China in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for HRM Policy and Practice at Organizational Level

Terence Jackson, Middlesex University, UK

Lynette Louw, Rhodes University, South Africa

Shuming Zhao, Nanjing University, PR China

Address for correspondence:

Terence Jackson PhD
Professor of Cross Cultural Management
Middlesex University Business School
The Burroughs
Hendon
LONDON, NW4 4BT
UK
Tel: +44 20 8411 5250
Fax: +44 20 8411 6011
Email: t.jackson@mdx.ac.uk

China in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for HRM Policy and Practice at Organizational Level

Abstract

The presence of China in Africa has introduced a new geopolitical dynamic that should be incorporated into the way international HRM is studied cross-culturally. Despite a growing literature on China's international relations with and investment in Africa, little previous study has been undertaken at organizational level. We review relevant literature, together with that on management and organization in Africa and China, to develop a conceptual framework that incorporates critiques of North-South interactions including Dependency Theories that posits first world development is based on third world underdevelopment, and Postcolonial Theory that posits the South's knowledge dependency on the North. We consider how a growing South-South dynamic may be integrated into a consideration of power dynamics and cultural crossvergence, and construct organizational and management 'ideal types' to enable us to frame a research agenda in this area. This is important as it is difficult to sustain cross-cultural scholarship merely on cultural comparisons. By providing a way of studying cultural hybrid forms of organization, or cultural 'third spaces', it is hoped this will contribute to understanding the implications to people management practice in South-South partnerships, not only in Chinese organizations in Africa, but to contribute theoretically to the development of cross-cultural management studies and its application to International HRM.

The significance of China in Africa

There is a growing interest in the West, and a growing literature, on the presence of China in sub-Saharan Africa. Yet this largely focuses on the macro-issues of international relations, international development and international trade and investment, and largely the intent of China in its relations with African countries, and indeed other countries and regions in the South. For example Biggeri and Sanfilippo (2008) proffer that China's move into African countries is driven by the three factors of FDI, trade and economic development, as well as by the 'pull' factor of the characteristics of the receiving country, of natural resource endowment and market potential. This is an ongoing debate that will be explored later. Yet there is almost a complete absence of published literature that focuses on organizational level issues, including the implications for the management of people in Chinese-owned or led organizations and enterprises. Firstly, this paper sets out the importance of this area in theoretical terms, with implications for both considerations of managing people in Africa and internationally, and the further development of an important sub-discipline, cross-cultural management, which could make further contributions to the study of international HRM. It then seeks, secondly, to develop a theoretical framework which can be used to both contextualize and conceptualize a research agenda in this area that can develop knowledge in this area, and ultimately inform policy and HR practice. With a premise that wider geopolitical dynamics have implications for HRM policy and practice at organizational level, and indeed the way we study international HRM, the objectives of this article are to:

- outline the main motivations for China being in Africa as discussed in the literature, and explore the general implications on international organizational relations while presenting hypothesized implications for HRM policy and practice which could be used in organizational level research;

- provide an analysis of theoretical assumptions of the geopolitical North-South (Western-African) relations in Africa by discussing Modernization Theory and its critique through Dependency Theory and Postcolonial Theory, explore the limitations of these critiques when applied to South-South (Chinese-African) relationships, and

outline the implication for hypothesising HRM policy and practices of Chinese organizations in Africa that can be further applied to empirical research;

- develop this theory in relation to the cross-cultural concept of crossvergence as applied to Chinese organizations in Africa by providing analytical categories of 'ideal type' organization and people management that can be used in empirical investigation in order to further understand the influence on and nature of HRM policies and practice.

We take as our starting point a premise that wider geopolitical dynamics have a major impact on the nature of knowledge, and the way knowledge is transferred internationally. This includes scholarly and management knowledge, as well as concepts such as organizing and managing people, managing change and managing resources. This assumption can be illustrated by the internationally widespread adoption, or at least the use of the terminology, of Human Resource Management. Jackson (2002a) for example points out that the origin of the idea of human beings having an instrumental value as a resource in an organization is largely culture-bound, and contrary to assumptions about self in many non-Western societies (see also Tayeb, 2000). Hence, he points out the contrast of this type of valuing of human beings with the more humanistic and communalistic values relating to people that appear to pertain traditionally in sub-Saharan Africa (Jackson, 2004). This contrasting view suggests a valuing of people intrinsically, for who they are, often as part of a collectivity, and not in terms of what they can achieve and what use they can be for the executive ends of the organization. From Dia (1996), Jackson (2004) goes on to point out that Western institutions were tacked on to African communities during the colonial period and have tended to persist to modern day, representing a disconnection between community institutions and values, and working life. Often these post-colonial institutions are seen today by the West as inefficient, highly centralized and authoritarian, and frequently corrupt, yet identified as 'African' (Jackson, 2002b). Modern day (Western) management knowledge is offered as a solution to such ills, and often accepted by African managers who most probably have received their management training in Western style MBA programmes.

Geopolitical power dynamics that give rise to, for example, the wholesale adoption of Anglo-America HRM practices, may be more obvious in sub-Saharan Africa. Yet management scholars tend to focus on the 20 percent of the world termed 'developed', often ignoring the 'developing' world, and often paying little attention to such dynamics and their implications. This has led to a paucity of management theory, in such areas as cross-cultural management which has largely followed a positivist trajectory and bypassed theories that could be incorporated to focus on Western-nonWestern or North-South interactions, which have gained recent currency in critical management theory. Hence Postcolonial Theory (Said, 1978/1995; Spivak, 1988; Bhabha, 1994) can provide a critical perspective on cultural interaction, and Dependency theory (Frank, 1969) on institutional power dynamics. On this, international HRM and cross-cultural theory has some way to catch up. Yet the new dynamic of China in the world is presenting a new theoretical challenge: how to conceptualize South-South relationships. Currently we do have the conceptual tools to analysis organization and management in Africa where it concerns a dynamic that can be broadly stated as North-South (Jackson, 2004, and discussed later) yet what of the relationship between China and Africa? The way this might be conceptualized may also have implications for studying other 'Southern' country organizations operating in Africa, for example from India, and indeed for China and India operating in other Southern regions such as Latin America.

Although International HRM and cross-cultural management theory may still have some way to go in incorporating North-South geopolitical power dynamics in its analysis of organizational-level phenomena, the new South-South dynamic of China's (and perhaps, India's) involvement in sub-Saharan Africa both highlight the need first to focus on the former as a more deep-seated dynamic (also influencing management and organization in China and India through the influence of Western MNCs and management education), while moving on to developing new ways of conceptualizing the emerging dynamics and their implications for managing organizations and people, and indeed relationships with the wider communities from which local labour forces are drawn.

The nature of China's involvement in Africa

There is no doubt that China's presence in Africa is upsetting geopolitical power dynamics. The IMF and World Bank is concerned about the implications of China's apparent policy of non-conditionality of loans and aid in Africa, with a reported view that China's unrestricted lending has 'undermined years of painstaking efforts to arrange conditional debt relief' (Campbell, 2008). China's involvement, actually going back to the Han dynasty (206BC-220AD), and the 1960s in modern times, seems also to be qualitatively different from European plunder in the wake of the slave trade. A major motivation may well be the securing of Africa's natural resources to feed the growing economy of China. Yet there appears a genuine desire to provide other resources for Africa, and to do so on the basis of cooperation and friendship (Shaw, Cooper, & Antkiewicz, 2007). There is also the perspective that from the experience of transformation in China, there are lessons to be learned in Africa. Evidence appears to exist of a sense of 'Third World Solidarity' in China's relations, drawing on its socialist heritage and anti-imperialist discourse, and as a reaction to the IMF's neoliberal policies and government alignment with the United States (Kapinsky, 2008; CCS, 2008).

