first step, concepts of culture and intercultural competence will be analyzed. By identifying the crucial characteristics of culture, it becomes obvious that every interaction or situation changes if it is placed in an intercultural setting, which creates new challenges and the need for specific competences. Accordingly, the concept of intercultural competence will be analyzed by focusing on certain sub-topics considered being relevant for this study; then linking the two concepts of culture and intercultural competence to the specific context of development cooperation. By doing so, two questions arise: who is acting within development cooperation and where should intercultural competence actually be grounded? Within this study, organizations are considered as the framework for any intercultural interaction within development cooperation as they seem to be one type of corporate actors of great importance within this field. Hence, the second part of chapter 2 outlines relevant characteristics of organizations as well as putting a special focus on challenges within the context of development cooperation.

Based on the theoretical fundamental concepts of chapter 2, which aims to give an overview but at the same time attempts to focus on specific aspects relevant for the thesis' further analysis, chapter 3 will focus on how to empirically analyze the impact of intercultural competence on the success of organizations of development cooperation. Therefore, the chosen methodological approach will be outlined as well as characteristics and challenges regarding the chosen case study will be presented. By focusing on one single case, the 'Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit' (GIZ) in Bolivia, detailed and in-depth insights are gained by the analysis. The results will be presented in chapter 4 by doing a two-step analysis which first outlines and analyzes the role of intercultural competence as well as the understanding of success within GIZ-Bolivia. In a second step, the effort will be put on analyzing possible linkages between intercultural competence and the organization's success. The results and insights gained from this case study will be linked back to the theoretical framework in order to contribute to further accumulation of academic knowledge within this field. Concluding, some recommendations deriving from the analysis will be presented. Chapter 5, as the concluding chapter, draws the thesis' final conclusions and evaluates the impact of intercultural competence on the success of organizations within development cooperation based on the study's insights.

2 THE STUDY'S THEORETICAL APPROACH

In order to realize a sound empirical analysis of the role and the impact of intercultural competence in development cooperation, it is considered to be crucial to develop a theoretical framework which clarifies relevant terms and outlines how different components of the study are linked to each other[1]. Therefore, the following chapter deals with basic aspects of culture, the concept of intercultural competence and characteristics of organizations, whereby always attempting to focus on aspects relevant in the field of development cooperation.

2.1 The Concepts of Culture and Intercultural Competence

Each human being carries patterns of thinking, feeling and acting inside. Those patterns are influenced and determined by three different levels: 1) human nature which is universal and inherited; 2) culture which is group or category-specific and learned, and 3) personality which is individual-specific and both inherited and learned. (Cf. Hofstede 2001: 3f.) Thus, one factor influencing human beings and human interactions is culture. If the patterns of thinking, feeling and acting are determined by culture, respectively by the group or category one belongs to, then those patterns will differ according to which group you belong. Hence, there might be distinctions regarding interactions among members of one group compared to interactions between members of different groups respectively cultures. In order to understand those differences it is necessary to consider what is meant by culture, which ideas are included in this concept, and how big its influence on humans' behavior is, which will be done in 2.1.1. Accordingly, such an analysis of culture provides the foundations for any consideration regarding intercultural competence in order to figure out how interactions could change if they are set in an intercultural context and which specific competences are therefore needed. Hence, 2.1.2 will deal with concepts of intercultural competence, followed by considerations of 2.1.3 which explicitly link concepts of culture and intercultural competence to an area where those aspects matter: development cooperation.

2.1.1 Culture – a Determining Factor for Human Interactions

Culture is a term which includes many different aspects and which can be understood in several ways. In daily life, culture is often referred to civilization or a refinement of the mind as education, art and literature (cf. Hofstede 2001: 3). Hofstede calls this understanding 'Culture One' and distinguishes 'Culture Two' which includes, beside activities which refine the mind, ordinary things like eating, greeting, or the way to deal with emotions. Hence, this concept of culture ('Culture Two') is much broader and can be considered as a collective phenomenon which is shared by people who live or used to live in the same social environment. It is this collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category from people of another group. (Cf.

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[1] The author herewith decided to do theory-guided research as an empirical qualitative analysis respectively case studies which are based on theoretical propositions provide advantages regarding the later implementation (cf. e.g. Yin 2012: 9).

Hofstede 2001: 4) The idea of shared values is one crucial aspect of existing definitions of culture, often extended by shared attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, norms and material objects (cf. Samovar/Porter/McDaniel 2006a: 9). There exists an uncountable amount of definitions (cf. Maletzke 1996: 15ff.), such as one which includes the main aspects mentioned above and outlines the universal influence of culture, which makes it quite valuable, is the following offered by Maletzke: "Kultur [...] als ein System von Konzepten, Überzeugungen, Einstellungen, Wertorientierungen, die sowohl im Verhalten und Handeln des Menschen als auch in ihren geistigen und materiellen Produkten sichtbar werden" (Maletzke 1996: 16)[2]. Whereas this definition strongly refers to the present influence of culture, the definition by Geertz indicates culture's procedural character by including the historical evolvement: Culture as "historically transmitted pattern of meaning embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life" (Geertz 1973: 89).

Although there are a wide variety of definitions, the examples given above already allow the assumption that there is an agreement on the major characteristics of culture (cf. Samovar/Porter/McDaniel 2006a: 10). Accordingly, culture is a) learned during life; b) transmitted intergenerationally and "represents our link to past and future generations and communication is the critical factor in this equation" (ib.: 11); c) symbolic, which refers to words, gestures and images in order to transmit any meaning; d) dynamic as "despite its historical nature, culture is by no mean static" (ib.); and e) ethnocentric which means that one always takes one's own culture as the starting point of any consideration (cf. ib.: 10ff.).

Simply stated, culture can be considered as "the rules for living and functioning in society" (Samovar/Porter/McDaniel 2006: 10). Thus, "culture provides the rules for playing the game of life" (ib.) whereby one has to be aware that each society applies those rules differently and one should know how to apply them in a specific cultural context (cf. ib.). This might be a challenge as cultures are equipped with a surface and a deep structure and therefore often compared with an iceberg of which only a small part is visible but the majority is below surface (cf. e.g. Schoeffel/Gariazzo-Dessiex 2011: 3). Bolten, among others, refers to the surface as 'perceptas' and to the deep structure as 'konzeptas'. Whereas the surface (perceptas) is observable and describable, the deep structure (konzeptas) is a historically developed system of attitudes and values and constitutes the roots of a culture. Further, perceptas are sufficient to describe a culture, but konzeptas are necessary to explain and understand it. (Cf. Bolten 2007: 20f.) The entirety of visible and non-visible aspects and their interaction form the culture of a specific group (cf. Schoeffel/ Gariazzo-Dessiex 2011: 3). It might happen that there are different cultural concepts behind identical symbols. For instance, the word 'team' and its characteristics can be understood differently depending on the cultural background. (Cf. Bolten 2007: 20f.) Bolten's concept is similar to Hofstede's distinction of four determining elements of culture: 1. symbols; 2. heroes; 3. rituals; 4. values. Those elements can be visualized as circles whereby symbols, heroes and rituals represent the three outer circles and which therefore can be observed even from non-members of a culture. But only by observing those elements, the underly-

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2   Culture can be considered as a system of concepts, convictions, attitudes, moral values which become visible both in human beings' behavior and actions and their mental and material products.

ing values (the inner circle) are not understood yet as they are difficult to access for non-members of a culture. (Cf. Hofstede 2001: 8).

Yet, beside such category-building considerations on culture, one has to be aware of culture's dynamic character as mentioned above. It is crucial to acknowledge the procedural character of culture and culture's capability to evolve and adapt to changing circumstances - an understanding on which many approaches are based (cf. e.g. Sen 2002: 8; Holtz 2006: 355; Bolten 2007: 24f.). Grounding on this idea a strong link between culture and communication is often mentioned (cf. Bolten 2007: 24f.; Samovar/Porter/McDaniel 2006a: 12f.). According to Bolten, culture is the result of a communication process which has been enduring over centuries. Culture underlies a permanent process of communication by which cultural elements such as laws, regulations or social manners are either used as they have been used since centuries or by which those elements are slightly changed and adapted to current circumstances. (Cf. Bolten 2007: 25). Hence, communication is a crucial aspect of culture and the social environment and therefore will be explicitly taken into consideration in the next subchapter (cf. 2.2.3) when analyzing intercultural competence.

But before doing so, the question of how - according to which criteria - to concretize culture in practice and to distinguish existing cultures from each other needs to be answered. Here, for instance, Martin provides helpful criteria and outlines the following seven specific elements of culture based on Terpstra's ideas: 1. material culture; 2. language; 3. esthetics; 4. education; 5. religion; beliefs and attitudes; 6. social organization and 7. political life (cf. Martin 1993: 449). Those elements indicate that there are "cultural differences between groups within nations; such as, those based on regions, social classes, occupations, religion, age, sex or even families" (Hofstede 1983: 77). Hofstede emphasizes that every individual performs on several cultural levels and is therefore influenced by different cultural environments which could even result in opposed mental programs (cf. Hofstede 2001: 12).

Such insights, plus the assumption of culture being a dynamic process, outline the difficulty to realize and concretize culture. As one possibility to make culture accessible in reality, Hofstede suggests to link culture and nation as nations are historically developed constructs with further integration through language, media, government, national sport teams, etc. (cf. Hofstede 2001: 14f.). Although the better synonym for culture would be society, by using nations, culture becomes accessible and enables a clear-cut distinction (cf. ib: 16). Hofstede considers this approach as a decision of practicability, but emphasizes that whenever it is possible to distinguish the results of any research on culture by region, ethnic, or linguistic groups one should do that (cf. ib.).

Hofstede himself stuck to this pragmatic approach of referring to culture on a national level when doing the probably most famous and influential approach of analyzing cultural differences: Based on a research project across 50 countries[3] Hofstede developed four different dimensions of national culture (cf. Hofstede 1983: 78). Accordingly, nations respectively cultures can be distinguished by the following criteria: 1) Individualism versus

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[3]   The research project took place in branches of the worldwide operating company IBM, thus the participants of this project were all employees of IBM (cf. Hofstede 2001: 17). Further information regarding the research project is provided by Hofstede (cf. Hofstede 1983: 77ff. and Hofstede 2001: 16ff).

Collectivism; 2) Large or Small Power Distance; 3) Strong or Weak Uncertainty Avoidance; 4) Masculinity versus Femininity[4]. Those dimensions can occur in nearly all possible combinations and are largely independent from each other. (Cf. Hofstede 1983: 78) Later on, Hofstede added a fifth dimension which is named "Long-Term versus Short-Term Orientation"[5] (cf. Hofstede 2001: 19). The research's objective was "to develop a commonly acceptable, well-defined, and empirically based terminology to describe cultures" (Hofstede 1983: 77). Hofstede's research, his way to approach culture via nations, his cultural dimensions and the fact that he stuck to the descriptive level were often criticized (for instance by McSweeney 2002; Bolten 2006: 68). But if one is aware of possible disadvantages and takes them into consideration, Hofstede's work provides valuable aspects and ideas regarding cultural differences – potential knowledge which should not completely be neglected but used as a suggestion for further research regarding culture and cultural differences.

2.1.2 Conceptualizing Intercultural Competence

The previous chapter outlined the influence of culture on the social interactions of human beings. It was shown that culture is a determining factor for human interactions and cultural differences do exist on several levels. This leads to the assumption that there might be specific challenges if interactions are set in an intercultural environment. The following chapter will deal with relevant aspects linked to this assumption starting with the attempt to develop an understanding of how an intercultural environment can be described, continuing with concretizing the competences which are needed in such an environment (referred to as *Intercultural Competence*), and outlining the connection of intercultural communication and intercultural competence, two terms which are often considered as separate aspects but which are strongly related with each other. The chapter closes with considerations regarding how to become skilled at intercultural competence.

2.1.2.1 Characteristics and Challenges of Intercultural Settings

Within last decades a global setting with increased contact between people from different cultures has developed. Modern technologies for transportation, production and communication lead to a significant reduction of time and distance barriers, to expanding political interconnectedness and stronger economic interdependencies. (Cf. Samovar/Porter/McDaniel 2006a: 6f.) Thus, understanding and accepting cultural differences becomes an imperative in order to succeed in today's society (Chen/Starosta 2006: 357). The increased significance of intercultural settings includes some challenges. As outlined

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4   The first dimension (Individualism versus Collectivism) refers to the relation between an individual and his or her fellow individuals (cf. Hofstede 1983: 79).The key issue of the second dimension (Power Distance) refers to the question how society deals with the fact that people are unequal and whether unequality regarding physical and intellectual capacities lead to inequalities in power and wealth (cf. ib.: 81). The dimension of Uncertainty Avoidance considers how a nation deals with the fact that the future is uncertain (cf. ib.: 81ff.) and the fourth dimension (Masculinity and Femininity) analyzes the division of roles between sexes (cf. ib.: 83ff.).

5   The fifth dimension was developed within another research and is strongly linked to a Confucian way of thinking (cf. Hofstede 2001: 234ff.).

in 2.1.1 there is only a small part of cultural characteristics observable and accessible for non-members of a culture. Symbols and aspects on the surface of a culture can be learned, but the values underneath stay hidden. Another determining aspect of culture is the so called ethnocentrism (cf. 2.1.1), which means that an individual considers his or her own culture as the center of the universe (cf. Hofstede 2001: 297). Characteristics like those lead to the fact that intercultural meetings are often linked with misunderstandings or conflicts (cf. ib.: 293).

Intercultural settings can be described as dynamic settings which develop when human beings with different cultural backgrounds meet and interact with each other. Like cultures such settings are characterized by a procedural character and provide potential for synergies. (Cf. Bolten 2007: 26) Thus, the settings of intercultural interactions are not explained by simply adding two different cultures, but instead create a new framework condition determined by the particular situation (cf. www.kulturglossar.de[1]).

In such an intercultural setting, people's behavior is normally guided by two schemata levels, whereby one refers to the current intercultural shared reality (surface structure) and the other to aspects determined by the respective origin culture (deep structure). It is common to put effort on defining the scope of action not according to one's own culture but in such a way which allows the highest possible acceptance of all participants. Thus, every agreement is based on the possibility that there might be a disagreement on the level of the deep structure. Problems can occur whenever behavior, which is based on mutually agreed intercultural aspects, is interpreted according to schemata grounding in the origin culture as there might be disagreements. Hence, such efforts to create the highest possible consensus exclude or ignore existing cultural differences and can therefore increase misunderstandings and negative contraries. In order to avoid such misunderstandings and conflicts a competent behavior in an intercultural setting is required. (Cf. Bolten 2007: 74f.) How such competent behavior can be characterized is analyzed in the following.

2.1.2.2 Crucial Aspects of Intercultural Competence

In order to act competent in an intercultural setting specific patterns of behavior are essential. In this context, increasing the level of awareness is often mentioned as the very starting point (cf. Bolten 2007: 59; Hofstede 2001: 329; Samovar/Porter/McDaniel 2006b: 355). This refers to several levels and includes the awareness of one's own cultural identity and its influence on the behavior, way of thinking, and acting (cf. Bolten 2007: 59) as well as the awareness and knowledge that the counterpart is influenced by his or her cultural background too and that therefore differences between persons with distinct cultural backgrounds exists (cf. Hofstede 2001: 329).[6]

According to Hofstede, the next important step is to accumulate knowledge about other cultures, about certain habits, rituals and customs, and, at a third step to transfer this knowledge to a practical context with the respective skills (cf. Hofstede 2001: 329). Such

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6   This leads further to the fact, that every definition of intercultural competence and herewith linked studies are determined and influenced by the researcher's cultural background (cf. Schoeffel/ Gariazzo-Dessiex 2011: 3) – an aspect which needs to be kept in mind with regard to this study.

skills or competences include role distance, empathy and meta-communication. By role distance the capability is meant to observe oneself while acting and to reflect occurring difficulties. Empathy constitutes the necessary foundation in order to understand one's counterpart and his way of behaving. The aspect of meta-communication refers to communication which analyzes communication processes and actions and which is therefore a method to address problems. (Cf. Bolten 2007: 75f.) One could argue that such ways of behaving are important for any social interaction regardless whether it is placed in an intercultural setting or not. Bolten emphasizes that intercultural competence is not an independent competence but consists of four parts like any action competence. Generally, competent acting includes the following four components: 1) individual (e.g. the willingness to learn, role distance), 2) social (e.g. tolerance, ability to work in team), 3) specialist (e.g. work experience, specific knowledge) and 4) strategic (e.g. management of knowledge, organizational skills) components. (Cf. Bolten 2007: 86f.) According to Bolten intercultural competence can be integrated in a general competence or put another way: "interkulturelle Kompetenz als das erfolgreiche ganzheitliche Zusammenspiel von individuellem, sozialem, fachlichem und strategischem Handeln in interkulturellen Kontexten definieren"[7] (ib.: 87). Someone is intercultural competent if she or he is able to balance the interaction of those four components in an intercultural setting (cf. ib.: 88).[8]

Additionally, intercultural competence is often divided into an affective, cognitive and behavioral dimension (cf. Bolten 2006: 63) which leads to the following structure:

Tab. 1: Dimensions of intercultural competence, according to Bolten

Affective Dimension	Cognitive Dimension	Behavioral Dimension
• Ambiguity tolerance • Frustration tolerance • Capability to manage stress and reduce complexity • Self-confidence • Flexibility • Empathy • Impartiality • Low level of ethnocentrism • Intercultural willingness to learn	• Appreciation of the cultral phenomenon regarding perception, thinking, attitudes as well as behavior and acting • Appreciation of the contextual frame of other cultures • Appreciation of the contextual frame of one's own culture • Appreciation of the specifics of intercultural communication processes • Capability to communicate on a meta-level	• Communication capability • Social competence (establish relationships to members of another culture) • Willingness to communicate according to the characteristics of the affective dimension

Source: Cf. Bolten 2006:63.

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7   To define intercultural competence as the successful holistic interaction of individual, social, specialist and strategic acting in intercultural settings.

8   For more detailed information regarding Bolten's understanding see Bolten (cf. Bolten 2007: 86; Bolten 2006: 65).

Within the cognitive dimension, knowledge regarding one's culture, other cultures and intercultural processes are of equal importance. Attitudes and characteristics within the affective dimension need to be translated adequately in the behavioral dimension in order to act successfully in an intercultural setting. (Cf. Bolten 2006: 63f.)

The elucidations given above have shown that intercultural competence is a broad and not universal concept which itself is culturally determined (cf. Schoeffel/ Gariazzo-Dessiex 2011: 3). Nevertheless, Bennett states that a majority would define intercultural competence as "ein Zusammenwirken von Fähigkeiten sowie von kognitiven, affektiven und verhaltensmäßigen Charakteristika, deren Anwendung eine wirksame und angemessene Interaktion in einer Palette von kulturellen Kontexten erlaubt"9 (Bennett, quoted by Schoeffel/ Gariazzo-Dessiex 2011: 4). This definition plus the mentioned aspects in the chapter above constitute the understanding of intercultural competence on which this paper is based.

2.1.2.3 Intercultural Communication as a Part of Intercultural Competence

As outlined in 2.1.1, culture and communication are strongly linked to each other. Therefore, it seems advisable not to access intercultural competence and intercultural communication as two concepts independent from each other but as inseparable terms. The capacity to communicate effectively in intercultural situations is often included in definitions of intercultural competence (cf. Schoeffel/ Gariazzo-Dessiex 2011: 4). Technically, "intercultural communication occurs whenever a message produced in one culture must be processed in another culture" (Samovar/Porter/McDaniel 2006a: 7). Successful communication in an intercultural setting means "that you must know about your own culture and the culture of the one with whom you are communicating. And that person must know about his or her culture and about your culture as well" (cf. Samovar/Porter/McDaniel 2006b: 354). Hence, mutual acknowledgment must exist (cf. ib.) and intercultural awareness is a crucial precondition for a successful intercultural communication process (cf. ib.: 355). Intercultural communication competence can be considered as "the ability to acknowledge, respect, tolerate and integrate cultural differences" (Chen/Starosta 2007: 357).

- Such elucidations and considerations highlight the strong relation between intercultural competence and intercultural communication and even though the concepts are theoretically distinguished, in reality one hardly can occur without the other. Thus, whenever in this study intercultural competence is mentioned it always includes implicitly intercultural communication as there exists no social interaction without any communication be it verbal or non-verbal (cf. Samovar/Porter/McDaniel 2006a: 7ff.).

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9   Intercultural competence as an interplay of capacities as well as cognitive, affective and behavioral characteristics whose application allows an adequate and effective interaction in a wide range of cultural contexts.

2.1.2.4 How to Get Intercultural Competence: Intercultural Training Methods

According to previous elucidations, intercultural competence includes several sub-competences and different dimensions. Accordingly, the process of becoming intercultural competent consist of several steps and aspects which is acknowledged by respective existing models. Schoeffel and Gariazzo-Dessiex present the models of Bennett and Bennet and Howell in this context; which are similar to Hofstede's approach. Here, several stages are distinguished which a person experiences when being in a cultural environment different from one's own or in an intercultural context. Despite the fact that such models all use their own categories the main process is similar and starts with a low level of intercultural competence, a strong ethnocentric behavior and a negative attitude towards the respective culture. Through the development of intercultural competence those aspects change and the intercultural setting with its cultural differences is accepted or even perceived as an enriching environment. (Cf. Schoeffel/ Gariazzo-Dessiex 2011: 9ff.; Hofstede 2001: 294ff.) Such models provide valuable categories which can be used to distinguish different levels of intercultural competence persons may have and, therefore, could be used as guidelines with respect to recruitment and training of staff members working in intercultural environments (cf. Schoeffel/ Gariazzo-Dessiex 2011: 11ff.).

