CHAPTER 2

METHOD AND TASKS FOR SELF-RELIANT RURAL DEVELOPMENT

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2.1 Concept of "Process" in Self-Reliant Rural Development

2.1.1 Significance of "Viewing Development as a Process" in Self-Reliant Rural Development

(1) Introduction: Attention to "Process" and Its Background

In the course of the present Study which commenced in Fiscal 1999 and which has seen the formulation of the Guidelines for Rural Development Methods in Africa (Planning) as a result of various studies and surveys, there has been increasing interest among the Study Team as well as workshop participants in such issues as how to understand and evaluate the "process" of rural development in Africa and in what manner donors should be involved in this process.

For example, a follow-up study for the Study for the Planning of Rural Development in Semi-Arid Area of Baringo in the Republic of Kenya (July, 1999 – March, 2002) by the JICA made the following recommendation on the grounds that not only the project outputs but also the implementation process should be emphasised.

> In areas such as semi-arid areas in Africa with a high level of uncertainty and many risks, it is difficult to present a collection of correct answers and to state what kind of project should be implemented under what conditions. In fact, it is difficult to adopt a project approach which is designed to achieve certain objectives in a certain period of time with certain inputs. Accordingly, the planning of a demonstration project should be flexibly conducted in that only the goals are set without a time limit for achievement or goals which are as short-term as possible are adopted when the setting of a time limit is necessary. In some cases, local population themselves set goals or a time limit which appear difficult to achieve in view of precedences in the past or in nearby areas. In these cases, the study team may change the goals or time limit and give reasons why the achievement of the goals or compliance with the time limit is difficult. It is also possible for the study team to adopt a plan incorporating the goals, etc. set by the local population as distant goals and to proceed with a project by modifying the goals to more realistic goals through feedback of the results of participatory monitoring and evaluation of the plan. Through the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation processes, local population can learn why the goals they have set are difficult to achieve and what they can do to ensure the maximum achievement of their goals, if not in full. It is important for a verification study to examine the implementation process in addition to the conventional evaluation of the outputs. Emphasis on the process is an essential posture when the capacity building of local population is intended.[1]

In Chapter 8 Section 2 – Rural Development and Gender in Africa, the Guidelines for Rural Development Methods for Africa state that "for rural and social development in Africa, the implementation process of social development itself must be a continual empowerment cycle where the people of target groups understand their own problems, make decisions, participate

[1] JICA, Follow-Up Study for Developmental Pilot Study, Annex of the Third Year Report for the Project Type Study: The Guidelines for Rural Development Methods for Africa, March, 2002, pp. 42 – 43.

on their own initiative, implement work while being aware of the risk of failure and make the best use of the lessons learned for the next actions". Such a statement suggests that the empowerment of rural population, particularly women who play an important role in local life, to gain confidence and the capacity to conduct various social and economic activities in a self-reliant manner through the implementation process of development projects is a more important objective of rural development.[2]

When self-reliant rural development is aimed at, more important issues than the outputs resulting from inputs under a project are who learned what and what capacity has been acquired or improved to conduct subsequent activities in a better manner or, in other words, whether or not rural population have acquired the capacity to proceed with development themselves without the intervention of a donor or administration as argued by Shimazu in 2.4 of these Guidelines. In the sense of learning lessons for future self-reliant rural development and trying to improve the capacity of groups and individual persons, the process leading to the final outputs is equally important for not only rural population as the beneficiaries but also for the administration and donors which must support the activities of rural population and all other stakeholders in rural development.

The *ex post facto* evaluation method (including interim evaluation) conventionally used by many donors mainly focuses on evaluation featuring the "outputs" or "comparison between the inputs and outputs" and rarely involves evaluation (monitoring) of the "process". However, as suggested by the recommendation of the follow-up study for the Study for the Planning of Rural Development in Baringo, seeing the implementation "process" means analysis of the social environment (social capital comprising human relationships, organizations, sense of values, beliefs, social norms and customs, etc.) affecting the outcome (success or failure) of a project and examination of how to adapt or respond to such social environment. This analysis (and examination) is essential for not only the achievement of the original objectives of the project concerned but also for enhancement of the self-reliant development potential and reproducibility in the post-project period. In the following sections, the concept of the "process" in self-reliant rural development is clarified and approaches to understand the "process" are introduced based on understanding of the issues described above.

(2) Definition of "Process" and Significance of "Development as a Process"

As already mentioned earlier, there is increasing interest in the "process" through debates under the present Study. However, a uniform understanding regarding the meaning of the "process" in development or how to understand the "process" has not yet achieved among the participants of the Study. Accordingly, the meaning of the "process" in development or the significance of "development as a process" is clarified first.
In the book entitled *Development as Process: Concepts and Methods for Working with Complexity* compiled with the support of the DFID of the UK government, David Mosse, a professor of social anthropology at the University of London with long experience of involvement in projects relating to the management of natural resources and irrigation, etc. in India as the head of the regional office of Oxfam, writes:

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[2] JICA, The Guidelines for Rural Development Methods for Africa, October, 2001, pp. 78 – 79 [8.2.2 – Development and Gender in Rural Society, (1) – Empowerment]

> The "process" of development literally means the "progress" or "course" of a project. It explains the behaviour and matters arising from planned inputs and a means of producing outputs. This concept is similar to another meaning, i.e. a series of processes in manufacturing. Such concept signifies an important departure from the conventional focus on project inputs and outputs and also on the mechanical relationship assumed to exist between the two. In fact, "process" is increasingly used as a new descriptive metaphor for development initiatives to replace the conventional mechanical metaphor. Like other metaphors frequently used (including "development" itself), the concept of "process" provides a device to think about and debate the complex social reality with a new approach.[3]

The argument put forward by Mosse here suggests that while "process" is understood as a mechanical (rational) process with no room for debate in the conventional case where the production of specific outputs in response to certain inputs is assumed, the production of the assumed outputs is not inevitable in a social reality which may be universal for a target area or inherent in as well as complete to the said project. Rather, "development" must deal with the "process" which may or may not lead to outputs from inputs and must also deal with "development" itself.

As shown in Box 2-1, Mosse lists three meanings by which the "process" as a metaphor can replace the conventional models for development projects.

[3] David Mosse, "Process-Oriented Approaches to Development Practice and Social Research" in David Mosse, John Farrington and Alan Rew eds., *Development as Process: Concepts and Methods for Working with Complexity*, London Routledge, 1998, p. 4. This book was compiled taking the opportunity of a workshop entitled "Potential for Process Monitoring in Project Management and Organizational Change: Lessons from the Natural Resources Sector" which was jointly sponsored by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) of the UK and the Development Centre of the University of Wales and was held at the ODI in April, 1995 (the participants included those from the UK, France, the Netherlands and the Philippines, etc.) Examples of process monitoring are introduced after the introduction of process-oriented approaches and their methods by Mosse.

Box 2-1 "Process" as a Metaphor: Three Meanings

(1) Learning Process

Development as a "process" means that a project should have a flexible design to allow changes reflecting lessons learned from the actual experience of its implementation. This learning process approach regards a development project as a system with a changeable procedure and method and, therefore, constitutes a contrast to the conventional blue-print approach where a project is designed for implementation with predetermined inputs, activities and cost within a fixed time frame.*

(2) Relational and Contextual Elements

The "process" indicates the relational and contextual elements in all development projects. All projects, including those with a blue-print type design, have fairly limited boundaries and are affected by the social and institutional environment. The relational elements must be understood as an essential part of development efforts which require specific caution in terms of planning and management but often fails to be fully recognised. Even when the process is treated as such, its treatment is informal as it is more often seen as the source of problems or misunderstandings.

(3) Dynamic, Unpredictable and Peculiar Elements

The process means the dynamic, unpredictable and peculiar elements of a development programme (believed to mean a series of projects sharing common higher goals). These elements are understood to determine project success or failure although their control through planning or management is not easy.

Source: David Mosse, "Process-Oriented Approaches to Development Practice and Social Research" in Mosse et. al. (eds.), *Development as Process: Concepts and Methods for Working with Complexity*, London, Routledge, 1998, pp. 4-5.

* The learning process approach was introduced by David Korten. See David Korten, "Community Organization and Rural Development: A Learning Process Approach", *Public Administration Review* 40 (5), pp. 480 - 511 (quoted from Mosse et. al. *Development as Process*).

It is understood that while the "relational and contextual elements" mean the social environment or the existing social conditions surrounding a project, "dynamic, unpredictable and peculiar elements" mean elements which are inherent to or play a part in a project (activities, matters, organizations, human relationships and resources, etc.) or new elements or changes resulting from the implementation of a project. Mosse describes these three meanings as "three distinctive methods" to understand the "process". These are not necessarily exclusive to each other and should be regarded as being related to one another. When a development project is seen as a flexible system, the relational and contextual elements and dynamic, unpredictable and peculiar elements become essential parts of the development efforts in terms of project implementation. Conversely, once these elements are recognised as essential parts of development efforts, a development project must be seen as a flexible system. The relationship between the relational and contextual elements and the dynamic, unpredictable and peculiar elements is mutually non-exclusive in the sense that the former produce or regulate the latter while the latter also affect the former.

Which ever meaning among theses three is used to define the "process", it is clear that the process-oriented approach differs from the deductive approach involving a logical framework which is widely used as a planning or management tool for development activities. The basis of the logical framework approach is the planning and implementation of a project based on the hypothesis of a locally deduced causal relationship between the inputs and outputs. This

approach verifies the original hypothesis by measuring the outputs and impacts using predetermined indicators. Here, the relational and contextual elements are treated as "assumptions" beyond the control of the project management body even though their roles are often crucial to determine the success or failure of a project. With this approach, however, it is difficult to explain why and how unexpected changes, unplanned outcomes or specific outcomes did or did not occur.[4]

(3) Background of Growing Emphasis on Process

The background of the increasing interest in the process among international aid organizations for their development programmes in the 1990's was the realisation of the limitations of conventional planning and monitoring methods. In other words, the logical framework approach was found not to have necessarily achieved the expected outcomes, thus failing to achieve the objectives as described by Mosse (Box 2-2).

Box 2-2 Limitations of Logical Framework

Although Mosse agrees that the planning and implementation of activities with clear objectives are difficult without a hypothesis of a causal relationship and, therefore, that a monitoring system based on a logical framework and indicators are necessary tools for planning and management, he believes that this system is inadequate because of the following reasons.

- A project model based on a logical framework is much removed from the reality.
- There is no linear relationship between the inputs and outputs.
- The reactions to the inputs are often not proportional.
- Actions can have unanticipated effects.
- The application of the same inputs under similar conditions does not necessarily produce the same outputs.

Mosse continues that an act of development is undoubtedly complex and its outcomes are often unpredictable, differ depending on the area and are considerably affected by the fields in which management can only partially or cannot control at all (for example, culture, politics, institutional system, policies, costs and/or prices). Many planners understand that the social and political relationship comprising the background of development affect the outcomes as much as carefully planned inputs do.

Source: David Mosse, "Process-Oriented Approaches to Development Practice and Social Research", in Mosse et. al. (eds.), Development as Process, ibid, pp. 5 – 6.