Sino-African volume of trade has increased rapidly and constantly for six years since it exceeded ten billion US dollars in 2000. Nowadays China has become the third largest trading partner of Africa. With the success of the Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in 2006, Sino-African economic and trade relations strengthened in 2007. Africa is among the first choice for direct foreign investment of Chinese enterprises. Up to the end of 2006, the total amount of direct investment from China to Africa reached 6.64 billion US dollars (EDRC, 2008). Amidst disputed perceptions of the nature of China's presence in Africa, it is perhaps necessary to at least try to unpackage this discussion in order to better contextualize and make sense of interactions at organizational level, for which currently we have little more than anecdotal information. For example the Centre for Chinese Studies reports that: 'There is at times a stark contrast between the Chinese rhetoric of

brotherhood with African people, and some of the criticism coming from African citizens.'
(CCS, 2008), yet little actual empirical work has been undertaken at this level.

If the main Western focus on Chinese management has largely been motivated by the perception of China as a huge market for Western firms, the new orientation must surely be China in the World: that is, the study of the nature of Chinese organizational presence in other regions, and what this means for local employment and communities. The literature on China in Africa appears to point to three areas of motivation for Chinese investment: resource-seeking; market-seeking; and, political-seeking. We now discuss these three motivations. Each has implications for the likelihood of different types of relations of China with Africa which are summarized in Table 1, together with their further hypothesized implications at organizational level. These hypotheses, we suggest, lay the foundation for empirical research in this area, as well as providing an understanding of how analysis at macro-levels may have implications for hypothesis formulation of HRM policy and practice at organizational level.

Both Western and Chinese scholars appear to support the idea that Chinese investment in Africa is directed towards resources that can meet the needs of Chinese economic development particularly in terms of energy and mineral security and to attribute China's investment and construction in Africa to China's resource dependence on African countries (Kurlantzick, 2006). Gill, Huang and Morrison (2007) believe that China needs Africa for resources to fuel China's development goals, for markets to sustain its growing economy and for political alliances to support its aspirations to be a global influence. Yet resource-oriented investment also may have a positive effect on the development of African countries. Gelb (2005) believes that resource-seeking investments from Asia often increase the supply of entrepreneurs through immigration. He also argues that another important advantage of South-South resource-seeking investments may be that they embody business models which are less corporatized and more informal than Western models, and are often more appropriate to the host country context (Gelb, 2005).

The literature also points to China's activities in Africa as market-oriented (Ajakaiye, 2006; Kurlantzick, 2006). Although oil, gas and other mineral resources appear to dominate trade, Chinese businesspeople are now increasingly looking at Africa as a new market destination for their other products (Marafa, 2007). However, China's presence in Africa still appears overwhelmingly to be through state owned enterprises: in 2006 there were over 800 Chinese enterprises operating in Africa, at least 674 or 84.25% of these were state-owned enterprises (Alden & Davies, 2006). There, however, appears to be less research presented in the literature on market-led activity.

The third motivation for China's presence in Africa was identified above as political-seeking. For many Western scholars China's interest in Africa goes beyond the continent's wealth of resources and includes important political and diplomatic aspects (Gill and Reilly, 2007). According to China's Africa policy issued in January 2006, China will: 'unswervingly carry forward the tradition of China-Africa friendship, and, proceeding from the fundamental interests of both the Chinese and African peoples, establish and develop a new type of strategic partnership with Africa, featuring political equality and mutual trust, economic win-win cooperation and cultural exchange'(MOFA, 2006).

Commenting on the function of China's diplomacy during the 11th meeting of China's National People's Congress in March 2009, China's highest legislative body, Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi declared: 'Economic development is the central task of China right now. The focus of our diplomatic work should be more than creating a favourable international environment for the country's economic growth, but also to directly serve the economy.'(*China View*, March 7, 2009), while the general principles and objectives for guiding Chinese foreign policy in Africa are set out in this formulation of government policy as: 1) Sincerity, friendship and equality (the political aspect); 2) Mutual benefit, reciprocity and common prosperity (the economic aspect); 3) Mutual support and close coordination (the international aspect); 4) Learning from each other and seeking common development (the

social and cultural aspect) (MOFA, 2006). With such declarations of political motivation coming from Chinese government sources, they should be regarded as the basis for hypotheses of how the Chinese see their own presence in Africa, as well as being treated critically, with contra-evidence being investigated, particularly at organizational and community levels. We have already noted above the findings of the Centre for Chinese Studies (CCS, 2008) that African citizens may be expressing dissatisfaction with Chinese organizations that do not appear to carry over this friendship ethos. In a study of Chinese investment in Africa by the African Labour Research Network (Baah & Jauch, 2009), there appears to be major issues with employment conditions in Chinese organizations throughout Africa. Yet empirical evidence at this level is still sparse and needs further research informed initially by hypothesized assumptions of China's professed motivation of mutual friendship. Given the history of China in Africa's struggles for independence this motivation may modify a purely resource-seeking or market-seeking motivation. There is likely to be an interaction effect among these three identified motivations, with Chinese traders following in the footsteps of major Chinese manufacturing and extraction investment, offering cheap goods such as clothes which become more available to poorer African citizens, Chinese firms offering employment in restricted labour markets enabling more to buy cheaper imported goods while the Chinese development agencies provide major infrastructure projects in a spirit of friendship (Brautigam, 2011),

Along with investment, cultural communication between Africa and other countries has also been a feature, with China appearing to celebrate Africa's culture and achievements, while these are implicitly denigrated in the West, where all that is celebrated about Africa appear to be leaders who hearken to Western advice (King, 2006). Where Africa is discussed in the West, for example in international summits, by governments, and international development agencies, it is normally poverty, conflicts, wars, corruption, poor governance and hopelessness that are mostly tabled for deliberations (Marafa, 2007). Reactions to this type of relationship may be summed up by the president of Botswana remarking: 'I find that the Chinese treat us as equals; the West treat us as former subjects' (Kaplinsky, 2008)

It is therefore possible that African governments, at which level there appears to be more research evidence, regard China as a model of modernization that is more responsive to African needs than are the models presented to them by the West (Shinn, 2006). Yet at organizational and community level this would appear to remain a disputed area with studies such as Baah & Jauch's (2009) mentioned above providing a compelling reason to undertake further empirical research by critically examining China's professed political motivation. Table 1 summarizes some possible implications for this analysis at organizational level, while the next section further develops how we might understand organization and management given the dynamics that impact on organizations in Africa.

