

Capacity Development and JICA's Activities

- Cooperation for Promoting **Multi-Layered Capacity Development**

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The outcome of this study consists of three volumes. In addition to this paper, there are two other papers regarding *Ownership* and *Knowledge Acquisition*. Please refer to those in order to get the complete picture of this research project.

Introduction

This paper¹ is part of a study that aims to clarify the characteristics and effectiveness of Japanese technical cooperation (TC), and to share the findings with recipient countries, other members of the donor community, and the Japanese public. It is hoped that the study will facilitate and enhance their deeper understanding of Japan's TC. The study also hopes to make helpful contributions to the ongoing international discussion on reforming TC and knowledge-based aid.

In the 1990s, a series of reports were published which were highly critical about the effects of aid in general, and technical cooperation in particular, on the development of partner countries. These include “*DAC Principles for Effective Aid*” (OCED 1992), “*Rethinking Technical Cooperation: Reforms for Capacity Building in Africa*” (UNDP 1993) and “*Assessing Aid: What Works, What Doesn't, and Why*” (The World Bank 1998). Later research and country studies confirmed that many of their recommendations had not been implemented and many of the problems still remained. According to UNDP (2002a), TC is still frequently criticized for undermining local capacity, distorting priorities, choosing high-profile activities, fragmenting management, using expensive methods, ignoring local wishes, and fixating on targets. It is now widely accepted that technical cooperation has performed least favorably in institutional capacity building of developing countries.

In this context, this study project started at the end of 2000 in order to reexamine project type TC that has been a major target of the criticism, and to share with other countries the experience of Japanese technical cooperation. Focusing on JICA's technical cooperation, the study formulated a number of hypotheses on its characteristics and effectiveness with respect to capacity development, ownership and knowledge. The hypotheses were formulated in reference to a series of reports published in the 1990s by OECD/DAC, UNDP and the World Bank and, more markedly, the UNDP (2002a) report, the “*Capacity for Development: New Solutions to Old Problems*” in which UNDP proposes a new paradigm for capacity building. Then, consultants in 11 developing countries were asked to verify whether the proposed hypotheses could be confirmed by examining characteristics and consequences (*impacts*) of 31 selected JICA projects. Specific projects to be studied were pre-selected by JICA as best practices.

This paper is based on these case studies as well as additional studies made in Japan through the analysis of related documents and interviews with Japanese experts involved in the selected projects.

¹ The opinions in this paper do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of Japan International Cooperation Agency.

The objective of this paper is to examine JICA's approach to technical cooperation based on a three-layered capacity development proposed by UNDP. One of the major criticisms against technical cooperation in the form of project aid is that it can only produce micro-improvements, but not the kind of macro-impacts that build and sustain national capacity for development. Although technical cooperation has been successful in achieving better results over time, the success of technical cooperation projects tends to be *islands of excellence* at best, with no significant impact on society. This is why UNDP emphasizes the necessity of capacity development at societal level in its proposal of three layers of capacity development. However, not all technical cooperation ends up in limited success in capacity building. One of the characteristics of Japan's technical cooperation is that it targets governmental institutions as partner/counterpart institutions. The effects of project type TC with a specific focus on certain capacity building of the public sector is not always limited to micro-improvements but it can contribute to capacity development on a broader scale. Based on the case studies of JICA's best practices, this paper will attempt to show how some of the TC projects can, when properly planned and managed, contribute to further capacity development on a broader scale.

1. General Critiques of Technical Cooperation (TC)

1-1 Previous Debate over Reforming Technical Cooperation

As dissatisfactions with technical cooperation had become widespread by the early 1990s, a series of highly critical reports were published, which fuelled efforts to reevaluate technical cooperation as an instrument. These reports exhibited a remarkable degree of overlap across numerous reports from diverse sources. Most reports concluded that technical cooperation had been effective in getting the job done, but not effective at developing local institutions or strengthening local capacities, an area that is (or should be) its primary focus.

For over the last four decades, donors have sent a variety of equipment such as four-wheel-drive vehicles, textbooks, computers, etc., dispatched many expatriate experts, whether on long-term secondment or on short-term consultancies, and organized multiple seminars and training courses to improve the individual skills of thousands of people.