The workshop on process monitoring organized by the ODI of the UK and others (April, 1995) which led to the eventual publication of Development as Process was based on such realisation, as was the preparation of the guidebook for process monitoring by the GTZ for project staff (published in May, 1996).[5]

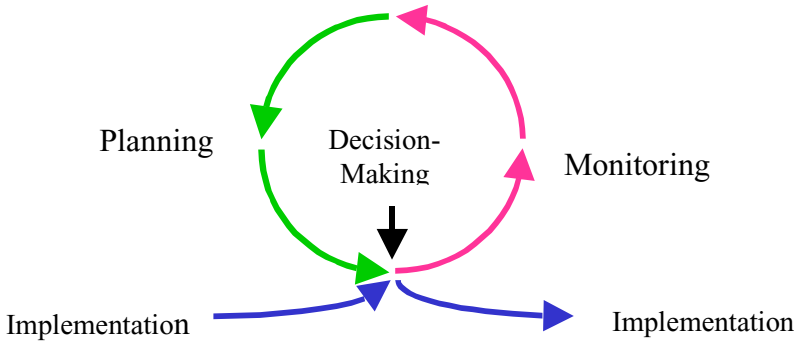
The *Project Cycle Management Handbook* (textbook for PCM training) published in March, 2002 by the Europe Aid Cooperation Office of the European Commission clearly states "Implementation: Learning Process" as shown in Figure 2.1. In contrast, the *Project Cycle*

[4] Regarding these points, see the Current Situation and Problems of PCM Method to Realise Self-Reliant Rural Development in this Report which describes the PCM method using a logical framework as the basic tool.

[5] See Footnote 3 for the workshop organized by the ODI and others. The title of the guidebook by the GTZ is Deuche Gesellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH, *Process Monitoring (ProM): Working Document for Project Staff*, 1996.

Management Manual (published in March, 2001; first version published in 1993) for which the Handbook is a supplement does not contain such description, suggesting a growing tendency based on practical experience to emphasise the process even by the PCM method of which the basic tool is a logical framework.

Figure 2.1 Implementation: Learning Process



Source: European Commission, Europe Aid Cooperation Office, Project Cycle Management Handbook, Version 2.0, March, 2002, p. 22

Mosse lists the four mutually-related issues shown in Box 2-3 as important changes in terms of the approach to planned development which became increasingly clear in the early 1980's. The underlying reasons for these changes have been the necessity to change the high costs and low performance of centrally planned technical projects and also the necessity to enhance the effects and long-term sustainability of development intervention by suppressing expenditure in the public sector through the involvement of local population, NGOs and the private sector. At the same time, the new macroeconomic and political environments have demanded such policy goals as "good governance" and "political diversity". Moreover, these changes have not only increased interest in the "process" but have also demanded information in a new format. Any approach regarding an open-end project design, method and institutional development presupposes the swift feeding back of information and learning from experience. A process approach or participatory approach based on the recognition that different stakeholders have different interests and that their ownership and commitment are important to achieve the desirable outcomes emphasises the understanding as well as monitoring of the interests and relationships of organizations (groups).

Box 2-3 Important Changes of Development Approach

① New approaches to deal with sector-wide and/or cross-sector issues from technology-led projects with a narrow scope
② Tendency of increasing importance of collaboration with or partnerships between controlled networks and organizations to achieve wider goals, such as policy changes and institutional reform, instead of focusing on specific projects and targets for development assistance
③ From an externally planned technical/management approach, i.e. blue-print approach, to a more flexible and repetitive approach, i.e. learning process approach.
④ From a centralised top-down approach to a decentralised participatory approach

Source: Mosse, "Process-Oriented Approaches", ibid, p. 6.

In the case of developing involving organizationally complicated elements, the development of information differing from that for the conventional simple project model and communication between the actors are increasingly important. For example, the conventional system of monitoring the physical outputs (infrastructure and the introduction of technology, etc.) is insufficient for the monitoring of "institutional" outputs. What is required is a monitoring system which can take the different viewpoints of diverse stakeholders into consideration or a monitoring system which is not based on predictions and indicators and which can clarify important changes resulting from activities and then feed back such information. Such new approaches are inevitably inductive, selective and interpretative. More concrete reasons why process information is required are listed in Box 2-4.

Box 2-4 Reasons Why Process Information is Required

① Process information can be a mean to enhance the capacity of an organization to implement new and more complicated work.
② Process information provides the means to confirm the effectiveness of a new approach, to lobby for a policy change or to inform the design for a future project.
③ Process information can act as a means to explain project impacts and to prepare promotional materials.
④ Process monitoring aims at understanding the collaboration between organizations and analysis of how a partnership functions for the purpose of evaluating the impacts of collaboration on the performance of organizations.
⑤ Process monitoring creates a critical "institutional ethnography". In other words, it analyses the dominant opinions and consensus model to clarify the purposes of potential organizations.
⑥ The process approach provides opportunities for a wider understanding and critical feed-back.
⑦ Process monitoring is used as a means of negotiation within a programme and of involvement in the institutional process to form a consensus (a means of "generating" rather than "recording" outcomes).

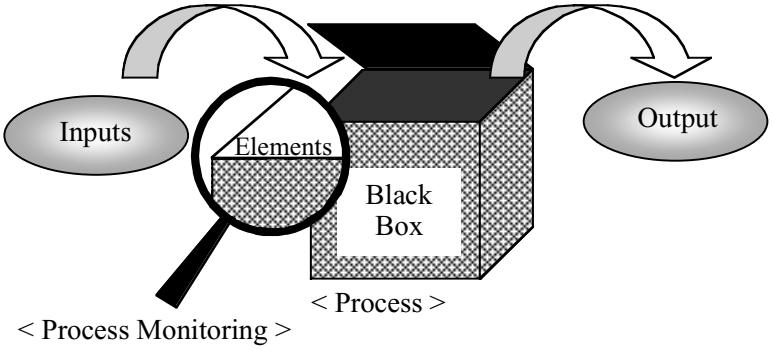
Source: Mosse, "Process-Oriented Approaches", ibid, pp. 8 – 9.

2.1.2 Concept of "Process" in Self-Reliant Rural Development

By definition, rural development covers diverse factors and organizations, involving activities in more than one village or area in some cases, and is a typical "complicated act of development". In addition, as rural development is considerably affected by the relational/contextual elements inherent to an area/community and also by dynamic elements resulting from the act of development, the application of the same inputs under similar conditions does not necessarily produce the same outputs because of the non-linear relationship between inputs and outputs as pointed out by Mosse. The various examples of rural development projects in African countries analysed by the Study so far vividly illustrate this non-linear relationship.

The present Guidelines consider the black box situated between the inputs and outputs and also between the outputs and outcomes as the "process" as shown in Figure 2.2. The word "black" is metaphorically used to indicate the causal relationship. It may well be "grey" or "opaque" but such difference has little meaning for the present analysis.

Figure 2.2 "Process" and "Process Monitoring" in Self-Reliant Rural Development



Note: Such a black box is conventionally understood to represent the scientific and logical relationship between the inputs and outputs. The logical framework approach is based on this understanding and the assumption that specific inputs always produce similar outputs derives from the idea that there is a rational causal relationship between the inputs and outputs. According to this idea, it is unnecessary to explore the contents of the black box. In the case of the process-oriented approach to self-reliant rural development, the contents are crucial and process monitoring is used to identify and analyse the contents.

For the purpose of the present analysis, all elements which affect project-related activities and the actions of the actors such as those listed below are considered to be elements of the "process".

① Environmental elements: politics, policies and institutional systems, etc.
② Existing relational/contextual elements: human relationships, family/kinship; traditional/non-traditional organizations, relationships between organizations, religion, traditional sense of values and social norms, etc.
③ Dynamic elements peculiar to each project: project-related activities, interests generated by project implementation between actors, influence of specific actors, behaviour, organizations and intra-organizational relationships, etc.
④ Learning process: act of learning and its outcomes by all stakeholders (improvement of the capacity to revise and implement projects)

The most significant point of the process-oriented approach for the administration and donors assisting rural population, who are the beneficiaries, in their quest for self-reliant rural development (rural development with a high potential for self-reliant development) is the fact that this approach regards a development project as a flexible system with a changeable procedure and method and analyses (i) the relational and contextual elements which are lessons learned or recognised through project implementation and (ii) the dynamic elements which are peculiar to each project with a view to feeding the analysis results back to the next implementation process or utilising such results for other development acts (expansion, reproduction and/or improvement in terms of the project contents, beneficiaries and target geographical area).

As already described, understanding of the "process" as relational and contextual elements affecting the outcome and sustainability of a project and elements which are peculiar to each project means that monitoring of the "process" or the observation, recording and analysis of the elements and phenomena and actions reflecting the results of such observation, etc. are

essential activities for the administration and donors in the course of project implementation. It also implies that process monitoring (particularly in the case of a participatory project) can be a beneficial activity for rural population (even if they are essentially self-reliant) from the viewpoint of improving their capacity to be involved in project implementation based on their own initiative, to manage matters themselves in the post-project period and to solve future problems similar to those encountered in the past.

2.1.3 Approaches to Understand Process and General Tasks

(1) General Characteristics of Process-Oriented Approach in Monitoring

Mosse has compiled the general characteristics of the process-oriented approach (which may not always be relevant but which distinguish this approach from other approaches) in monitoring as listed in Box 2-5 and the diverse aspects of process monitoring/research as listed in Box 2-6.

Box 2-5 General Characteristics of Process-Oriented Approach in Monitoring

① In contrast to planning or design activities or *ex post facto* evaluation, information is continually gathered throughout the project/programme implementation period under this approach. Such information, however, is not for "snap shots" of intervention in development or measuring of the progress in terms of predetermined indicators.

② Process monitoring is "present-oriented". It is closely related to what is happening at present and, in the project cycle, emphasis is placed on implementation rather than on planning or evaluation.

③ Process monitoring is "action-oriented". The outcomes of project monitoring are firstly directed towards the participants who are in a position to respond to these outcomes by means of swift actions, assisting the coordination of the strategy and tactics to be adopted in the implementation process. Meanwhile, action-oriented also means the existence of a methodology. Intervention and changes disclose the structure and balance of power to reveal the normally invisible social system. From this point of view, the significance of "learning by doing" can be found not only in the direct effects of information as a result of learning but also in the fact that development experience can be better interpreted in the manner of a social science.

④ Process monitoring is both inductive and open-ended. Its main interests lie with broader matters, relations and diverse impacts beyond the project framework in contrast with the tendency of general action-oriented approaches (the narrowly scoped gathering of information limited to the anticipated outputs and impacts).

⑤ As process monitoring is normally located outside the structure of a project or the daily work and information flow under a programme, it requires the deployment of special staff or the establishment of a special environment.

⑥ While the information monitored is full of interest and concerns for individual persons, one characteristic of process monitoring is to treat and clearly recognise the diverse viewpoints and judgements of the monitors as important items of information (to bring the subjective evaluation, selection and filtering results of individual monitors into the public domain).