****

Table 1 about here

****

Western-African-Chinese Interaction, and Organization in Africa

The study of Chinese management by Western scholars has been ongoing since the early 1990s (e.g. Child, 1994). We know much about Chinese organizational values and management (as China was regarded as a huge market for Western companies), less about African values and organization (as Africa was regarded as less interesting by management scholars despite the huge presence of Western companies, and also appears to be little studied by Chinese scholars) but little if anything about the interaction between the two, or three if we include Western influences. What cultural 'Third Spaces' (after Bhabha, 1994, and discussed under) are being socially constructed given a tripartite interaction among the West, Africa and China, and through what type of power dynamics, and what are the possible implications for HRM policy and practice at organizational level?

We have critical conceptual frameworks for North-South relations including Postcolonial Theory (Said, 1978; Bhabha, 1994), and Dependency Theory (Frank, 1969) but have little to conceptualize South-South relations and power dynamics. Similarly, we are beginning to construct conceptual categories to analysis colonial, modern Western and embryonic indigenous influences on people management in Africa and then concepts such as crossvergence and hybridization to understand what types of organization and management emerge (Jackson, 2004). Yet what of the growing influences of Chinese management on organization and people management in Africa? Ip (2009), for example identifies what a Confucian firm might look like. Could this be useful as an ideal type analytical category in Africa? This may well be one stream of influence on Chinese organization in Africa, but is it the only one? What about Gelb's (2005) assertion that South-South resource-seeking investments may embody business models which are less corporatized and more informal than Western models (although he is not specific about the nature of these business models)?

We now consider the process of cultural crossvergence and organizational hybridization as a dynamic process within a North-South power relationship, explain why this is important, and question how we might apply this to emerging South-South relationships. In this connection we then discuss analytic 'ideal types' (Jackson, 2004) as a way of conceptualizing potential influences on HRM policy and practice at organization level in sub-Saharan Africa, explain how these have arisen in a predominantly North-South power dynamic, and how this might now be revised to incorporate a South-North-South dynamic, given the brief discussion above on China's involvement in Africa.

Cultural Crossvergence in Africa

Much discussion in the international management literature has involved two distinct streams of theory: convergence and divergence. The former suggests that management and organization principles and practices are becoming universally uniformed (from Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison and Myers, 1960), predominantly taking an Anglo-American model as the

standard. Hence the almost universal adoption of concepts or language of HRM discussed above appears to support this thesis. Developments in cross-cultural management theory over the last three decades, dominated by Hofstede's (1980a/2003) values model, have championed a divergence view, where national 'cultures' are seen to be persisting internationally, and influencing local organizational and management models or methods. Both have credence, yet both tend to largely ignore wider geopolitical power dynamics. The convergence thesis appears to assume this, while the divergence thesis appears to implicitly deny this. If the convergence thesis has credibility, we could assume that Western management models have had a major influence on China, and there is evidence for this (Jackson and Bak, 1998; Jackson, 2002c). If the divergence thesis holds true, it could be assumed that China has developed its own models of managing organizations up to and throughout its path to industrialization, developing a market economy, integrating with the global economy, and entering global markets. Again there is evidence for this (Ip, 2009; Jackson 2011).

Yet, more credibility is being given to international processes involving cultural crossvergence (Ralston, Gaicalone & Terpstra, 1994; Priem et al, 2000), despite again little reference to power dynamics, and any explanation of how this might work. Dependency theory (Frank, 1969) for example, which explains how the continued underdevelopment of the Third World has fuelled the First World, and indeed enabled it to become 'developed', has been gaining currency in critical Development Studies (Schech and Haggis, 2000), but has had little impact on the way international business and management has been studied (perhaps through a lack of interest by scholars in 'developing' countries). Dependency theory may apply directly to those countries previously colonized by the West, and to neocolonial involvement of, for example, the United States. There is ample evidence for example, of the United States contributing to Africa's underdevelopment since the 1960s, yet Dependency Theory may be only indirectly useful in understanding the relationship of the West with China. Certainly, like Africa, China's resources have been exploited by the West to the detriment of China (for example, following the Opium Wars), and this may have contributed

indirectly to China's previous underdevelopment. Yet it is not likely that we can base an analysis of China's new relationship with Africa on Dependency Theory, nor on the more traditional Modernization Theory (which is challenged by Dependency Theory) that has driven much of Western governments' international development policy (Schlegg and Haggis, 200): assuming that 'developing' countries should follow the same modernizing trajectory as Western countries. China itself has recently gone through an industrialization and modernization process, which in some ways may be seen as a model for Africa, but it is unlikely that China's intent is to impose a modernizing trajectory on Africa, or for China to develop on the back of further contributing to Africa's underdevelopment in an exploitative way (MOFA, 2006). Yet this may still be disputed.

More useful is Postcolonial Theory in understanding the more subtle implications of power in international relations mainly through cultural transmission and the way knowledge (including management and HRM knowledge) is transferred internationally. Postcolonial Theory (Said, 1978/1995; Bhabha, 1994; Spivak, 1996) proposes that the 'developing' world is represented in the eyes of the 'developed' world. Western imperialism, through Western culture has developed a systematic 'body of theory and practice' that constructs or represents the 'Orient' (in Said's, 1978/1995: 49, terms). In colonial times, this has portrayed images of the 'noble savage', the 'wily oriental', where Westerners are regarded as 'rational, peaceful, liberal, logical…without natural suspicion and Easterners as irrational, degenerate, primitive, mystical, suspicious, sexually depraved….'. These representations are carried over to Western intellectual and cultural production including research, and management studies (for example Jackson, 2004, points to the derogatory light in which 'African' management is seen in the literature). The acceptance and internalization of such representations by the developing world itself can mean two things. Firstly, there is both an acceptance and challenging of these representations that constitute hybrid forms of presentation of the nature of people of the Third World. Secondly, because this challenging itself grows out of the cultural and intellectual representations of Western discourse, this 'contamination' of the colonized means that they can never refer back to an 'authentic' identity of pre-colonial

times. Any conceptualization of this identity would be by definition seen through the eyes of the colonizer's representations (Kapoor, 2002).

What we end up with may be a lack of articulation of a local view. Hybridity, through a process of cultural crossvergence is not the result of a cosy dialogue, or a reasoned and equal negotiation. It occurs through a process involving '..the epistemic violence of Eurocentric discourses of the non-West..' (Mohan, 2002: 157). The concept of cultural crossvergence is implicit within Postcolonial theory. Bhabha's (1994) elucidation of 'mimicry' applies predominantly to a colonizing power's ability to get the colonized to mimic the colonizer, in order better to control the unfamiliar, and to gain acceptance of transferred-in knowledge. In Bhabha's (1994) view the process of mimicry leads to hybrid cultures as an ongoing process of colonial imposition and resistance from the colonized. It is never possible therefore to speak about an authentic or innate culture, and is an ongoing product of a conflictual process between the powerful, and less powerful. For Bhabha (1994) the result is the Third Space. Frenker (2008: 928) puts it well, as follows:

> 'With the change of the centuries, argues Bhabha, we are all located on intercultural boundaries and are exposed to a wide range of cultures that are perpetually created in the innumerable intercultural encounters that are themselves occasioned by an ongoing historical process. Within this metaphoric space we construct our identities in relation to these varied and often contradictory systems of meaning.'

Table 2 summarizes the possible implications of assuming any of these three ways of understanding South-North-South interaction and power relations in Africa, together with possible assumptions about a new South-South dynamic. We provide general implications of each of these views to relations between China and Africa, as well as hypothesised implications for HRM policy and practice at organizational level.