Several training methods exist with the aim to increase intercultural competence which can be classified as distinct types. Hofstede distinguishes two different kinds of training methods: One type aims to impart knowledge regarding one specific culture, the other type aims to accumulate general knowledge about cultural differences and to increase the level of awareness. (Cf. Hofstede 2001: 330f.) Bolten suggests a more detailed distinction and differentiates four types of training methods which are used in order to increase the level of intercultural competence. There are 1) cross-cultural informational trainings; 2) culture-specific informational trainings; 3) cross-cultural interaction-oriented trainings and 4) culture-specific interaction-oriented trainings[10] (cf. Bolten 2006: 67). Currently, the most used approach in Germany is the culture-specific informational training which is cognitive oriented and aims to provide knowledge about one specific culture like greeting rituals, typical food, etc. (cf. Bolten 2006: 68). Such a descriptive oriented approach is kind of problematic as it does not explain the reasons behind certain aspects, but it remains at the surface level, the 'perceptas' level (cf. 2.1) (cf.ib.). Further, due to the complexity of intercultural competence, Bolten does not consider any of those methods as sufficient to achieve the goal of intercultural competence (cf. ib.: 69). Beside this weakness, the question arises how often such trainings are used in reality and whether they are applied in an adequate manner.

As the previous elucidations have shown culture is a determining factor for human interactions and specific competences are required if interactions are set in an intercultural context. Beside the fact that intercultural interactions gain importance within society as a whole, there are specific areas in which intercultural competence is of crucial significance as interculturality somehow forms a precondition for any action within this area. Development cooperation constitutes such a field and will be analyzed in the following sub-chapter.

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10   For a detailed description of the several training methods including practical examples see Bolten (cf. Bolten 2007: 88ff).

2.1.3 Culture and Intercultural Competence in Development Cooperation

Two questions will guide the following elucidations: First: Is culture a determining factor regarding development? Second: What makes intercultural competence a crucial aspect within the field of development cooperation?

Regarding the first question, on the role of culture within development as such, Amatrya Sen developed some valuable thoughts in his essay "How does culture matter?". Sen states that culture influences development in many different ways: it can be considered as a "constitutive part of development" (Sen 2002: 2), which influences both economy and politics (cf. ib.: 4f.). Culture is therefore a quite influential factor regarding development, which is also outlined by Holtz who emphasizes that every development has to be aware of cultural factors and needs to include cultural specifics (cf. Holtz 2006: 355). Yet, culture always goes hand in hand with other social determining factors like class, race, gender and profession (cf. Sen 2002: 7). Accordingly, culture is one important factor regarding development among many others – a fact which should be kept in mind in order to avoid the trap of cultural determinism (cf. ib.: 20). Following this understanding, despite the fact that this paper is focusing on cultural aspects, within this thesis culture is implicitly understood as one influential factor regarding development, but not as the only explaining variable.

Culture and development can be linked in several ways and could include development approaches in cultural work as well as cultural approaches in development cooperation. Following a broad concept of culture, culture constitutes the framework condition for development cooperation and policy and is therefore an influential factor within this field. (Cf. www.kulturglossar.de[2]) Between actors from donor and beneficiary countries as well as between actors from different social classes various cultural differences exist (cf. Hofstede 2001: 310ff.). Such cultural differences require intercultural competence as development cooperation and development policy is per se intercultural (cf. Holtz 2006: 354). Intercultural settings and intercultural communication is part of the daily work life of actors within any type of development cooperation regardless of whether they are working abroad or at the headquarters (cf. Schoeffel/ Gariazzo-Dessiex 2011: 14f.). Therefore, intercultural competence constitutes one key qualification in this context (cf. Holtz 2006: 354).

Within development cooperation, four different applied concepts regarding intercultural interactions specifically intercultural communication, can be distinguished: 1) intercultural dialogues as a contribution to peacefully deal with conflicts; 2) intercultural interactions to promote values; 3) intercultural communication respectively a dialogue based on intercultural competence as a mean to achieve development goals; and 4) development cooperation itself as intercultural interaction (cf. Holtz 2006: 357f.). In this paper's con-

text, regarding the overall question, the third and fourth concept are of main importance.[11]

Summing up, chapter 2.1 dealt with concepts of culture and intercultural competence whereby it focused on main aspects relevant for the context of this study. It outlined that both concepts are relevant and influential factors within development cooperation. With regard to development cooperation, various actors are operating whereby different types of organizations constitute a crucial category[12]. Hence, organizations can be considered as a framework for intercultural interactions in development cooperation and therefore constitute a crucial aspect for this study. Thus, the next chapter will put the focus on organizations with regard to their role in development cooperation[13].

2.2 Realizing Development Cooperation: Organizations as Crucial Actors

Nowadays societies can be described as organizational societies, which indicates that our lives are shaped and characterized by organizations (cf. Preisendörfer 2005: 15). This holds true for the field of development cooperation as well, as there is immediately a wide range of relevant organizations coming to one's mind like several sub-organizations of the United Nations, the World Health Organization, Plan International, the World Bank and so forth. Regarding German development cooperation, semi-governmental and non-governmental organizations are crucial actors whereby the federal owned Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) specifically the Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)[14] contributes with the biggest share (cf. von Ameln 2006: 86)[15]. In order to approach organizations as the framework for intercultural interactions within development cooperation it is crucial to understand

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11   Additionally, the topic of intercultural sensibility may further be linked to the recent debate on Aid Effectiveness in which the principles of ownership, alignment, harmonization, managing for results and mutual accountability are stated as guiding principles for development cooperation (cf. Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik 2008: 2). Implicitly, those principles are linked to an awareness of cultural differences and the efforts to create enabling intercultural settings for successful developmental cooperation. Hence, it should be kept in mind as an influencing variable in the developmental scene (cf. Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungsforschung 2008) but will not be explicitly included in this study. For further information see the webpage of the United Nations Development Group (cf. www.undg.org).

12   Organizations acting in the developmental sector can be classified regarding criteria like being governmental or non-governmental, national or international as well as by their purpose and further aspects   -   for   an   overview   on   organizations   as   actors   in   development   cooperation   see Stockmann/Menzel/Nuscheler (cf. Stockmann/Menzel/Nuscheler 2010: 426ff.) or Ihne/Wilhelm (cf. Ihne/Wilhelm 2006: 175ff.).

13   As within this study organizations are only considered as the framework in which intercultural interactions take place and intercultural competence is needed, chapter 2.2 is less detailed and of less length than chapter 2.1.

14   Since January 2011 the Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit has brought together the Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (gtz), the Deutsche Entwicklungsdienst (DED) and Inwent – international capacity building (cf. www.bmz.de).

15   Within development cooperation, technical cooperation and financial cooperation need to be distinguished whereby technical cooperation includes support by expertise and knowledge and financial cooperation is linked to financial support like favorable conditions for credits (cf. von Ameln 2006: 86).

which mechanisms work in such organizations and to have an idea about basic theoretical foundations. Hence, in the following, the very crucial theoretical aspects regarding organizations in general are outlined and the relation between individuals, organizations and society is analyzed. Additionally, a short overview of the status quo as well as current challenges for organizations in development cooperation is provided.

2.2.1 Theoretical Foundations regarding Organizations

Whenever individuals try to achieve goals which are beyond their capacities they form social units and organize themselves. For instance, organizations constitute such a social unit. (Cf. Weinert 1992: 37) Organizations can be distinguished from other collective events by three characteristics: by purposes, hierarchies, and memberships. Those criteria have become less important within society as such but have gained importance regarding organizations. (Cf. Kühl/Strodtholz 2002: 11) According to Weber – who developed one of the most classical approaches regarding organizations – the following aspects are determining factors: First of all, organizations consist of social relations between the individuals within the respective organization. The contact and social relations among those individuals does not happen by coincidence as an organization sets limits to the surrounding environment and therefore includes certain parts of the population and excludes others. Further, organizations are shaped by the idea of structure and order whereby the organization's activities are purpose-oriented aiming at a pre-defined goal. (Cf. Weinert 1992: 38f.)

For the analysis of organizations, mainly two different approaches exist. One is purpose-oriented and focuses on formal aspects like written rules or organization charts. The other is more action-oriented and takes informal structures into consideration as well. The latter approach has become quite influential since the late 1970s and puts equal emphasis on hierarchies and rules beside purpose and determination of aim. Additionally, the concept of organizational cultures has become one main focal point since the 1980s. (Cf. Kühl/Strodtholz 2002: 13ff.) According to Hofstede, organizational culture is characterized by the following seven elements, defining organizational cultures as 1) holistic, 2) historically shaped, 3) linked to the subject of anthropology, 4) built on a social structure, 5) soft and 6) difficult to change. According to his definition of culture, organizational culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one organization from another one. (Cf. Hofstede 2001: 253) Within one nation, organizations with different organizational cultures exist, hence, organizational culture is not necessarily linked to the broad concept of culture. Referring to the broad concept of culture, differences mainly exist regarding values (cf. 2.1.1) whereby organizational cultures can be distinguished by variations in standard practices. Members within one organization share and apply the same practices which constitute the respective organizational culture. Thus, staff members of one organization with different cultural backgrounds could apply the same practices but implicitly base them on distinct values. (Cf. ib.: 256f.)

Further, sub-cultures could exist within one organization according to hierarchies or fields of activities (cf. ib.: 282).[16]

Keeping those approaches in mind, one could state that recent organizational research focuses on aspects like analytical levels regarding organizational sociological work, basic elements of organizations, key problems and fundamental processes, basic concepts of organizations and organization theories (cf. Preisendörfer 2005: 11)[17].

Nowadays, a common perspective is to consider organizations as social systems with non-predictable but specific interactions and interpersonal relations (cf. Kühl/Strodtholz 2002: 16). This perspective is of high relevance for this study as intercultural interactions mainly happen between people and cannot be adequately approached by purely analyzing formal structures. Such an approach already indicates a further important issue regarding organizations – the relation between individuals, organizations and society, which will be analyzed in the next sub-chapter.

2.2.2 The Interplay between Individuals, Organizations and Society

Organizations are seen as systems which are on exchange with the respective environment. They function as a connecting link between individuals and society according to the division of our social environment into a micro-level of individuals and individual actors, a meso-level of organizations and corporative actors and a macro-level of society as a whole. For individuals, society as a whole remains an abstract concept whereas organizations are real conditions and tangible. (Cf. Preisendörfer 2005: 153f.) Organizations' influence on the micro- and macro-level can be both positive and negative. Consequently, organizations can lead to either an improvement or a decline of individual opportunities or to either societal integration or societal disintegration. (Cf. ib.: 156ff.)

Accordingly, society can be described as a "Räderwerk von Personen und Organisationen"[18] (Preisendörfer 2005: 168) instead of a solely interplay between persons. Hence, two different types of actors within society exist - individual and corporative actors - which leads to three different types of relations. Specifically, two main categories exist, namely relations between similar actors (two or more individual actors or two or more corporative actors) and distinct actors (individual and corporative actors) (cf. Preisendörfer 2005: 168f.). Whereby the amount of corporative actors as well as the share of resources owned by corporative actors has increased significantly (cf. ib.: 170). An underlying crucial assumption is that similar actors have a high affinity to each other whereby relations between individual and corporative actors are shaped by conflicts and problems (cf. ib.: 171). Thus, the trust of individual actors in organizations is low which is caused by several reasons: 1) knowledge about how to deal with corporative actors especially organizations is not part of socialization; 2) power is unequally distributed between

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16 For more detailed information regarding organizational culture see Hofstede (cf. Hofstede 2001: 249-289).

17 Organizations are subject of many different academic disciplines, the here mentioned approach is part of the perspective of organization sociology; for a good overview see Preisendörfer 2005.

18 A wheelwork of persons and organizations.

individual and corporative actors and 3) corporative actors normally have access to more extensive knowledge then individual actors. (Cf. ib.: 171ff.)[19]

A further relevant aspect in this context is the relation between an organization and the respective environment. Even though organizations set borders to their surrounding environment, environmental aspects influence the inner-organizational processes and events as well as vice versa, the organization's output has an impact on the organization's environment. (Cf. Weinert 1992: 40)

Keeping this interplay between organization and environment as well as between individuals, organizations and society, and the presented theoretical foundations in mind, the next step highlights specific circumstances and challenges for organizations in the field of development cooperation.

2.2.3   Organizations in Development Cooperation – Status Quo and Challenges

Regarding organizations within the sector of development cooperation the following questions arise: What is the concrete task or role of organizations in this specific context? To what extent is an understanding of organizations and their characteristics culturally shaped and how does this influence the organization's workflow?[20]

According to the long practiced concept, organizations in development cooperation are often considered as suppliers of cost-free infrastructure or specific services (cf. von Ameln 2006: 91). This understanding has changed since the 1990s, at least on the side of the donor agents – organizational consulting and organizational development have become topics of great importance. The linked goal is to consult organizations in the respective target country on how to establish efficient and sustainable organizations. (Cf. ib.: 88f.) This change of the self-understanding of development cooperation organizations has not been equally shared by the respective counterparts so far, which sets up a quite challenging working environment (cf. ib. 90f.). Further, beside the fact that such organizational consulting tasks are not clearly defined and there is uncertainty on both sides about which tasks organizations in development cooperation should fulfill nowadays, intercultural aspects cause additional challenges (cf. ib.: 91ff.)[21]. Distinct understandings exist regarding leadership, management, or how to deal with conflicts and an understanding of organizations based on European values is often not accepted in another cultural context (cf. ib.: 94). This is linked to the fact that human interactions play a crucial role within organizational structures (cf. 2.2.1), and as shown in chapter 2.1, culture determines the attitudes, values and behavior of human beings which therefore also influences the un-

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19   There are suggestions on how to re-strengthen the power of individual actors (cf. Preisendörfer 2005: 176ff.) but for the framework of this study it is sufficient to be aware of such problematic relations.

20   If one assumes that the understanding of organizations is culturally shaped, it needs to be mentioned that considerations regarding the role of development organizations is mainly answered by referring to a text of von Ameln (cf. von Ameln 2006) and therefore implicitly applying a German influenced perspective. This perspective is useful in this context with regard to the later introduced case study as this refers to a German developmental organization.

21   See von Ameln (cf. von Ameln 2006) for a detailed and valuable elaboration regarding those challenges and recent developments.

derstanding of organizations, the idea of how organizations should be structured as well as it determines the workflow within organizations and the relation between organization and environment (cf. Hofstede 2001: 199). Organizing is always linked to questions regarding power and rules like 'Who has the power to decide something?' and 'Which rules and instructions need to be carried out in order to reach a set goal?'. The answer to those questions varies depending on the cultural background – according to Hofstede's concept they are linked to the cultural dimensions of power distance and uncertainty avoidance. (Cf. ib.: 199ff.) Such a cultural shaped understanding influences both individuals as part of a society who must interact with those organizations as well as members of an organization with different cultural backgrounds, who therefore have different organizational models in mind (cf. ib.: 204f.).

Hence, organizations within the developmental sector do not only have to deal with general challenges and problematic aspects, like for instance, the relation between individuals and organizations as presented in 2.2.2, but also have to deal with intercultural challenges and distinct perspectives on organizational structures as well as a changing concept of the roles and tasks organizations should fulfill within developmental interactions.

Such a changing environment and dynamic setting indicate the high relevance of further insights gained by social empirical research. Consequently, based on crucial theoretical considerations elucidated in chapter 2, the next chapter outlines the approach chosen for this study to empirically analyze intercultural competence in development cooperation in order to gain further knowledge about the impact of intercultural competence on the success of developmental organizations.

3 THE STUDY'S EMPIRICAL APPROACH

An empirical analysis on the impact of intercultural competence on the success of organizations within the developmental sector can be driven out in distinct ways. The following chapter will elucidate the way chosen for this study. Therefore, first, an empirically accessible framework will be developed outlining crucial aspects for the empirical research followed by introducing the study's hypotheses. Subsequently, the methodological approach is explained outlining the methodology, the type of data needed and the applied methods of data collection and data analysis. Following this, the case study chosen to analyze the study's research question and the herewith linked field research are presented by explaining the planned and actual approach, the framework conditions and some limitations to the study which appeared during the research process.

3.1 Linking the Theoretical Concepts to an Empirically Accessible Framework

The study's purpose is to assess the role of intercultural competence within a developmental context on both a theoretical and practical level. Deriving from the presented theoretical considerations, the following specifies aspects relevant for empirically accessing the research question.

The analysis of theoretical concepts and approaches has highlighted the meaning of intercultural competence within development cooperation. This field is one in which culture and interculturality are influencing factors. In theory, intercultural competence is one key qualification to meet specific challenges within a developmental context and to deal with them successfully. Hence, the question arises to what extent this is acknowledged in practice and to what extent there might be empirical evidence for this assumption.

As indicated in chapter 2, this study takes organizations as the analytical framework in order to analyze the role of intercultural competence within development cooperation. For the empirical analysis the Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit in Bolivia (GIZ-Bolivia) is chosen, which will be presented in detail in 3.3. Generally, according to previous elucidations, organizations are shaped by the interplay of their members as well as by the relation to their environment and the interchange with the same. Hence, the analysis implicitly includes three levels: the individuals within the organization, the organization as such with specific organizational structures and the organization's environment. Within this context, intercultural competence is analyzed. Intercultural settings appear on all three mentioned levels: Individuals within an organization, the development professionals, usually have distinct cultural backgrounds (determined by the donor or recipient country and further sub-cultures), which influences the organization's workflow. Further, organizational structures are determined by respective conditions in the field and standards defined by the headquarters, which creates further intercultural aspects and indicates the mutual influence of the organization and its environment.

This study puts the main focus on individuals within the organization, hence development professionals, as the functioning workflow within organizations, determined by intercultural interactions, which are considered crucial for the organization's overall success. Organizational structures as well as the environmental surrounding of the analyzed

case are taken into account as well in order to figure out how those levels influence the role of intercultural competence and the successful performance in such an intercultural context.[22]

As indicated in chapter 2.1 intercultural competence includes numerous stages and distinct capacities and aspects. Therefore, the analysis includes several parts and adequately refers to the three organizational levels explained above. Basically, the first important step to become interculturally competent is to become aware of culture's influence on human's behavior, attitudes and thinking, and to become aware of the differences between human beings with different cultural backgrounds[23]. Hence, it will be analyzed which concept of culture is applied and whether the awareness of culture as an influencing factor for human interactions exists. Within a next step, the empirical analysis focuses on the concept of intercultural competence. Questions like the following are meant to be answered: 1) Is an intercultural setting perceived as challenging? 2) How do members of the organization behave in such an intercultural environment? 3) Is intercultural competence considered to be important regarding development cooperation, which concept is used, and how is this applied in the organization's workflow? 4) Is there any training provided for intercultural competence? Is it compulsory? How is the structure?

Subsequently, the culturally determined understanding of organizations will be analyzed. This includes the attempt to figure out whether and how a person's cultural background influences the understanding of organizational structures. Moreover, the perception and conceptualization of success is part of the research's interest including the question of whether the understanding of success is individually, culturally or organizationally shaped.

The empirical research's underlying assumption is that the level of intercultural competence and all included aspects influence the level of success of the development organization. Thereby, the study's analysis of intercultural competence includes a complex variety as it is shown above and focuses on organizational-internal aspects. Accordingly, success is internally-conceptualized as well and refers to goals set by the organization itself.

This conceptualization leads to the hypotheses presented below on which the empirical research is based whereby it needs to be outlined that the research is not a hypotheses testing research. Nevertheless, it is guided and structured by hypotheses and, if the empirical research's results allow to do so, those hypotheses will be modified and adapted according to the empirical findings and will therefore provide the basis for further research.

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22 This study takes an organizational-internal perspective and analyzes the role of intercultural competence within this organizational context. The organization constitutes the point of reference for any analysis. Nevertheless, another dimension with regard to the overall topic exists, which is the relation between members of the developmental organization and non-members benefitting from the organization's work (beneficiaries). This dimension is not explicitly included in the study's analysis but will be implicitly taken into account as it constitutes a part of the organization's environment.

23 For reasons of practicability the cultural background of an individual is first accessed via his or her nationality (cf. 2.1.1). In the course of the study further aspects determining a cultural background will be outlined and the concept will be diversified but still the nationality constitutes an analytically useful concept to distinguish individuals with regard to their cultural background in the context of this study.

Main hypothesis:

1. The level of intercultural competence within an organization in the field of development coop-eration positively influences the organization's success.

Further hypotheses:

2. The more intercultural competence is considered as an important factor within the organiza-tional structure, the more successful the organization works.

3. Members of developmental organizations who are aware of a) the influence of culture as such on human behavior, b) the influence of one's own culture and c) cultural differences work more successfully than members who are not aware of those aspects at all or just to a limited extent.

4. The perception of relevant aspects regarding the organization's workflow is influenced by a person's cultural background.

5. The more aware a person is of the specifics of intercultural settings, the higher the capability to interact successfully in an intercultural environment.

3.2   Methodological Approach

In order to empirically analyze the role of intercultural competence within a developmen-tal organization and its impact on the organization's performance, a case study is con-ducted applying qualitative methods. A qualitative approach is considered as the adequate approach regarding the study's research question as analyzing the aspects outlined above means analyzing a vivid interplay due to the underlying understanding of organizations as vivid social systems (cf. 2.2) and the dynamic processes regarding intercultural settings and interactions.[24]

As the unit of analysis a single case is chosen, hence, a case study is implemented. A case is defined by the respective scientific research and could be a country, a political system or an organization (cf. Muno 2009: 115). Generally, a case is a bounded entity, but the boundaries between the case and its contextual conditions are sometimes not clearly de-fined[25] (cf. Yin 2012: 6). Case study methods include within-case analysis of single cases (cf. George/ Bennett 2004: 18) which is the case used in this study. Such single case stud-ies offer the possibility to gain in-depth knowledge (cf. Yin 2012: 4) and, if they are theo-ry-oriented and beyond description, they can be categorized as part of comparative anal-yses and aim to develop and analyze causal conclusions and explanations (cf. Muno 2009: 128ff.) – a goal which the study presented here shares. According to Muno, the research design of a case study consists of the following five steps: 1) determination of the research question; 2) developing the theoretical framework; 3) the selection of the case; 4)

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24   The appropriateness of qualitative methods when analyzing patterns of social interactions is, among others, outlined by Behnke/Baur/Behnke (cf. Behnke/Baur/Behnke 2006: 35).