⑦ Process monitoring is not a substitute for other monitoring, impact evaluation or planning methods and is mutually complementary to them. In fact, such planning tools as logical framework analysis and stakeholder analysis are useful to conduct process monitoring while the information provided by process monitoring provides contextual clues for the interpretation of quantitative data. Moreover, this information itself provides data for various fixed point evaluation surveys.

Source: Mosse, "Process-Oriented Approaches", ibid, pp. 10 – 11.

Box 2-6 Diverse Aspects of Process Monitoring/Research

① The process monitoring method is restricted by the actions of the programme concerned. Process monitoring may be conducted by the staff of an implementation body in a self-reporting manner or by a separate body formed by invited external process researchers.
② The data and information on the process can be directed to various users (local population, field staff, project office, implementation organization for development, donor and councillors, etc.) However, the common practice is that such information and data are directed to one or two users in consideration of possible conflicts between the actors.
③ The focal point of process information changes in a diverse manner to implementation at the field level, inter-community relationships, collaboration between a development organization and the local community or the relationships between organizations or between an organization and the state, etc.
④ The intensity of the work also varies. For example, there may be open-ended participatory observation over a long period of time by full-time field researchers or irregular field visits using a check list, interviews, secondary data (minutes of discussions, etc.) and review meetings of the field process.
⑤ The data is not necessarily recorded systematically as well as officially in the form of field notes or a diary. It is sometime reported verbally or may be reported or distributed infrequently.

Source: Mosse, "Process-Oriented Approaches", ibid., pp. 11 – 12.

(2) Process Monitoring Methods and General Tasks

There are many process monitoring methods, ranging from intensive field work by full-time independent researchers to regular interviews by staff of the implementation organization and from open-ended ethnographic work involving the use of field notes to selective reporting comprising important events in detail. Process documentation research (PDR), which is the most intensive method, is outlined in Box 2-7 while the basic activities of the process monitoring employed by the GTZ are introduced in Box 2-8.

Box 2-7 Process Documentation Research (PDR)

PDR is known as the most intensive method to understand the process and is usually conducted by means of participatory observation and the recording of activities at the village level by a long-term resident researcher(s) dispatched from outside the implementation organization. Through PDR, the details of field level activities, meetings, negotiations, decision-making and problems relating to implementation are thoroughly recorded. The less intensive application of PDR is monitoring by means of structured interviews, event reproduction and/or the use of existing reference materials. This method is called "process monitoring research" (PMR).

PDR was first used to study the situation of the field-level implementation of a pilot programme of the National Irrigation Authority (NIA) of the Philippines which aimed at improving the lower end of irrigation management through the fostering of farmers' groups. The term PDR was created at a workshop held in 1978 as part of a project under this programme. At the early stage of the application of PDR to the project, the observation and recording were not necessarily open-ended and were structured on the basis of the policies and procedures set by the NIA. This situation finally contributed to the production of a manual and training curriculum for field intervention methods (for the holding of meetings, recording of activities, management of water union funds, training of leaders and distribution of water, etc.) At a later stage, there was a shift to observation and recording focusing on specific themes and process monitoring by means of interviews (PMR). Subsequently, PDR has been used for projects/programmes in various areas/sectors, including social forestry in the Philippines and small irrigation in Thailand and India, and has proved successful in terms of understanding as well as promotion of the process to create a management system for local resources and the preparation of useful data to determine decision-making for policies and programmes.

Source: Mosse, "Process Documentation Research and Process Monitoring: Cases and Issues" in Mosse et. al. (eds.), *Development as Process*, ibid, pp. 31 – 37.

Box 2-8 Four Basic Activities of Process Monitoring by the GTZ

Process monitoring does not necessarily have a fixed method. According to *Development as Process* and the GTZ's working document on process monitoring, the optimal method should be set up for each programme or project rather than being determined by an aid/implementation organization. The working document of the GTZ suggests four activities, i.e. "selection of process", "observation", "looking back" and "action", as shown in the diagramme below and also lists six fields of observation, i.e. "work and roles", "learning", "performance of the organization and groups", "cooperation between groups and the organization", "conflict over insufficient resources" and "strategy for actions". For each field of observation, a useful tool is given as an example. Users of this working documents should research and make their final decisions on which tools should be used depending on the situation or process in which they are involved.

< Selection of Process > ←

- Where should attention be direction?
- With whom should we select an important process?
- How is such selection linked to our purposes?

↓

< Observation > →

- What can/do we want to observe?
- Who should conduct the observation?
- How do we measure and show the observation results?
- How can we provide that information?

< Action >

- What do we want to do using a different method from that used before?
- What do we want to achieve with it?
- Who can support us?

↑

< Looking Back >

- What differs from our expectations?
- Which points of our approach has been meaningful for them?
- With whom do we want to share our observations?

Source: Deuche Gesellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH, Process Monitoring (ProM): Working Document for Project Staff, 1996

Note: "Selection of process", "observation", "looking back" and "action" are the four basic activities of process monitoring and the relevant questions listed above are made in this order. However, the questions may differ depending on the project contents and situation of a project and the above list of questions is by no means exhaustive.

Development as Process introduces various process monitoring methods using development projects/programmes in countries mainly in South Asia as examples. Chapter 3 through Chapter 5, Chapter 6 through Chapter 8 and Chapter 9 of this book deal with process monitoring for individual projects, process monitoring for different organizations and process monitoring for policy reform respectively. As the reports contained in these chapters show, there is an extreme diversity of process monitoring methods.

Based on *Development as Process* and discussions by the Study Team, the general tasks for process monitoring are outlined below.[6]

① Clarification of objectives: The objectives must be clear. PDR in particular is not universally applicable and its use is inappropriate for projects or programmes which are not accompanied by systematic motivation to respond to complicated activities or events and to learn from the necessity for innovation, enlargement and reproduction and also from experience.

[6] Mosse, Process Documentation Research and Process Monitoring, ibid, pp. 31 – 37 and pp. 44 – 46.

② Securing of legitimacy: In addition to clear objectives, the understanding and support of the upper echelon of the implementation organization are essential.

③ Scope and intensity of process monitoring work: A study must be both highly intensive to establish the details of the target area and wide to understand the "incidental events" related to the impacts of the project. Such a study is, therefore, expensive and time consuming.

④ People involved in preparation of information: The question is who (internal or external persons) are involved in the preparation of information. While external persons (experts employed from outside) are independent and are less constrained in terms of time and interest, internal persons are familiar with a project, making their monitoring more relevant and acceptable and also the feeding back of information to the decision-making and systematic learning processes more likely. Recognition and judgement, which constitute central parts of the process, are only generated by the correct involvement in events.

⑤ Research skills: The person preparing the information is required to have a high level of research skill. To be more precise, he/she must have sufficient knowledge about the project and target area, the ability to understand the different views of different actors while maintaining independence from the project, a good relationship with local population and excellent skills in terms of observation, analysis and reporting.

⑥ Advantages and problems of participatory method/participatory observation: The participatory method enhances the legitimacy and accountability of monitoring but is not necessarily advantageous in terms of downward accountability (in the case of written information in particular, it is difficult to achieve accountability to the beneficiaries) and critical analysis (as the forming of a consensus is emphasised, it is difficult to clarify different/opposing opinions and views).

⑦ Utilisation of process information: In order for the information to be fully utilised by policy makers to contribute to institutional changes, the objectives of information gathering and channels for feedback must be clear with the information being fully digested (interpreted) and properly arranged. Moreover, clear and concise oral explanations and discussions are required in addition to written information.

These tasks are believed to mainly originate from the fact that process monitoring is work to observe and interpret complicated relational and contextual elements (including existing elements and those newly emerging as a result of activities) as described earlier and to make subsequent actions reflect the observation and interpretation results, suggesting that this is "awkward work". As the relational and contextual elements vary depending on the target area or project, the scope and intensity of monitoring and the utilisation method for the obtained information must be decided based on the individual circumstances of the area or project. Furthermore, as far as the monitoring method is concerned, the concrete target for focusing and the method(s) for monitoring (for example, observation, interviews/recounting, group discussions and application of various PRA methods) are also important issues in addition to the question of who will conduct the monitoring.

2.2 Idea of Monitoring Among Leading Donors

2.2.1 Idea of Monitoring Among Leading Donors

The previous section describes the necessity for the monitoring of daily activities, i.e. the process, under a project and the reflection of the monitoring results on the plan to improve it for easy accessibility by stakeholders to achieve self-reliant rural development. In the case of a JICA development study accompanied by a pilot study, monitoring may be conducted for the main purpose of examining the possibility of replication, extensionability as well as sustainability of activities in the post-project period but is not an institutionalised exercise. Meanwhile, it is difficult to examine the long-term development prospect of a project leading to the achievement of self-reliant rural development solely based on "fixed point evaluation", such as interim evaluation or completion evaluation, which is conducted at a fixed point during the study period. Accordingly, it is essential to continually monitor daily activities in terms of people's commitment to a project and its changing situation, the performance of people regarding their partial contribution payment and the degree of people's enthusiasm to plan and implement a project, etc., all of which are not easy to substantiate by periodic evaluation.

This section examines and clarifies the idea of monitoring (and evaluating) daily activities among donors and NGOs.

(1) IFAD

The IFAD regards monitoring and evaluation (M & E) as not only a "learning tool" but also a tool to improve project strategy and management and has prepared guidelines[7] with emphasis on practical work for four types of assumed users, i.e. "project managers", "M & E staff", "consultants" and "the IFAD and related organizations". Here, analysis focusing on the "usability" of a logical framework is conducted, proposing the use of M & E to supplement a logical framework.

The IFAD believes that the purpose of M & E is to use the M & E results as part of the decision-making for a project so that people can effectively utilise limited resources to conduct project-related activities to enhance the impacts.[8] For this reason, the IFAD recommends examination of the application of M & E, possibly linked to the annual plan for a project, at the stage of a preliminary appraisal report. Needless to say, any change of the situation during the project implementation process will necessitate a change of the project strategy. In reality, an IFAD evaluation mission is dispatched a year or so after the commencement of a project to prepare the draft framework of performance indicators based on the M & E targets established in the appraisal report so that a more concrete log frame can be developed. At this time, a technical advisor facilitates the preparation of a database as well as a data gathering form while a M & E coordination unit (an individual or a group) within the project implementation body develops a system whereby the project manager can quickly use the results of the M & E conducted by an entrusted external organization, such as a research organization of a university and others, when so required.

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7 IFAD: Practical Guide for Monitoring and Evaluation of Rural Development Projects (2002)

8 Impacts for rural development = changes which strengthen the sustainability of the living environment and contribute to poverty reduction for rural population; output → outcome → impact

The actual implementation of M & E demands (i) **the funds** required for information management, participatory monitoring activities and field visits, etc., (ii) **the time** to establish the M & E system, conduct a participatory baseline survey and train staff and partners and (iii) **special expertise** to suppor In regard to funding, the IFAD recommends the incorporation of an AWPB (annual work plan and budget) in the government budget.