****

Table 2 about here

****

'Ideal Type' Management Systems

This construction of meaning, and identity, makes researching aspects such as the nature of indigenous inputs, contributions and knowledge extremely difficult to empirically research. This is primarily why we have stated above that an incorporation of global power dynamics into our conceptualization of cross-cultural management is requisite to any consideration of methodology building in this area, and indeed for building a research agenda to study HRM Chinese policy and practice at organizational level in Africa. In a way we should be looking for representations of 'pure' forms of indigenous knowledge systems, despite the difficulties discussed above, and the reality that this representation will always be influenced by knowledge systems geopolitically dominant. At organizational level, crossvergence theory, together with an integrated concept of how global power relations operate, can be used to analyze the different influences on HRM policy and practice at organization level. Simplistically this can be undertaken by constructing 'ideal type' analytical categories to describe and help to identify those influences and those which are dominant within the 'Third Space' and the power relations involved, to help to analyses the products of these influences which are hypothesized in Table 3. This draws primarily on the previous empirical work of Jackson (2004) in sub-Saharan Africa, and, as an example of a major possible influence on Chinese management that Warner (2010) notes has had a major resurgence and influence in China, the hypothesized ideal type 'Confucian firm' of Ip (2009). Other possible influences could be that of Buddhism in the corporate context, as some sources suggest a high adherence to Buddhism in China (US State Department, 2006),

****

Table 3 about here

****

Hence in the context of Africa Jackson (2004) has described *post-colonial*, *post-instrumental*, and *Africa-renaissance* ideal types that so far have adequately been used to show historical and modern-day influences. The former, *post-colonial* represents a legacy of the colonial era in post-independence Africa, the pejorative view of management and organization that Jackson (2004) has pointed to – fatalistic, resistant to change, reactive, short-termist, authoritarian, risk reducing, context dependent, and relationship-oriented decision making, which is represented in the management literature into the 1990s (e.g. Kiggundu, 1991) and sometimes beyond – appears to be based within this ideal type management system represented schematically in Table 3. Given that this type of system still appears to pertain in public sector organizations as well as large and possibly medium sized enterprises, the influences of Western governments, MNCs and education have sought to reform these rather inefficient and sometimes corrupt systems, offering as the panacea the Western solution of what Jackson (2004) has called *post-instrumental* management, with a focus on results and objectives, yet with an instrumentalism 'softened' by more mature approaches to HRM honed in the home country that seek to balance a people- and results-orientation. This is well represented in the HRM literature over the last decade (e.g. Kamoche, Debrah, Horwitz and Muuka, 2004). Yet people are still seen as 'resources', and Jackson (2002a, 2002c) has observed that when more mature systems of HRM are exported to (or imported into) emerging or developing countries, they can revert back to a 'harder' form of instrumental people management. Despite two decades of structural adjustment programmes, liberalization of economies, influences of Western MNCs and of management education, Western management systems appear not to have provided such a panacea.

This has produced, for example, in South Africa an emergence of locally-focused management models, particularly during the 1990s, as well as experimenting with market-focused Western models, while this country was going through its transition away from apartheid oppression and a protected economy, towards democracy and global markets. Hence *ubuntu* management was much talked about (Jackson, 1999) and popularised by, among others, Mbigi (1997), and experimented with in some of the larger corporates and

public enterprises, among a focus on empowerment and employment equity. This represented an emphasis on the humanity of people working in organizations, and a move away from seeing people as resources in an instrumental way. This represents a perception that African communities are different from Western ideas of the sanctity of the individual, and that people have an intrinsic value, a value in their own right, for who they are as part of a collective, and indeed a part of existence. Hence in the 'Bantu' languages (Bantu sharing the same root as *ubuntu* – ntu), *muntu* the singular, does not just mean 'person'. It is the essence of the person, including the yet to be born, and the ancestors, and refers to a continuity. Hence in isiXhosa *Ubuntu ungamntu ngabanye abantu* means 'people are people through other people'. The ideal type management system represented in Table 3 is often not found in any pure sense in organizations in Africa, although some documented cases such as Cashbuild in South Africa (Koopman, 1991) and Afriland First Bank in Cameroon (Jackson, 2004) have come close.

The difficulty, of course, in finding any ideal type in its pure form in any one organization is the dynamic of crossvergence, driven by geopolitical power relationships. This also applies to any 'indigenous' Chinese management system that might be conceptualized as an ideal type, such as Ip's (2009) Confucian firm, and which could be used as an analytical category for research into Chinese organization in Africa (Table 3). He defines the core principles of the Confucian firm, in terms of *ren* (a virtue or capacity of benevolence and compassion: humanity – and perhaps akin to *ubuntu*), *yi* (a sense of moral rightness) and *li* (conventions, etiquettes or norms), while *Junzi* is the model moral person who possesses these three 'mega-virtues' together with wisdom and trustworthiness. Hence an organization's goals, strategies and practices are defined by the principles of *ren-yi-li;* its structures, processes and procedures conform to *ren-yi-li*; stakeholders are treated with *ren-yi-li*; while its leaders conform to thoughts and deeds of *junzi*; and members of the organization are virtuous and act in accordance to *ren-yi-li*.

Hence in terms of strategy and goals, the profit motive would be acceptable for corporate leaders but would be morally constrained and consistent with *ren*, *yi* and *li*. However other legitimate goals of the organization would be looked at, such as doing good for the community and society. Business leaders should then emulate the characteristics of *Junzi* and strive to conduct a virtuous corporate life and virtuous leadership, and continuously morally improve themselves while strengthening their *Junzi*-defining virtues including *ren-yi-li*, and setting a good example to others. At the same time they should use the principles of *zhong shu*: stemming from *ren* (humanity), this articulates the human capacity for compassion - that one should do unto others what they would want others to do to them.

If the strategic direction and leadership of the corporation has to be guided by *ren-yi-li*, so do the power structures, relationships, decision making and management processes have to be also consistent with these concepts and principles. Hence all stakeholders of the firm would be treated with rightness and humanity. This would involve providing fair wages and safe working environments, fair-dealing with customers, providing benefits to the community, being a good corporate citizen, promoting social good generally and protecting the environment. Furthermore it should be *de* (people's moral virtues) driving people's moral actions within the firm rather than rules and regulations. There may still be rules, but these are secondary to virtues in motivating and directing actions. Hence conflicts are resolved by appealing to virtues rather than rules and regulations. Ip (2009) in fact makes the point that *zhong shu* is not a rule but involves the virtue of reciprocity and is a reflection of the capacity of *ren* (humanity). As *ren* is close to *ubuntu* it is worth dwelling on this further, and looking at its implication for building this ideal type, and its possible application in Africa.

The Confucian concept of the person is essentially a social one, through familial collectivism. The person is defined by his or her relationships. A person's identity cannot be understood as something separate from his or her social attachments and place in the hierarchy of social relationships. A person is shaped by this social embeddedness in terms of their interests and goals, and also constrained by the same relationships. The social bonds thus created are a

source of indebtedness and obligations. This explains well 'the modern day version of Confucian relationalism': *guanxi* (Ip, 2009: 465).