25   Which further strengthens the chosen approach of including the organization's environment as an analytical dimension (cf. 3.1).

conducting the case study; 5) deriving conclusions which could lead to further research questions inspiring further research (cf. Muno 2009: 127). As the study presented here conducts a theory-oriented case study, Muno's proposition of how to design a case study is considered as the adequate guideline and corresponds to this case study's design. Accordingly, the next step is the selection of the case. Yet, before presenting this, means of data collection and the steps of data analysis will be outlined.

3.2.1 Data Collection[26]

According to the chosen qualitative approach the goal is to collect verbal, non-standardized data. In order to meet the requirement of combining several sources of information, (which is important to gain sound insights as stated by Tellis 1997: w/o page number), expert interviews, observations and document analyses are applied in order to achieve adequate insights.

Expert Interviews

Expert interviews are of high relevance with regard to empirical social research (cf. Bogner/Menz 2005: 33) and constitute the main source of information within this study. Different understandings exist how to define and categorize expert interviews (cf. Bogner/Menz 2005: 7ff.; 33ff.) whereby the following will clarify the understanding applied here. Within this study, the term 'expert' is understood as a relational concept and herewith follows the understanding of Meuser and Nagel (cf. Meuser/Nagel 2005: 73) and Bogner and Menz (cf. Bogner/Menz 2005: 45). Hence, the question of who is an expert depends on the respective research design and research question (cf. ib.). It is important to be aware of the fact that expert interviews do not focus on the person as a whole but on the specific, relevant role the person holds within the organizational context relevant for the respective research (cf. Meuser/Nagel 2005: 72f.). Accordingly, experts are equal to staff members of the organization analyzed within the case study, namely GIZ-Bolivia[27]. Further, Meuser and Nagel distinguish whether expert interviews play a central or a marginal role within the research design to which they refer as 'Betriebswissen' or 'Kontextwissen' [28](cf. ib.: 75f.). As mentioned above, expert interviews play a crucial role within this study, hence, they can be classified according to the first category. Based on theoretical considerations, expert interviews aim to gain new insights from the target group, the experts, about their field of action (cf. ib.). The way in which to gain those insights is not fixed, but there is a consensus that semi-structured, guideline-based interviews are an adequate way (cf. Liebold/Trinczek 2002: 33), which constitutes the procedure chosen in this case. It is important to be aware of the fact that such (guideline-based) interviews represent social interaction situations. Hence, the interview constitutes a social interplay determined by expectations of the participants (interviewer and interviewee) and their linked behavior. Thus, statements made in such a situation are made and deter-

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26 The following elucidations refer to considerations made before the field research was conducted; respective changes due to the field research's conditions are explained and outlined in 3.3.

27 Further details are provided in the next sub-chapter when presenting the chosen case.

28 Those terms can be translated as 'Operational Knowledge' and 'Contextual Knowledge'.

mined by the specific context[29]. (Cf. Bogner/Menz 2005: 47ff.) A characteristic which is linked to the possible risk of facing reflexivity which occurs when the interviewee only states what the interviewer wants to hear or apparently wants to hear (cf. Tellis 1997: w/o page number). This already indicates some challenges on how to use the gained knowledge and how to analyze collected data which will be considered in the following sub-chapter but before further sources of data collection are outlined[30].

Observation

As highlighted in previous chapters, intercultural competence, specifically cultural identity, is often linked to unconscious behavior and a low level of awareness. Hence, it might not be fully accessible by interviews which require a certain level of awareness of the interviewees or which might be influenced by the social interaction situation as outlined above. Thus, observations constitute another frequently used method within empirical social research, which aims to reconstruct social reality (cf. Gehrau 2002: 21). The observation method is useful to acquire and analyze behavior and is the systematic collection of aspects perceptible by the senses or technical devices (cf. ib.: 25ff.). Different types of observations are applied and distinguished within social empirical research as open or hidden observations and participant or non-participant observations (cf. Behnke/Baur/Behnke 2006: 248)[31]. As part of a qualitative approach, the observation should be non-standardized and guideline-based. Further specifications depend on the field research's conditions which are only accessible in the field and therefore will be outlined in chapter 3.3.

Document Analysis

In a third step, as the organization is considered as an enabling or limiting framework for individual interactions, a document analysis is considered of high importance as it allows insights regarding the organization's formal structure (cf. Kühl/Strodtholz 2002: 19). This refers to key administrative documents regarding the organization's and programs' objectives and relevant background information such as the organization's infrastructure, patterns of hierarchy, instructions regarding daily routine tasks, written responsibilities as well as the question to what extent the aspect of intercultural competence is included in written documents, structuring and guiding the organization's workflow. The advantages of using documents as a source of information such as the fact that they are stable and have existed before the case study is conducted, balance to an important extent the possible disadvantages of interviews or observations outlined above[32].

Hence, the goal of data collection is to gain relevant insights with regard to intercultural competence and organizational structures on several levels in order to gain the broadest possible picture and an in-depth understanding of the case study.

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29   Such effects are also referred to as 'Interview effects' (cf. Brosius/Koschel/Haas 2009: 116).

30   As expert interviews constitute the main source of information, the part dealing with expert interviews is more detailed than the following parts.

31   For a good overview see also Gehrau (cf. Gehrau 2002: 27ff.).

32   For a detailed overview on strengths and weaknesses of distinct sources of information within case studies see Tellis (cf. Tellis 1992: w/o page number).

3.2.2 Data Analysis

In the following, a short overview is given on how data collected as described above is analyzed. As expert interviews provide the main source of information, the following paragraph focuses on their analysis whereby the respective analysis follows the steps suggested by Meuser and Nagel (cf. Meuser/Nagel 2005: 80ff.). Hence, the first step is to transcribe the interviews in order to convert the audio documents into text documents. Nonverbal elements or statements not related to the topic are not transcribed, as this is not considered necessary with regard to the respective research's interest. Closely linked is the next step of paraphrasing the transcript. Subsequently, different parts of an interview with similar content are summarized and adequate headlines are added in order to get an overview on the single case and its information. Within this step, the single interview is still the point of reference which changes in the following part as this aims to compare paragraphs with similar content of different interviews. Hence, data is structured, which allows the next step of conceptualization. This part of the analysis goes beyond the text and builds more abstract categories as the foundation for further analysis, whereby it still remains on the level of empirical generalization which means that generalizations are still based on the empirical material. Only within the last step, a theoretical generalization is made; hence, the empirically generalized results are interpreted from a theory-oriented perspective. This might lead to three possible results of either the empirical and theoretical findings are inadequate, falsified, or matching. This last step often constitutes the most challenging part of analyzing expert interviews as every interview is determined by its specific context which challenges outlining the 'representative'. (Cf. Meuser/Nagel 2005: 80ff.) Here, the shared organizational context as well as the applied interview guidelines constitute important criteria regarding the interviews' comparability (cf. ib.: 81).

Information gained from this main source is re-checked and enriched by further sources of information, for instance the above mentioned document analyses. The concrete procedure of data collection and the subsequent analysis is highly determined by the conditions and findings of the field research. Hence, the following sub-chapter presents the framework conditions of the case study and the conducted field research, and outlines how the explained methodological approach was applied.

3.3 The Case Study: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit in Bolivia[33]

The 'Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit' in Bolivia[34] was selected as the case study in order to empirically analyze the impact of intercultural competence on a developmental organization's successful performance. The organization was chosen as it meets relevant requirements such as distinct cultural backgrounds of the staff members and clearly defined organizational objectives. Further, aspects of practical feasibility played an important role in the selection of the case. As the field research was planned, the chosen organization needed to provide adequate capacities as well as being interested in the research to provide an enabling context which was the case with GIZ-Bolivia. Beside those organization related criteria, the country itself further explains the relevance of this case. Bolivia constitutes a focal country of German development cooperation as being among the poorest countries in Latin America (cf. www.la-paz.diplo.de) shaped by ethnical and geographical diversity, sparse population, high poverty indices and a pronounced migration into cities (cf. www.gtz.de[1]). In addition to the relevance of Bolivia from a development cooperation perspective, the country provides a tempting context for analyzing intercultural competence and interculturality due to the social and political processes it experiences in this time. Bolivia experienced deep political changes in the last years, whereby one main objective of this ongoing process of change is the recognition of the rights of indigenous groups (cf. Schilling-Vacaflor 2010: 2). The state of Bolivia refers to itself as 'Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia' (www.bolivia.de) in order to express its focus on political inclusion of several ethnic and cultural groups. As the state itself puts so much emphasis on the cultural and ethnic diversity within the country, intercultural competence developed into a crosscutting issue with regard to organizations and projects of development cooperation[35].

Hence, GIZ-Bolivia is highly suited for an analysis of intercultural competence within development organizations. To get a more detailed picture, relevant information regarding GIZ, GIZ-Bolivia and Bolivia is presented in the fact sheets below which clarify the context of further analytical steps.

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[33] As mentioned in 2.2, the Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit developed out of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), the Deutsche Entwicklungsdienst (DED) and Inwent – international capacity building in January 2011 (cf. www.bmz.de). This newly developed organization requires a specific analytical handling as it will be outlined in the course of this study. Further, it need to be clarified that the presented research only takes the former GTZ and former DED sections into consideration but not Inwent due to reasons of time and capacity. Nevertheless, Inwent is an implicit part of this study as it is part of GIZ.

[34] In the following referred to as GIZ whenever the whole organization (including the headquarters) is meant and as GIZ-Bolivia when the organization in Bolivia is meant.

[35] This statement was made by several development professionals working or used to work in the developmental sector in Bolivia.

Tab. 2: Organizational profile of GIZ

The Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)[36]
Background: • GIZ developed out of Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst (DED) and Inwent – international capacity building in January 2011   • GIZ is a federal organizations and aims to support the federal government to reach its goals of international cooperation
Implementation: • Majority of the work is commissioned by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development   • Operates in many fields such as economic development, government and democracy, security, peace building and civil conflict transformation, health and basic education and others   • Operates worldwide in more than 130 countries
Resources: • The annual report of 2010 indicates a total transaction volume of 1.851,1 m. € and 17.300 employees worldwide

Source: Author's illustration.

As stated above and in this table, GIZ recently merged out of GTZ, DED and Inwent. This creates specific challenges when analyzing GIZ and GIZ-Bolivia in a case study as GTZ and DED respectively GTZ-Bolivia and DED-Bolivia were applying different concepts during the last decades[37]. Accordingly, existing information either refers to the former GTZ or former DED section as by the time this study was conducted and written, the common homepage was not finished yet[38]. This should be taken into account in the course of this study.

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36 Information regarding GIZ is based on the organization's webpage (www.giz.de1) and the here available annual report of 2010 (www.giz.de 1). Information regarding GIZ-Bolivia is based on the organization's webpages (www.gtz.de1-7 / www.ded.de1) and interviews conducted during the field research period.

37 For GTZ's and DED's main general principles see respective web pages (cf. www.gtz.de8 ; www.ded.de2).

38 Since the 23rd of January 2012 the joint homepage of GIZ is online replacing the former webpages – due to time reasons the respective references cannot be researched again. Hence, the study still mentions the webpages of GTZ and DED as sources of information.

Tab. 3: Profile of GIZ-Bolivia

Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit in Bolivia (GIZ-Bolivia)[39]
Focal areas: 1. Strengthening of the state and democracy, 2. Drinking water and sanitation,   3. Sustainable agricultural development
Staff: Total staff: 242 (expatriates: 18, development workers: 37, local staff: 187)
Timeframe: GIZ (GTZ/DED) is operating in Bolivia since approximately three decades ago (with an own office in La Paz since 1995)
Programs of former GTZ: **Main National Programs:**   - PROJURIDE (Proyecto de Apoyo al Desarrollo de un Ordenamiento Jurídico Intercultural en el Marco de un Estado de Derecho Democrático) => supports the constitutional development of an intercultural legal system => goal: the new legal system respects cultural differences regarding law while maintaining fundamental and human rights   - PADEP (Programa de Aopyo a la Gestión Pública Descentralizada y Lucha contra la Pobreza) => supports national, departmental, regional and local governments with implementing democratic reforms of the new plurinational state => goal: democratic governance, effectiveness and efficiency of public administration are strengthened and a responsible participation of civic society is guaranteed   - PROAGRO (Programa de Desarrollo Agropecuario Sustentable) => support for sustainable agriculture; supports the Bolivian government with the implementation of sectoral programs => goal: people are less vulnerable towards water shortages caused by climatic changes   - MAPZA (Manejo de Areas Protegidas y Zonas de Amortiguacion) => provides consultancy regarding a better integration of maintaining protected areas in national, regional and local development processes => goal: the system of national parks is strengthened; protection of the environment is adequate to the political, social and economic situation of the country   - PROAPAC (Programa de Agua Potable y Alcantarillado Sanitario en Pequeñas y Medianas Ciudades) => supports central government, communities, the population and water supply companies to improve the improvement of drinking water supply and sanitation =>goal: supply of drinking water and sanitation is improved regarding economic, social and ecological terms

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39 Information regarding GIZ-Bolivia is based on the organization's webpage (www.gtz.de1-7 / www.ded.de1) and interviews conducted during the field research period.

Regional Programs (selection)
• Universidad Indigena Intercultural (UII) (in: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Colombia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Spain) => supports indigenous people to get access to adequate academic education => goal: indigenous people have access to university education of high quality which acknowledges indigenous knowledge as of equal value
• PROINDIGENA => focus on deepening the cooperation of German development cooperation with indigenous people and indigenous organizations => goal: local and national indigenous organizations are strengthened and able to operate accordingly
Operating fields of former DED:
• Former DED operates in the focal areas mentioned above, collaborating with respective counterpart organizations, mainly Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)
• Additional field of action: Ziviler Friedensdienst (Civil Peace Service) => provide consultancy in case of conflicts, due to their marginalization a special emphasis is put in indigenous people

Source: Author's illustration.

Acknowledging the fact that an organization is determined by its environment the following depicts the respective country context of GIZ-Bolivia[40].

Tab. 4: Country profile of Bolivia

Fact Sheet Bolivia[41]
Official name: Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia (Plurinational State of Bolivia)
Form of government: Republic
Administrative structure: 9 Departments (Beni, Chuquisaca, Cochabamba, La Paz, Oruro, Pando, Potosi, Santa Cruz, Tarija)
Constitutional capital: Sucre
Seat of government: La Paz
President and head of government: Juan Evo Morales Ayma (since January 2006)
Population: approx. 10 million
Currency: Boliviano

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40 Whereby this focuses on giving an outline of 'hard' facts in order to get an idea of the country's general situation, information regarding the topic of interculturality in Bolivia will be analyzed more detailed in chapter 4.

41 Information regarding the fact sheet of Bolivia is based on information provided by the Human Development Report 2011, World Bank, CIA Factbook and the Bolivian Embassy in Germany; all information is available online, cf. references for detailed hyperlinks.

Languages: Spanish 60.7%; Quechua 21.2%; Aymara 14,6%; other 3.6%
Main ethnic groups: Quechua 30%, Mestizos 30%, Aymara 25%, Whites 15%
Literacy rate: 90.7% (97% for the group of 15-24 years old)[42]
Population living below poverty line of $1.25 PPP: 14.0%
Human Development Index (HDI) Position 2011: 108 (out of 187),   **HDI value:** 0.633 (medium human development; lower middle income country)
Life expectancy: 66.6 years
Mean years of schooling: 9.2 (expected years of schooling: 13.7)
GNI per capita: $ 4,054 PPP; $ 1,819
GINI coefficient: 57.3[43]
Remarks to Bolivia's political situation: Bolivia's history is shaped by periods of political instability and changes;   MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo) won the elections in December 2005, since January 2006 Evo Morales is president and head of government;   New constitution in 2009 => 'Buen vivir' as central concept: effort to include the concept of 'interculturalidad' in all relevant policy fields and societal parts with the special focus on strengthening the rights of indigenous people ('indigenas')

Source: Author's illustration.

The presented fact sheets outline basic information regarding the organizational structure and environmental setting relevant for the main analysis of chapter 4. Another crucial aspect in order to be able to correctly classify the case study's results is an overview on how the field research was conducted and which strengths and weaknesses exist. Accordingly, the field research's framework is presented in the following.

3.3.1 The Field Research's Conditions

In order to gain valuable insights and collect data relevant for analyzing the research question, a field research period was planned and implemented. Within this period required data was collected. The field research's procedure was planned in June and July 2011 after GIZ-Bolivia promised their interest and co-operation. Hence, according to information available at that moment, the plan was to conduct the field research within one specific program, *PADEP*, which focuses on aspects of constitutionality, supportive of democracy and decentralization as outlined in the factsheet above. Within this program, staff members with distinct cultural backgrounds are working and a clear defined objec-

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42 The officially by UNESCO confirmed eradication of illiteracy constitutes one achievement of the strengthened efforts regarding education the Morales' government has undertaken (cf. Clayton Mendonca Cunha/ Santaella Goncalves 2010: 188).

43 This value refers to data of 2007. According to a study by Silvia Escóbar, the income inequality decreased dramatically whereby in 2008 the income of the richest 20 per cent was 14.5 times higher than that of the poorest 20 per cent (cf. Clayton Mendonca Cunha/ Santaella Goncalves 2010: 194).

tive exists which is to improve efficiency, effectiveness and transparency of the public administration as well as the citizen's trust in public institutions in order to create an enabling environment for the efforts to decrease poverty (cf. www.padep.org.bo). Hence, it fulfills both criteria for a sound analysis as outlined above. Further, it seemed to be an advantage that the program is already in its end-phase and therefore might provide detailed information with regard to lessons-learned and success-criteria. According to former theoretical and methodological considerations it was planned to interview and observe several employees of *PADEP*, to analyze and compare the existing levels of intercultural competence and to link it with the program's success and respective individual differences.

Arriving in Bolivia, where the field research was conducted from August 2011 until the end of October 2011, it became obvious that some adaptations were required. As *PADEP* was in its end-phase most of the staff members had already left the program before that date. Hence, focusing on only this program was not considered as advisable anymore as it would not allow collecting data and information needed for a sound and adequate analysis. In co-operation with two employees of GIZ-Bolivia the field research procedure was adapted. According to the context and organizational conditions it was decided to conduct a broad cross section including several programs and employees of both the former DED and former GTZ part. Hence, the goal was to get a broad picture of GIZ-Bolivia with regard to the topic of intercultural competence. This adaptation led to some new advantages and disadvantages regarding the analysis. Taking the whole organization and not only one single program as the point of reference, leads to a bigger and more diverse data foundation which could extend the study's insights and herewith allow more stable conclusions and back-linkages to the theoretical framework. On the other hand, such a cross section challenges the analytical linkages between intercultural competence and success as the criterion of clear defined objectives becomes more difficult to access. Further, due to the broad approach there was not a tight relation to one specific program which on one hand guarantees the researcher's freedom but on the other hand complicates the access to information. Such actual framework conditions determine the process of data collection as well as further analytical considerations. Hence, the next sub-chapter focuses on the collection of data during the field research and states the actually applied methods and used sources of information, whereas chapter 4 will outline how the study analytically deals with the field research's conditions.

3.3.2 Data Collection during Field Research

According to the field research's goal, data was empirically collected during the field research period in Bolivia. The collection took place corresponding to the framework conditions outlined above. In the beginning, two employees of GIZ-Bolivia were the contact persons who internally announced the co-operation with regard to this study to several further GIZ employees. According to the preliminary considerations of chapter 3.2.1, insights should be gained by expert interviews, observations and document analyses. Due to mentioned framework conditions, only one observation could be conducted which will be not included in the later analysis as it does not meet the respective requirements in order

to be used as a scientific source[44]. Accordingly, more weight was put on diverse and multi-faceted expert interviews in order to collect sufficiently diverse information. Additionally, a focus group interview was conducted in order to include a further data collection technique. Group interviews are similar to guideline-based single interviews (Brosius/Koschel/Haas 2009: 116) and can be defined as "a semi-structured discussion of a given topic by a homogenous group of 6-10 individuals" (Aubel 1994: 2). Its goal is to "elicit perceptions, feelings and attitudes and ideas of participants about a selected topic" (Vaughn/Schumm/Sinagub 1996: 5). Hence, the group interview aims to start a discussion among participants wherein they exchange ideas and perceptions (cf. Aubel 1994: 2) whereby the group approach stimulates opinions which can be considered as an advantage of this type (cf. Brosius/Koschel/Haas 2009: 116).

In this case, the group that was interviewed, consisted of 7 GIZ employees (all belonging to the part of the former DED). The group interview took place during a regional group meeting[45] in September 2011 and aimed to figure out how staff members with distinct cultural backgrounds commonly approach the topic of intercultural competence within development cooperation. Regarding nationalities (cf. 3.1) the following were represented (in brackets the number of participants with this nationality is indicated): Bolivian (3), German (2), Dutch (1), Brazilian (1). This setting enabled a quite vivid discussion. The group interview was separately analyzed but as only one group interview was conducted the insights resulting from this will be added to the expert interviews' results as far as the methodological requirements allow doing so.