(2) EC (EuropeAid)[9]

As already mentioned in 2.1, the EC believes that implementation equals a continuous learning process and that the target of monitoring is to analyse the experience of M & E as part of project implementation and management and to feed back the analysis results to a project so that the implementation approach can be renewed or revised if necessary. Here, the main emphasis is placed on the systematic as well as continual gathering, analysis and use of information for project management and decision making through internal monitoring to achieve the project targets.

Monitoring features the situation and proceedings of activities, situation of budget execution, achievement of the required outputs (efficiency), degree of contribution of these outputs to the achievement of the project purposes (outcome) and any change of the preconditions for a project. This Handbook proposes that the project manager update the logical framework, overall schedule for activities, overall distribution schedule for resources, annual schedule for activities, annual distribution schedule for resources and implementation schedule as the best practice although such "best practice" has not yet gained the status of an EC code of practice.

In addition to internal monitoring, the Handbook assumes the implementation of periodic evaluation by external bodies in line with the five criteria of the DAC for the purpose of using the evaluation results to review the log frame. Table.2.1 below compiles the ideas put forward by the Handbook.

Table.2.1 Differences of Evaluation, Monitoring and Audit of Overseas Cooperation Projects of

	Evaluation	Monitoring	Audit
What	To be conducted on aid policies and actions in line with the DAC's evaluation criteria (efficiency, effects, impacts, relevance and sustainability)	To be conducted mainly on efficiency and effects (comparison between plan and practice) as a consistent part of systematic management	• Traditionally on financial situation and its reporting • Recently on performance
How	In-depth analysis	Quick and continual analysis to help to improve ongoing activities and to enhance performance	Financial audit
Who	External evaluation expert	External and internal monitors	External expert auditor
When	• In principle, conducted once or twice at the end and/or after a project; lessons learned are used for future policies and actions • Suggestion of implementation course for a project through interim evaluation	Periodic monitoring several times a year	During or after the implementation period

Source: prepared by the Study Team based on EC (EuropeAid): Project Cycle Management Handbook (March, 2002), p. 29

[9] EC (EuropeAid), Project Cycle Management Handbook, March, 2002

(3) GTZ[10]

The GTZ recommends process monitoring which emphasises the learning process for people rather than project management. People approach the same project in a different manner which reflects their own viewpoint and interests. For this reason, the GTZ is considering the implementation of participatory process monitoring to identify individual experiences and approaches, the diverse interests of different groups and organizations and action strategies to clearly understand how people accept or resist changes so that realistic solutions can be realised and mutual communication among people can be facilitated. The GTZ anticipates the promotion of autonomy and self-responsibility among people as a result of process monitoring and recommends that process monitoring be implemented with the participation of all people involved in a project.[11]

This "participatory process monitoring" is not easy to implement. The GTZ has adopted a basic policy of conducting process monitoring on an order-made basis to suit the character of each project. The GTZ's idea of process monitoring is highly flexible to the extent that the actors themselves can decide where to start.

(4) CARE[12]

Even though an activity plan for a project with a specific implementation period is formulated in the form of logical causes and effects, there is always an imperfect understanding of parts of the plan regarding human behaviour, systems and role played by the external environment. For this reason, CARE recommends collaboration between the project planners and implementers (beneficiaries) to learn and understand the community and organization and to make the necessary arrangements to achieve the targets.

Historically, both projects and programmes have used interim evaluation and completion evaluation as tools for Reflection on Action.[13] However, there has been increasing awareness

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[10] GTZ, Process Monitoring: Work Document for Project Staff, 1996, Guidelines for Impact Monitoring, March, 2001

[11] For example, process monitoring commences with the questions listed below together with the systematic observation and evaluation of such questions in monitoring sessions which are held periodically.
- Why have similar activities taken different routes?
- Why has specific cooperation been successful while other cooperation has failed?
- Why have the expected outcomes not been achieved?
- Why have the same mistakes been repeated?
- Why have new ideas not been produced?
- Why have people not invited us to participate in their functions?
- Why have economic incentives failed to produce a positive effect?
- What do people really want us to do?

[12] CARE, Project Design Handbook (Draft), August, 2002

[13] Reflection on Action occurs either following or by interrupting an activity and the following questions are asked and answered by oneself to facilitate reflection.
- What are the expected effects?
- Have there been any unexpected effects?
- What have we learned from the effects?
- What have or have we not learned from our activities?
- What is our next step?
- Should we suspend the activity as it has not progressed according to plan?
- Should we continue the activity to achieve the required outcome?

of the necessity for Reflection in Action[14] where the situation is re-evaluated in the course of activities to solve problems and to develop a theory. To be more precise, proper attention must be paid to not only checking of the project inputs and outputs but also their implications.

For Reflection in Action to be feasible, it is essential for the actors to create a hypothesis in advance to establish indicators for identifiability (when and what), measurability (how much), realisable outputs, effects and goals. The project planning team must allocate sufficient time to review common failures and successes of existing projects and also to review the successes and failures of related project/programme components in the project area in recent years with a view to preparing the optimal project design.

(5) The World Bank

In recent years, the World Bank has been actively implementing rural development projects[15] by applying the Community Driven Development (CDD) approach which aims at encouraging "people to act on their own initiative instead of participating within a pre-determined framework" and achieving "the enhancement of people's capacity through activities". The emphasis is placed on learning by people through activities and the monitoring of daily activities is believed to be essential so that development can progress while reflecting the intentions of both local population and the donor. This monitoring of daily activities is primarily conducted by a development organization formed by local population while the related ministries are expected to provide such a service in their own areas of jurisdiction.

Under CDD, the funds are either paid into the bank account of the population' organization or provided to such organization via a NGO to enhance the capacity of the organization formed by local population. In this way, it is believed that the timely implementation of activities and enhancement of the population' organization are made possible. Meanwhile, the payment of small funds to the bank accounts of many population' organizations makes fund management a complicated exercise and many projects have found it difficult to properly control the fund inflow, outflow and purposes of spending in the field. For this reason, the World Bank is currently developing a system which is capable of monitoring the movement of the small funds required to support daily activities and establishing the purposes of spending (whether or not the funds are being used in line with the planned purposes).[16] The World Bank is aware of the concern that such a system may end up being a parallel system to the existing administrative system.

The analysis results of the monitoring situation of the progress made by activities implemented by local population so far suggest that the monitoring reports are often biased towards the inputs. The adjustment of different interests may sometimes be difficult because of the involvement of many actors, including a population' organization and a local

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- Should we start another, more promising activity?

[14] Reflection in Action occurs during (without interruption) an activity by thinking about how to reshape the activity while it is in progress.

[15] With the strong backing of President Wolfensohn, the World Bank has rapidly increased the funding for CDD projects in the last two or three years and US$ 2 billion a year is currently provided for CDD projects worldwide.

[16] Nalini Kumar, Community-Driven Development: Lessons from the Sahel: An Analytical Review, Director-General Operations and Evaluation Department, World Bank, 2003, p. 29

government. A World Bank report which reviews projects in the Sahel Region states that the quality of reports widely varies and that there is not sufficient qualitative feedback from field observation.[17]

In promoting the CDD approach, the World Bank believes that the leadership of the population' organization or local government is the key. It also believes that lengthy efforts at the beginning are necessary to strengthen a population' organization but its currently available schemes have their own limitations to effectively deal with such a necessity.

(6) USAID

Since the 1990's, the USAID has been transferring the decision-making authority to its overseas offices which are now responsible for the decision-making, implementation and M & E of projects. There is a compulsory policy of spending 3 – 10% of the total aid amount for M & E. The monitoring results are mainly used for project management and appraisal of the aid policies of the USAID.

The normal implementation period of a USAID project is five years. The advance preparation of a performance management plan (PMP)[18] covering this project period is compulsory. A project is implemented by an entrusted contractor and the activities are subsequently monitored and evaluated by a university, consultant or NGO entrusted by the USAID in line with the PMP. Regarding any question[19] arising from the M & E, the reason is clarified by the relevant local office as part of its normal work. At the same time, this M & E aims at paving the way for the empowerment of research institutions in the recipient countries and other implementers of monitoring.[20] Once every six months, a study team made up of field officers analyses the portfolio of local offices. While the monitoring of daily activities may be conducted by local population at some rural development project sites, such monitoring is not systematised. Instead, visits to project sites and meetings with various stakeholders are organized when believed to be appropriate depending on the implementation capacity and/or wishes of local population.

Even though a system of respecting the specific circumstances of individual countries and implementing, monitoring and evaluating development projects which are appropriate for individual countries has been taking shape, compilation of the M & E results in a useful manner is difficult. There is a dilemma that while generalisation to a certain extent is necessary for reporting to the US Congress; such generalisation leads to failure to reflect the special characteristics of individual countries on reporting. This situation has led to recognition that there is a trade off in the transfer of authority to overseas offices of the USAID.

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17 See Nalini Kumar in 16. above. "As line managers are not aware that a project status report is an effective management tool for project supervision, these reports have degraded to the level where the set format is simply completed. There is also an opinion that what is important for these reports is the observance of the submission time limit rather than a qualitative improvement of reporting."

18 PMPs used to be reviewed every five years but are currently reviewed every year.

19 For example, in the case of a project intending the new introduction of pineapple production, if the number of participants is smaller than planned, the reason is investigated as soon as a concrete figure appears in the monthly monitoring indicator with a view to improving the relevant planning component of the project.

20 There is an example in Kenya of the Public Policy Institute enhancing its organizational capacity as a result of M & E at the project as well as national level.

(7) UNDP[21]/UNCDF

Since around 1998/99, the UNDP has been shifting its emphasis to the outcomes rather than the process. Changes of the funding sources are assumed to be behind such a change of the stance. To be more precise, the funding sources for the UNDP consist of core and non-core sources. The former constitute untied funds, i.e. providing the UNDP with a free hand, contributed by donors while the latter constitute tied funds. In recent years, there has been a decline of the overall amount of the former while the amount of the latter has been increasing every year. This trend suggests growing accountability in the use of funds, which is a factor for the introduction of the outcome-oriented approach. With the introduction of the outcome-oriented approach, the main focus of evaluation is shifting from "the outputs" which have conventionally been emphasised to "the outcomes (changes following development)". In the case of training for empowerment for example, conventional evaluation focuses on quantitative analysis of "the number of leaders attending training, the number of participants in training and the frequency of training". Today, however, the evaluation emphasis is placed on the impacts on people as a result of training. As in the case of the USAID described earlier, the UNDP has been trying to transfer authority to its local offices to conduct the M & E of outcomes. As it is not an easy task for its staff who are accustomed to conventional "output management" to conduct the M & E of outcomes, the reports submitted by field officers cannot be necessarily described as outcome evaluation reports. There is a growing orientation of the UNDP towards "performance monitoring" which uses monitoring reports as materials to judge and determine strategies rather than direct involvement in field monitoring. In the midst of this shift, the UNCDF (United Nations Capital Development Fund) is implementing projects at a relatively close level to actual rural areas. The assistance of the UNCDF mainly aims at achieving the decentralisation and strengthening of local governments. The UNCDF believes that the careful planning and M & E of and reporting on performance are essential to achieve the targets and to reproduce similar outcomes in other areas.