Initially, this technical cooperation seemed to be successful. European countries revitalized their economies and rebuilt their nations thanks to the Marshall Plan after World War II. The East Asian Tigers succeeded in launching export-led growth by the selective use of development cooperation. However, there are still many poor countries that failed to achieve economic and social transformation. The existence of these countries, especially in Africa, has cast doubt about the effectiveness of development cooperation in general and technical cooperation in particular. There was a consensus among researchers and

practitioners in the aid community that “technical cooperation had proven effective in getting the job done, but less effective at developing local institutions or strengthening local capacities” (UNDP, 2002a, p4). “There have been positive micro-improvements, but not the kind of macro-impacts that build and sustain national capacity for development (UNDP, 2002a, p3).”

Some critiques even claim that technical cooperation is likely to displace or inhibit local alternatives rather than helping to build sustainable institutions and other capabilities (UNDP, 2002a, p5). Other major elements of the critique include: the supply driven nature of TC; excessive emphasis on tangible, measurable outputs; establishment of Project Management Unit (PMU); excessive reliance on NGOs for project implementation; insufficient emphasis on training; excessive reliance on long-term resident expatriate advisers; and massive distortions in the market for TC.

1-2 UNDP’s Proposal for a New Model of Technical Cooperation

UNDP published a report in 2002, titled *Capacity for Development: New Solutions to Old Problems*, and claims that many of the old problems of technical cooperation still remain. In order to answer the question about why these old problems persist, the UNDP report examines the basic assumptions underlying the old model of TC, which has remained unchanged to this day.

According to UNDP, the old model was based on several basic assumptions. One of the assumptions is that “it is possible simply to ignore existing capacities in developing countries and replace them with knowledge and systems produced elsewhere” (UNDP, 2002a, p8). The old model views a form of “development as displacement”, rather than “development as transformation”. Another basic assumption of the old model is that TC is based on an equal partnership between donor and recipient. In reality, the relationships have tended to be more asymmetric, discontinuous and distorted (UNDP, 2002a, p10). In addition, in the old model, human resource is perceived as the core of capacity development, and pursued through formal training schemes that aim to transfer knowledge in a vertical (top-down) mode. The underlying premise is that “partner countries can simply adopt a template that has been refined over time in the richer countries. No need to reinvent the wheel.” (UNDP, 2002a, p13) However, knowledge is more than information that can be offered by teachers. It is something that learners have to acquire for themselves. To this end, TC should “rely less on routine training courses and more on on-the-job learning, or mentoring, or having people with different levels of skills work in teams with a constant process of interaction and learning” (UNDP, 2002a, p13).

UNDP defines capacity as the ability to perform functions, solve problems, and set and achieve objectives (UNDP, 2002a, p8). If countries and societies want to develop capacities,

they must do more than expand individual human skills. They also have to create opportunities and incentives for people to use and extend those skills. According to UNDP, most TC projects, however, stop at individual skills improvement and institution building. They do not consider the societal level (UNDP, 2002a, p9).

Thus, capacity development needs to be addressed at three levels: individual, institutional and societal.

Individual

- This involves enabling individuals to embark on a continuous process of learning, building on existing knowledge and skills, and extending these in new directions as fresh opportunities appear.

Institutional

- This involves building on existing capacities. Rather than trying to construct new institutions, such as agricultural research centers or legal aid centers, on the basis of foreign blueprints, governments and donors instead need to seek out existing initiatives, however nascent, and encourage these to grow.

Societal

- This involves capacities in the society as a whole, or a transformation for development. An example is creating the kinds of opportunities, whether in the public or private sector, that enable people to use and expand their capacities to the fullest. Without such opportunities, people will find that their skills rapidly erode, or become obsolete. If they find no opportunities locally, trained people will join the brain drain and take their skills overseas.

All of these layers of capacity are mutually interdependent. Therefore, one or the other should not be pursued on its own. Otherwise, capacity development becomes inefficient (UNDP, 2002a, p10).

2. Innovative Approaches in JICA's Experience for Capacity Development at Multi-layered Levels

When capacity development is understood as three-layered, as suggested by UNDP, the most challenging issue for donors and developing countries is how to deal with capacity on a broader range, especially at the societal level. The UNDP report points out that the conventional technical cooperation projects tend to stop at capacity development at either the individual or institutional level, with an emphasis on the transfer of specific technical skills or institution-building. When capacity at the societal level is neglected and unaffected, UNDP stresses, technical cooperation projects tend to be *islands of excellence* at best, with

no significant impact on society.