With regard to the characteristics of the conducted expert interviews, the following structure exists: In total, 16 expert interviews were conducted whereby effort was put on gaining a broad picture with regard to cultural and organizational backgrounds. All interviewed experts were working for GIZ-Bolivia in Bolivia at the moment they were interviewed[46]. Hence, the criteria of a common organizational structure is fulfilled, which is crucial for later analytical considerations (cf. 3.2.2). As outlined above, the selection of initial interview partners was based on suggestions of the two contact persons. From those first contacts further information regarding possible interview partners was gained and accordingly used. Most of the interviews took place in La Paz, Bolivia's capital specifically seat of government, where GIZ-Bolivia is represented by several offices. The interviews took between 35 minutes and two hours whereby the interviewees set different emphases according to the interview guidelines. Five interviewees can be classified as former

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44 This is mainly based on the fact that the research was not embedded in a specific program-related context but in the broad context of GIZ-Bolivia as a whole which did not allow establishing a relationship close enough to conduct observations. This difficulty was further strengthened by the widely spread offices. Hence, the decision was made that observations are not adequate in this context and were therefore not applied.

45 In this meeting, staff members of the former DED, who are operating in one specific region, met. Hence, the common criterion of the participants is their belonging to GIZ/ former DED and the certain region they are working in. They are diverse with regard to their specific working contexts.

46 Except for one case in which the expert stopped working for GIZ-Bolivia in the beginning of 2011 and now works independently. But due to his long working experience with both DED and GTZ he still will be analytically treated as a member of the organization.

DED staff members and eleven as part of former GTZ[47] whereby five are locals and eleven expatriates. The working context of the experts is diverse and includes the country director of GIZ-Bolivia (formerly country director of GTZ-Bolivia) and the second country director of GIZ-Bolivia (formerly country director of DED-Bolivia); three staff members of the program *PROJURIDE* (including the program manager*)*; one staff member of the program *PADEP*; three staff members of *PROAPAC* (including the program manager); the program manager of the Intercultural Indigenous University (*UII*) in Bolivia; an integrated expert of the Centre of international Migration and Development (*CIM*)[48]; a consultant and the coordinator of the fund for strengthening democracy; a staff member of the regional program *PROINDIGENA* and two development workers working for counterpart non-governmental organizations. The following table sums up and visualizes the composition of conducted expert interviews in order to provide a brief accessible overview.

Tab. 5: Overview on conducted interviews during field research

Conducted Interviews during Field Research[49]
Type: Expert interviews
Amount of conducted interviews: 16
Number of participants: 16
Organizational background: Staff members of GIZ-Bolivia; (former DED: 5; former GTZ: 11)
Further classification of organizational background[50]: Leading Management of GIZ-Bolivia (2) Program managers of national programs (former GTZ) (2) Staff members of national programs (former GTZ) (4) National program manager of regional program (former GTZ) (1) Staff member of regional program (former GTZ) (1) CIM-expert (former GTZ) (1) Fund coordinator (former DED) (1) Fund consultant (former DED) (1) Development worker in respective counterpart organizations (former DED) (2)

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47   The focus on former GTZ members can be explained on the one hand by the fact that the initially contact persons both belong to the former GTZ part, hence, former GTZ staff members as interview partners were obvious. On the other hand this is caused by mobility limitations of the researcher: Former DED employees mainly work with counterpart organizations in areas sometimes difficult to reach whereby many former GTZ staff members are located in La Paz, thus, it was simply a decision of practicability. Accordingly, the whole case study puts stronger emphasis on the former GTZ-part.

48   CIM is a common working group of the former GTZ and the German federal agency for employment which sends experts from Germany to institutions in developing countries (cf. GTZ 2009: 6).

49   All interview transcripts are accessible upon request at the study's author.

50   The respective position of the interviewed experts is not explicitly included as a criterion regarding the analysis of chapter 4 as the data set does not allow such conclusions.

Local background:
12 interviewed experts are located in La Paz, Bolivia
4 interviewed experts are located in Santa Cruz, Bolivia
Nationalities:
German (11), Bolivian (5), Argentinean (1), Dutch (1)
Goal:
Insights how staff members of GIZ-Bolivia (experts in the field of development cooperation) depict intercultural competence in development organizations
Type: Group interview
Amount of conducted interviews: 1
Number of participants: 7
Organizational background:
staff members of GIZ-Bolivia (former DED) working as development workers in respective counterpart organizations
Local background:
All participants are working in the region El Chaco in the lowlands of Bolivia
Nationalities:
Bolivian (3), German (2), Brazilian (1), Dutch (1) => 3 locals and 4 expatriates
Goal:
Insights on how a group consisting of individuals with distinct cultural backgrounds is approaching the topic of intercultural competence within organizations of development cooperation

Source: Author's illustration.

The gained data was analyzed according to the procedure presented in 3.1.2. With regard to later quotations the expert interviews are consecutively numbered according to the chronological order they were conducted in order to assign statements to the respective expert interview but still providing anonymity. Within the single cases, thematic paragraphs are distinguished and adequately numbered whereby the structure is guided by the interview guidelines. Hence, for example the designation 7-3 refers to the third paragraph of interview seven[51].

In addition to the presented interviews, information was gained by document analyses including webpages. During the field research period many documents regarding organizational structures and thematic content of GIZ-Bolivia were read and analyzed. For a general overview on the work GIZ-Bolivia is doing, the webpages of GTZ and DED were used as sources of information complemented by a document of the former GTZ (GTZ 2009: *Cooperación técnica alemana en Bolivia. Socio mundial para un future comun*). Re-

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[51] The group interview is numbered with 17, hence 17-2 refers to the second paragraph of the group interview. Interview transcriptions are not included in this working paper for reasons of confidentiality.

garding the aspect of intercultural competence within GIZ-Bolivia and the here applied intercultural approach, the following document provides valuable insights: GTZ 2010: *Concepto del enfoque intercultural de la GTZ-Bolivia: document para debate y análisis interno*[52]. It was developed by Manuel Gysler during an internship at GTZ-Bolivia in 2010 and aims to analyze the intercultural approach of several GTZ programs, whereby combining theoretical considerations with insights related to practice. This paper provides valuable information with regard to the case study analysis and is used as foundation for further analytical steps and an add-on to knowledge gained by interviews. Moreover, regarding the conceptualization and evaluation of success again webpage information available on the respective webpages of GIZ was analyzed including the Open Community Website *Results-Based Monitoring and Evaluation* by GIZ which provides detailed information regarding processes of monitoring and evaluation (cf. www.2.gtz.de); the webpage of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (www.oecd.org) as well as the Centre for Evaluation (www.ceval.de). Additionally, the paper by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) called *Evaluierungskriterien für die deutsche bilaterale Entwicklungszusammenarbeit*[53] (cf. BMZ 2006a) constitutes a crucial element of this part of the analysis. Information regarding the evaluation of *PADEP* is based on the evaluation report of 2008 (Zwischen*evaluierung 2008; "Programm zur Unterstützung dezentraler Regierungsführung und Armutsbekämpfung", Bolivien. Kurzbericht*) by AGEG Consultants eG (cf. GTZ 2008). Additionally, several internal documents which are not quotable were analyzed. Hence, further insights are gained which only can be implicitly used by deepening the researcher's understanding of the case study.

Thus, the considerations above clarify the framework conditions of the empirical analysis and the case study's sources of information. Deriving from those aspects, the following outlines limitations to the study which is of high relevance when accessing the analytical part.

3.3.3 Limitations to the Study

The present study faces limitations on several levels of which the most important are outlined in the following as an awareness of limitations and possible problems is considered as being an important precondition for a sound research and analysis. Namely, limitations occur regarding the study's topic, the study's methodology and the conducted field research.

The topic itself creates certain limitations as culture is not purely observable and only partly accessible for non-members of a certain culture. Culture, and linked intercultural competence, is a dynamic process with important factors below surface, which challenges the empirical assessment. Further, following the study's main underlying assumption, the behavior, thinking and feeling of every human being is culturally determined, logically implies a cultural bias as the author's culture is influencing the approach chosen and every decision made regarding the research process.

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52   Approach to the intercultural focus in GTZ-Bolivia: a document for internal discussion and analysis.

53   Evaluation criteria for the German bilateral development cooperation.

Moreover, the qualitative approach chosen for this study leads to some further limitations. As already briefly outlined in chapter 3.2, expert interviews for instance may lead to some bias as the whole interviewing procedure is only partly structured and therefore strongly depends on the respective interviewed person as not everyone feels comfortable talking and sharing thoughts (cf. Behnke/Baur/Behnke 2006: 236) and is, furthermore, determined by the respective social interaction situation. This may lead to less comparability and less general validity of collected information and data (cf. ib.), which is a possible disadvantage of qualitative approaches in general (cf. ib.: 34)[54].

Further possible occurring limitations, with regard to the field research, are linked to the researcher's characteristics. As stereotypes are human, the fact that the researcher is a quite young German woman might cause some bias from the interviewed persons (cf. Liebold/Trinczek 2002: 46). Further, some language barriers might occur as some of the persons being interviewed in GIZ speak German as their mother tongue like the researcher and some others only speak Spanish which could cause natural limitations regarding communication. The language is also an influencing factor regarding the later analysis of the interviews as those were either conducted in German or Spanish but the gained information and statements need to be translated into English as this is the study's language defined by framework conditions. The loss of information as well as a subjective selection might limit the insights of this study.

Chapter 3 depicted and analyzed the preconditions of the further empirical analysis on the role of intercultural competence in organizations of development cooperation. It was outlined how the theoretical considerations guided the empirical research and the methodological approach applied here. Further, the case study has been introduced and the conducted field research with its sources of information has been outlined. Based on those foundations, the next chapter deals with the results and insights gained by this empirical research whereby it analyzes in detail the concepts of intercultural competence within GIZ-Bolivia and aims to link this aspect with the organization's success.

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54   Cf. 3.1 for elucidations how those disadvantages are balanced.

4 ANALYSIS OF THE CASE STUDY

This chapter in detail analyzes the case study and empirical findings with regard to the research question whereby the analysis has the following structure: As mentioned in the introduction, the analysis can be described as a two-step-analysis whereby in a first step both variables, intercultural competence (4.1) and success (4.2) are described and analyzed whereas putting a stronger focus on the aspect of intercultural competence. Both aspects are analyzed according to the three levels of an organizational context as outlined in 2.2 and 3.1. Thus, the role of intercultural competence within GIZ-Bolivia as well as the understanding of success is analyzed on the individual level focusing on the interviewed experts, on an organizational-structural level and with regard to the environmental context. Such a procedure with analytically distinguished categories allows a detailed and in-depth understanding of the analyzed case and already indicates linkages between intercultural competence and the organization's understanding of success. Thus, analyzing how those aspects are linked constitutes the second step of the analysis and is done in chapter 4.3. According to the research's design, this step is followed by adequate conclusions bringing empirical findings and theoretical aspects together (4.4). Concluding, chapter 4.5 states some recommendations and proposals based on the analytically outlined results.

4.1 The Understanding and Role of Intercultural Competence within GIZ-Bolivia

The following focuses on how intercultural competence is conceptualized within GIZ-Bolivia starting with the analysis on an individual level, hence, the level of staff members specifically interviewed experts followed by analyzing the organizational-structural level. Hereby, effort was placed in classifying the existing level of intercultural competence according to specific criteria being introduced in the respective sub-chapter. Subsequently, the organization's environment is analyzed regarding the question of how interculturality is conceptualized in the organizational context. Concluding, it is examined how those three levels interfere and mutually influence each other in setting up the overall picture[55].

4.1.1 Intercultural Competence on the Individual Level

Within this part, insights gained by expert interviews are outlined aiming to classify the existing level of intercultural competence on the level of staff members of GIZ-Bolivia. In order to draw conclusions on the expert's level regarding intercultural competence, the following three aspects are considered[56]: 1) the existing understanding of culture, 2) the perception of intercultural settings and 3) the conceptualization of intercultural competence. Considering the expert's respective understanding of culture is the first step to ac-

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55 Regarding the sources of information, it need to be briefly remarked that chapter 4.1.1 only refers to primary data whereby 4.1.2 and 4.1.3 combine secondary and primary data as this meets the analysis' requirements. One needs to be aware of this distinct procedure in order to adequately assess the provided information.

56 The following considerations are based on aspects outlined in chapter 2.1 and correspond to the applied interview guidelines.

cess the level of intercultural competence individuals might have as an adequate understanding of culture and cultural influences on human beings is the very foundation for any competent behavior within intercultural settings. This indicates whether a general sensitivity towards the issue exits. Knowing this, the next crucial aspect is to figure out how intercultural settings within the working context of GIZ-Bolivia are perceived by the interviewed experts. This is strongly linked to the level of awareness which is constituted as the first crucial step of intercultural competence. If intercultural settings are perceived as specific settings which require adequate competences different to mono-cultural settings, then this can be considered as an indicator for a certain level of awareness of culture's influence on human beings. Since a person perceiving intercultural settings as specific and challenging is probably aware of culture as a determining factor influencing both oneself and the counterpart. Further, it is obviously crucial to analyze how intercultural competence as such is conceptualized and how the role within development cooperation is perceived and assessed by the respective experts in order to adequately evaluate the role of intercultural competence on this level. The presentation of results refers to the entirety of interviewed experts in order to assess the situation regarding the whole organization. Whenever it is considered relevant for an adequate understanding, aspects like nationality, cultural or professional background are included as this could influence the level of intercultural competence. If further insights are gained by the dynamic approach of the group interview it will be stated separately, otherwise the results are included in the main analysis.

4.1.1.1 The Understanding of Culture

The first question to clarify is how culture is conceptualized and whether it is acknowledged as an influencing factor for human beings. Being asked how to define culture, the experts gave individual and distinct answers whereby recurring aspects can be identified and are emphasized in the following. First of all, many referred either implicitly or explicitly to culture's characteristic of existing of aspects below and above surface. If culture for example is defined as a set of values and ideals which then influence literature, architecture and so forth (cf. 2-1)[57] this indicates an implicit distinction between visible aspects (literature, architecture) and aspects more difficult to access (values, ideals). Other statements explicitly name culture as consisting of two levels like the following[58]: *"I think it is important to acknowledge that culture exists of things you can see such as the type of clothes someone is wearing or the music someone is listening to and other things which you cannot see and which require a certain sensitivity in order to figure them out"* (cf. 5-1).

This aspect leads to a further insight: The given definitions indicate how deep and intensive the respective expert has already dealt with the topic. A relative grounded knowledge on culture can be assumed when it is mentioned that approximately 130 distinct definitions exist (cf. 5-1) or when Weber is quoted while explaining culture (cf. 7-1). Further, given explanations often hint at the expert's professional background. For example, a staff member defines culture as developing out of social coexistences of human beings and as

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57 References are referring to individual interview transcriptions which are not included in this working paper for reasons of confidentiality.

58 The quoted statements are translated and written down in English as this facilitates the reading flow.

the consolidation of several institutions in the meaning of habits and rules, which are not necessarily formal, that are generated in such social coexistence and which lead to a system of values and norms (cf. 15-1). This relatively scientific definition, which indicates a political science oriented understanding, was given by an expert operating in the field of state and democracy where such knowledge probably provides basic professional-related knowledge.

A further less specific and widely recognized characteristic of culture is the dynamic aspect culture contains. With regard to this aspect, a valuable and interesting explanation is given by a Bolivian staff member: *"Culture is a collective construction. It is the mode of being a certain group of human beings has developed historically and constitutes to be its culture. It is a dynamic concept, changing and shaped by interactions. It is also a relational concept, because based on the specific culture a person is related to and interacts with the external world, nature, environment and further groups of human beings as well as with members of the same culture. Hence, culture is conceptualized as dynamic, historical, processual, collective and therefore it is not possible to talk about pure cultures as culture is constituted by life and interactions."* (Cf. 13-1) This outlines further aspects which are stated by other experts as well such as the relational character of culture and the group-specific, context-dependent character. Yet, no one considers a person's cultural background as identical to his or her nationality. Both Germans and Bolivians outline cultural differences which exist within their home countries whereby Germans mainly refer to regional differences and Bolivians to ethnical differences. Hence, culture is understood as independent from nations, as going beyond national borders and being multi-faceted within nations. (Cf. e.g. 1-1, 2-1, 5-1, 12-1) Additionally, language is pointed out as a determining factor for culture. An expert states that culture highly depends on language and that there are different ways how someone expresses oneself through his or her language in order to transmit values and norms as the way to verbally communicate and transmit things is highly determined by the respective cultural background (cf. 12-1).

Here, it is interesting to briefly separately consider the group interview as this shows that also the understanding of culture itself is culturally determined. Being asked about how to define culture, one participant outlined that this already includes an intercultural aspect. For instance, a Eurocentric perspective distinguishes between mankind and nature and defines culture as detached from nature whereby some indigenous persons from the Amazon consider nature as part of their culture. Such distinct concepts became obvious during a discussion between a Bolivian and German participant who argued about whether ethnicity or culture constitutes the adequate term to describe differences between human beings. Whereby from a German perspective, culture is the adequate term, the Bolivian participant insisted on distinguishing between culture and ethnicity. Such a distinction is not considered relevant from a German influenced cultural perspective but it is from a Bolivian perspective. This impressively outlines the cultural dimension of the topic as such. (Cf. 17-1)

However, apart from individual or culturally influenced set emphases, it can be stated that culture is considered as a factor influencing human beings, their values, attitudes and behavior. Being asked about the personal cultural background, interesting statements are made which confirm aspects mentioned before such as the dynamic characteristic of culture. Especially expatriates outline how their stays abroad, away from the cultural

background they were socialized in, influence their behavior and attitudes and cause certain adaptations whereby some deep structure elements never change. A German staff member sums this up and concludes that the values you carry inside are definitely shaped by the environment you were socialized in as each community has clearly defined rules in order to structure social coexistence. Yet, the more open a community is towards the surrounding environment, the more their values are influenced by other communities as well. (Cf. 12-2) This indicates that abstract explanations regarding culture are experienced as really existing. Accordingly, cultural backgrounds are described as consisting of several layers (cf. e.g. 12-2). When explaining the personal cultural background many refer to their respective nationality as a point of reference which is interesting as before culture was defined as independent from nations. This shows that the concept of nations constitutes a valuable structuring element for accessing cultural backgrounds.

Further, the question arises to what extent culture is accessible for non-members of the respective culture. A question expatriates can evaluate due to their experiences in different cultural backgrounds. They agree that integration is only partly possible, mainly on the surface level but never to 100 per cent. This is also caused by the limited time expatriates normally spend in one country or cultural background. An interviewed program manager remarks that it could be an opportunity to not even try to understand the respective cultural background as this makes it easier to handle certain incomprehensible things (cf. 11-1).

4.1.1.2 The Perception of Intercultural Settings

Previous elucidations have shown that culture is understood as a factor which influences human beings by staff members of GIZ-Bolivia. Even though there are differences regarding the in-depth understanding of culture, no one explained culture by only referring to music and art but the awareness exits that culture is a broadly determining concept. This leads to the next step of analyzing how intercultural settings are perceived as the working context of GIZ-Bolivia constitutes one. Generally, it can be stated that intercultural settings are perceived as especially challenging. One reason are culture's surface and deep structure dimensions as one interviewed expert states. She outlines that on a surface level one could see similar behavior or commonly shared ideas and therefore drawing the conclusion that everyone has the same goal but, however, on the level below surface many different values which are influencing this goal exist (cf. 6-2). Thus, in an intercultural setting, expectations are less obvious and more difficult to be figured out as another interviewee states. He outlines that it is easier to assume what a person with a similar cultural background might expect than a person with a different cultural background. (Cf. 16-2) Moreover, a further challenge of intercultural settings are the somehow automatically made judgments as another staff member mentions. She points out that in most of the cases when human beings with distinct cultural backgrounds interact with each other, they judge and compare the counterpart in order to draw conclusions what or who is better or worse which hinders the development of interactions at eye level (cf. 1-2). Further elaborating this thought another Bolivian staff member even questions the existence of interculturality or intercultural situations and states that the creation of the same is the first big challenge (cf. 13-2). Furthermore, it is stated that initially getting to know the re-

spective culture is demanding as this requires sensitivity and sometimes a high level of frustration tolerance (cf. 5-2).

However, assuming intercultural settings exist, beside such general challenges, specific challenges in the Bolivian context are named of which the following provides an overview whereby it needs to be distinguished between locals and expatriates as different aspects are considered as demanding. Regarding the perspective of expatriates, an aspect which is often mentioned is time and the respective understanding of time including punctuality. One interviewed expert who works with a counterpart organization outlines that finding an adequate way to handle the working time is a big challenge as her tasks are determined by a German shaped concept of time and time-efficiency but in a Bolivian context such aspects as time-efficiency plays a subordinated role. She further states that one needs to be patient with the counterpart for instance while defining objectives as Bolivians and Germans have different ways to formulate goals whereby Germans again focus on an efficient procedure. (Cf. 7-2) This is underlined by another interviewee who considers efficiency as a crucial and central value of German society on which many further values and ideals are based whereby it does not play any superior role in Bolivia (cf. 16-4). Accordingly, a program manager emphasizes the process of opinion building as challenging in the working context as it requires more time because contextual and especially not visible aspects need to be questioned (cf. 11-2). Further, expatriates bring up the concept of reliability which they perceive as different in the Bolivian context than what they are used to from a German background (cf. e.g. 15-2, 17-2). It takes some time to figure out when statements are reliable as a staff member concludes (cf. 15-2).