The UNCDF conducts two types of M & E: (i) auto evaluation and (ii) monitoring information system (MIS). Auto evaluation is conducted by the beneficiary who evaluates the activities based on his own accounts. In contrast, the MIS involves the M & E and reporting of the performance in terms of quantitative as well as qualitative targets in line with a log frame. To be more precise, the outputs and outcomes are monitored, evaluated and reported every month (based on the annual work plan: AWP) and every year (based on the project operations plan: POP) throughout the project period. The timely monitoring results based on the AWP and the POP is recorded in the Monitoring Information System (MIS) of the UNCDF. The UNCDF aims at creating a system under which the progress situation of each project can be instantly viewed anywhere in the world, i.e. ultimate accountability, in the future.

2.2.2 Comparison of Donors

Table 2-2 shows the review results described in 2.2.1 for comparison. All organizations are aware of the importance of monitoring activities during the project period in one way or another with a view to analysing changes in the project implementation process and their

[21] The description of the UNDP's stance is based on an interview with UNDP Evaluation Department on 25th February, 2004.

causes to use the analysis results for the improvement of subsequent activities in addition to the importance of the periodic monitoring of mainly “measurable and quantitative” indicators in the form of interim evaluation and completion evaluation.

The IFAD places emphasis on “the management of the project flow by the donor”, presumably because of the fact that it is “a funding organization”, indicating its belief that donors play a central role in monitoring. In contrast, the EC proposes the use of information originating from internal monitoring results in addition to external monitoring by donors for project management and decision-making. Here, the EC itself intends to learn from process monitoring and to apply the results to the next project stage. The available document (EC Handbook) does not clearly indicate the process whereby beneficiaries learn from the process monitoring they conduct and strengthen their capacity.

The UNDP and the USAID, both of which clearly prefer the outcome-oriented approach from the viewpoint of external accountability, adopt a strategy whereby the authority regarding process monitoring is considerably delegated to field offices while the headquarters uses the annual report compiling the M & E results of the field offices to formulate aid policies and to explain the activities to fund contributors.

Meanwhile, the World Bank, GTZ and CARE put forward the idea that the beneficiaries as well as donors should be involved in and learn from process monitoring to ensure the empowerment of local population. In all cases, it is proposed that “those concerned with a project” (assumed to be both the donor/NGO and beneficiaries/government of recipient country or project-related organization even though they are not specified as such) become involved prior to the commencement of a study, think about the project goals and indicators to clarify the activities to achieve the goals and conduct monitoring.

Table. 2.2 Comparison of Process Monitoring by Donor

	What is PM? (Process Monitoring)	For Whom is Monitoring (and Evaluation) Conducted? (Participants)[22]	Purposes of Monitoring (and Evaluation)	Decision on Monitoring (and Evaluation) Indicators (Who and When)	Who Implements Monitoring (and Evaluation) and When
IFAD	• To provide the opportunity for the main actors to decide the outputs and activities during project implementation • Tool for people to effectively use limited resources to conduct project-related activities and to manage and strengthen their impacts (changes) • Tool not only for learning but also to coordinate the project strategy and management during project implementation • The communication process and information regarding the M & E results contribute to improvement of the project strategy and operations.	• Main actors of a project • The results must be informed to the people who need them.	• Reflection, mainly for project improvement • Maximisation of the impacts of rural development projects • Indication of the impacts as reliable outcomes	• Establishment of M & E targets in an appraisal report • Review of the above targets by an evaluation mission approximately one year after implementation • One technical advisor to assist the creation of a database and of a prototype form for data gathering	• Introduction of a M & E coordinating unit (individual person or a body) within the project implementation body (in the field) • Entrustment of an external M & E expert or body (to be managed by the project body) • M & E is most effective when it is part of project operation and decision making • Initial allocation of enough time to establish the M & E system (with budgetary allocation)
EC	• Means to realise project objectives	• Assumed to be project management	• Information for management to recognise and solve practical problems and to make decisions • Learning process: accumulated experience to be fed back to the planning and implementation approach	• Inception: creation of a communication mechanism where the necessary information is produced and timely used (progress review meeting and progress report showing the degree of achievement compared to the indicators and milestones) • Quarterly and annual reporting of the progress situation (including the situation of budget arrangement for the next quarter, etc.)	• Follow-up monitoring of the progress by external monitors during the implementation period; the results are distributed to project-related people, government of the recipient country and EC Head Office, etc. for use to recognise problems, etc. • Internal monitoring (not as detailed as external monitoring) • EC (EuropeAid) to conduct periodic evaluation, such as interim evaluation and completion evaluation on its own responsibility

[22] The target persons for explanation of M & E by the guidelines (or handbook, etc.) are described here instead of the assumed readers of the said guidelines, etc. prepared by the donors reviewed here.

UNDP/ UNCDF	• UNDP Head Office: a tool for the gathering of project outcomes • For the UNCDF, a means of empowerment of the governments of recipient countries (particularly local governments)	• Local population • Governments of recipient countries (particularly local governments) • Contributing countries to the UNDP/ UNCDF	• Project management	• UNDP/UNCDF	• Establishment f a project management team at a government office of a recipient country; monthly monitoring (by the project office) and monitoring after one year (by the Head Office) • The Head Office prepares an overall report. • One person acting as the focal point in each country office conducts a review of the M & E results of all projects for their evaluation (transfer of authority to country offices)
USAID	• The Head Office focuses on the outcomes rather than the process. • Field (country) offices: a tool for the gathering of information to implement projects suitable for the circumstances of individual countries	• USAID • US Congress	• Project management • Formulation of aid policies	• Case by case	• Universities, consultants and NGOs • Each field office analyses the portfolio every six months.
World Bank	• Opportunity to predict the means of promoting empowerment (to predict the outcomes of ongoing activities and things to happen in the near future) of people through learning by doing • Means for a community to make independent choices for their own development • Means of extending successful examples to other areas • Method to monitor the participatory process	• Local population • Governments of recipient countries • World Bank • Contributing countries to the World Bank	• Empowerment of local population • Project management • Wide-ranging beneficial effects	• To be decided in advance within the framework of the project • Two types of indicators, i.e. “indicators relating to the environment enabling CDD” and “project level indicators” are under development	• Monitoring by local population • Methods to control funds and the use of funds by donors are being examined. • As process monitoring and evaluation are to be conducted using project funds, there is little incentive to conduct costly and time-consuming PM & E.
CARE	• To facilitate project planning and implementation • Information system with continuity • Monitoring as the routine gathering of information required for decision making for project management • Monitoring as a daily	• CARE staff; partner organization of the recipient country; consultant	• To measure the degree of achievement of each goal	• Establishment of monitoring indicators incorporate independent criteria of the participants prior to project implementation and the creation of a monitoring	

	activity in contrast to evaluation as a periodic activity (interim evaluation and completion evaluation)			system capable of gathering useful and timely information • Baseline survey: to measure the indicators for the effects and outcomes. Using the gathered data, an organization can begin to measure the progress towards the achievement of the goals. • Preparation of a M & E plan at the project design stage or immediately following this stage	
GTZ	• Means for learning by user groups and to examine practical solutions • Selection → observation → reflection → action • Project planning and implementation is a process where various actors start, observe, examine and evaluate	• All related people (different actors)	• Different actors react in different ways based on their own viewpoint and interests • Promotion of the autonomy and self-responsibility of actors	• Everyone related to the project	• PM is basically order-made. 1) Starts when actions by the actors begin t be reflected on the process in progress 2) Establishment of a relationship of trust among all participants 3) Discussions on PM 4) Creation of an environment to allow PM 5) Decision on the scope and frame for PM

Source: Compiled by the Study Team based on the following documents and field study results.[23]
European Commission-EuropeAid, Project Cycle Management Handbook, March, 2002
Richard Caldwell, Project Design Handbook, CARE, August, 2002
GTZ, Process Monitoring (ProM): Work Document for Project Staff, 1996
Martina Vahlhaus, Thomas Kuby, Guidelines for Impact Monitoring in Economic and Employment Promotion Projects with Special Reference to Poverty Reduction Impacts, GTZ, March, 2001
IFAD, Managing for Impact in Rural Development: A Guide for Project M & E, 2002
Nalini Kumar, Community-Driven Development: Lessons from the Sahel: An Analytical Review, Director-General, Operations Evaluation Department, the World Bank, 2003
USAID, Functional Series 200, Programming Policy ADS 203, Assessing and Learning, January, 2003
UNCDF, 2002 Result-Oriented Annual Report, 2002
UNDP Evaluation Office, Handbook on Monitoring and Evaluating for Results, 2002

[23] Interviews were conducted at the World Bank, USAID and UNDP during the period from 22nd to 27th February 2004.

2.2.3 Further Considerations

The review results described in 2.2.3 clarify the following in connection with monitoring.

- The importance of understanding "qualitative changes", including a change of awareness of local population, which eventually lead to self-reliant rural development in the project implementation process is widely recognised. In contrast, monitoring has so far been primarily based on "quantitative indicators" and there is no established way or method of determining the indicators of "qualitative" changes.

- When local population conduct the monitoring of daily activities, they often encounter difficulties in securing the quality of the gathered data and also in gathering data according to the set schedule. While some organizations have an institutionalised system where the monitoring results are fed back in a timely manner to the original plan to conduct the necessary revisions, such systems have not yet reached the stage of being fully functioning.

- Efforts have been made to apply the results or lessons learned from the monitoring of daily activities to other areas to enlarge the geographical scope of projects. In reality, however, it is difficult to stamp the monitoring results or lessons characterised by a specific locality on the policies of a recipient country. There is a dilemma that while efforts are made to apply the experiences and lessons of aid projects in individual countries to the formulation of the general aid policies of donors, too much generalisation eradicates the characteristics of specific localities.

Based on the above observations, important points for the monitoring of daily activities as a means of realising self-reliant rural development in the future are outlined next.

(1) Creation of Mechanism for Actors to Make Best Use of Process Monitoring Results

In the implementation of a project, it must be borne in mind that it is essential for all people related to the project to share the monitoring results with a view to using such results for (i) a review the original plan for the project, (ii) formulation of policies by the government of the recipient country and (iii) formulation of aid policies by the donor concerned, etc. One example may be for the information and experiences obtained from a pilot project conducted during the period of "a development study accompanied by a pilot study" by the JICA in Africa to be used to establish appropriate monitoring indicators with the participation of all actors and for the use of these indicators to be extended to other areas with the involvement of government staff of the recipient country. It is also important not to restrict the process monitoring results as knowledge of direct actors but to use these results to establish a relationship of trust between actors and also to create a ground for local population and representatives of the government of the recipient country and the donor to frankly exchange opinions.