Ip (2009: 466) also reminds us that filial piety holds a very strong position within Chinese culture, often with family patriarchs, or indeed state patriarchs, demanding filial piety from their children, or subjects. This implies 'a *hierarchical* structure of human relationships in society'. Social exchange and obligations may therefore be asymmetrical, which Ip sees is in contrast to *zhong shu*. The reciprocity principle is qualified on the basis of familial relationships, as well as hierarchy and *li* (rules of propriety). Given this, any ideal type should incorporate these elements as follows (Ip, 2009):

- Collectivism/familialism: collective interests and goals overshadow individual corporate members' interest. There should be harmony between individual and collective interests. Similarly the wellbeing of individuals can only be realized within the overall wellbeing of the collective.

- Particularism: practice is based on personal relations rather than people's qualifications or abilities. Opportunities and benefits are therefore allocated in this way. This includes in hiring, and is linked with *guanxi*, and is seen as critical to a company's success.

- Paternalism: this works on the principle that the father knows what is best for the children and is an extension of familial collectivism, with the patriarch at the top of the relationship hierarchy deciding on what is best. He is seen to possess wisdom, knowledge and benevolence. This implies that there is no need for consultation and no place for dissent: people are not equal in the hierarchy.

In the more general cross-cultural management literature 'collectivism' is seen as target specific: that is, in-group and out-group members are treated differently (Triandis, 1990; Hui, 1990). We might well suppose that Chinese firms operating in Africa might not treat African employees and other stakeholders according to the principles of *ren* if this is qualified by Confucian relationalism. Yet it has been argued that *ubuntu* principles and the communalism

of Africa does not just apply to in-group members. Mutabazi (2002: 209) points out that, as a result of his empirical studies in thirteen sub-Saharan countries:

> 'Western notions of individualism and collectivism did not exist in any of the communities we observed .... These communities' fundamental method for managing human relations … is cosubsistence – among individuals and among the concentric circles that make up a clan or community. As for newcomers to this system, they are not rejected or dominated but are welcomed and perhaps even integrated into the community.'

Whether or not Chinese principles of *ren* are applied to stakeholders in Africa, is currently a matter of conjecture. This is exactly why we need ideal type constructions to empirically investigate how employees and communities are dealt with by Chinese organizations in Africa: so we know what we are looking for. Yet it should be borne in mind that ideal types are analytical categories. As such they are hypothetical. There is debate in the literature about the nature and relevance of Confucianism to organizational behaviour and HRM in Chinese firms (Warner, 2010). Also, as below, there is conjecture about what Chinese organizations actually take abroad with them. Ideal types are useful in helping to conceptualize the possible influences, and then testing hypotheses through analysing the extent to which such conceptualizations are in fact influential on organizational behaviour and HRM.

The literature on management and organization in China suggests that there is an inward infusion of Western HRM practices such as performance, reward and career management (e.g. Jackson and Bak, 1998, Bjorkman, 2002; Farley, Hoenig & Yang, 2004) to China. It may well that this is then exported with Chinese firms operating abroad. Yet Zhang and Edwards (2007) argue that 'reverse diffusion' may be in operation where Chinese MNCs are operating in Western countries: Chinese organizations take 'advanced' practices back to China, thus impacting on the 'development' of Chinese organizations in a globally competitive situation (in fact they use the term 'best practice' which may not be a relevant term in cross-cultural analysis, particularly when scrutinized through Postcolonial Theory).

They argue that this would predominate in China's relations with advanced countries. The implication is that this would not apply to Chinese organizations in Africa, yet research could well investigate the possibility of reverse diffusion from Africa: i.e, what does China learn from Africa in a spirit of 'Learning from each other and seeking common development' (MOFA, 2006).

Yet it is clear from the literature that it is not just the complexities of different influences that Chinese firms take with them from China, but also the complexities of how they relate to both local and international factors when operating in Africa. Hence Lou and Riu (2009: 66) describe ambidexterity as an important strategic of Chinese firms and present a number of case studies in Africa. This appears an ability to combine pragmatic necessity with longer term strategy. Yet the common factor in the case studies they describe appears to be their '..future orientation, hardship preparation, strong work ethic, and harmonious culture' together with their '..long tradition and practice of using interpersonal and interorganizational connections'. In the area of HRM specifically, Shen (2007) suggests that although home-country practices are a strong influence on what international companies do abroad, a simply transfer of systems and practices cannot be assumed because of political, legal, economic and socio-cultural differences. In HRM issues the local situation played a key role in determining Chinese MNCs practices among the companies investigated. Hence they paid higher rates than the market average in developed countries to compensate for the lack of training and development opportunities and a lack of employee participation and involvement, while subsidiaries in developing countries (including in those in Africa) paid low wages with poorer working conditions, in contrast to the generally good working conditions they operated in developed countries. Despite this localization, Shen (2007) also asserts that the lower labour standards in African and other developing countries were influenced by similar standards in China and the generally negative attitudes of senior Chinese managers towards trades unions.

Towards a Research Agenda

Within any research agenda for studying management in Africa there is a wider development agenda. This development agenda is also intertwined with the question: Why are foreign (Western or Eastern or Southern) organizations there in the first place? Is this an exploitative motive, and/or a benevolent motivation? Hence this has to be considered in the context of geopolitical power dynamics. The nature of organizations and their HRM policy and practice currently in Africa is a direct result of their reasons for being there, and cannot be divorced from these historical and contemporary influences. Ideal types can be constructed to understand these influences: *Post-colonial* systems represent the historic and political legacy of the colonial period and appear somewhat disconnect from and inappropriate to community life; Western instrumental (*post-instrumental*) systems represent (Western) economic and structural reform over recent years, and again may appear inappropriate to local stakeholder groups; and, African humanistic (*African renaissance*) systems representing an embryonic cultural 'renaissance', perhaps of local voices trying to find more appropriate ways of organizing and managing within an African context (Jackson, 2002b). Above we have taken the theoretical concept of the *Confucian firm* as an ideal type. There may be other ideal types, such as the 'Buddhist firm', that can be conceptualized as analytical constructs, but with similar types of influences on Chinese management and organization over the last two decades (Warner 1996 pointed to the transition from 'status quo' to 'experimental' management systems and labour relations in China during the 1990s similar to the Westernization of management systems in Africa, which is borne out by others such as Sergeant and Frenkel, 1998), we should also be looking for elements of post-colonial and instrumental management in Chinese organizations in Africa, for which these ideal types are also useful in analytical terms.

Of course, using ideal types as analytical categories have their limitations, despite their usefulness in hypothesis formulation, as discussed above and outlined in Table 3. The current work has argued that by conceptualizing first the different complementary yet sometimes conflicting motivations for China being in Africa, it is possible to formulate testable

hypotheses of the consequential nature of HRM policy and employment condition if China's motives are, for example, purely resource-seeking and exploitative in nature (Table 1). In addition, the underlying theory that is used to understand and analyse China's engagement with Africa also leads to the type of hypotheses that may be proffered by researchers (Table 2). For example, if we were to assume that China adhered to a modernizing strategy similar to that which Western governments appear to favour, we could assume that African partners would be in a subordinate position with technology and knowledge flows from Chinese to African partners. To reconceptualise how a South-South relationship may be based more on an equal 'Third World' solidarity, could lead to hypotheses about the nature of cross-cultural teams working for mutual benefit (Table 2). In reality, these different conceptualizations (Table 2), different motivations (Table 1) and different management and organizational influences (Table 3) will lead, through a rigorously based empirical study to a number of different hybrid cases, where different elements relating to these hypotheses could be discerned.