Moreover, the specific discussion and participation culture in the Bolivian context is named as another particular challenge (cf. 2-2, 3-2). A leading manager elucidates that movement is a crucial way for indigenous people to express their opinion. This is important to know in order to understand the marches, strikes and *bloqueos* one is confronted with regularly when living and working in Bolivia. As the Bolivian society allows everyone to participate, development workers and consultants have to form a tolerant attitude towards such ways of articulating opinions. (Cf. 3-2) Hence, the Bolivian society is differently structured than the German society which is perceived as following by a development worker[59]: "*In Germany, there exist norms and rules which shape and determine the German culture and which make society work. This is different in Bolivia where written rules are systematically ignored. Different groups have different systems of norms and rules which they follow and which are not comprehensible for you. This makes it sometimes quite difficult to work here.*" (Cf. 7-2) A program manager describes those societal structural differences accordingly: "*In a German context there is a formal society, which also determines the working context. There are rules and you can rely on how things are working. This is different in Latin America. Here, society is a network society; everything is based on personal relationships which is sometimes difficult for Bolivian staff members as they are still part of the network society but have to work in a somehow formal working environment. Different levels of formality exist, things are not that planned but nevertheless they are working out. You have to build trust in the informal way. This is important in order to get along.*" (Cf. 11-2) Those quotations impressively outline that the challenges of intercultural settings truly touch and refer to funda-

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59   Who is neither from Germany nor from Bolivia but experienced both contexts during some years of work experience.

mental aspects regarding society and distinct societal structures. Further, the described characteristics indicate a less predictable environment in the Bolivian case which influences people's behavior: They need to be flexible as their environment requires a high level of flexibility (cf. 16-2). Hence, the workflow as such is not clearly defined but, however, hierarchies are strictly determined in Bolivia which is a further aspect different from a German context which is shaped by flat hierarchies and where staff members are used to work quite independently (cf. 15-2; 16-1).

Intercultural settings further lead to challenges regarding communication processes as outlined and perceived by staff members of GIZ-Bolivia. Even expatriates who have been living for a long time in the Bolivian or Latin American context still consider communication as truly challenging (cf. e.g. 15-2; 16-1). This includes the probably quite German specific aspect of how direct communication can be. Many of the interviewed expatriates perceive this aspect as demanding knowing that the German understanding regarding the level of directness in communication is not widely shared. (Cf. e.g. 3-2, 7-3,12-2) The awareness exists that one should not criticize directly but trying to find an indirect way of communicating critique (cf. 5-2; 6-2; 7-3, 12-2) and that, further, distinct ways of handling messages are applied (cf. 3-2). These circumstances are perceived as challenging for the workflow by many. Especially the way people with an indigenous background communicate is outlined as difficult to comprehend. A program manager describes the challenges as follows: "*I realize the way how Aymara or Guarani express themselves is different and reflects their mentalities. As such, they do not clearly differentiate between "we" and "I" as they think more collectively. Further, they talk in circles. They start and end with the same content. They always close circles and frequently repeat what they have already said. I got into the habit of repeating everything and saying things three to four times because otherwise they do not understand me. But so far, I have not completely understood what this means – is it an expression of different significance if something is repeated five times and something else ten times? Vice versa it is the same, sometimes I feel they do not get my point as I do not get their point.*" (Cf. 12-2) This clearly outlines the linkages between the way of communicating, language and the way of thinking which were mentioned in the previous sub-chapter and which are perceived by another project manager as challenging too as language is the mean to express a way of thinking and the way of thinking is culturally influenced, so there are challenges when communicating with colleagues with different cultural backgrounds (cf. 9-2). Accordingly, the ability to listen is outlined by many as a relevant and crucial foundation for communication processes within intercultural contexts (cf. 1-2; 5-2; 7-2).

Having those various perceived challenges by expatriates in mind, it is interesting to consider the statements of local staff members who do not perceive the collaboration with Germans or expatriates from different countries as the big challenge but the collaboration among local staff members with distinct cultural backgrounds (cf. 13-3). Thus, the perceived challenges of intercultural settings differ between expatriates and Bolivians whereby for both groups the national contextual situation constitutes a crucial determining aspect for interactions on the individual level of GIZ-Bolivia[60]. As this sub-chapter outlines a variety of aspects, the following table sums them up for a brief overview on the results.

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60 This indicates the relevance of analyzing the country specific context as it will be done in detail in 4.1.3, which will then also provide further insights regarding perceived challenges by Bolivian staff members and therefore extent the quite short paragraph at this point.

Tab. 6: Challenges of intercultural settings perceived by staff members of GIZ-Bolivia

Perceived Challenges of Intercultural Settings
General challenges:
1. Creating adequate intercultural situations including to leave behind judgmental behavior
2. Adequately distinguishing between things in common on the surface level and distinct values underneath
3. Getting to know the respective culture and its specifics
Specific challenges in the Bolivian context:
4. Concept of time (including time-efficiency, punctuality, the handling of working time and time required for processes of opinion-building or defining objectives)
5. Understanding and accepting the political culture of participation and discussion
6. Understanding the way society is structured (formal vs. network society, binding power of rules, reliability)
7. Specific structure of workflow (flexible handling but clearly defined hierarchies)
8. Communication processes (directness, critique, underlying cultural patterns)

Source: Author's illustration.

4.1.1.3 The Understanding of the Role of Intercultural Competence within Development Cooperation

Deriving from such perceived challenges regarding intercultural settings, the question arises how the interviewed experts of GIZ-Bolivia perceive, access and evaluate the role of intercultural competence within development cooperation. Thus, the first step is to illustrate how they conceptualize intercultural competence and which competences are considered relevant in such a context. Analyzing and classifying the given answers of the interviewed experts, it becomes obvious that there are some core competences or characteristics which are considered as important in an intercultural context. Those core competences are the following ten presented in the table below[61].

Tab. 7: The concept of intercultural competence by staff members of GIZ-Bolivia

Aspects of Intercultural Competence[62]
1. General awareness of culture's influence
2. Knowledge about the respective cultural context
3. Empathy
4. Flexibility

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61 Actually, those terms are considered as self-explaining and are therefore not further explained but will be compared with the theoretical elaborated conceptualization (cf. 2.1.2.2.) in chapter 4.4.

62 The numbers do not indicate any ranking.

5. Openness
6. Tolerance
7. Patience
8. Humor
9. Listening
10. Capacity to adequately handle stereotypes[63]

Source: Author's illustration.

Based on this conceptualization, the following analyzes the corresponding role of intercultural competence within development cooperation. Adequately to the statements made before, intercultural competence is considered as an important factor within development cooperation respectively the work for GIZ-Bolivia by all interviewed experts whereby the detailed understanding varies. Both staff members of the former DED and GTZ declare that intercultural competence is a crosscutting issue within their work[64] (cf. e.g. 5-4; 11-4). However, some staff members and a leading manager point out that there is still the need for improvement on a macro level as organizations of development cooperation operate based on their own concepts which they developed out of their own cultural background. Hence, defined goals, objectives and indicators of development interventions set in a clearly determined time frame often do not meet reality as one interviewee states based on her experiences. (Cf. 1-4) There are gaps between the conceptualization and implementation of development cooperation which is caused by a still strong ethnocentric behavior and way of thinking. In many cases, the understanding still exists of having a recipe which is applicable worldwide. The interviewee points out that one should think more context related and to adapt and adjust programs and concepts more consequently to the specific context. (Cf. 2-4). It is interesting to compare this quite critical attitude with the relatively optimistic approach another leading manager advocates. He states that an ethnocentric behavior was left behind and the German development cooperation already started decades ago to develop a sufficient level of intercultural awareness. Nevertheless, he brings the argument of mediating societal and democratic values when reflecting about the justification of German development cooperation. (Cf. 3-4)

With regard to the micro level of individuals working within development cooperation, some interviewees criticize that intercultural competence is often considered as a self-fulfilling prophecy (cf. 6-4; 12-4; 15-4). It is assumed that a person who is working in a developmental context automatically owns intercultural competences. However, according to the statements, this strongly depends on the respective persons but in general interviewed staff members perceive the majority of their colleagues as intercultural competent.

Further, the group interview provides some additional interesting insights. One participant states that intercultural competence is a factor determining success or failure of development interventions. Responding to this, another participant states that he does not

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63 Which refers to recognizing them as such.

64 Aspects regarding the organizational-structural level (meso-level) are analyzed in detail in 4.1.2.

agree on considering intercultural competence as a key success factor. He perceives this as typically German and mentions the French as an example who do not question their culture. Interesting is, that the participant who declared intercultural competence as a factor of success is not German but Bolivian. Obviously she is working in a German organization as she is working for GIZ-Bolivia/former DED as all group interview participants. Thus, the question arises how the organizational context influences the actual existing level of intercultural competence and the linked overall intercultural approach of GIZ-Bolivia. Consequently, the organizational-structural level is analyzed in the following. But before doing so, the level of intercultural competence on an individual level is concluding evaluated.

According to the elucidations at the beginning of this sub-chapter, the level of intercultural competence on the individual level of staff members of GIZ-Bolivia is assessed by the understanding of culture, the perception of intercultural settings, the concept of intercultural competence and the linked understanding of the role of intercultural competence within development cooperation. As mentioned in the respective parts, there are differences regarding those aspects among the staff members of GIZ-Bolivia due to determining reasons outlined above. However, based on the analysis of several aspects the broad picture allows the conclusion that there is a medium to high level of intercultural competence existing on the level of staff members of GIZ-Bolivia[65].

4.1.2 Intercultural Competence on the Organizational-Structural Level

Based on the considerations regarding the individual level of GIZ-Bolivia the following sub-chapter deals with the level of intercultural competence on an organizational-structural level. Thus, it aims to answer how culture and intercultural settings are conceptualized on this level of GIZ-Bolivia and how this concept is implemented. Insights regarding those questions are gained by further statements of the interviewed experts as well as by documents or website information.

4.1.2.1 Concepts of Culture and Intercultural Settings

GIZ – as the whole organization - considers culture as an important factor regarding development cooperation. Hereby, the applied understanding constitutes culture as dynamic which underlies a continuous process of change. According to the official webpage, GIZ aims to support counterparts to include material and immaterial aspects of their culture in their recent lives. (Cf. www.gtz.de[8]) The manager of the department for planning and development of the former GTZ states that culture runs like a common thread through GTZ's and now GIZ's daily working life. She considers culture as the fourth dimension of sustainable development. (Cf. www.gtz.de[9]) Accordingly, GIZ-Bolivia respectively the former GTZ part states that culture is dynamic and heterogeneous whereby its limitations are not natural but strategically built by members of one culture in order to auto-identify oneself and to distinguish oneself from other cultures (cf. GTZ 2010: 13). As members of different cultures interact with each other in the organization's context a

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65 This assessment is based on theoretically derived knowledge as further elucidated in 4.4.

concept regarding intercultural settings and interculturality is required. Here, GIZ specifically the former DED section, points out that two different concepts of interculturality need to be distinguished whereby one refers to asymmetric relations between subaltern and hegemonic cultures or social groups. On the other hand, interculturality can be understood as a normative principle which aims to establish harmonic types of relations based on the mutual acknowledgment of differences. (Cf. www.ded.de[2]). Accordingly, DED-Bolivia understands interculturality as an opportunity for all "ethnical and social groups of a region to adequately, equally and effectively participate in decision making processes and its implication" (cf. ib.). Within the document of the former GTZ section dealing with GTZ's intercultural approach (as presented in chapter 3.3.2), interculturality is highlighted as a key topic for international cooperation especially in the specific context of Bolivia whereby implementing an intercultural approach does not only include the relation between two big cultures but for instance also two Quechua communities with different customs and habits (cf. GTZ 2010: 14).

The question arises how this topic and the outlined theoretical considerations are implemented and included in the organization's work. Accordingly, this is analyzed in the next step.

4.1.2.2 Implementing Interculturality and Intercultural Competence

The implementation of interculturality and intercultural competence refers to several aspects of GIZ-Bolivia. As previously mentioned it is considered a crosscutting issue within GIZ-Bolivia. However, the implementation is determined by the fact that the topic is often considered as equal to the work with indigenous people as it is stated in the document analyzing the intercultural approach of GTZ-Bolivia (cf. GTZ 2010: 7). The document's author emphasizes that an intercultural approach includes more than just the collaboration with indigenous groups (cf. ib.). This point of view is shared by many of the interviewed staff members. But so far no adequate guidelines regarding the implementation of interculturality exist (cf. ib.) as they do with regard to the collaboration with indigenous people (cf. BMZ 2006b). This is also criticized by one interviewed staff member who outlines that it is required to act according to interculturality and intercultural competence but that there is no concrete strategy of implementation neither do methods or tools exist to accordingly measure it (cf. 16-1). However, this document indicates that the topic is put on the agenda and gains importance within GIZ-Bolivia as well as further internal documents do which could be analyzed during this study's field research.

Yet, beside a solely recognition of the topic's relevance, it is crucial to implement it accordingly. Here, selection processes of new staff members provide one opportunity to adequately apply and implement an intercultural approach as pointed out by several interviewed experts. One interviewee outlines that the selection process could be a crucial component of giving more relevance to that topic. Yet, in reality it is sometimes taken really serious and sometimes not considered at all. This still strongly depends on the person who is in charge of personnel decisions. Furthermore, according to her, this only holds true regarding the selection of expatriates but not with regard to local staff members. (Cf. 15- 3) The fact if someone's CV outlines several stays abroad is often taken as a proof for the existence of intercultural competence what does not always hold true as an-

other interviewee states (cf. 12-6). Accordingly, a stringent implementation and inclusion in staff selection processes is undetectable.

Further, trainings regarding intercultural competence provide an opportunity to implement the topic within the organization. Such trainings can be implemented as off- the-job or on-the-job trainings (cf. 2.1.2.4). Being asked whether they have done an off-the-job training regarding intercultural competence as preparation for their recent position, the interviewed staff members of GIZ-Bolivia all answered the question with either no or yes, but long ago. Yet, some have participated in a country-specific preparation workshop. One of the interviewed experts is in charge of the off-the-job, country-specific training for Bolivia offered in Bad Honnef, Germany as preparation for a stay in Bolivia. He outlines weaknesses of the structure and concept of such trainings. According to official requirements such workshops should include the country's history, politics, economics, population and environmental problems whereby all aspects should be interculturally reflected, explained by case studies, developed by an active participation of the participants using multimedia. The timeframe for such trainings is two and a half day but for an adequate in-depth understanding of the country's specifics this is not sufficient as well as the mentioned requirements are not compliable as he elucidates. (Cf. 16-3) This points out how for instance organizational structures could limit the level of intercultural competence as further pointed out by him referring to organizational standards and objectives (such as a certain amount of money which need to be spent in a set time frame) which need to be fulfilled and which sometimes block an intercultural competent behavior of the respective staff members (16-1).

Regarding the second training option of on-the-job trainings one interviewee states that here a lot is done within GIZ-Bolivia as such as a working group exists which is explicitly dealing with the topic (cf. 3-3). To be more precise, two working groups have existed, one of the former DED and one of the former GTZ which are supposed to merger as the whole organization did. The working group (*grupo interculturalidad*) of the former DED section started in 2008 in order to develop an intercultural approach which explicitly aims to be broader than a pure focus on collaboration with indigenous groups. The objective is to implement the topic as a crosscutting issue whereby some workshops have been done and a conceptual paper was written. According to the interviewee's statement, interculturality is nowadays included in the whole project cycle of planning, monitoring and evaluation of the former DED section. (Cf. 6-4) Regarding the former GTZ section, the working group (*grupo interculturalidad*) started in 2009 based on the initial idea of analyzing how interculturality is included in the work of GTZ. The group's objective is to establish a general and understandable concept of interculturality including a set of tools and methods which can be applied in GTZ's projects and programs. (Cf. 4-0) Hence, the objectives of both groups seem to be quite similar and the groups a valuable contribution to include an intercultural approach. However, a further staff member outlines that more effort should be put on spreading such knowledge in order that all staff members of GIZ-Bolivia benefit from such working initiatives and not only the ones directly involved (cf. 14-6).

In the previously mentioned GTZ document some practical examples of programs which initiated the strengthening of internal competences such as *PROAPAC* or *PROAGRO* are presented (cf. GTZ 2010: 14f.). In the case of *PROAPAC*, the component *Governanza*

Gestion Politica Social was founded in order to push the topic's implementation whereby it groups several crosscutting issues like interculturality, gender, education, communication, corruption and transparency as explained by the program manager (cf. 11-3)[66]. Further efforts to include and implement an intercultural concept are made with regard to relevant areas like the promotion of intercultural interactions in order to avoid the topic remains a pure discussion; the support of intercultural norms and institutions; a focus on the composition of intercultural teams as well as including the aspect of cultural differences in the fight against poverty. Within all those areas achievements were reached regarding the inclusion of an intercultural focus but nevertheless it is stated that further efforts are required in order to adequately implement an intercultural approach respectively interculturality. (Cf. GTZ 2010: 14ff.)

One has to keep in mind that all considerations regarding the intercultural approach within GIZ-Bolivia are highly determined by the recently implemented merger of GTZ, DED and Inwent, three formerly independent organizations with distinct approaches during the last decades (cf. 3.1). GTZ respectively GTZ-Bolivia was operating on the level of the state whereby DED respectively DED-Bolivia mainly collaborated with NGOs what led to different organizational logics as on interviewed expert states (cf. 7-5). A staff members describes the merger as the try to convert a vertical and horizontal system (cf. 17-4), another as the attempt to combine the grassroot level and governmental level (cf. 12-5). This process leads to some uncertainty among the staff members but some are optimistic that such a merger could lead to an improvement of the offered programs and development interventions as both approaches have strengths and weaknesses (cf. e.g. 7-5). Obviously, such distinct organizational concepts lead to different approaches regarding interculturality which again influences the staff members with the respective organizational background as the field research's results outline. But as the present study aims to draw a picture of GIZ-Bolivia as a whole it is not considered crucial to separately analyze the differences in detail.

Taking all outlined aspects into account one can conclude that on the organizational-structural level of GIZ-Bolivia intercultural competence is on the agenda and in part strongly promoted on the one hand, but on the other hand organizational structures create limitations and difficulties regarding an adequate implementation of the intercultural approach. Hence, evaluating the level of intercultural competence on the organizational-structural level[67] leads to the result of a medium level due to the outlined strengths and weaknesses[68].

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66   Yet, it could be questioned whether it makes sense to group such diverse topics and whether this indicates an adequate handling of an intercultural approach. This aspect, as many other aspects of this sub-chapter, will be taken up again in 4.5.

67   This is done for reasons of analytical accessibility. However, the author is aware that it could be questionable from a theoretical perspective.

68   This evaluation is, according to the considerations regarding the individual level, based on theoretical derived knowledge and will be further outlined in 4.4.

4.1.3 Interculturality in the Organization's Context

As outlined in previous stages of this study, the organization's environmental context constitutes a determining factor especially regarding the study's topic. Therefore, chapter 3.1 presents a brief country profile of Bolivia in order to get an understanding of the specific context of the case study of GIZ-Bolivia. However, this fact sheet focuses on drawing a general picture of Bolivia and as already mentioned at this stage, Bolivia experiences processes of political change whereby the topic of *interculturalidad* (interculturality) plays a key role as shown by the fact that this is explicitly included in the new constitution of 2009 (*Constitución Politica del Estado*) (cf. GTZ 2010: 7) and constitutes a crucial component regarding the state's concept of *vivir bien* (living well) which explicitly focuses on including Bolivia's indigenous cultures (cf. Clayton Mendonca Cunha/ Santaella Goncalves 2010: 180). Hence, analyzing the role of intercultural competence for organizations of development cooperation at the case of GIZ-Bolivia requires a detailed understanding of what interculturality means in the Bolivian context in order to assess how this influences GIZ-Bolivia and its performance. Therefore the following approaches the concept of interculturality applied in Bolivia by mainly using information gained through expert interviews with two Bolivian staff members of GIZ-Bolivia who focus on this topic in their work context and therefore have detailed and in-depth knowledge regarding this topic[69]. But firstly the concept of interculturality applied in Latin America is assessed in order to understand the broader context and historical development of the term whereby those insights are based on the respective GTZ document (cf. GTZ 2010: 8ff.). The term interculturality was initially used in Latin America (and Europe) in the 1970s in the context of the educational sector. In Latin America, the concept mainly referred to education projects targeting indigenous groups. A strongly normative concept is linked to *interculturalidad* and according to Luis Enrique López three types of educational models can be distinguished. Firstly, models of assimilation which are based on the idea of mono-culturalism and aim to culturally assimilate and to create a common comprehensive culture. Secondly, the political correct model emerged which declares cultural diversity as a right but which stays neutral or passive and therefore does not contribute to deep changes. Thirdly, he names models of maintenance, development and enrichment which are shaped by an epistemological diversity and the attempt not to establish hierarchies but to acknowledge different cultures on the same level. Yet, within this focus on the educational sector there was the tendency to only apply the intercultural approach on indigenous groups. Nowadays, the concept of interculturality is much broader and does not longer only focus on the educational sector but refers to society as such[70]. The concept of interculturality was included in the Bolivian and Ecuadorian constitutions of 2009 re-

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69 Using information gained by expert interviews with Bolivian staff members depicts a certain point of view regarding the ongoing processes in Bolivia. As both interviewees are of indigenous background, insights consequently refer to a perspective grounded in such an indigenous context. This is considered as quite valuable because it approaches knowledge of people who are directly involved in the process of political change and not only as staff members of GIZ-Bolivia but also as Bolivian citizens. However, one has to be aware that this only outlines one point of view and does not assess the whole picture.

70 Nevertheless many publications of GIZ-Bolivia/GTZ-Bolivia are still mainly referring to the educational aspect (cf. GTZ 2010: 10).

spectively 2008 and shapes the political process of change the countries are experiencing at the moment. (Cf. GTZ 2010: 8ff.)