Not all of the technical cooperations, however, ends up in limited success in capacity building. Japan's technical cooperation, too, mainly focuses on individual skills/knowledge transfer and institution building. However, one of its characteristics is that it inherently targets governmental institutions as partner/counterpart institutions and attempts to improve their functions to provide public services for the society based on cooperation with other relevant institutions and on the needs of stakeholders, including beneficiaries. If the counterpart organizations can strengthen their networks with other relevant institutions and promote a relationship of mutual trust with stakeholders, their motivation to respond to the needs of the stakeholders is likely to enhance, which may create incentives for the counterpart organizations to make continuous efforts for improvement in their public functions. If this networking is properly planned and managed in the project concerned, the project can have greater influence/impact on society by producing a positive influence on the sector concerned and/or related policies as well as on people's attitude/behavior in local communities. Therefore, an overall working hypothesis is that technical cooperation with a specific focus on certain capacity building of the public sector can, when properly planned and managed, contribute to further capacity development on a broader scale.

From this perspective, at the individual level, TC projects need to contribute to capacity development not only by improving technical skills but also by raising the personnel's motivation and commitment to proper undertakings of their public responsibilities and duties. At the institutional level, it is required to improve the functions of public organizations to meet the needs of beneficiaries and to strengthen the relationships with the institutions concerned especially between at the policy and field levels.

2-1 Human Resource Development through Enhancing Motivation

Technical cooperation can contribute to capacity development at the individual level in terms of motivation and commitment of counterparts to their public tasks as well as of their technical skills and knowledge. Means of enhancing the motivation include paying respect to their ownership through participatory decision making processes as well as deepening their understanding of the significance of the project and acquisition of knowledge by providing training, study tours, materials and equipment, and workshops. It also includes partnership-based sharing knowledge and information.

Respect for ownership based on participatory decision making process

As a first step for increasing personal motivation for a project, efforts should be made to pay respect to ownership of the counterparts and other important stakeholders. To that end, it is indispensable not only to involve every stakeholder to the whole process of the project but

also to make participatory decisions in the process based on consensus building among stakeholders. Involvement and participation of local stakeholders play a key role not only in enhancing their motivation but also promoting the project in accordance with local needs at lower costs. It was confirmed through review of many cases in this study that consensus-based participatory decision-making process is effective in enhancing motivation and commitment of counterparts and other stakeholders (cf. the paper on the ownership).

Deepened understanding of the significance of the project and acquisition of knowledge

Counterparts' and other stakeholders' understanding of the meaning of a project can be deepened through various opportunities (e.g., the training, study tours, meetings and workshops) offered by the project. Understanding the importance of the project in turn helps to promote their commitment and motivation to their public duties and responsibilities, increasing their willingness to work for beneficiaries (see example 1).

Their confidence and motivation in undertaking their public tasks can be boosted by the skills and knowledge acquired through various occasions offered in the project (such as receiving training courses, using provided materials and equipment, and experiencing cooperative activities). For example, in the Reproductive Health Project in Vietnam, as professional and other skills have been much improved, counterparts have become more confident in undertaking their duties. They have a strong commitment and motivation toward improving the local health care standards which are most likely acquired through educational activities on RH in the project, and through their own awareness. Although the counterparts receive very little financial compensation and their workload has become much higher as the project progresses, they are still very friendly toward patients, enthusiastic to complete their work, and most importantly, willing to assist each other.

Learning by doing under guidance of experts is especially effective in acquiring knowledge for counterparts. In Japan, OJT (on-the-job training) is considered as the most effective approach for gaining the knowledge required for a given work. Japanese experts, therefore, tend to place more emphasis on this practical training in technical cooperation projects. In the family planning project in the Philippines, for instance, experts employed the following training program:

- (1) The expert gives a demonstration of the work in front of the counterparts.
- (2) The expert and a counterpart do the work together.
- (3) Then at the phase-out stage, the counterpart carries out the work alone in front of the expert.

It is reported that this approach was effective in assisting the counterparts obtaining new knowledge and skills, in particular those not described in the textbooks.

Knowledge sharing through partnership

Cooperation between experts and counterparts and other stakeholders can create mutual trust between them and teamwork-based cooperative environment. In such a case, their partnership helps promoting sharing ideas, information and knowledge among them. Sharing the knowledge, in many cases, not only improves counterparts' efficiency in carrying out their duties but also enhances their motivation for executing the project (see example 2).