Cross-cultural research questions regarding the performance of organizations across borders have focused implicitly on two aspects since Hofstede (1980b) seminal paper on the difficulty of transferring management principles across borders: their effectiveness, and their appropriateness. Effectiveness may be a simple measure of financial performance, whereas appropriateness is more complex, involving the identification of different stakeholders to whom management actions may be more or less appropriate, and involving the conceptualization and sometimes measurement of values involved in deciding whether or not an action and its results are appropriate. Yet it may also involve more 'objective' measures such as the impact on employees' working conditions, livelihood; and the effects on the wider community such as support of traditional livelihoods, wider skills development and employability as well as factors such as environmental impact. Jackson (2004) also points to the need to focus on decision making within the sometimes complex context of Africa, and the wider involvement of stakeholders in dealing with environmental uncertainly. The nature of corporate governance, the inclusion of a wider stakeholder base, and the implications for

concepts and measures of appropriateness, are all aspects that are little known about Chinese organizations in Africa, and which should be included in any research agenda. For example, our proposed approach could identify the synergies between Chinese values (perhaps through Confucianism) and Africa community values (such as Ubuntu) and better inform both Chinese and African stakeholders.

Ultimately, in Africa, the impact of any research on development issues will be a factor in framing research questions. Given the failure of colonial and neocolonial influences to 'develop' sub-Saharan Africa in any appropriate or indeed measureable sense, what impact are Chinese organizations having on development in Africa? In terms of the HRM implications, the reasons for Chinese organizations being in Africa, and therefore the way they operate in terms of development of human capacity is of fundamental importance to the central thesis of this paper: how are management actions contributing to employment opportunities, employability, skills and knowledge development, community development, and what is the impact on both African and Chinese partners, and what are both learning from each other, what are the implications and why is this important?

It is hoped that the theoretical discussion in this paper, and the tentative formulation of hypothesized implications of different models of Chinese influence on organization and management in Africa, have provided at least a starting point in this important area of study. It is important not only to the understanding of the changing geopolitical dynamics across the globe, and implications for managing people across cultural spaces, not least in Africa itself, but also to the way cross-cultural management scholarship should be framed and taken forward as a more mature sub-disciplinary field that has real critical relevance to the international study of human resource management.

References

Ajakaiye, O.(2006), China and Africa – opportunities and challenges, presented at the African Union Task Force on Strategic Partnership Between Africa and the Emerging Countries of the South, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia 11th-13th September 2006

Alden, C. and Davies, M. (2006) A profile of the operations of Chinese multinationals in Africa, *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 13 (1): 83 – 96

Baah, A. Y. and Jauch, H. (eds.) (2009) *Chinese Investments in Africa: A Labour Perspective*, Johannesburg: African Labour Research Network.

Bhabha, H K (1994) *The Location of Culture*, New York: Routledge

Biggeri, M., & Sanfilippo, M. (2009). Understanding China's move into Africa: an empirical analysis. *Journal of Chinese Economic & Business Studies*, *7*(1), 31-54.

Bjorkman, I. (2002). The Diffusion of Human Resource Management Practices among Chinese Firms: The Role of Western Multinational Corporations. *Asia Pacific Business Review*, *9*(2), 43-60

Boyacigiller, N. A. and Adler, N. J. (1991) The parochial dinosaur: organizational science in a global context, *Academy of Management Review*, 16(2), 262-90.

Bräutigam, Deborah (2011) *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Campbell, H. (2008) China in Africa: challenging US global hegemony, *Third World Quarterly*, 29(1):89-105

CCS (2008), *The China Monitor Issue 28: China's Development Assistance to Africa*, April 2008, Centre for Chinese Studies, University of Stellenbosch, South Africa, accessed at http://www.ccs.org.za/downloads/monitors/China%20Monitor%20April_2008.pdf, on 15/06/09

Child, J. (1994) *Management in China During the Age of Reform*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

China View (2009) China's diplomacy serves economy: FM, In China View online, March 7, 2009, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-03/07/content_10961803.htm, accessed 26 April 2010

Dia, M. (1996) *Africa's Management in the 1990s and Beyond*, Washington DC: World Bank.

Farley, J. U., Hoenig, S., & Yang, J. Z. (2004). Key factors influencing HRM practices of overseas subsidiaries in China's transition economy. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *15*(4/5), 688-704.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2001) *Making Social Science Matter*, Cambridge: Cambridge Uniersity Press.

Frank, A. G. (1969) *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*, New York: Monthly Review Press

Frenkel, M (2008) The multinational corporation as a third space: rethinking international management discourse on knowledge transfer through Homi Bhabha, *Academy of Management Review*, 33(4), 924–42.

Gelb, S. (2005) South-South Investment: The Case of Africa, Chapter 16 in *Africa in the World Economy - The National, Regional and International Challenges,* The Hague: Fondad, December 2005, accessed at http://www.fondad.org/uploaded/Africa%20in%20the%20World%20Economy/Fondad-AfricaWorld-Chapter16.pdf, 15 April 2010

Gill, B., Huang, C-h, & Morrison, J. S, (2007) Assessing China's Growing Influence in Africa, *China Security*, 3(3): 3–21, World Security Institute

Gill, B. and Reilly, J. (2007) The Tenuous Hold of China Inc. in Africa, *The Washington Quarterly*, 30:3 pp.37-52;

Hofstede, G (1980a/2003) *Cultures Consequences*, 1st/2nd Editions, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Hofstede, G. (1980b) Motivation, leadership and organization: do American theories apply abroad?, *Organizational Dynamics*, Summer, pp. 42-63.

Hui, C. H. (1990) Work attitudes, leadership styles and managerial behaviors in different cultures, in R. W. Brislin, (ed.) (1990) *Applied Cross-cultural Psychology*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage, pp.186-208

Ip, P. K. (2009) Is Confucianism good for business ethics in China?, *Journal of Business Ethics*, 88: 463-76.

Jackson, T. (1999) Managing Change in South Africa: Developing People and Organizations, *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 10(2), 306-326.

Jackson, T. (2002a) The management of people across cultures: valuing people differently, *Human Resource Management*, 41(4), 455-475

Jackson, T. (2002b) Reframing human resource management in Africa: a cross-cultural perspective, *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 13(7), 998-1018.

Jackson, T. (2002c) *International HRM: A Cross-cultural Approach*, London: Sage.

Jackson, T. (2004) *Management and Change in Africa: A Cross-cultural Perspective*, London: Routledge.

Jackson, T. (2011) *International Management Ethics: A Critical Cross-cultural Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jackson, T. and Bak, M. (1998) Foreign companies and Chinese workers: employee motivation in the People's Republic of China, *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 11(4), 282-300.

Kamoche, K., Debrah, YA., Horwitz, FM. and Muuka, GN. (eds.) (2004) *Managing Human Resources in Africa*, London : Routledge.