In order to understand the present ongoing political processes in Bolivia some historical developments need to be considered. As most of the Latin American countries Bolivia looks back on a turbulent history. The arrival of the Spanish in 1534 had a great impact on all areas of life. The Spanish brought new institutions from Spain and began to establish a new institutionalism imposing on existing structures. Nevertheless, indigenous groups maintained some of their ways of structuring the community life. The Spanish regime ended in 1825 with the establishment of the Republic, its first president Simón Bolívar and a newly built institutional infrastructure. Territories were newly distributed and new laws implemented which were strongly determined by European influences. From 1964 to 1982 Bolivia experienced a period of dictatorship as most of the countries did during this time. The election of Evo Morales and his party the *Movimiento al Socialismo* constitutes another turning point for the country. Interculturality was included as the guiding concept in the new constitution of 2009 and aims to implement this concept in all relevant parts of the state such as education, health care, public administration. Interculturality can be understood as the reflection of different points of view, namely the occidental and indigenous perspective, aiming to create a frame for interactions of mutual respect. Thus, interculturality can be considered as the connecting link between occidental or modern knowledge and knowledge of indigenous people. (Cf. 4-1) Despite those theoretical attempts and approaches, Bolivia can still be described as a society which maintains multi-societal as there exist approximately 36 nationalities[71] which coexist without any or only few contact points. There is an urban world and a rural world with different visions of life, distinct types of organizations and ways to structure power, different forms of government and different perceptions of life. For instance with regard to the economic system a hegemonic type market capitalism and a community economy exits next to each other without any connection. The same holds true for the juridical system and further aspects. Concluding, there is progress with regard to the re-evaluation of essential cultural elements but issues of profound changes are not solved yet. In this context, Aymara and Quechua groups are the most important actors in a quantitative sense to accompany this process. It could be remarked that the belonging to an indigenous group in Bolivia is based on the concept of auto-identification. (Cf. 13-1)

4.1.4 Combining the Individual, Organizational-Structural and Contextual Level

Considering the elucidations of the previous sub-chapters it becomes obvious that an interplay of all three levels namely the individual, organizational-structural and contextual level, constitutes the picture of GIZ-Bolivia regarding intercultural competence and the intercultural approach. On the level of individuals it was shown that a medium to high level of intercultural competence exists whereby differences can be explained for instance by the respective professional background because if a staff member's work is explicitly linked to an area where cultural or intercultural aspects play a key role it is likely that this staff member is more into the topic than someone else. Further, nationality and cultural

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71   In Bolivia, one does not refer to sub-cultures but to nationalities as one expert explains (cf. 4- 3).

background of a staff member influence the concept of culture someone carries inside as well as the perception of intercultural settings. Expatriates perceive various challenges in an intercultural working context, namely the collaboration between mostly Germans and Bolivians, two different nationalities. On the contrary, Bolivians do not perceive this setting as the most challenging but the collaboration with local colleagues of distinct cultural backgrounds. Bolivian staff members are involved in the political changes Bolivia experiences not only as development professionals but also as citizens who are directly and personally affected by the ongoing processes in the organization's environment. Accordingly, there is a strong link from the contextual environment to the individual level. Moreover, the organizational-structural level influences the staff members of GIZ-Bolivia as organizational structures and emphases set by GIZ-Bolivia could hinder or foster an intercultural competent behavior of the employees. Here, staff members of former DED and former GTZ face different preconditions as both organizations have applied distinct approaches. The organizational-structural level is further influenced by the organization's environment as the topic of interculturality is of high importance and relevance in Bolivia and needs to be adequately acknowledged by a development organization working in this context which aims to collaborate with Bolivian governmental actors among others. Thus, the context determines the preconditions of the organization's working environment which influences the way GIZ-Bolivia deals with interculturality, an intercultural approach and the need for an adequate implementation such as the creation of working groups. The following chart visualizes this interrelation in order to provide a briefly accessible overview on the outlined insights.
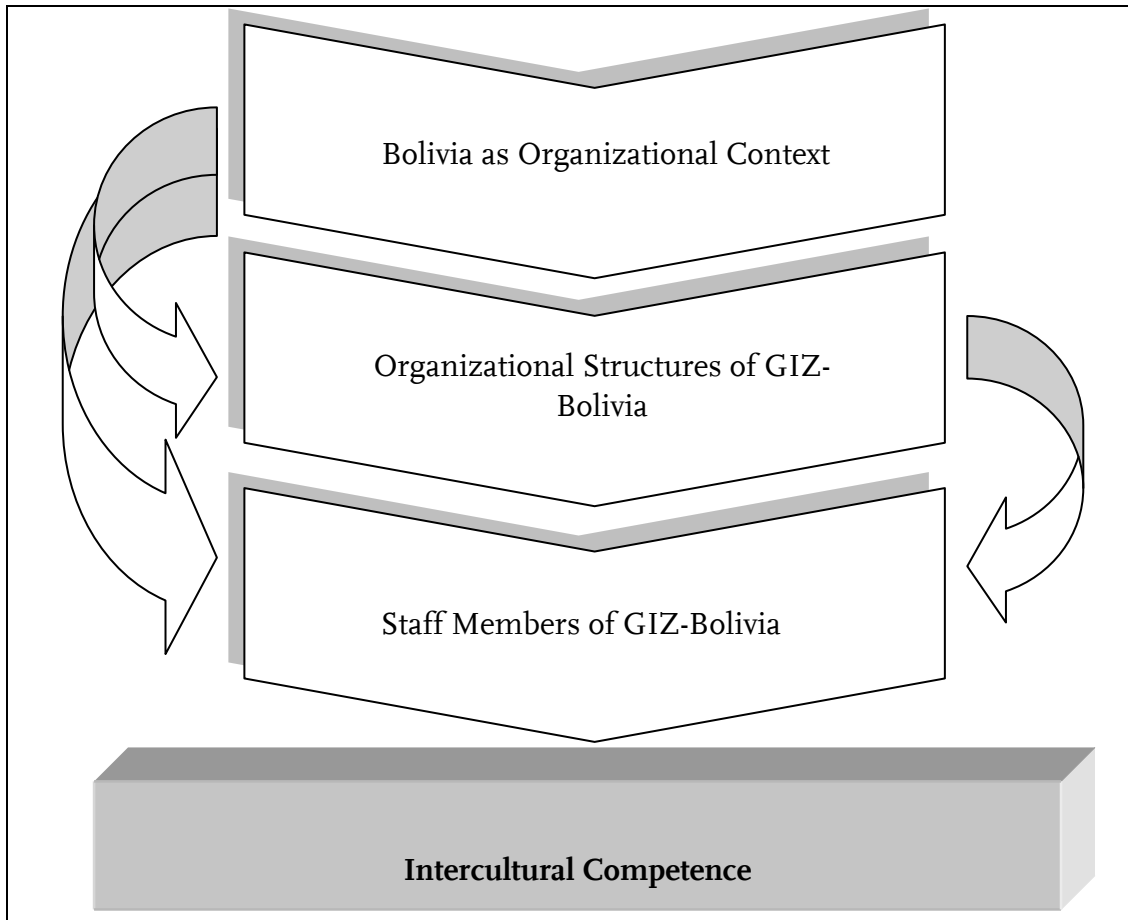
Fig. 1: The interplay of individual, organizational-structural and contextual level regarding intercultural competence[72]
Source: Author's illustration.

4.2   The Concept of Success within GIZ-Bolivia

The following approaches the understanding and concept of success applied at GIZ-Bolivia[73]. It is aimed to describe and outline the organizational internal perspective on success whereby it is not the intention to question or further analyze the existing concept. According to the previously outlined structure, this is analyzed on an individual, an organizational and contextual level[74]. Different to the structure of 4.1 the contextual level is

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72   As this chart focuses on outlining the interplay determining the aspect of intercultural competence within GIZ-Bolivia, linkages and relation which are not directly influencing this aspect are not included such as the organization's impact on the environment or the back link from the individual to the organizational level.

73   Chapter 4.2 is less detailed and of less length than 4.1 as the concept of success is not the analytical emphasis of this study but success is conceptualized in relation to the detailed and in-depth analyzed concept of intercultural competence.

74   As in 4.1, the first sub-chapter only refers to primary data whereby subsequent sub-chapters include both primary and secondary data mainly referring to secondary data.

not explicitly analyzed in a separate chapter[75] but implicitly included when analyzing the organizational level as the organization GIZ(-Bolivia) applies concepts of success which are partly developed and defined in the organization's environment (by further relevant actors in the field of development cooperation). Moreover, the contextual level is included in 4.2.3 where the interrelation of all three levels is outlined and GIZ-Bolivia's concept of success is analyzed in summary.

4.2.1   The Understanding of Success on the Individual Level

The interviewed experts were asked how they define and understand success and a successful performance of GIZ-Bolivia or a development organization in general. According to their statements, the majority of the interviewees applies a target group oriented understanding of success. For instance, one leading manager states that an activity or program is successful if the target group evaluates it as successful and confirms an improvement (cf. 2-5). He adds that in this context time is a crucial factor and in many cases things are not given enough time to develop (cf. ib.) which further underlines the already previously outlined importance of the factor time (cf. 4.1.1.2). Thus, according to one staff member, a successful performance needs to include the target group already at the stage of defining objectives, hence, to consult what they consider relevant (cf. 4-4). Several interviewees outline that a successful performance means to support the people in developing capacities which allow them to recognize problems on their own and to find support if they need some (cf. e.g. 6-5). The transmission of knowledge is considered as crucial and – as one staff member quotes – to teach the respective target group how to fish and not to only give them some fish (cf. 14-5). This idea is shared but differently expressed by a program manager who emphasizes that a development organization's task is to support the counterpart and to ensure the project remains the counterpart's project (cf. 12-5).

Accordingly, such a target group oriented concept of a successful performance includes the perception of the target group as a crucial component. And this perception could, as outlined by some experts, include a different understanding of success than the organization would apply as the concept of success is strongly context related. Thus, the often at development organizations applied understanding of success as growth does not always hold true in the respective context where the organization is operating (cf. 2-5). Such distinct understandings could be found regarding different levels of the respective partner country down to the individual level where some people define success as finishing work at three o'clock in order to have enough free time as pointed out by one staff member (cf. 17-5). Hence, the concept of success and the understanding of a successful performance is intercultural as well as another interviewee concludes (cf. 17-5).

Nevertheless, the concept of success includes some further aspects. Especially with regard to the aspect of measuring a successful performance, the fulfillment of predefined indicators is pointed out as an important part of the concept of success. A staff member concludes that there are so many distinct ways of conceptualizing success which makes it

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75   Such an analysis which would include for example the analytical consideration of the Bolivian National Development Plan or success criteria defined by further development actors such as the United Nations (UN) is not adequately realizable within this study's framework.

necessary to consider clearly defined indicators in order not to only rely on subjective judgments (cf. 17-5). An even more objective accessible criterion indicating success is mentioned by a leading manager who includes the aspect of a numerical proof specifically the organization's turnover as an important part when accessing success (cf. 3-5). However, this aspect is only mentioned once. Further, sustainability respectively a sustainable development is included by two interviewees as important when conceptualizing success (cf. 1-5; 2-5).

It needs to be mentioned that no pattern regarding nationality or cultural background is recognizable as determining the concept of success. Further, the target group oriented concept is pointed out by staff members of both formerly existing organizations, DED and GTZ. The outlined understanding of success refers to a quite broad level and is not specified to any particular program or project of GIZ-Bolivia. Those existing concepts of success respectively the understanding how to define a successful performance on the individual level mirrors to some extent concepts applied on the organizational-structural level[76]. Those concepts are described and analyzed in the following.

4.2.2 The Concept of Success on the Organizational Level

The impact of development cooperation and the question how existent resources are applied effectively and efficiently have become crucial criteria guiding the work of development organizations such as GIZ and GIZ-Bolivia (cf. www.gtz.de[9]). Recent tendencies within development cooperation[77] have led to an increased need to operate result oriented (cf. www2.gtz.de). Accordingly, the systematic evaluation of success constitutes an inherent part of the organization's work (www.ded.de[3]). Projects and programs are evaluated in order to figure out whether objectives are reached and a further contribution to a sustainable, economic and social development of the respective partner country is achieved. Such evaluation of the organization's performance and success is crucial regarding internal and external aspects. Internally, evaluations provide insights how to successfully steer projects and programs and which adaptations might be necessary. Moreover, with regard to the organization's stakeholders such as partners, target groups or the public, evaluation reports are the foundation for giving account. (Cf. www.gtz.de[9]) Thus, GIZ as federal implementing organization applies national and international standards and criteria in the evaluation process. This includes evaluation criteria for the German bilateral development cooperation defined and outlined by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) which are based on evaluation criteria by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (Cf. www.ded.de[3]) Hence, a successful performance is evaluated by considering the following six aspects: 1) Relevance, 2) Effectiveness, 3) Efficiency, 4) Developmental impact, 5) Sustainability, 6) Consistency, Complementarity and Coordination

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76   And therefore indicates the influence of the organizational framework on individuals within an organization.

77   Cf. 2.2.3.

(cf. BMZ 2006a[78]). The firstly named aspect of relevance refers to the question whether "the objectives of a development intervention are consistent with beneficiaries' requirements, country needs, global priorities and partner and donors' policies" (BMZ 2006a: 3). Accordingly, evaluating a program's or project's relevance means evaluating the program's adequateness to a specific context. By evaluating effectiveness it is assessed whether the development intervention's objectives were achieved or are expected to be achieved. This includes the questions whether set objectives were realistic and how to assess the quality of planning and steering. (Cf. ib.: 4) Further, it is considered "how economically resources/inputs (funds, expertise, time, etc.) are converted to results" (ib.: 5) which is referred to as efficiency. Hence, it is evaluated whether costs and benefits of the development intervention are related adequately (cf. ib.). The fourth criterion, development impacts, considers all "positive and negative, primary and secondary long-term effects produced by a development intervention, directly or indirectly, intended or unintended" (ib.: 6). It is assessed to what extent superior development impacts were achieved regarding different dimensions (social justice, economic performance, political stability, ecological balance) and fields (living conditions of people, organizations, institutions, sector/overall system) including the question whether originally intended development goals were realistic (cf. ib.). Additionally, it is evaluated whether positive impacts are sustainable and permanent considering "the continuation of benefits from a development intervention after major development assistance has been completed" (ib.: 7). In addition to those five aspects defined by DAC, BMZ includes the dimension of consistency, complementarity and coordination in its evaluation criteria whereby it mainly aims to evaluate the coordination among different donor countries and donor organizations and it therefore especially refers to the criteria of effectiveness and efficiency (cf. ib.: 8). Knowing those evaluation criteria GIZ applies, one accesses the understanding of a successful performance existing in GIZ and therefore in GIZ-Bolivia. To concretize those abstract criteria in the following one concrete case of GIZ-Bolivia is outlined.

The exemplary program chosen is *PADEP* (Programa de Aopyo a la Gestión Pública Descentralizada y Lucha contra la Pobreza)[79], a ten years GTZ program which started in January 2002 running until December 2011. *PADEP's* goal was to strengthen democratic governance, the quality of public administration as well as the state's legitimacy and to guarantee a responsible participation of civic society in order to facilitate the implementation of the National Development Plan. (Cf. GTZ 2008: 3) The following considers several aspects of *PADEP* guided by the question whether this program is evaluated as successful and on which criteria an evaluation is based referring to an evaluation report of 2008 developed by external experts of AGEG Consultants eG (cf. GTZ 2008). Accordingly, the considerations refer to insights gained some years ago at a stage when the program was still operating. *PADEP* consisted of five components, namely 1) decentralization, 2) institutional reforms and civic participation, 3) social equality, 4) crisis prevention and conflict

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78   This paper was written before the organizations' merger but with the explicit objective to contribute to the harmonization process of the German development cooperation and was developed by the participation of all former development organizations, namely GTZ, DED, inwent and KfW (cf. BMZ 2006: 2).

79   The program was selected because it is considered relevant in this context as it will be outlined in the following. Moreover, criteria of data availability were determining as evaluation reports are not freely accessible.

management, 5) process of constitutional reform whereby the evaluation report focuses on the first three components. The program's context was shaped by political changes such as often changing governments and social conflicts. The election of Evo Morales' government in 2005 with its focus on social and ethnic inclusion constitutes a political, social and cultural change which determined the program's framework condition. Despite such a challenging environment, *PADEP* managed to keep continuity regarding implementation due to its multi-level approach, a high level of flexibility and its prossecual character. Further, the program was operating according to a demand oriented consultancy approach which led to a high degree of ownership on the counterpart's side. Yet, the fact that consultancies were geographically distributed over the country and only focused on few institutional areas diminishes potential synergies. Accordingly, *PADEP* has been working based on participation and coordination with the civic and the private sector and did therefore contribute to capacity development of different stakeholder groups especially poor and/ or indigenous groups. (Cf. GTZ 2008: 3ff.) The program's performance was evaluated according to the criteria outlined above. Regarding the aspect of relevance the program is evaluated as 'good' as expectations of target groups and political priorities set by implementing partners were met and an embedding in country, sector-wide and cross-sectoral concepts of German development cooperation took place. The high level of ownership[80] is considered as an exemplary aspect. (Cf. ib.: 5) Further, *PADEP's* effectiveness is evaluated coming to the result that important criteria are fulfilled but the respective level of effectiveness varies among the different components. With its component 'decentralization', *PADEP* contributed to a draft bill regarding the decentralization reform process. Moreover, *PADEP* put effort on mediating conflictive interests in the context of the constitutional assembly. Thus, effectiveness is evaluated as 'satisfactory' at this stage. Due to quite unfavorable conditions, it expectations are not met but still positive results dominate. (Cf. ib.: 5) Regarding developmental impacts several aspects are outlined. Such as on a local level where participative processes of defining development plans or examples of intercultural administration strengthened social and ethnic inclusion. The report states that empowerment and self-confidence of disadvantaged poor and indigenous groups increased. In the program's operation area real existing development chances for unprivileged groups were improved but the extent this leads to a real improvement could not be finally judged at this stage. The report outlines the importance of an effective social control and poor-oriented monitoring in this context. Overall, superior development impacts are evaluated as 'good'. (Cf. ib.: 6) Further, the level of efficiency depends on institutional capacities of counterpart institutions and is therefore lower for poor municipalities with weak institutional structures. The overall level of efficiency was strongly influenced by political conflicts and is therefore evaluated as 'satisfactory' by the evaluation committee. (Cf. ib.: 6f.) As the program was still operating at the time of evaluation sustainability could not assessed concluding. However, aspects like the high level of acceptance and ownership led to the expectation that counterpart institutions will provide own resources in order to continue and deepen the implementation processes. Therefore, considering all relevant aspect regarding this criterion, sustainability is evaluated as 'satisfactory'. (Cf. ib.: 7) Additionally, the aspect gender was included in the process of evaluation whereby it is stated that gender is considered a sector relevant topic but, however, mainstreaming as a

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80   The aspect of ownership is strongly linked to an intercultural approach as outlined in 4.3.

crosscutting issue remains a political and institutional challenge. The program's impact regarding gender equality was limited by the time the evaluation was conducted. (Cf. ib.: 7) Overall, *PADEP's* performance is evaluated as 'good' by mid 2008. (Cf. GTZ 2008: 7.)

Being in the program's final stage by the end of 2011, a staff member concludes similar aspects as internally evaluated as important with regard to a successful performance of *PADEP* whereby highlighting the following three aspects: 1) multi-actor approach, 2) multi-level approach, 3) keeping political equidistance. She further emphasizes that GIZ-internally *PADEP* constitutes a point of reference for other programs operating in the governance sector as it was the biggest program by GTZ worldwide for quite a long time and, additionally, one of the first programs which was systematically collaborating with civil society organizations. Thus, *PADEP* was working context-oriented and based on demand which constitutes another important factor for its successful performance. (Cf. 15-6) Hence, the presented information allows the conclusion of evaluating *PADEP* as a successful program according to the organization's internally concept of success. Having conceptualized the understanding of success on the individual and the organizational-structural level the next sub-chapter analyzes existing interrelations in order to assess the whole picture whereby, to a certain extent, contextual influences are included in the analysis.