Example 1: Improvement in counterparts' attitude toward beneficiary in Cebu Socio-Economic Empowerment and Development (CEBU SEED) Project in the Philippines

In the Project, municipal workers were eager about the project from the start because of their close relationship with the community. In contrast, the main counterparts from the provincial government rarely made travels to rural villages, and shifting this frame of mind was the toughest task of the project. However, by witnessing the eagerness of the local communities with JICA experts, the spirits and attitudes of the counterparts have dramatically improved.

Example 2: Improvement in the work ethics through knowledge sharing in Improvement of Educational Achievement in Science Technology and Mathematics (STM) in Basic Education Project in Ghana

As a result of a project that emphasizes knowledge sharing among stakeholders, counterparts have cultivated the habit of sharing ideas regularly to improve in-service training. The project has created an environment for cooperative learning and information sharing to take place more frequently among teacher education personnel involved in the project. Project committee meetings have led to greater interaction between the Teacher Education Division (TED) of the Ghana Education Service (GES) and other stakeholders and led to efficiency improvement in TED, in terms of planning and execution of in-service training for science and mathematics teachers. There has been tremendous improvement in the work ethics of teacher education staff involved in the project and with time, this has the potential to influence positively the entire Teacher Education Division in terms of way they approach planning and implementation of scheduled activities.

In sum, technical cooperation can develop technical skills and knowledge of counterparts and build motivation and commitment to proper undertaking of public duties and responsibilities. This is a prerequisite for their respective institution to enhance its capacity to meet the needs of beneficiaries and other important stakeholders.

2-2 Improved Public Functions to Meet the Needs of Beneficiaries

One of the characteristics of JICA's activities is its attempt to develop capacities at the institutional level through enhancing capacities of individual members of a counterpart agency. In order for this attempt to contribute to capacity development on a broad scale, efforts should be made to develop institutional capacities in such a way that the public institution can respond to the needs of beneficiaries and other important stakeholders.

Efforts to establish networks with related public institutions, existing NGOs and private organizations

The focus of TC only on a counterpart agency is not effective in making projects fit local needs or in promoting sustainability of the project. The counterpart agency needs to establish a mechanism for collaboration and multi-sectoral participation of all major stakeholders. In order to meet the needs of beneficiaries and other important stakeholders, the counterpart agency is required to have a management system that can reflect the voice of all key stakeholders. Collaboration with relevant public and private institutions is also important because of the needs of the counterpart agency for technical and financial supports of those institutions in order to formulate and implement appropriate and sustainable policies/programs.

For example, in the Reproductive Health Project in Vietnam, a key factor contributing to its success is its establishment of a mechanism for networking with major stakeholders. In this project, a steering committee was established at the provincial, district and commune level. The committee is composed of all key stakeholders including People's Committee, Health Services and Women's Union. This has promoted consensus building among all key stakeholders at all stages of the project and contributed to the smooth planning and implementation of the project. Moreover, the committee has increased the voice of women, the major beneficiaries in the project, by giving them a role in decisions about TC management and implementation. As a result, the project has become very responsive to community needs in the province.

Example 3: Effective project management in Pharmacopoeia Project in the Philippines

The Department of Health (DOH) Pharmacopoeia Organization, which is the head agency of Bureau of Food and Drugs (BFAD), was created with expert representatives from the different fields of Medical and Pharmaceutical Sciences as members. The organization is composed of an Executive Board, a Steering Committee and Technical Working Groups (TWG) for each of the relevant areas of standardization work for the Pharmacopoeia.

This organization establishes close collaboration with the academe, the industry and other government agencies, and enables BFAD to establish partners to validate procedures set in the draft Pharmacopoeia. Thus, the preparation of the Pharmacopoeia became a joint effort of BFAD and the stakeholders, thereby establishing an efficient consultative venue where procedures are tested and validated until final acceptance.

The collaborative efforts and coordinative stance of the stakeholders, being BFAD, JICA, the industry and the academe, encourage efficiency and helps sustain efforts despite the limited resources. Inviting representatives from the academe and the industry to act as key persons in the technical working group encourages the pooling together of the best minds in the pharmaceutical industry which is very useful for the preparation of the Pharmacopoeia. In addition, BFAD project management and laboratory staff provide full support to the three technical working groups organized for the Project.