(2) Determination of Rough Monitoring Indicators at Preliminary Study Stage

It is generally difficult to determine the target figures and monitoring items/indicators for "qualitative changes" regarding the empowerment and change of awareness of local population and organizations in advance. One method to establish the monitoring items and

indicators in advance is for members participating in a preliminary study to roughly prepare the monitoring indicators as suggested by the IFAD. The next best measure is to temporarily determine goals and monitoring indicators which reflect the reality as much as possible through the gathering of local information by means of including those people who are familiar with the presumed sector for cooperation in the target area (including Japanese and other nationals working for NGOs and research staff of universities, etc.) conducting activities similar to those envisaged under the project in the target area in field interviews and reviews of similar aid projects in the past.[24] What is important is to encourage the involvement of local population with a view to improving and changing the temporary indicators on their own initiative through the actual implementation of monitoring.

Another approach is to regard the determination of the monitoring items and indicators as the first stage of process monitoring. Needless to say, the establishment of monitoring items and indicators led by local population requires a long time and the existence of a facilitator. If there are no constraints in terms of time, etc., this approach is probably the most appropriate to achieve self-reliant rural development.

(3) Who Conducts Process Monitoring at the Project Site?

Many donors tend to entrust[25] the monitoring of project-related activities and the project process to local personnel (staff members of a NGO, research institute of a university or a government office of the recipient country, etc.) and then analyse the performance based on their reports (see Fig. 2-3). Behind this stance lies the belief that a donor who is unfamiliar with the local situation cannot directly assess the activities and the process adequately. Some donors appear to lack sufficient resources to become involved in costly and time-consuming monitoring.

Meanwhile, projects of the JICA have the following characteristics.

- While other donors are reducing their direct involvement in field work, the JICA conducts its own field work which other donors tend to entrust to "a contractor", thereby gaining the opportunity to directly learn lessons from its own field work.

- In a situation where the likelihood of the diffusion/extension of activities can only be determined by monitoring the process, the required information may not necessarily be

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[24] For example, many of the "preconditions" for a village can be identified through interviews with staff of other donors and NGOs and local researchers already working in the field (information which is difficult to obtain by a document survey but which quickly surfaces in local interviews). Efforts are required to view the experiences and beliefs of local population from various angles so that identified failures are not repeated. Meanwhile, those which are built into local life and which are difficult for outsiders to recognise (for example, norms) may be recognised when activities commence. Even norms, etc. may change in the course of project-related activities.

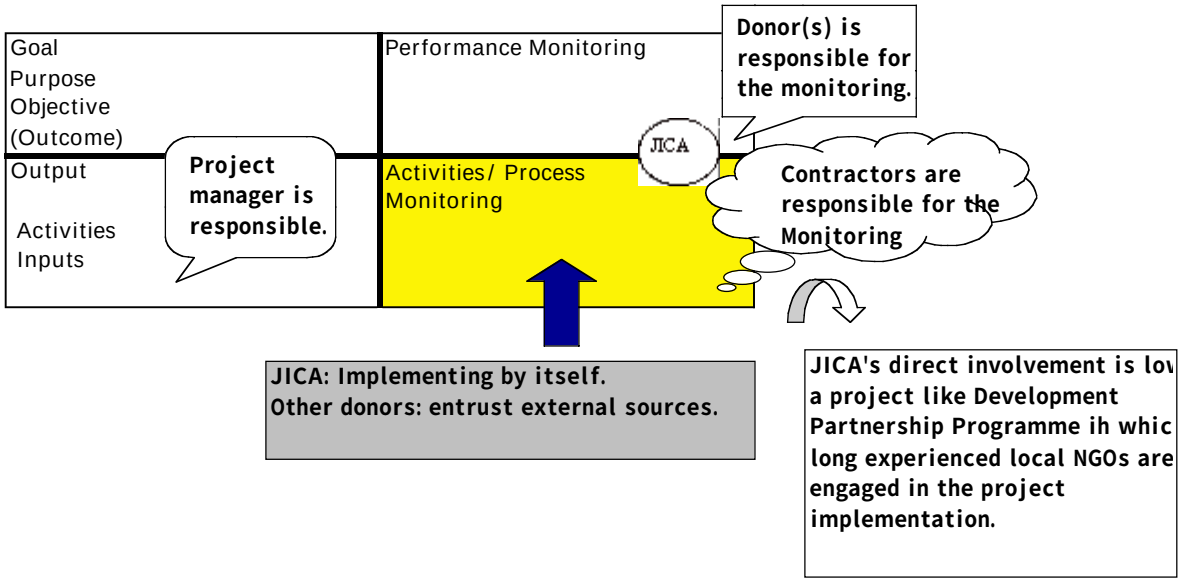
[25] Some European experts working in the field are given the authority to allow local actors to play a central role in various activities in the process leading to impacts which are identified under a log frame while ensuring the achievement of the proper impacts by themselves. As the activities are diverse, it is difficult for a donor to issue adequate instructions for each activity. The approach adopted by some donors is to allow other capable persons to conduct activities while analysing the performance of each activity as their own responsibility.

obtained if monitoring is conducted by an external contractor. The JICA's approach which is capable of obtaining information from the field is advantageous in this sense.

- When examination of the feasibility of a project, etc. is planned, there are many aspects, such as the implementation system of the government of the recipient country, which require detailed analysis through direct involvement in the project for their proper understanding. Experts in various fields are required both inside and outside the project together with sufficient time and funds for the analytical work of these experts. Alternatively, as some of the guidelines reviewed earlier suggest, the government of a recipient country should be worked upon to include the M & E cost in the project budget. However, the adoption of this alternative for many African countries is probably very difficult because of their budgetary constraints.

- Further examination is necessary to find a way for the JICA to implement activities/process monitoring with less time and at a lower cost.

Figure 2-3 Implementation mechanism of Process Monitoring



Source: IDCJ added some parts to a distributed material prepared by Mike Crooke at "FASID Project Management Workshop: A Course" conducted, from October 28 to 31 2003.

(4) Cost and Time of Process Monitoring

As M & E requires huge cost, labour input and time, there is little incentive or motivation to conduct such evaluation. If process monitoring is to be conducted as part of a project, some kind of budgetary measure is necessary. One example is the USAID which allocates 3 – 10% of the total aid amount to monitoring.

2.3 Various Approaches to Realise Self-Reliant Rural Development

2.3.1 Introduction

This section sorts out the ideas and methods to conduct the empowerment[26] of people and organizations, which is required to realise self-reliant rural development[27] and compiles the important points. Firstly, PRA which is the typical method (approach) used for the empowerment in question and important points regarding its use are clarified. Next, the various methods (approaches) used to promote people's involvement in rural development are reviewed. Finally, important points for the use of the monitoring of daily activities, which leads to continued activities by local population on their own initiative after the completion of a project, are clarified.

2.3.2 Problems of PRA Approach in Realising Self-Reliant Rural Development

(1) Current Situation of PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal)

PRA is an approach which is widely used in the world of participatory rural development. It is frequently used as an important tool at various stages of the project cycle to make local population recognise the problems and tasks in the project area and to think about activities to solve the problems/tasks and a suitable project implementation system in the context of their area of residence. Even though PRA is widely used worldwide, the manner of its use is diverse depending on its interpretation by individual users. As such, there is no simple answer to what PRA really is despite its eminence.[28]

In general, there are two views of PRA: (i) a method/tool for information gathering, i.e. a study method, and (ii) an approach to allow people to empower themselves to conduct activities (listening to the voices of people), i.e. a philosophy. (The definitions of PRA by two Japanese aid organizations are given in Box 2-9.)

The PRA attempted for rural development is not a universal remedy of which the use can realise self-reliant rural development without fail. Its main characteristics lie with the fact that its attempted use is aimed at making a project reflect the voices of local population, administrators and other people concerned from the planning stage to make the project being implemented more in line with the reality for rural development projects which traditionally

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[26] Empowerment in this report means that people or organizations have developed their ability to manage the accessible "five capitals", conduct their own decision making and, in the post project period, independently continue their activities in one form or another even if the contents of the activities are modified by population.

[27] Rural population maintain self-reliant lives by utilising the naturally available resources. Self-reliant rural development means that these population strengthen/reinforce the available resources (five capitals) and maintain/improve their livelihoods (strengthening of survival) through their active involvement in various activities based on their own initiative without disruption to their self-reliant lives.

[28] See, for example, Andrea Cornwall and Garett Pratt, Pathways to Participation: Reflection on PRA, ITDG Publishing, UK, 2003. In this book, the Institute of Development Studies of Sussex University with the participation of Robert Chambers, the original proposer of PRA, examines the experience of PRA for more than 20 years, introduces examples of the use of PRA in various countries and fields and uses concrete examples to show that the definition and meaning of PRA vary depending on who actually uses it for what purpose.

have often been led by donors. In other words, PRA in a rural development project can be described as a method (approach) to prompt the involvement of the actors in each stage of the project cycle in order to develop their awareness that the project is their own project (activities).

PRA which originated from RRA[29] (a study method) has traditionally been used by outsiders (consultants, researchers and development workers) to obtain better information in a short period of time.[30]

From a technical point of view, the use of various visual methods (map, calendar and matrix, etc.) recommended by PRA can lower the barriers raised by the absence of a common language for understanding of the present situation irrespective of the level of literacy on the part of local population and also promotes communication between local population in the project area and those introducing the project. At the same time, however, the erroneous understanding that the use of visual tools in the context of individual project sites equals a participatory approach has emerged.

From the viewpoint of an approach designed to empower local population to expand project-related activities, PRA is said to be still at the conceptual stage and it is still uncertain whether or not local population become capable of acting on their own initiative through PRA.[31] For example, as shown by the example of the Village Development Study in Resettlement Areas for Ex-Soldiers in Mozambique (Box 2-10), application of the PRA approach where researchers learn along with the people does not automatically make people act on their own initiative. What is essential is the slow development of a relationship of trust over a relatively long period of time.

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[29] Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA: a participatory planning and design method) was developed in the 1980's by university researchers in the UK as a study or information gathering method for outsiders and is highly effective when an aid organization or a university conducts a field study in a short period of time as part of a study to find answers for a hypothesis. It allows the gathering of information which is of a sufficient level to plan a project with small funds and without a heavy burden on both those who conduct the study and those who are subject to the study. More recent project evaluation exercises conducted by NGOs often incorporate participatory methods (PRA and PLA, etc.) based on RRA. Although RRA can expect information gathering in a relatively short period of time, the main actors are researchers. As such, it does not necessarily promote the involvement of local population on their own initiative.

[30] Andrea Cornwall and Garett Pratt, Pathways to Participation: Reflection on PRA, ITDG Publishing, UK, 2003, p. 132

[31] Andrea Cornwall and Garett Pratt, op. cit., p. 56

Box 2-9 Examples of Definition of PRA Adopted by Two Japanese Aid Organizations

(1) NPO Ayus: Evaluation of International Cooperation Projects (September, 2003)

PRA together with PLA, etc. is defined as "a tool for learning and the planning of an action plan by local people: to materialise the potential abilities of people and to learn with them to link to reformative actions".