Kaplinsky, R. (2008) What does the rise of China do for industrialization in sub-Saharan Africa?, *Review of African Political Economy*, 115: 7-22

Kapoor, I. (2002) Capitalism, culture, agency: dependency versus postcolonial theory, *Third World Quarterly*, 23(4), 647-64.

Kerr, C., Dunlop, J. T., Harbison, F. H. and Myers, C. A. (1960) *Industrialism and Industrial Man*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kiggundu, M. N. (1991) The challenges of management development in sub-Saharan Africa, *Journal of Management Development*, 10(6): 32-47

King, K. (2006) Aid within the wider China-Africa partnership: a view from the Beijing Summit, paper to Workshop on China-Africa Links, 11-12 November 2006, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology.

Koopman, A (1991) *Transcultural Management*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Kurlantzick, J. (2006), Beijing's Safari: China's Move into Africa and Its Implications for Aid, Development, and Governance, China Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC, November 2006.

Luo, Y. & Rui, H. (2009). An ambidexterity perspective toward multinational enterprises from emerging economies, *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 23(4), 49–70.

Marafa, L. M. (2007) Africa's Business and Development Relationship with China: Seeking Moral and Capital Values of the Last Economic Frontier, Paper presented at the African Economic Conference, November 15th-17th 2007 UN Conference Centre, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Mbigi, L (1997) *Ubuntu: The African Dream in Management*, Randburg, S. Africa: Knowledge Resources.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China (MOFA), (2006) China's African Policy, January 2006 http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/zxxx/t230615.htm, accessed 26 April 2010.

Mohan, G (2002) Beyond participation: strategies for deeper empowerment, in B. Cooke and U Kothari, *Participation: The New Tyranny?,* London: Zed Books, 2002: 153-167.

Mutabazi, E. (2002) Preparing African leaders, chapter 15 in C. B. Derr, S. Roussillon and F. Bournois (eds.) *Cross-cultural Approaches to Leadership Development*, Westport, CT: Quorum Books, 2002, pp. 202-223.

Priem, R. L., Love, L. G. and Shaffer, M. (2000) Industrialization and values evolution: the case of Hong Kong and Guangzhou, China, *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, 17(3), 473-92.

Ralston, D. A., Gaicalone, R. A. & Terpstra, R. H. (1994) Ethical perceptions of organizational politics: a comparative evaluation of American and Hong Kong managers, *Journal of Business Ethics*, 13, pp. 989-99.

Said, E. (1978/1995) *Orientalism*, London: Penguin

Schech, S. and Haggis, J. (2000) *Culture and Development: A Critical Introduction*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Shaw, T.M., Cooper, A. F. & Antkiewicz, A. (2007) Global and/or regional development at the start of the 21st century? China, India, and (South) Africa, *Third World Quarterly*, 28(7): 1255-70

Shen, J. (2007) Approaches to International Industrial Relations in Chinese Multinational Corporations. *Management Revue*, *18*(4), 410-426.

Shinn, D. H (2006) Africa and China's Global Activism, Paper Presented at the National Defense University Pacific Symposium China's Global Activism: Implications for U.S. Security Interests National Defense University Fort Lesley J. McNair June 20, 2006

Spivak, Gayatri C. (1996) *The Spivak Reader*, D Landry & G MacLean (eds), New York: Routledge.

Tayeb, M. H. (2000) The internationalisation of HRM policies and practices: the case of Japanese and French companies in Scotland, 11éme Congrés de l'AGRH, 16-17th November 2000, ESCP-EAP, Paris

Triandis, H. C. (1990) Theoretical concepts that are applicable to the analysis of ethnocentrism, in R. W. Brislin (ed.) *Applied Cross-cultural Psychology*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 34-55.

US State Department (2006) *China (includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau) International Religious Freedom Report 2006*, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor at http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2006/71338.htm, accessed 13/06/12

Warner, M. (1996) Human resources in the People's Republic of China: the 'three systems' reforms, *Human Resource Management Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 32-43.

Warner, M. (2010). In search of Confucian HRM: theory and practice in Greater China and beyond. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *21*(12), 2053-78.

Zhang, M., & Edwards, C. (2007). Diffusing 'best practice' in Chinese multinationals: the motivation, facilitation and limitations. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *18*(12), 2147-2165

Economic Diplomacy Research Center (EDRC) of Tsinghua University (Eds), 2008, *Economic Diplomacy of China*, Beijing: China Economic Press.

Table 1 *The nature of China's presence and organizational implications*

Orientation of Chinese presence in Africa	General implications	Hypothesized organizational implications
Resource –seeking (Gill, Huang & Morrison, 2007; Gelb, 2005)	• Possibility of further exploitation of Africa's natural resources and its people • Importing of engineering skills to Africa • Knowledge sharing between China and Africa	• Minimum employment of locals, with use of mainly Chinese staff and expertise • Skills development and increased employment and employability through newly created jobs • Creation of local level partnerships and organizational forms to share and develop local knowledge
Market-seeking (Ajakaije, 2006; Kurlantzick, 2006; Marafa, 2007)	• Market led organizations providing cheaper and more varied goods • Employment opportunities for locals with local market knowledge • Lack of involvement with local communities	• New organizational models • New skills development through employment of local staffs • Lean organizations that do not employ locals, or contribute to local development
Political-seeking (Gill & Rielly, 2007; MOFA, 2006)	• Model of modernization for Africa • Friendship seeking • Contrary perceptions of Africa's 'backwardness' compared with the West • Infrastructural development in partnership • Lack of conditionality means not imposing governmental and governance systems, but criticism from West of treatment of human rights issues	• Alternative organizational systems and models developing • Harmonization with local needs sought, based on mutual trust • Management models based more on humanistic perceptions of employees sought, together with cultural understanding • Sustainable organizational partnerships developed • May have implications for the way human rights are treated in organizations