Example 4: Capacity development through multi-stakeholder participation in Research and Development Project on High Productivity Rice Technology in the Philippines

Though the project was primarily concerned with strengthening of research capacity and therefore focused on the R&D section of the Philippine Rice Research Institute (PhilRice), the involvement of other stakeholders has had positive effects on capacity enhancement of the institution as the whole.

The PhilRice enjoys a widened network of cooperators and institutional partners who remain enthusiastic about the institution's programs and activities in the process of mainstreaming new technologies from rice breeds to machineries to farm management, integrated pest control, etc. The reaper alone has three private commercial partners. In 2001 alone, 7 NGOs signed up partnerships with PhilRice. Since then PRRM, one of those NGOs, has been an important partner in technology promotion and has, in fact, some resource counter-parting scheme with PhilRice. For trainings, the NGO contributed resources in bringing the farmers to the training events, as well as helped in cascading learnings to other beneficiaries. Furthermore, various LGUs dispatched their rice specialists to support the technical training activities of PhilRice.

Thanks to the establishment of networking with other relevant institutions, the institutional capacity of PhilRice has been enhanced in such a way that it can meet the needs of beneficiaries including farmers.

One of the major features of successful JICA's TC projects is that the projects promote capacity development of the counterpart agencies so that they can meet the needs of beneficiaries and other important stakeholders. To this end, the projects support counterpart agencies to establish wide networks of beneficiaries and other important stakeholders. One of the effective mechanisms to build this kind of network is the establishment of a steering committee composed of all the key stakeholders in the project. If the project is planned and implemented based on consensus among them, it is likely to enhance the capacity of the counterpart agency to meet the needs of beneficiaries and other important stakeholders. Furthermore, the project can generate a broader scale of impact if the success of the project results in its incorporation to the sector policy and expansion of public budget for its replication.

2-3 Expansion of Project Impact through Strengthening Relations between Institutions at the Policy and Field Level

In addition to capacity development at the individual and institutional level, another contribution of JICA to capacity development of partner countries is its support for projects that function as models to realize the sector policy.

One of the major criticisms of project-typed technical cooperation is that it is unlikely to have influence on the sector level. There have been positive micro-improvements, but not the kind of macro-impacts that build and sustain capacity development at the sector level. However, if the project is well integrated into the sector plan of the partner country, and effectively links institutions between the policy and field levels, the success of the pilot project may expand its positive effects beyond institutional levels. This is because such a project can demonstrate a successful model which can show how to materialize the sector policy. Thus, these kinds of projects can have a certain demonstration effect, accordingly, starting with the adjacent areas and gradually extending its positive influence on the sector as a whole.

For example, a maternal and child health handbook was developed in Central Java province in Indonesia through a TC project supported by JICA. After it was pilot-tested in a municipality, and was found to be effective, it was later integrated into the development policy of Indonesia as a national program. The handbook is regarded as a measure to realize the policy for maternal and child health and it is now used in 24 provinces, covering 159 cities and districts throughout Indonesia. In a project for tuberculosis control in the Philippines, the project produced the National Tuberculosis Control Programme (NTP) Guidelines based on a pilot project in Cebu. In the phase II, the project supported revision of the NTP Guidelines and produced a Manual of Procedures, which is being used nationwide. During phase II, the project expanded its covering area to nine provinces and plans to gradually expand to the whole country. In both cases, the projects reflected accurately the

national policy of partner countries, and therefore later were integrated into the national development policy as a measure to effectively materialize its policy. As a result, the projects have been replicated in other areas and are expanding their positive effects at the sector level.

Recently, JICA has increasingly implemented projects supporting policy-making and institution-building in partner countries as shown in legal support in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. In these cases too, efforts have been made to develop capacities necessary to build institutions that reflect local needs by promoting participation of all stakeholders and strengthening their linkages.

Example 5: Expansion of the pilot activities in Training Services Enhancement Project for Rural Life Improvement (TSEP-RLI) in the Philippine

Through the project, the cooperative relationship was enhanced between the counterpart agency, i.e., Agricultural Training Institute (ATI), and other institutions. This was shown by the coordination of the local government units (LGUs) and other agencies of the government in relation to the project being implemented at the Model center and at the Initial Expansion Centers (IECs). Local officials and agency heads pledged financial and technical assistance to retain the project. Also, by cooperating with other agencies, ATI could provide a wider range of training courses to its clientele.