4.2.3   The Individual and Organizational Concept of Success in the Country's   Context

The expert interviews point out the understanding and concept of success which exists on the individual level of GIZ-Bolivia, hence, how staff members define a successful performance. As shown above this understanding is quite target group and context oriented. With such an understanding the individuals interact within GIZ-Bolivia which defines further success criteria on the organizational level. Those criteria valid on the organizational level are conceptualized on a superior level as success criteria defined by DAC are applied. Hence, relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, development impacts, sustainability and consistency, complementarity and coordination are the guidelines according to which the organization's performance is evaluated. As outlined above, some of those aspects include a target group orientation. Especially regarding *PADEP* such a target group and demand orientation is identified and outlined as a key success factor. Hence, congruency regarding the individual level and the organizational level exists to some extent as staff members are obviously shaped and determined in their concept of success by the respective organization they are working for. This interrelation between the individual and organizational level is extended by the contextual level, according to previous elucidations. As mentioned above, a detailed analysis of the concept of success on the contextual level is not possible at this stage, but, however, some aspects need to be outlined in order to adequately assess the overall picture and mutual interrelations. The relevance of such interrelations becomes obvious when for instance considering the fact that *PADEP's* goal is, respectively was, to contribute to the creation of an enabling environment for implementing the National Development Plan (cf. 4.2.2). Hence, the program's goal and the organizational understanding of success are determined by a concept which is defined in the organization's environment, namely the country context of Bolivia. Which aspects shape the Bolivian perspective on a successful development? According to the National

Development Plan, Bolivia's main objective is to move "beyond a political economic order based on primary product exports and the political and social exclusion of the majority of the population" (Clayton Mendonca Cunha/ Santaella Goncalves 2010: 180). This development should be accompanied by dignity, sovereignty, productivity and democracy - the Plan's four core aspects. As already pointed out in 4.1.3 the aspect of interculturality is implicitly and explicitly included regarding various components as such it plays a crucial role in the education sector where the creation of indigenous universities is named as one goal (cf. ib.: 181ff.). GIZ' s regional program operating in several Latin American countries which supports the establishment of a network of several intercultural indigenous universities could be considered as a contribution to this goal. Further, the program *PROJURIDE* explicitly aims to support the development of an intercultural legal system. Hence, as those brief insights outline, GIZ-Bolivia's interventions are determined by Bolivia's development goals which therefore also have an impact on the organization's concept of a successful performance. Further, the contextual level influences staff members of GIZ-Bolivia as they are in interrelation with their environment. Thus, according to the results of 4.1, GIZ-Bolivia's concept of success develops out of the interplay between individual, organizational and contextual aspects. The following chart visualizes this interrelation.
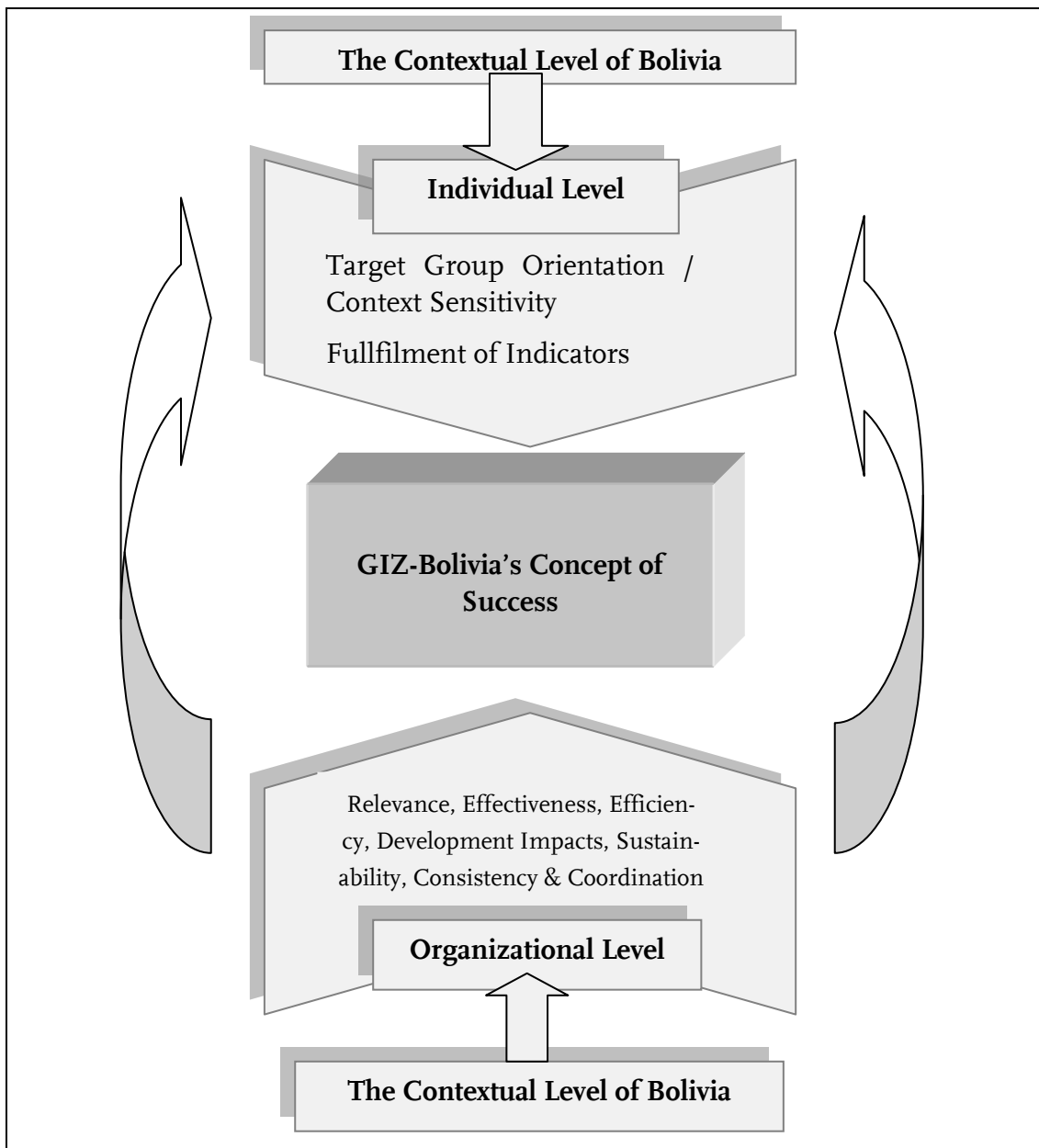
Fig. 2: GIZ-Bolivia's concept of success
        Source: Author's illustration.

To sum up, chapter 4.2 has outlined GIZ-Bolivia's conceptualization of success whereby the individual, the organizational and the contextual level are taken into consideration. Thus, as both concepts of intercultural competence and success are outlined, the precondition is set to go one analytical step further and analyze whether and how both concepts are linked which will be done accordingly in the following.

4.3 Linking the Concepts of Intercultural Competence and Success

Previous elucidations of chapter 4.1 have pointed out that an intercultural approach and intercultural competence is on GIZ-Bolivia's agenda. The interviewed experts show a medium to high level of cultural sensitivity and awareness as well as with regard to intercultural competence. The relevance of an intercultural approach within development cooperation is acknowledged by the interviewees, hence, on the individual level. Regarding the organizational-structural level of GIZ-Bolivia one could state that efforts are made to strengthen intercultural awareness and competences but that some, especially superior organizational structures determined by the headquarters such as the selection of staff members limit the inclusion of an intercultural approach. Further, Bolivia constitutes a special context regarding interculturality. As the topic is a constitutional part of the country's political change and recent policies it is highly relevant for any political action. Hence, GIZ-Bolivia as a development organization contributing to the country's development needs to adequately acknowledge interculturality when implementing its programs and development interventions. The relevance and importance of an intercultural approach for GIZ-Bolivia leads to the question whether and how this topic is linked to the organization's success. Is a successful performance of GIZ-Bolivia determined by intercultural competence? Corresponding to its qualitative approach the study analyzes this question and outlines several explicit and implicit linkages between intercultural competence and success in the following.

According to presented success criteria defined by DAC and BMZ (cf. 4.2.2) the aspect of relevance is crucial to consider when evaluating a development intervention's performance. This refers, as stated above, to the question whether a development intervention and its set objectives and priorities meet the beneficiaries' requirements and expectations as well as the country needs and partner and donor policies (cf. 4.2.2; cf. BMZ 2006a: 3). This is strongly linked to the target group oriented understanding of success pointed out by the interviewed experts (cf. 4.2.1). In their understanding, a performance is successful if defined as such by the respective target group meeting their needs. Such a target group and context oriented perspective, outlined by the experts and included in the criterion of relevance, contains an intercultural dimension as the actors involved in a development intervention have distinct cultural backgrounds such as the respective target group and development professionals. This requires an aware and adequate handling of defining objectives as different groups involved in development interventions may apply distinct concepts of success. An example therefore are the elucidations by an interviewee who points out that the paradigm of growth which is considered as a crucial part of a successful development in a Western way of thinking is not a global applicable concept (cf. 4.2.1). Thus, in many cases broad development concepts are not adequately adjusted and set objectives often do not meet reality as they are based on the understanding of the donor part and are therefore determined by the respective cultural background of where development interventions are planned (cf. 4.1.1.4). Putting it the other way around, a development intervention meeting the criterion of relevance needs to work context oriented which requires intercultural competences. This becomes more concrete when considering the example of *PADEP*. The program's relevance is evaluated as 'good' which is mainly caused by the participative and demand oriented approach. The thereby achieved ownership is evaluated as an important success factor and is closely linked to interculturality.

Such an approach requires intercultural sensitivity and competence as figuring out the target group's needs and the counterparts' expectations is set in an intercultural environment. *PADEP's* involvement in processes of the constitutional assembly of Bolivia outlines a further area where intercultural competent behavior is a precondition and crucial factor for any intervention. In order to consultant according to the country's specific needs and to meet the required relevance, it is crucial to be aware of the fact that values which are, for example, important in the German constitution are determined by the respective cultural background and therefore might not be adequate in a distinct cultural context. (Cf. 4.2.2)

Further, intercultural competence respectively an intercultural approach is linked to the criterion of development impacts which constitutes a further evaluation dimension defined by DAC and BMZ (cf. 4.2.2; BMZ 2006a: 6). Accordingly, it is evaluated what kind of positive or negative, intended or unintended, primary or secondary, direct or indirect effects are produced by a development intervention and whether originally intended development goals are realistic (cf. ib.). In the case of *PADEP*, the program indirectly led to a variety of effects which can be classified as positive development impacts. As outlined above, participative planning approaches as well as a result oriented and transparent administration improved the legitimacy of government action and examples of intercultural administration on a local level have strengthened social and ethnic inclusion and have improved the empowerment of poor indigenous groups. (Cf. GTZ 2008: 6) In order to achieve such positive development impacts a context oriented approach is required which includes an intercultural dimension. This is further strengthened by interrelations between GIZ-Bolivia's work and the development goals defined by Bolivia as outlined in 4.2.3. The National Development Plan of Bolivia explicitly includes the concept of interculturality which outlines the particular need for such an approach in order to act successful in the country's specific context. This holds true regarding the criterion of relevance as well as the aspect of development impacts.

Additionally, whether a development intervention is evaluated as successful further depends on the aspect of sustainability, hence the question whether positive impacts and changes are permanent (cf. 4.2.2; BMZ 2006a: 7). Regarding *PADEP* it was stated that due to the high level of acceptance and ownership the continuation of implemented processes of change through resources provided by counterpart institutions is likely (cf. GTZ 2008: 7). Hence, the level of acceptance is highlighted as precondition for sustainable development changes whereby a high level of acceptance respectively ownership is linked to the program's relevance as outlined above. Thus, as relevance is achieved by adequately considering the framework conditions including the cultural dimension, one could state that a program is more likely to be sustainable if it is culturally adjusted which requires intercultural competent behavior and an intercultural approach.

Accordingly, the evaluation criteria of relevance, development impacts and sustainability show intercultural components. Thus, an intercultural approach is crucial regarding the planning of a development intervention and determines its later effects. Regarding the aspects of effectiveness, efficiency and coherency, complementarity and coordination such obvious linkages could not be identified.

Consequently, as criteria applied to evaluate a development intervention's success include intercultural dimensions and aspects, linkages between intercultural competence and a

successful performance of GIZ-Bolivia exist. Hence, intercultural competence is one crucial factor – among others – to successfully perform within development cooperation. The evaluation report assessing *PADEP* underlines this aspect when pointing out that the intercultural approach needs to be deepened and adequately translated in tools and methods and that internal trainings regarding interculturality should play a bigger role (cf. GTZ 2008: 8). Further, the finding that intercultural competence determines an organization's success is strengthened by statements of interviewed staff members of GIZ-Bolivia. As outlined in 4.1.1.4 some interviewees name intercultural competence as a success factor. Being explicitly asked about the linkage between intercultural competence and success many highlight the importance of intercultural competence for a successful performance as one staff member who states that according to her impression GIZ-Bolivia works more successful in cases when cultural adapted projects are offered (cf. 15-5) but, however, they add that it is not the only determining factor (cf. e.g. 3-5; 11-5; 14-5). Additionally, two quotations impressively outline this relation and are therefore quoted in the following in order to emphasize previous elucidations.

One fund coordinator confirms a strong relation between intercultural competence and GIZ-Bolivia's successful performance and concludes *"As we are working as change agents – which we somehow try to do – we have to know about culture, our own culture and the culture we are working in and to know how to adequately achieve the changes we are planning to achieve."* (Cf. 6-5) Adequately, a development worker highlights that she is truly convinced that there is a strong relation between the success of development cooperation and intercultural competence and supports her opinion by the following statement: *"I think, in many cases we are not successful because we try to do our own things. We do not take the time and patience to figure out and follow the goals of our counterparts. We often think that objectives they have are not relevant or sufficient. I consider us as an academic lecturer who tries to teach a three year old boy in linguistics and structures of languages. Why and for what reasons? They have their own problems and we should help them with their problems and not with those problems we consider as important or relevant."* (Cf. 7-5) Such statements of development professionals are truly valuable when considering the relevance of intercultural competence for a development organization's success as they underline the practical relevance of previous elucidations. The chart below breaks down this interrelation and visualizes outlined results.
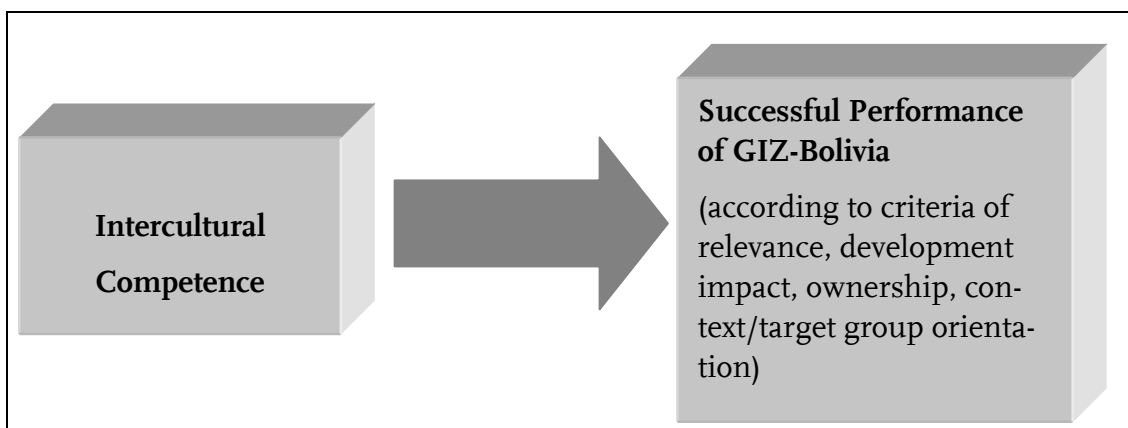

Fig. 3: The influence of intercultural competence on GIZ-Bolivia's success
        Source: Author's illustration.

Concluding, chapter 4.3 has outlined the existence and characteristics of linkages between intercultural competence and the successful performance of GIZ-Bolivia. It thereby referred to organization-internal concepts of intercultural competence and success as outlined in 4.1 and 4.2. Accordingly, intercultural competence positively influences the organization's success as an intercultural approach is explicitly linked to success criteria. Yet, it constitutes one crucial success factor among other factors which are not particularly considered in this analysis. Moreover, the analysis so far focuses on empirical findings resulting from the field research with GIZ-Bolivia. Thus, according to the case study's research design, the question arises how those empirical findings can be integrated in the theoretical framework outlined in chapter 2. Accordingly, this question is analyzed in the following sub-chapter.

4.4 The Case Study's Results in the Light of Theory – Linking Empirical Findings and the Theoretical Framework

Chapter 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 describe, outline and analyze the empirical findings of the case study's field research. It is pointed out how interculturality and intercultural competence are conceptualized within GIZ-Bolivia, which understanding of success the organization applies and how both aspects are linked to each other. The thereby gained results refer to the level of empirical insights. As outlined in chapter 3, the empirical research is based on a theoretical framework which guided the empirical approach, hence, the case study is theory oriented. Accordingly, corresponding to the research's design, the focus is now put on going one step further and linking the empirical findings with the theoretical framework. It is analyzed how the case study's empirical findings can be integrated in the theoretical considerations of chapter 2, whether congruities or gaps exits and which further insights can be gained through combining both perspectives both referring to the case study as such and more generally to the broad topic of intercultural competence in organizations of development cooperation[81].

Theoretically, the concepts of culture and intercultural competence are determining and important aspects within development cooperation[82]. Thus, the case study's underlying assumption is that intercultural competence and an intercultural approach play a crucial role for development organizations. A matter of fact which is strengthened by the empirical research regarding GIZ-Bolivia, especially by results of conducted expert interviews. On this level, intercultural competence is acknowledged as a determining concept for development organizations such as GIZ-Bolivia. Analyzing the organizational-structural

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81 As the study's underlying concept of success is not theoretically conceptualized but developed according to the case study of GIZ-Bolivia, the concept of success is not included in this chapter except for the part dealing with the study's hypotheses.

82 As outlined in 2.1.3, four different concepts of an intercultural approach are applied within development cooperation, whereby in the case study of GIZ-Bolivia all four concepts are either implicitly or explicitly existent. The concept of intercultural dialogues as a contribution to peacefully deal with conflicts is applied by the Ziviler Friedensdienst (Civic Peace Service). The second concept of intercultural interactions as means to promote values is explicitly mentioned at one point of the following analysis whereby concept three (intercultural communication respectively a dialogue based on intercultural competence as a mean to achieve development goals) and four (development cooperation as intercultural interaction) are implicitly included in the whole analysis.

level a more differentiated picture appears. However, a first step to analyze such a cultural or intercultural approach is to consider the cultural understanding on which the approach is based. The conducted expert interviews have shown that staff members of GIZ-Bolivia have a quite differentiated understanding of culture and apply concepts which are closely linked to theoretically based approaches. Hence, it can be assumed that GIZ-Bolivia's staff members have some theoretical prior knowledge of culture. All interviewees referred to culture as what Hofstede names 'Culture Two', a broad and far reaching concept of culture which conceptualizes culture as a collective phenomenon which is shared by people who live or used to live in the same social environment (cf. 2.1.1). Accordingly, culture's influence on human beings is acknowledged outlining the relevance on several levels such as values, attitudes, behavior. The question how to distinguish one culture from another, hence how to define the scope of one culture, is assessed in different ways from a theoretical point of view. The in chapter 2.1 proposed approach to use nationalities (according to Hofstede) for a first differentiation whereby being aware that this does not adequately meet culture's characteristics became apparent as practically relevant. Interviewed staff members of GIZ-Bolivia outline that one culture's scope is not identical with the boarders of one nation but refers to distinct groups within countries or transnational based on regions, social classes or ethnic differences. However, most of them refer to nationalities when explaining cultural differences. Hence, nationalities are commonly used categories in this context and can – depending on the respective research question – be applied as classifying concepts[83].

Further, culture can be described as the rules for playing the game of life whereby different cultures have distinct rules and different applications (cf. 2.1.1). Such a description of culture indicates a further characteristic: culture contains a surface and deep structure whereby a crucial part is below surface according to an iceberg. Hence, culture consists of observable and describable aspects on the surface level (perceptas) and non-observable deep structure aspects (konzeptas) including values. (Cf. ib.) This theoretical concept is mirrored in the empirically approached understanding of staff members from GIZ-Bolivia. It further indicates the existence of challenges when human beings with distinct cultural backgrounds interact as human beings act according to values defined by their respective culture. As outlined, such a value on which many Germans base their behavior is efficiency; a value which obviously is not of high relevance in a Bolivian way of being which therefore causes challenges when members of those backgrounds interact with each other as there is no congruity on the deep structure level. Another example would be reliability. The interviewed staff members name such differences, point out herewith linked differences and challenges but do not explicitly evaluate such culturally determined values as better or worse. Whether such a neutral attitude generally exists within GIZ is questionable if one considers the following statement on the organization's website: "To ensure the participation of all stakeholders we apply a holistic approach based on the values and principles upheld in German society" (www.giz.de (1)). Similar is the statement of one interviewed leading manager who considers the conveyance of values as part of

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83   In this case, the concept of culture somehow provides a precondition for the further analysis, hence the main focus is not put on explicitly analyzing the concept of culture but the herewith linked concept of intercultural competence. For studies explicitly and in detail dealing with culture such an approach is obviously too broad.

GIZ(-Bolivia's) job (cf. 4.1.1.4). This creates the impression that the organization GIZ still applies a relatively ethnocentric approach which is an aspect theoretically outlined as one of the challenges regarding intercultural settings (cf. 2.1.2.1).

A further challenging aspect regarding intercultural settings refers to commonly used symbols which are based on distinct values or concepts as outlined by Bolten (cf. ib.). Thus, congruencies exist on the surface level but do not extend to the deep structure. Therefore, an example in the case of GIZ-Bolivia could be the concept of interculturality as such. As Bolivian staff members are involved as citizens in the political changes Bolivia is experiencing at the moment, their concept of interculturality is highly determined by the country specific discussion, hence, many of them link interculturality automatically and immediately to the social and political inclusion of indigenous people. Expatriates who are not personally involved in the country's situation, link interculturality to interactions between members of different cultures independently how those cultures are determined. Hence, a more abstract and broad approach is applied. Accordingly, the empirical findings outline differences regarding the concept of interculturality based on distinct cultural backgrounds. This is obviously a determining factor for the whole study and an interesting insight regarding the intercultural approach. However, despite such distinct concepts underlying interculturality, an intercultural competent behavior is relatively similarly conceptualized as pointed out in the following.