Table 2 *Assumptions about South-North-South interactions, and implications*

Theoretical assumptions	General implications	Hypothesized implication for organization and management in Africa
Modernization Theory • Dichotomizes the 'developed' and 'developing' world. • Sees the 'developing' world in need of development along same trajectory as 'developed' world. • Transfer of knowledge is from 'developed' world to 'developing' world, and such knowledge is seen as universal. • Provides main justification for North-South power relationship (Schech & Haggis, 2000, provide a summary)	• African partners are in a subordinate position. • The North provides aid to the South to assist in this development • 'Modernization' is achieved through Western knowledge and expertise • Local cultural traditions and local knowledge is primitive and needs updating/modernizing	• Power dynamics in organizations assume dominance of Western partner • Technology and managerial expertise flows from Western to African partner or subsidiary • 'Modern' management and HRM imposed on organizations operating locally • Little importance attached to local management knowledge; 'empowerment' may not involve taking account of staffs' local knowledge and culture.
Dependency Theory • Provide critique of Modernization Theory suggesting that today's Third World underdevelopment is the underside of the same globalizing conditions that led to the First World being developed. • The prime mover in this was capital seeking profits and this is easiest in countries where labour and resources are cheap and governments are weak. • The structural consequence of this is to reproduce the process, and to block local initiatives pursuing their own development paths (e.g. Frank, 1969)	• African partners are in a subordinate position because they are being economically exploited, and kept in conditions of subordination, serving interests of the First World • Western partners, often colluding with African governments, keep economic conditions and costs down • Local cultural traditions and local knowledge are consequentially denigrated and/or ignored	• Power dynamics in organizations reflect the economic necessity to keep Third World in subordination to needs of First World • Wages and conditions kept to minimum standards, sometimes infringing what may be regarded in the West as human rights • Rhetoric of participation and empowerment in the Modernization approach may belie the ignoring of local approaches and knowledge
Postcolonial Theory • Provides critique of Modernization Theory by proposing that the 'developing' world is represented in the eye's of the 'developed' world, and this is accepted and internalized by the developing world itself • There is also a challenging of these representations of the nature of inhabitants of the third world; • Because this challenging itself grows out of the cultural and intellectual representations of western discourse, this 'contamination' of the colonized means that they can never refer back to an 'authentic' identity in pre-colonial times (Said, 1978/1995; Bhabha, 1994; Spivak, 1996)	• There is an acceptance by African partners of a knowledge and cultural subordinations through internalizing the projected identity from the West, often reinforced through Western education • Sometimes this is challenged by the development of local approaches such as *ubuntu*. • Yet local knowledge development and innovation is often tempered by combining with Western approaches.	• Power dynamics in organizations reflect the cultural dominance of the West, and these are reflected in management practices such as HRM • There is scope for a real challenge to the lack of appropriateness of Western approaches through such as ubuntu management, • But these are often watered down or incorporated with Western approaches

31

Possible assumptions about South-South relations

- China is interested in what resources it can get from Africa in the cheapest possibly way

- This may not be in an exploitative way, but in a spirit of cooperation and mutual learning
- China itself, as a 'Third World' country in a subordinate position may have adopted some of the assumptions of Western superior knowledge
- China itself may assume a superior position of the 'Middle Kingdom' against the underdevelopment of African partners.
- China shares many of the development issues of African countries, and its own modernization trajectory may serve as a model for Africa, with Chinese cultural values such as humanism may be held in common with Africa cultures

- China is not interested in imposing economic and political conditions on Africa in exchange for aid or economic partnerships

(Various sources, see discussion in text)

- Africa partners look to China as another source of development and technical aid in exchange for natural resources
- Africa and China partnerships learn from each other, with element of reverse diffusion of knowledge
- China is simply re-exporting knowledge gained from working with Western partners and through Western education
- Chinese look down on Africa partners as possessing inferior knowledge and skills

- Africa partner looks to China as different and more appropriate development trajectory than that provided by the West with Chinese cultural imports into Africa may be more appropriate than those of the West.
- Lack of conditionality may be seen as not bothering with African human rights issues

- Employment conditions and wages may be kept to a minimum

- Cross-cultural teams work in organizations for mutual benefits

- Western methods are introduced into organizations by Chinese managers

- A lack of participation and empowerment in organizations, with technical expertise and management from Chinese
- Alternate forms of organization seen by African partners as more appropriate

- Human rights issues may have implications for employment conditions in organizations

Table 3 '*Ideal type' analytical categories*

Ideal Type	Post-colonial	Western/ instrumental	African/ humanist	Confucian Firm
Analytical category	(*Post-colonial*: Jackson , 2002b)	(*Post-instrumental*: Jackson, 2002b)	(*African renaissance*: Jackson, 2002b)	(*Confucian firm*: Ip, 2009; Jackson 2011).
General principles	• Theory x • Western/post-independent Africa • Instrumental	• Theory Y and X • Western/modern • Instrumental	• Humanistic • Ubuntu • Communalistic	• Paternalistic hierarchy • Familial collectivism, • Humanistic • *Ren-yi-li* and *zhong shu*
Strategy (including stakeholder and 'character'	• Inputs and process orientation • Lack of results and objectives • Risk averse	• Results and market oriented • Clear objectives • Calculated risk taking	• Stakeholder orientation • Community involvement	• Profit motive morally constrained and consistent with ren-yi-li • Doing good for the community and society
Structure	• Hierarchical • Centralized	• Flatter hierarchy • Often decentralized	• Flatter hierarchy • Decentralized and closer to stakeholders	• Hierarchical • Collectivist
Governance/ decision making	• Authoritarian • Non-consultative	• Often consultative • Increasing emphasis on 'empowerment'	• Participative, consensus seeking	• Paternalistic
Management control (including people orientation)	• Rule bound • Lack of flexibility • Outside influence or control (family, government) often seen as negative • Theory X/control orientation	• Clear rules of action • Flexible • Outside government influence decreasing	• Benign rules of action • Outside influence (government, family) may be seen as more benign	• Treating people with fairness and humanity • *De* (people's moral virtues) driving people's actions rather than rules and regulations
Internal policies (people)	• Discriminatory • Employee policies aimed at duties rather than rights	• Non-discriminatory • Access to equal opportunities and clear employee policies on responsibilities and rights	• Stakeholder interests • Access to equal opportunities	• Providing fair wages and safe working environment
Internal climate (people)	• Employee alienation common • Weak trade unions • Inter-ethnic friction • Discourages diversity of opinions • Promotion by ascription	• Emphasis on employee motivation • Weak or co-operative unions • Move towards inter-ethnic harmony • Diverse opinions often encouraged • Promotion based on achievement	• Motivation through participation important • Unions protect rights • Inter-ethnic harmony taken into consideration • Everyone should be able to state their opinions • Promotion based on legitimization of status	• Motivating through fairness, and providing fair working conditions and wages

External policies (stakeholders)	• Lack of customer/client policies • Lack or results orientation	• Clear policies on customers/clients • Results orientation	• A clear awareness of and articulation of stakeholder interests	• Fair dealing with customers • Providing benefits to the community, • Being a good corporate citizen • Promoting social good generally • Protecting the environment
Management expertise	• Educated management elite with low managerial expertise	• High, results oriented managerial expertise is aimed for	• Management expertise based on people orientation	• *Junzi*, but also paternalistic use of management expertise
Management motivators	• Economic security • Control	• Managing uncertainty • Self enhancement • Autonomy • Independence • Achievement	• Belonging • Development of person and group	• Belonging, as part of social group • *zhong shu*, and shriving for *Junzi*
Management commitment orientation	• To business objectives • To relatives • To organization	• To self • To results • To ethical principles • To work	• To group • To people	• To group/collective • To fairness (for wider stakeholders)
Management principles (incl. main orientation)	• External locus of control • Deontology • Theory X • Mistrust of human nature • Status orientation	• Internal locus of control • Teleology • Theory Y • Conditional trust of human nature • Achievement orientation	• Internal and external locus of control • Trust of human nature • Status and achievement orientation	• Internal and external locus of control • Fairness and humanity • Social hierarchy and paternalism
Management practices	• Reliance on hierarchy • Use of rank • Low egalitarianism • Lack of open communication • Lack of open information	• Some participation • Mostly communicating openly • Providing open information when necessary • Confrontational	• Participation • Egalitarianism • Communicating openly • Providing open communication	• humanistic, obligation-based and collectivistic • puts collective values and interests above individual ones • harmonious social relationships are paramount • obligation-based • moral capacity for compassion (*ren*) and sense of rightness (*yi*), and reciprocity (*shu*) • hierarchy of social relationships