- PRA and PLA indicate development approaches led by local population.
- PRA/PLA is a method to materialise the potential abilities of people and to learn with them to promote reformative actions. The role of a researcher is to act as a facilitator.
- Three elements of PRA/PLA: attitude/posture/action, concept/idea and tool/technology
- An exercise conducted under the pretext of PRA is often best described as "a PRA-like approach". Unless an approach designed to consciously change the role of outsiders is put into practice, the use of PRA as a tool does not constitute a PRA (more accurately PLA) exercise. For the implementation of PRA, the purposes and different emphases must be fully understood in advance.
- PRA/PLA as a tool: time, space, social structure, prioritisation and way of thinking, etc.
- PRA/PLA can provide an opportunity for the socially weak to express their opinions and to encourage their own initiative more than RRA. However, it requires more time to complete than RRA and whether or not PLA as originally defined can be implemented largely depends on the attitude/posture as well as experience of the facilitator.

(2) ECFA: Training on Development Consulting: History and Methods of Rural Development (Basics) Part IV – General Theory of Development Consulting [2] Issues to be Considered for Development Assistance

- PRA is a general term for various methods which local population can use to conduct a study, analysis and planning by themselves.
- PRA focuses on the abilities of local population and aims at enhancing such abilities by means of empowerment.
- Interested parties share information and jointly conduct analytical work through group exercises. PRA was originally developed for application to rural areas but is now used in various situations. Use of this method facilitates collaboration between a donor, the government of a recipient country and local population.
- Although PRA inherits many of the RRA techniques and approaches, the biggest difference between the two lies with their priorities. The main emphasis of RRA is placed on data gathering and clarification of the local situation by outsiders while the primary task of PRA is to enable the bottom-up of local population or to allow outsiders to learn from local population. The main actors of RRA and PRA are outsiders and local population respectively.

Box 2-10 Use of PRA: Lessons from the Study in Mozambique

The Study on Development of the Resettlement Area for Demobilized Soldiers and Mine Laborers from South Africa in the Republic of Mozambique was conducted from July, 2000 to November,2002. Featuring two villages (Munguine Village and Maruana Village in the Marisa District, Mapto Province), the Study aimed at creating a long-term village development master plan and a self-reliant village development model applicable to other areas by means of planning and designing a small-scale self-reliant village development project with the participation of local population and implementing a priority project component as a pilot project for some nine months.

At the early stage of this Study, training was conducted with a local consultant on PRA to train some villagers as facilitators for participatory village development. Twenty-seven recommended villagers (including 11 women) by the local communities were selected and the training lasted for six days. Because of the large number of trainees and their different learning ability levels, the training ended short of sufficiently developing the ability of the trainees to analyse problems and propose solutions. Consequently, all of the participants voted to select 10 people (including three women) to undergo additional training for a further six days. Following this two weeks of training, 10 village development facilitators were divided into two teams of five members each. Meanwhile, the study area was divided into nine blocks based on the natural and socioeconomic environments. A team of facilitators was sent to each block for one week to conduct PRA over a period of five weeks.

< Revolt of Village Development Facilitators >

In truth, after the PRA training of two weeks, there was an incident where the 10 facilitators staged collective bargaining, declaring their intended non-participation in the forthcoming PRA exercise unless they received a wage. The Study Team explained that no wage could be paid to the facilitators to ensure the sustainability of the project after the completion of the Study and that the Study itself would be terminated without their voluntary cooperation. A more fundamental problem was the belief of these facilitators that they were helping the activities of the JICA, indicating their failure to consider PRA to be their own activity. While learning the "participatory" study method, they failed to develop a sense of "autonomy" or "self-reliance" to conduct the necessary activities on their own initiative. After three days of negotiations, the hard stance taken by the Study Team won over the facilitators and the PRA was completed without any further incidence. This affair, however, reminded the Study Team that a sense of "self-reliance" cannot take root during a short training session. These 10 village development facilitators were able to take a leadership role in the PRA around the fourth week of the PRA exercise. It was around this time when another problem emerged of these facilitators being seen to be aloof from other villagers or as persons belonging to the project implementation side. Even though the trainees were taught the necessary attitude and techniques of a facilitator during the training with emphasis on their future role as facilitators but not leaders, they subsequently acted as though they were leaders in the PRA implementation process. The emergence of such a situation was a reminder of the difficulty of facilitation.

< Limitations for Proposal of Problem Solutions by Local Population >

One issue which was especially problematic in the implementation of PRA was the limitations for the proposal of problem solutions by local population. Even though local population were facilitated to compare various solutions (options) to solve the problems in their village with a view to selecting the best options, they failed to produce ideas for feasible options. Using the problem of a water shortage as an example, the villagers only came up with the most costly option of drilling a borehole and installing a motor pump which would only be feasible with the assistance of a donor. No low cost ideas (use of rainwater and a shallow well with a manual pump, etc.) which they could implement themselves were proposed.

The failure of local population to come up with low cost options may be explained by the fact that they are used to receiving expensive items (boreholes and tractors, etc.) free of charge from foreign donors. During the PRA session to propose problem solutions, their ideas were based on their past experience of foreign assistance (there was also an element of hoping for similar assistance in the options proposed) and they never thought that it would be acceptable to propose inexpensive solutions, i.e. self-reliant solutions, which could be achieved without external assistance. The real problems in the Study Area were "too much familiarity with foreign assistance, reliance on donors to produce ideas and a lack of independency" on the part of local population even before "poverty with a lack of goods" became a problem.

Another example relates to the frequent requests by local population for the supply of seeds and farming tools. These requests are assumed to have been greatly influenced by the fact that a national programme called the EPU (Emergency Programme for Seeds and Utensils) under which farmers were provided with seeds and farming tools free of charge was implemented throughout Mozambique until a few years ago. Even though the EPU had already ended, local population still had a strong sense of receiving seeds and farming tools free of charge from the government or aid organizations. Whenever the government or an aid organization conducts a needs survey, the farmers' need for the free distribution of seeds and farming tool is

always found.

In the face of local population proposing solutions relying on the assistance of aid organizations, the Study Team repeated the request for "the proposal of solutions (options) which could be achieved by themselves on a daily basis". However, the local population who were accustomed to receiving goods from aid organizations completely failed to understand at the beginning that the purpose of the Study was "to assist self-reliant village development through the maximum utilisation of the existing resources possessed by local population".

< Growing Awareness on the Part of Local Population Through Study Tours >

The study tours arranged for local population to visit farmers in a suburb of Maputo, the capital, and a village where ActionAid UK, a NGO, was providing assistance for community development led by villagers constituted the turning point for the attitude of local population. By studying the commercial farming practiced by farmers who little differed from themselves and also by visiting a village where community development (clinic, school and increased earnings, etc.) led by villagers is conducted to exchange opinions, local population were able to broaden their views and become aware of the fact that there are things they can do without relying on aid organizations. The same local population who had simply requested donations/assistance by aid organizations at the start of the Study changed their attitude after (i) the persistent pursuit by the Study Team that free donations/assistance is not of ultimate benefit to them and (ii) their observation of self-reliant activities at other villages through study tours.

< Lessons Learned by the Study Team >

The Study Team learned many things through the Study, the most important of which is the importance of establishing human relationships of mutual understanding by sharing the joys and sorrows of villagers over a period of time as the training of local population on such participatory methods as PRA and PCM, etc. and the application of these methods are insufficient to achieve self-reliant rural development. The application of PRA cannot instantly realise self-reliant development. The policy of the Study Team to promote self-reliant development was only gradually accepted by local population through "a process of negotiation and exchange" over a period of more than one year and involving frank discussions and negotiations with local population on equal grounds, joint learning through study tours and sharing of the joys and sorrows in a pilot project.

At the beginning, the policy of promoting self-reliant development was accused of being forcibly imposed by the Study Team. Towards the end of the Study, however, the villagers themselves were able to explain to others the importance of starting with what they can do themselves. It was unfortunate that some staff members of the central government who did not participate in the process appeared to fail to understand the importance of self-reliant development even at the end of the Study. This situation indicates the importance of both local population and outsiders (the government and study team members) equally participating in the process of self-reliant development. For the application of PRA and other participatory methods, training and the application of these methods constitute only the first steps towards the realisation of self-reliant development. The importance of spending enough time on establishing proper communication with local population without rushing must always be kept in mind.

Finally, the key points of the model process to achieve "self-reliant development" which were learned from the present Study are introduced below.

(1) To discover what can be done without external assistance and to act on your own initiative (to discover your own resources and strength by learning from the examples of others through study tours, etc. and to act on your own initiative)
(2) To be responsible for your own decisions and actions (principles of the right of self-decision and self-responsibility)
(3) To learn from the results of your own actions to improve your future actions (feedback process of reflection and learning; what is important is the continuous accumulation of small improvements)
(4) To establish an equal relationship with others, i.e. a relationship of mutual dependence and mutual aid, to extend the network of coexistence (to establish a network of farmers to exchange experiences of self-reliant development instead of a relationship characterised by assistance provided by the government and aid organizations)
(5) To discover what can be achieved in this world because you have found the value or significance of your own existence (to achieve self-emancipation through the discovery of a world worth living in)

(by Kiyofumi Tanaka, Leader of the Study on Development of the Resettlement Area for Demobilized Soldiers and Mine Laborers from South Africa in the Republic of Mozambique)

(2) Problems Relating to Use of PRA for Realisation of Self-Reliant Rural Development

1) Lengthy Time and Labour Required for PRA vs Effects of PRA

When PRA is used for a rural development project, professional facilitators or government staff, such as agricultural extension workers who have received training on PRA, are dispatched to rural areas for a specified period of time to facilitate understanding of the intended activities among local population and their active involvement in these activities. PRA is often used to prioritise various activities with the participation of local population.

The biggest problems associated with the use of PRA to achieve the above-mentioned objectives are (i) the high cost, consisting of the travelling cost to villages and the personnel cost, and (ii) the relatively long time required for the outcomes to become visible based on a relationship of trust with local population, in turn developed through the implementation process of activities. For example, even if the needs of local population are identified and prioritised by PRA, the actual needs are often such basic needs as water supply, primary schools and medical facilities, etc. regardless of the diversity of the target areas. In such cases, a question may be asked in the field regarding the purpose of conducting PRA which is time-consuming and costly. Moreover, PRA requires much time and labour on the part of local population, resulting in excessive expectations on their part for the donor's assistance. It is for this reason that the problem of the burning out of local population occurs when the project to be implemented does not meet their high expectations.

The effective implementation of PRA with awareness that it is a time-consuming and costly process as well as a burden on local population in the target area is essential.

2) Whose Voices to Reflect and Who Are the Participants?

When using PRA to reflect the opinions of local population on a project, careful attention must be paid to "whose opinions" we are talking about. The use of PRA and other approaches which push local population to the front with the donor strictly acting as a facilitator tends to create a situation in which people with a higher literacy level, influential people or members of a powerful family, all of which enjoy a relatively advantageous position both psychologically as well as physically, find it easier to participate in activities. As a result, there is a possibility that such people as young women, the poorest and ethnic minorities who are often pushed out of the scope of communal activities will be unable to become involved from the beginning. In some cases, a project itself can trigger the monopolisation of resources by a newly emerged local elite class. When a project aims at helping the so-called socially weak, careful planning of the way of identifying "the voices of local population" using PRA is required.