Before the project, more emphasis was placed on the "production and livelihood sphere" in conventional ATI training courses. However, through this project, the ATI counterparts realized the holistic concept of rural life improvement, which includes the two other spheres on "rural living condition" and "community environment". As a result, focusing on the improvement in community environment was observed in the pilot activities. Rehabilitation of coastal resources, reduction of illegal fishing, and more frequent utilization of communal toilets were just some of the positive effects of the project. Also, the local people are now concerned with protecting and managing their environment for sustainable development for future generations. Through the pilot activities of the project, the beneficiaries were able to acquire skills needed to solve the problems they encountered (e.g., food processing, SALT, Coastal Resource Management, IPM, among others). Also, by utilizing locally accessible techniques and resources, more appropriate and sustainable technologies were diffused to them.

Because of the positive effects of the pilot project on the living conditions of beneficiaries, the municipal councils in each of the project sites issued several ordinances facilitating pilot activities (e.g., fish sanctuary and shell gardens). In addition, there were some positive impacts manifested beyond the border of the pilot activities. For instance, some neighboring barangays or municipalities of pilot sites have initiated similar activities. Also, requests and proposals from

other institutions, such as the University of Bohol, other municipal offices, among others were submitted to ATI centers to conduct training on participatory methods. ATI, the major counterpart agency of the project, prepared a 10-year plan for its expansion to all its 34 centers.

Example 6: The integration of project into sector plan in Science, Technology and Mathematics (STM) in Basic education Project in Ghana

Under a new education reform initiative in 1996 known as the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE), Ghana outlined plans to improve the quality of Basic Education and invited its development partners to assist in achieving the goals of FCUBE. Ghana requested Japan to assist through a technical cooperation agreement to improve the quality of teachers in science, technology and mathematics to effect positive change in learning at the upper primary and junior secondary school levels. In response to this request, the Government of Japan through its technical assistance agency, JICA, conducted basic studies in October 1997 followed by a preliminary survey in November 1998, after which details of project area and activities were determined in consultation with Ghanaian senior education officials. In August 1999, a short-term study was conducted which indicated the need to focus on a teachers training programme within a Teachers Education Framework developed by the Government of Ghana. In October 1999, after an Operation Consultation Study had been conducted, the governments of Japan and Ghana signed an agreement on the contents of a five-year technical cooperation assistance in science, technology and mathematics in basic education. Thus, there was enough done to ensure that the project reflected the needs of the recipient country and was integrated clearly into the educational development plan of the government of Ghana before the project was implemented. As a result, the project has been contributing to the realization of Ghana's educational policy by developing a methodology for a teachers training programme and by promoting human resource development in the educational sector, etcetera.

The Ministry of Education of the Government of Ghana, JICA's counterpart agency, has been playing a central role in the process of project planning and implementation. At the stage of project formulation, the Ministry coordinated the project with other donors' projects related to teacher training. With respect to the implementation stage, the Ministry holds meetings periodically in order to harmonize methodologies of in-service training for teachers of aid agencies (including NGOs) that have been involved in this field in the country.

One of the strengths of project-type TC is that it allows donors to act as innovators in development approaches through specific interventions. With their greater resources and ability to take risks, they can support pilot ventures that can establish innovative approaches and activities, which, if successful, can be scaled up and replicated by domestic authorities. Some of the mechanisms to facilitate this sector level impact include integration of the

project into the sector policy of the partner country and establishment of effective networks among stakeholders especially between institutions at the policy and field levels.

2-4 Capacity Development of Stakeholders and Development of Mutual Trust between Government and Beneficiary

The fourth area of JICA's contribution to capacity development of partner countries is its effort to develop capacity of beneficiaries and other important stakeholders as well as counterparts, and to generate and strengthen mutual trust among them.

In considering UNDP's proposal for capacity development, a new challenge to JICA's technical cooperation is how to promote capacity development at the societal level. In this respect, the case studies of JICA's TC projects indicate that an effective approach to promote this level of capacity development is to improve and strengthen the relationships between counterpart agency and other important stakeholders including beneficiaries. It is also important to provide venues where knowledge can be shared among them to address pertinent issues.