According to the theoretical conceptualization the first step to intercultural competence is to increase the level of awareness about culture's influence on human beings in general, as well as on the own person and the respective counterpart (cf. 2.1.2.2). The second step is to accumulate knowledge about the respective culture one is interacting in or with (cf. ib.). Both aspects fit in a cognitive dimension of intercultural competence according to a theoretical applied distinction of affective, cognitive and behavioral dimensions (cf. ib.) and are often named and outlined as crucial components of intercultural competence by the interviewed staff members of GIZ-Bolivia. Regarding the accumulation of knowledge, adequate language capacities are additionally named as a very basic and crucial aspect. The cognitive dimension further includes the awareness and acceptance of differences which constitutes one result of the empirical analysis and to which Bolten refers to as 'Dissensbewusstsein' (awareness of disent) (cf. Bolten 2007: 112). Additionally named skills as empathy, flexibility, tolerance and patience are part of the affective dimension of intercultural competence (cf. 2.1.2.2). Moreover, humor, which is pointed out as an useful feature for intercultural settings, could fit in this dimension as well and extends theoretically stated aspects. As no observations but only interviews are conducted, the behavioral dimension is difficult to assess within the empirical research. However, the theoretical concept of intercultural competence is strengthened by the empirical findings or, to put it the other way around, the empirical accessed concept of intercultural competence outlines many congruencies with theoretical concepts. Yet, the concept of meta-communication which is outlined by Bolten as one crucial part of intercultural competence (cf. ib.) requires a more detailed analysis. Meta-communication refers to communication about communication processes and behavior and should be applied in order to clarify situations and relations (cf. ib.). But one need to be aware of the fact that cultural specifics lead to distinct types of meta-communication as Bolten outlines (cf. Bolten 2007: 76). The fact of culturally determined distinct types of meta-communication is

strengthened by remarks of interviewed staff members of GIZ-Bolivia who outline the challenging aspect of knowing how direct and open communication can be. One interviewee points out, regarding the question whether expectations and possible problems are openly communicated within the organization, that such a structured procedure is way too German and not adequate to the Bolivian context where communication is by far less direct and open (cf. 16-2). A matter of fact strengthened by many others as outlined in 4.1.1.2. Accordingly, regarding the concept of meta-communication, an adaptation to the respective cultural context is particularly crucial and important. Moreover, communication as such is outlined by staff members of GIZ-Bolivia as a challenge in the Bolivian context as cultural differences become impressively experiencable in communication processes. Intercultural communication outlines distinct ways of thinking, such as the mentioned distinct conceptualization of 'we' and 'I' which mainly differentiates the Western and indigenous way of thinking and communicating and can be categorized according to Hofstede's cultural dimension of Individualism versus Collectivism (cf. 2.1.1)[84]. Such differences require an adequate level of awareness and knowledge in order to competently handle intercultural communication processes. The here outlined aspects underline that intercultural communication is a crucial part of the whole topic as theoretically outlined (cf. 2.1.2.3).

A further influencing factor regarding intercultural competence in organizations of development cooperation according to this study's insights is organizational culture. As outlined in 4.1.2.2, GIZ-Bolivia is not a historically evolved organization but developed out of formerly three independent organizations whereby this study has analyzed two former sections, namely GTZ(-Bolivia) and DED(-Bolivia). Those sections have applied distinct approaches over the years: GTZ mainly focused on the macro level cooperating with government actors whereby DED primarily operated on the micro level collaborating with civic society actors mainly NGOs. Such two different approaches led to distinct organizational cultures as an organizational culture is mainly determined by the specific practices the organization applies (cf. 2.2.1). Those different organizational cultures become obvious in the context of the empirical research. Staff members of the former DED and former GTZ do not apply completely different concepts of intercultural competence regarding the values underneath – except for the distinction between Bolivian staff members and expatriates as outlined above – but regarding the proposed practices. It became obvious that DED staff members apply a more micro level, civic society oriented approach of intercultural competence, whereby staff members of GTZ analyze it with a stronger link to the level of the state. One could state that the organizational culture of GIZ is composed of three[85] different sub-cultures. It is not the analysis' intention to evaluate which approach is better or worse but to point out that such differences exist and that, therefore

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84 As Bolivia is not included in Hofstede's study, no direct comparison between Bolivia and Germany regarding the respective index positions is possible. However, a broad impression can be gained by considering Peru and Ecuador as two countries from the same region. Hence, Germany gets 67 points whereby the index ranks from 0 (= strong collectivism) to 100 (=strong individualism); Peru and Ecuador get 16 respectively 8 points. Accordingly, individualism is the leading concept in Germany whereby Peru and Ecuador are characterized by strong collectivism. Insights which underlie the here outlined differences.

85 Assuming that an analysis of Inwent would outline a further organizational culture.

organizational culture needs to be considered and included when analyzing intercultural competence in organizations of development cooperation.

Further, the empirical analysis outlines the interplay between individuals as members of an organization, organizational structures and the organization's environment regarding the analyzed concepts of interculturality and success. According to elucidations of 2.2.3 organizations in development cooperation face specific challenges as the organizational workflow is determined by intercultural settings. This mainly refers to question regarding power and rules (cf. ib.) which is underlined by the study's empirical insights. The importance of clear defined hierarchies in a Bolivian context is perceived as challenging for German staff members as they are used to flat hierarchies. An aspect which fits in Hofstede's concept of power distance which constitutes one further dimension he applies to distinguish different cultures[86] (cf. 2.1.1). The second aspect regarding rules is linked to the dimension of uncertainty avoidance (cf. 2.2.3)[87]. The empirical analysis outlines that Germans prefer a reliable (working) environment where statements are binding whereby Bolivians are used to a more flexible handling of working procedures and rules. Such differences obviously challenge the organization's workflow but many outline that the common organizational culture diminishes such difficulties. This is indicates an interrelation between a person's cultural background and the organizational background of the respective organization the person is working for – an aspect which is taken up again in the further course of this chapter when dealing with the study's hypotheses.

All previous elucidations outline and emphasize the multi-faceted character of intercultural competence. As outlined in 2.1.2.4, becoming intercultural competent contains several steps, a fact which is acknowledged by theoretical models and considerations. Accordingly, training methods are a tool to increase the level of intercultural competence. As intercultural competence is acknowledged as relevant for organizations within development cooperation one could assume that such trainings are adequately applied and implemented. But the empirical findings outline a contrary picture (cf. 4.1.2.2). As stated in 2.1.2.4, the most common approach in Germany is the culture-specific informational training; this is indeed the only kind of training some of the interviewees have participated in. However, this type of training outlines some weaknesses from a theoretical point of view as it often remains on a pure descriptive and facts-oriented level (cf. ib.). Additionally, limitations due to inadequate framework conditions in reality exist as pointed out in 4.1.2.2. It seems advisable to close the gap between the theoretically acknowledged role of intercultural competence and its practical implementation. This aspect will be taken up again in 4.5 when recommendations derived from empirical and theoretical insights are given.

But before doing so, as a conclusion from empirically gained insights, the study's hypotheses are taken into consideration. As outlined in 3.1 this case study was not only theory oriented but, moreover, the empirical research is guided and structured by five hypothe-

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86 As outlined above a comparison of Bolivia and Germany is not possible. For a rough idea, again Ecuador and Peru are considered. They outline a relatively high power distance index of 78 respectively 64 whereby the index ranks from 0 (= small power distance) to 100 (= great power distance). Germany achieves 35. (Cf. Hofstede 2001: 30f.)

87 In the case of uncertainty avoidance, included South American countries rank widely spread which therefore does not provide any useable information in this context (cf. Hofstede 2001: 159f.).

ses. It is one goal of the study to adapt those hypotheses according to the empirical findings of the case study in order to provide ideas, suggestions and a sound basis for further research. The study's main hypothesis is: *The level of intercultural competence within organizations in the field of development cooperation positively influences the organization's success.* In the case of GIZ-Bolivia such a relation between intercultural competence and a successful performance is producible (cf. 4.3), hence, valuable knowledge regarding this assumed relation is gained. However, as this study is not hypotheses-testing, a final evaluation of this hypothesis cannot be provided but due to the case study's findings the hypothesis assumption is strengthened and could be applied for further research.

Regarding the four further hypotheses some adaptations are considered advisable due to the case study's results. The wording of the second hypothesis which states *The more intercultural competence is considered as an important factor within the organizational structure, the more successful the organization works* is considered as not precisely enough and is therefore changed in *The inclusion of an intercultural approach on an organizational-structural level promotes a successful performance of development organizations.*

The third hypothesis refers to the level of individuals within an organization and assumes that *Members of development organizations who are aware of a) the influence of culture as such in human behavior, b) the influence of one's own culture and c) cultural differences work more successfully than members who are not aware of those aspects at all or just to a limited extent.* The case study has shown that staff members of GIZ-Bolivia who are aware of culture's influence on human beings are likely to be aware of the respective influence of their own culture as well as of cultural differences. As outlined in 3.3 a comparison on the individual level of staff members regarding their distinct successful performance was not possible due to framework conditions. Nevertheless, according to the case study's results such a relation is likely but, however, a change of wording seems advisable as well as summing up the three explicitly named aspects and referring to it as intercultural competence. Thus, this study outlines how intercultural competence can be conceptualized and which steps it includes. Accordingly, the hypothesis is: *Staff members of development organizations with a high level of intercultural competence work more successfully than staff members with a low level of intercultural competence.*

Further, one hypothesis guiding this research was the following: *The perception of relevant aspects regarding the organization's workflow is influenced by a person's cultural background.* The case study of GIZ-Bolivia outlines such a relation referring to aspects like organizational hierarchies and rules. It is likely that such distinct, cultural influenced perceptions influence the workflow of an organization in development cooperation and could be therefore crucial to be considered by such organizations in order to ensure a smooth workflow and a successful performance. Additionally, as outlined above, it could be interesting to achieve further insights regarding the interrelation of a person's cultural background and the organizational culture of the organization the person is working for. Thus, the following two hypotheses are suggested to replace the former one: 1) *A commonly experienced organizational culture by staff members of a development organization is a method to mitigate cultural determined differences regarding the organization's workflow.* 2) *The successful workflow of organizations of development cooperation requires the strong identification of staff members with the organizational culture.*

The study outlines that being aware of the specifics of intercultural settings constitutes a crucial precondition for a competent behavior in such a context, hence the last hypothesis stating *The more aware a person is of the specifics of intercultural settings, the higher the capability to interact successfully in an intercultural environment* is considered as relevant in the way formulated in the beginning.

Those adapted, out of reality and due to empirical findings developed hypotheses constitute one result of this study. In order to provide a quickly accessible overview they are all listed again below.

Main hypothesis:

1. The level of intercultural competence within organizations in the field of development cooperation positively influences the organization's success.

Further hypotheses:

2. The inclusion of an intercultural approach on an organizational-structural level promotes a successful performance of development organizations.

3. Staff members of development organizations with a high level of intercultural competence work more successfully than staff members with a low level of intercultural competence.

4. A commonly experienced organizational culture by staff members of a development organization is a method to mitigate cultural determined differences in handling the organization's workflow.

5. The successful workflow of organizations of development cooperation requires the strong identification of staff members with the organizational culture.

6. The more aware a person is of the specifics of intercultural settings, the higher the capability to interact successfully in an intercultural environment

The presented hypotheses conclude this sub-chapter's analysis of the linkages between the study's empirical findings and theoretical framework. The chapter has outlined that empirically gained insights of the case study of GIZ-Bolivia strengthen theoretical concepts and that an intercultural approach indeed plays a crucial role for organizations within development cooperation. According to those empirically and theoretically grounded insights, the last part of chapter 4 provides some recommendations for GIZ-Bolivia how to improve the inclusion of an intercultural approach which is – as outlined in 4.3 – one important factor determining the organization's success.

4.5 Recommendations for GIZ-Bolivia and GIZ Headquarters [88]

Based on the insights of the case study on GIZ-Bolivia the following presents some recommendations regarding an adequate implementation of an intercultural approach. Some of those suggestions explicitly refer to GIZ-Bolivia, others to the whole organization, hence, GIZ headquarters as required adaptations on the organizational-structural level need to be implemented by the headquarters.

The case study outlines the relevance of intercultural competence for GIZ-Bolivia as it constitutes a crucial success factor. Accordingly, the topic of interculturality is on the agenda of GIZ-Bolivia and an intercultural approach is acknowledged as important for the organization's performance. However, the topic's implementation could to be improved regarding some aspects which are pointed out in the following. As mentioned above, a working group dealing with interculturality exists in the former GTZ as well as in the former DED section. Within those groups, the concept of intercultural competence is analyzed and an adequate implementation is conceptualized (cf. 4.1.2.2) which are valuable efforts. Yet, it is considered important to further structure such efforts and herewith linked existing knowledge and concepts. This refers on the one hand to the merger of the two working groups of interculturality from the former DED and GTZ section. Bringing together both groups in a structured and organized way is important in order to avoid the loss of insights and knowledge and will lead to benefits for the whole organization as the pool of available information is extended. Considerable efforts were made regarding this aspect, but, according to some staff members, further efforts would be desirable.

Additionally, as interculturality is a topic of specific importance in the Bolivian context, it is advisable to have an employee who is explicitly in charge of the intercultural approach and the concept of intercultural competence and who coordinates the organization's activities in this field. Such central coordinators exist within GIZ-Bolivia and are crucial in order to improve the effective and efficient handling of the topic. Yet, it is important to evaluate the power and scope of influence of this position in order to ensure that truly all activities in this field are monitored to reduce the risk that different components make the same effort and to guarantee an effective procedure. This is further relevant in order to adequately meet the topic's status as a crosscutting issue similar to the implemented realization of another crucial crosscutting issue: gender. Yet, one has to be aware that such crosscutting issues all include a great variety of aspects with specific foci which require a differentiated handling of those topics including a carefully considered position in the organizational structure. Thus, to combine interculturality, gender, education, communication, corruption and transparency in one component as this is done in *PROAPAC* (cf. 4.1.2.2) is questionable and it is advisable to re-think such a combination considering whether the topics specific requirements are really met through such an approach.

Moreover, it is important to ensure knowledge regarding intercultural competence is spread within GIZ-Bolivia and that not only a small group of experts deals with the concept of interculturality. This is a crucial step in order to create a common understanding

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88   Those recommendations given here are deduced from the analysis above based on the insights and information gained during the field research. As GIZ is a big and complex organization the author is fully aware of the possibility that some of the here suggested measures might already be in implementation in some parts of GIZ.

among the staff members of GIZ-Bolivia and to further focus on the implementation as a crosscutting issue. Internal workshops, organized by regions or programs, hold by members of the working group would probably be a suitable tool to deepen the intercultural approach. GIZ-Bolivia definitely displays sound foundations for further efforts regarding an adequate implementation of intercultural competence. The existence of such approaches within GIZ-Bolivia is, to a certain extent, determined by the specific context Bolivia constitutes as previously outlined. The importance and relevance of interculturality in the country's context somehow brings the topic automatically on the organization's agenda and makes an intercultural approach a precondition for working in such a setting.

However, as this study outlines, the relevance of an intercultural approach goes beyond one specific case of a national organization of GIZ and requires an adequate implementation on the headquarters level. Here, the analysis of the organizational-structural level indicates that this topic is not yet adequately acknowledged on the headquarters level (cf. 4.1.2.2). However, the ongoing merger provides a chance to put interculturality respectively intercultural competence on the organization's agenda and to set new emphases. A first important step would be the creation of a working group which develops, structures and implements an intercultural approach within GIZ. Thereby, it is important to equally include the former sections of GTZ, DED and InWent as the integration of those three different organizational logics would definitely enrich the intercultural concept. Moreover, it is important to analyze existing concepts regarding culture and interculturality and to diminish the influence of ethnocentric approaches[89] as this leads to the trap of creating developing programs and development interventions which do not meet reality. Based on such an analysis it is crucial to develop guidelines and specific criteria which explicitly outline the intercultural concept GIZ is applying in its projects and programs. So far such guidelines online exist regarding the collaboration with indigenous groups, defined by BMZ (cf. 4.1.2.2). A similar document is advisable and would be the basic for a sound handling of the topic and the precondition for any stringent implementation.

Furthermore, such guidelines should also exist regarding staff selection processes. As the topic is of crucial importance for GIZ and any organization in the field of development cooperation a certain level of intercultural competence should be a precondition for the selection of staff members similar to other relevant aspects. This must go beyond checking the CV for stays abroad and must be applied stringently regarding all positions within GIZ. In case an applicant does not fulfill the criteria of intercultural competence but seems to be perfectly fitting for the job regarding all other criteria there must be the opportunity to send him or her to internal, off-the-job-trainings in order to increase the level of intercultural competence. This leads to a further recommendation, namely expanding the training offers for staff members of GIZ. So far, mainly culture-specific-informational trainings are offered. This could and should be complemented by further training concepts such as cross-cultural trainings and interaction-oriented types. Bolten for instance provides a good overview on such existing types (cf. Bolten 2006: 66ff. and 2007: 81ff) – a theoretical approach which is of high praxis relevance and which could therefore provide a sound basis when conceptualizing such trainings. Regarding framework conditions it seems advisable to provide the basis for intercultural competence in such off-the-job-

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89   It has been outlined in 4.4 that there is still the tendency to include such ethnocentric approaches.

trainings designed and implemented by GIZ headquarters but to additionally implement on-the-job-trainings in the respective countries GIZ is operating whereby country specifics could and should be included. Such a procedure is essential as an intercultural approach is intercultural and is determined by the respective context which is impressively outlined by this case study.

To sum up and to provide a briefly accessible overview, the recommended activities are presented below:

Tab. 8: Recommended steps of implementing an intercultural approach within GIZ

On the national level of GIZ-Bolivia
1) Structuring existing efforts
2) Spreading the outlined intercultural approach among staff members of GIZ-Bolivia (Workshops)
3) Strengthening the scope of influence and degree of fame of the national coordinator in charge of the implementation of the intercultural approach
On the headquarters level of GIZ
1) Implementing a section/component in charge of interculturality
2) Analyzing and adapting existing approaches
3) Defining guidelines how interculturality should be implemented
4) Bindingly including intercultural competence as a selection criterion in the staff selection process
5) Expanding training offers by including further versions and approaches offered by the headquarters and further ensuring training opportunities on a national level adapted to the specific country background

Source: Author's illustration.

5 CONCLUSION

This study has analyzed the role of intercultural competence for organizations in development cooperation. According to the research question a special focus is put on figuring out to what extent intercultural competence constitutes a determining factor for the success of development organizations. In order to gain insights regarding this research question a case study was conducted analyzing the case of GIZ-Bolivia, a part of the German federal implementing organization, GIZ, which developed out of a merger of the three former implementing organizations of GTZ, DED and InWent in 2011. The case study's empirical research is based on a theoretical framework and guided by hypotheses applying a qualitative approach whereby expert interviews constitute the main method of data collection.

Intercultural Competence is a process which contains several steps based on a general acknowledgment of culture's influence on human beings and human interactions. Culture determines attitudes, values and behavior whereby it contains visible and non-visible aspects. Accordingly, cultural differences between members of distinct cultures exists which leads to specific framework conditions when people with different cultural backgrounds interact with each other, here referred to as intercultural settings. Such intercultural settings can be found in many areas whereby development cooperation is one field where an intercultural context somehow constitutes a precondition for any action or intervention. Accordingly, cultural differences exist on many levels starting on the level of donor and recipient countries going down to the level of development workers and beneficiaries and including cultural differences between development professionals whereby this study puts the focus on the latter. In order to analytically approach such intercultural settings an adequate framework needs to be defined which is done accordingly in this study by determining organizations as the framework condition for the analysis. It further applies nationalities as a point of reference in order to realize cultural differences whereby especially the Bolivian context outlines that such a distinction is by far not sufficient but helpful regarding the analytical approach of intercultural competence in organizations of development cooperation.

The analysis of the case of GIZ-Bolivia outlines valuable insights regarding the role of intercultural competence in development cooperation whereby it further strengthened theoretical concepts. In addition to the general acknowledgment of culture's influence on human beings, intercultural competence contains several capacities regarding an affective, cognitive and behavioral dimension. For instance, language capacities and knowledge about the respective culture are outlined as relevant cognitive competences by the study's analysis. Regarding an affective dimension, empathy, patience, tolerance and flexibility constitute crucial aspects. The behavioral dimension refers to the adequate translation of affective and cognitive capacities into someone's behavior. Obviously, such competences are relevant regarding the workflow within organizations of development cooperation where development professionals with distinct cultural backgrounds work together. Furthermore, the concept of intercultural competence is relevant in a broader context regarding development concepts and objectives, hence, regarding the conceptualization of development interventions. Development interventions are planned and defined based on cultural specifics such as certain values like efficiency which could lead to

the fact that they do not meet the target's group reality no matter whether the target group is a state actor of the respective recipient country or an indigenous community.

Such insights are gained and underlined by the detailed and in-depth two-step analysis of the case study regarding the concepts of interculturality and success GIZ-Bolivia's applies whereby, in a first step, both concepts are outlined and analyzed. The analysis of the intercultural approach includes three relevant levels of an organization, namely the individual, the organizational-structural and the contextual level. Thus, a result is the existing interrelation of those three levels regarding GIZ-Bolivia's intercultural approach: the individual level of intercultural competence is determined by the organizational-structural level whereby both are influenced by the contextual level, hence, the Bolivian environment. Such interrelations also determine GIZ-Bolivia's concept of success. The second step of the analysis outlines that an intercultural approach constitutes a crucial factor for a successful performance of GIZ-Bolivia. The reasons therefore are the above mentioned need for target-group orientation expressed in concepts as ownership which is for instance explicitly mentioned as a success criterion in the case of *PADEP* and which particularly includes an intercultural component. Moreover, such intercultural dimensions are outlined with regard to further success criteria namely relevance, development impacts and sustainability. Thus, as success criteria defined by GIZ-Bolivia include an intercultural dimension, intercultural competence constitutes a crucial precondition in order to fulfill them and to operate successfully. Thus, the case study outlines that intercultural competence is a crucial and determining factor for the organization's success. It further points out that GIZ-Bolivia is a special case as the concept of interculturality highly determines the country's development as such. However, one could assume that this does not only hold true for the case of GIZ-Bolivia but for further development organizations as the analyzed success criteria are based on definitions by the Development Assistance Committee and therefore broadly applied in the field of development cooperation. It would be a next step to further analyze this assumption as well as to further deepen research regarding the role of intercultural competence for development organizations. Therefore, this study provides a valuable variety of impulses through its insights, especially through its hypotheses which are based on theoretical concepts and adapted according to empirical insights. Such further research is necessary and crucial – but of at least equal importance is to adequately implement those insights in practice. Thus, the study gives some recommendations regarding important elements for an adequate implementation such as the inclusion of intercultural competence as a selection criterion regarding the recruitment of staff members, adequate training methods in order to increase the level of intercultural competence and, as a precondition for such efforts, the definition of guidelines regarding an intercultural approach.

With its practical and theoretical dimension this study aims to contribute to strengthened efforts of including intercultural approaches in the work of organizations of development cooperation – efforts which are crucial and important in order to further improve the performance of development organizations and their potential impacts.

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