For example, as shown in example 3 in the Pharmacopoeia Project in the Philippines, the project made efforts to strengthen relationships between the Department of Health and private organizations such as academe and industry. Research and Development Project on High Productivity Rice Technology established solid relationships among the counterpart agency (PhilRice), NGO and private institutions. In the project for tuberculosis control in the Philippines, the Philippine Coalition Against Tuberculosis (PHILCAT) was established to share the policy of a national program for tuberculosis control. This has contributed to strengthening the linkages among Department of Health, local administrations, related public and private organizations and volunteer groups. The PHILCAT also helped build the capacity of all of the key stakeholders for tuberculosis control. As a result, in the target areas, the project achieved, in two years, an 85% cure rate, which is the target set by WHO, and 90% for three sputum collection rates.

Recently, JICA has also implemented projects that focus on capacity development of people in the community. In these projects too, efforts have been made to strengthen linkages among counterpart agencies, communities and other important stakeholders. In the Project on Strengthening Sulawesi Rural Community Development to Support Poverty Alleviation Programmes, for example, a system was established in which public administrations provide technical and financial support to communities and facilitate capacity development of all major stakeholders including staff of local NGOs, district and commune government offices, and local universities. The system developed in this project was approved with issuance of ordinance by the local government as a model approach to community development in the district.

A pattern emerges in this kind of successful projects. Enhanced institutional capacity of the counterpart agency to provide public services to beneficiaries tends to generate and strengthen mutual trust among staff of the agency, and to improve the perception of beneficiaries and other stakeholders toward the counterpart agency. Likewise, through the agency's work with stakeholders such as people's organizations, NGOs, and other private organizations and with their increasing capacity to execute the project, the perception and attitude of government officials toward them are likely to be improved. Stakeholders' increasing capacity to execute the project is also likely to increase mutual trust among them. As the counterpart agency becomes more responsive to local needs, and as stakeholders show their capacity to execute the project effectively, mutual trust may be created and strengthened between government officials and stakeholders involved in the project. This improvement of mutual trust may contribute to the formation of social capital in the project area.

Social capital is defined broadly as "the norms and networks facilitating collective action for mutual benefit". Communities with high levels of trust and strong networks are said to be better off than those without. This is because social capital is reflected in better jobs, less disputes and in a more prompt response to citizen concerns. It not only helps societies function better, but also copes with crises and manages transformations well. It also facilitates access to high-quality, relevant and timely information at lower cost. Furthermore, coordination and communication among agents amplify information about the trustworthiness, or the general reputation of other individuals, reducing incentives for opportunism and malfeasance (UNDP, 2002, p26). In order to contribute to the formation of social capital in the partner countries, case studies suggest that it is important to promote mutual trust within the counterpart agency as well as in the community and private sectors, to establish a network among broad ranged stakeholders and to promote mutual trust among them.

Example 7: Improvement of relationship between public administration and communities in Reproductive Health Project in Vietnam

The Project has contributed significantly to capacity development at the societal level from two different angles: (1) Community health centers (CHCs) have gained credibility from and have better relationship with local communities; and (2) Improvement in knowledge and awareness of people toward reproductive health (RH).

As far as improvement in health care standards of the province is concerned, the project has achieved beyond-expectation success. In general, women gain more comprehensive knowledge of RH, and also the public administration develops higher credibility. According to previous

surveys on local health-care users, there have been significant changes in the service quality provided by health care centers, including better and more accessible facility and medical equipment, a friendlier atmosphere, improvement in staff knowledge and skills. Higher credibility potentially leads to changes in the people's perception and confidence toward the government, and thus contribution to a better society. According to the "Primary survey on RH services in the state-owned health care sector in Nghe An - 2001", 97% of the patients are greeted warmly by staff, most patients find that staff are willing to listen and answer their queries; and thus they are more confident and willing to share their concerns with staff. The combination of the above factors resulted in an increase in pregnancy check-ups to 4 times, and the rate of women giving birth at commune health centers increasing to 90%. It is regarded that the project has improved all indicators of reproductive health in the province, and as a consequence has effects on provincial policy in the sector. The provincial family planning/reproductive health center, the major counterpart organization of the project, is now recognized as a model center by other provinces, which is likely to have influence on other provincial sector policies and measures in the near future.

Example 8: Capacity development through committee meeting activities in Nursing Education Strengthening Project in Republic of El Salvador

8 committees and 4 learning meetings were established for sustainability of the project. These committees and meetings deal with themes required for continuous learning. They are managed by El Salvadorians themselves and held once a week. Each committee prepared curriculums and produced other concrete forms of outcomes. Furthermore, committee members have developed into specialists of respective themes.

In order to strengthen activities of these committees and meetings and to develop them effectively, the project also held periodic meetings with chairpersons of the Nursing Association and the Nursing Functional Board and succeeded in getting cooperation from related groups. In addition, the project started holding examination meetings to improve the quality of nurses as well as meetings with nurse training schools' facilities managers who formally had been scarcely cooperative before the project started. Thereafter, the project held these meetings periodically. Through these committees and meetings, the nursing sector's relations with the government, private enterprises and academic field were strengthened, and activities to strengthen nursing education spread to other institutions. As a prominent result, though 5 out of 6 target nurse training schools were private, all of the schools increased the number of nursing teachers and gradually put their study halls in order respectively by their own efforts.

The curriculums developed by the Curriculum Committee for associate nurses, nurses and bachelor nurses were also implemented by nurse training schools other than those targeted by the project as well. In addition, in order to improve nursing quality throughout the country, the

committee consulted with the Ministry of Education about introduction of standard curriculums. After being approved by the Nursing Functional Board of Directors, the Supreme Health Council and the Ministry of Education, their curriculums became the national standards.

Another measure to upgrade the quality of nurses was the introduction of national examination. Even though the nursing education was standardized, even unqualified students could work as nurses once they graduated since the nation lacked a graduation examination and national examination. Therefore, it was recognized that the introduction of a national examination was necessary to upgrade the overall quality of nurses in the country. Japanese and U.S. examination systems were studied and compared and discussions were held on how to introduce an examination system in the country with limited budget and personnel for the purpose. Finally, a way to introduce a national examination was found which was suitable for the then situation of the country. In those days, the Ministry of Health and Welfare obliged all students to do social services for 6 months to a year to be qualified for graduation. The examination was introduced as a prerequisite for engaging in these social services. The examination is now held twice a year. Each graduate is allowed to sit for the examination three times at most, but graduates, who failed in the examination three times, are not allowed to do social services. In this way, graduates who fail in the examination are not allowed to become nurses and have to enter a nurse training school again. The introduction of the examination system made it possible to insure nursing personnel at a standard level of ability.

The counterparts working together with Japanese experts improved their management capacity through a series of committee activities. Technologies developed by the project were gradually spread and settled. Members of these committees were able to develop their ability quite highly, to the extent that they could give guidance to other colleagues. With these achievements, efforts were made to form regional networks of nursing education in which El Salvador could be a center from which information is transmitted to Latin America and Caribbean countries. Thus, under the cooperation of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, El Salvadorians held the “International Nursing Forum” for the first time in Latin America, and 609 persons from 18 countries attended the forum. As a result, they could connect with important people in nursing fields in Latin America and exchange information through the Internet. In addition, committee members have utilized JICA’s South-South cooperation to start providing technical trainings to nurses in 7 Latin American and Caribbean countries.

3. Conclusions

This paper attempted to show that JICA's technical cooperation with a specific focus on certain capacity building of the public sector can, when properly planned and managed, contribute to extend capacity development on a broader scale in the target country.

According to UNDP, if countries and societies want to develop capacities, they must do more than expand individual human skills. They also have to create opportunities and incentives for people to use and extend those skills. Most TC projects, however, stop at individual skills improvement and institution building. They do not consider the societal level. Since all of these layers of capacity are mutually interdependent, capacity development becomes inefficient if one or the other is pursued in isolation. Capacity development needs to be addressed at three levels: individual, institutional and societal.

One of the effective approaches contributing to this kind of broad scale capacity development is to develop the capacity of a public institution, its beneficiaries and other important stakeholders, and to strengthen their cooperative relationships. A characteristic of JICA's technical cooperation is that it targets governmental institutions as partner/counterpart institutions and attempts to build individual skills/knowledge for the development of their belonging institutions. Successful JICA's projects examined in this paper go beyond the individual and institutional level of capacity development. Their basic strategy is to develop the capacity of the counterpart agency so that it can respond to and meet the needs of beneficiaries. To this end, the projects established solid networks with beneficiaries and other important stakeholders. If the counterpart organizations can strengthen their networks with other relevant institutions and promote a relationship of mutual trust with stakeholders, their motivation to respond to the needs of the stakeholders is likely to enhance. This can create incentives for the counterpart organizations to make continuous efforts for improvement in their public functions. Case studies show that if this networking is properly planned and managed, the project can have greater influence/impact on society in the long run by producing positive influence on the sector and/or related policies as well as on people's attitude/behavior in local communities.

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