Careful attention should similarly be paid to the ultimate decision-making mechanism in the target area. Final decision-making rarely takes place in a workshop or group discussions held under PRA as such decisions are often left to the existing mechanism, such as traditional meetings of the elders, in the target area.

3) Balance Between Roles of External Experts (Study Team) and Needs of Local Population

When an opportunity to listen to the voices of local population is arranged, there is a question of how to draw a line between the things/methods which local population believe to be the best and those which are not recognised as a necessity by local population but which are considered to be essential in the eyes of external experts. In this context, the suitable approach varies depending on the contents and purposes of each project. In the case of reforestation or the control of desertification for which the technical cooperation of external experts is significant for the sustainability of activities, transfer of the necessary specialist technologies while listening to the voices of local population may prove successful in the end even if the response of local population is slow to start with. In the case of projects designed to empower local people by means of various activities, including the strengthening of people's organizations, learning by local population through a trial and error process is very important and respect for decision-making by local population could produce better outputs. What is crucial is for local population and the study team to exchange opinions and to make decisions on the project contents through the vigorous examination of such contents in order to proceed with project-related activities.

For example, in the Study for the Desertification Prevention Project in Southern Segou in Mali (Etude de suivi de l'Etude sur la Lutte contre la Désertification dans le Sud de la Région de Ségou en République du Mali), emphasis was placed on a proper understanding of the present situation by local population so that they could think of solutions themselves. For this reason, assistance was provided for the efforts of a local consultant who used PRA to help local population form village development bodies so that such bodies could play a central role in the implementation of desertification control activities. When forming the village development bodies, the Study Team restricted its activities to showing the rules of population' organizations in other countries for reference purposes, leaving each village a free hand to decide how to proceed with activities regarding the composition of the said body (ratios of the elders' group, women's group and youth group, etc.), rules and management method, etc.. As a result, a development body reflecting the situation of each village was formed and activities were implemented in line with the specific circumstances of each village.[32] Meanwhile, it was recognised that as measures to control soil degradation suggested by the Study could not be implemented solely by local population, the provision of professional technical guidance would be required depending on the specific situation.[33] For example, a decline of the crop yield generally makes local population aware of soil degradation and willing to actively commit themselves to soil conservation activities. As such, some time is required for them to be ready. In the meantime, even though there are visual differences in the situation of soil erosion in the study area, the high rainfall intensity is causing the gentle but chronic progress of soil degradation due to erosion even in those areas with relatively small damage. Accordingly, the establishment of indicators of changes of the rainfall and soil, etc. which can be recognised by local population at an early stage is essential together with the analysis (interpretation) of monitoring data by local

[32] For further details, see JICA, Project Type Study: The Guidelines for Rural Development Methods for Africa, Annex "Follow Up Study on Etude de suivi de l'Etude sur la Lutte contre la Désertification dans le Sud de la Région de Ségou en République du Mali", March, 2004.

[33] JICA, op. cit. (Footnote 32), p. 44

population themselves and the implementation of various activities in response to the analysis results.

In the case of the follow-up study for the Study on the Integrated Rural Development Project in the Baringo Semi Arid Land Area in the Republic of Kenya, the necessity for technical cooperation by external experts was pointed out to firmly root water harvesting technologies in the area and to establish a monitoring system by farmers to ensure self-reliant development (see Box 2-11 for further details).

Box 2-11 Importance of Monitoring by Local Population Based on Specialist Knowledge: Example of Water Harvesting

Water harvesting technologies introduced by the Rural Development Project in the Semi-Arid Area of the Baringo District in the Republic of Kenya have been rapidly spreading as a result of their success in the pilot project area. Meanwhile, concern has been expressed that the over-estimation of these technologies by farmers could result in the expansion of the cultivated area while disregarding the appropriate area ratio between the catchment area and the cultivated area.

It is anticipated that this tendency will further increase when a wet year continues for several years. When such a period of wet years is followed by a dry year or a year of average rainfall, the system established in the wet years fails to function, creating a risk of its collapse. The establishment of an appropriate ratio between the catchment area and the cultivated area is extremely important for water harvesting and this ratio must be determined based on the rain probability in the crop cultivation period, the water consumption by cultivated crops, the rate of discharge and the water storage capacity of the farm, etc. The ratio so established must be respected. It is crucial to make farmers thoroughly understand that water harvesting technologies are not specific remedies for drought and are part of farmland management technologies. Their effectiveness is largely determined by the rainfall pattern. Unless farmers' organizations are formed based on a proper understanding of these facts, severe conflicts between farmers can occur regarding the distribution of rainwater. Meanwhile, technical support for farmers must be continually provided.

There are two types of water harvesting systems, i.e. the establishment of a catchment area inside a farm and the establishment of a catchment area outside a farm. When the latter is established by several farmers, the water distribution must be fair, making the introduction of strict rules in correspondence with the discharge volume necessary. In the case of water harvesting from a catchment area outside a farm, follow-up actions are required in regard to the consolidation of the farmers' organization, system operation and management and the introduction of water distribution rules. It is desirable for water harvesting from a catchment area established inside a farm to become more popular in the coming years instead of the system using a catchment area outside a farm. The system using a micro-catchment, semi-circular catchment, contour bund or bench terrace is a case in point. As this system is small in scale and is basically operated at the individual level, it is easy to set up and maintain, allowing a flexible response to the actual rainfall situation. It is hoped that extension and guidance on this system will be strengthened in the future.

The establishment of a monitoring system to be run by farmers themselves is necessary to firmly root water harvesting technologies in local areas to ensure self-reliant development. Unless this system is maintained, the sustainable management of the water harvesting system will be difficult to achieve. In particular, monitoring of the rainfall and discharge volume should at least be conducted. Further monitoring of the conditions of the catchment area (its size and vegetation, etc.), changes of the planting area (area to benefit from water harvesting and the number of beneficiaries), any increase of the yield and the maintenance conditions is desirable. Technical support is required for these matters and the provision of guidance on the simple observation method of hydrological data is desirable, if necessary.

While engineers of the Marigat Office have some understanding of water harvesting technologies, it is limited to the qualitative aspect. In order for these engineers to provide technical guidance to support local population in the coming years, they should preferably have the ability to conduct the quantitative analysis of the discharge characteristics of the already established systems, water balance, optimal area ratio between the catchment area and cultivation area and other matters. Accordingly, a future follow-up study to develop such ability is judged to be necessary in addition to the provision of the minimum required equipment.

Source: JICA, Project Type Study: The Guidelines for Rural Development Methods for Africa, Third Year Report, Annex, Follow-Up Study for the Study on the Integrated Rural Development Project in the Baringo Semi Arid Land Area in the Republic of Kenya, March, 2002, p. 63

4) Difficulty of "Securing PRA Quality = Securing of Good Facilitators"

While PRA can be used at different stages of the project cycle, its quality is fairly dependent on the ability of the facilitators conducting the PRA. With good facilitators, local population tend to find it easier to understand the meaning of individual activities and, therefore, to actively commit themselves to the activities. What is basically important is for the beneficiaries to better understand the tasks posed by a project through PRA and to recognise that project-related activities are their own activities.

Meanwhile, it is not easy to secure good facilitators (see Box 2-12). In particular, when foreigners act as facilitators, their different appearance and inability to speak the local language can constitute obstacles to good communication with local population. Even if the facilitators are nationals of the recipient country, urban dwellers who lack in-depth knowledge or rural areas or those with a high-handed attitude towards local population, boasting of their high academic career, can make local population cower. In short, home-grown facilitators do not automatically qualify as good facilitators as what matters is the quality of individual facilitators.

Box 2-12 Quality of Facilitators Assisting the Empowerment of Local Population

In the "Study for the Desertification Prevention Project in Southern Segu in Mali" of the JICA, the ability of local population to conduct village development and desertification prevention activities by themselves was believed to be important and assistance was providing using PRA to enable local population to clearly understand the current situation and problems of the village, to examine possible solutions and to think about methods to implement such solutions by themselves. To be more precise, facilitators to liaise between villagers and the Study Team were deployed in six villages (one man and one woman in each area) out of the 12 subject villages (three areas) of the pilot project to continuously follow up the pilot project and timely assistance was provided through these facilitators to enable local population to think about and implement the necessary activities. Extension workers of the government were also dispatched to oversee the work in their respective fields of expertise. As a result, local population were able to understand the significance of individual activities under the pilot project through the process of implementing these activities and began to become actively involved in the said activities.

To select the facilitators, the original 500 applicants responding to a newspaper advertisement were reduced to 30 based on examination of their written application and further to the final six through interviews. In the end, however, only two of these six were able to effectively perform to assist the pilot project. The table below shows the results of interviews with the facilitators in two areas of the pilot project and indicates that it is the quality of the facilitators which gained them the trust of local population and which led to the excellent performance of the pilot project. The quality factors for facilitators are believed to be as follows.

- Treatment of bad experiences in the past as positive experiences for future improvement
- Provision of plenty of time for local population to make decisions
- Clear conveyance of what can be done and what cannot be done to local population
- Keeping of promises
- Not blaming others for failure
- Advance consultation between themselves prior to talking to local population

	Pilot Project Area A	Pilot Project Area B
1. What problems were encountered during involvement in the JICA project?	1) Low literacy rate; 2) low participation rate in the joint work; 3) implementation of a project by a different donor in the past without any financial burden on local population	What do problems mean here? Any problem can be solved if sufficient time is allowed for its thorough discussion.
2. Motivation and cost sharing	Under the past project by a different donor, a motivation fee was paid to the	The IFAD has implemented a similar rural development project to the present JICA project in the past without asking

	participants. Because the JICA project required partial payment by local population to fund the activities and no motivation fee was paid, it was quite difficult to persuade local population to accept their contribution.	local population to make a contribution. The activities which commenced under the IFAD project no longer exist today. I explain to the villagers that a partial contribution to sustain the activities was necessary to avoid a recurrence of such a situation and the villagers accepted this explanation.
3. Participation of women	Low rate of participation due to opposition by their partners, etc; a lot of time was required to persuade them.	Low rate of participation due to opposition by their partners, etc; women's participation was not forced if persuasion over a long enough period was unsuccessful (the decision ultimately rested with local population).
4. Number of visiting days per week	Each village (five in total) was visited on a daily basis (this reply may be incorrect based on the results of interviews in each village and the petrol consumption of the motorcycle used for travelling).	Depended on the activities; sometimes three or four visits a week depending on the village and activity.
5. Requests for activities other than the JICA project	Occasionally requested to collect tax.	Many requests were made by neighbouring villages and the necessary technical guidance was provided albeit insufficiently because of commitment to the JICA project.
6. Future activities of government extension workers as facilitators	As government extension workers tend to look down on villagers, they will probably be unable to conduct the activities of facilitators.	The idea is not bad, probably good as extension workers are accustomed to working with villagers. However, their approach should be changed. Training will be necessary to make them capable of assisting villagers when the latter try to formulate a village development plan. Technical cooperation for this training will be necessary. Villagers can learn many things through their analysis of the current situation and the planning as well as implementation of a development plan by themselves.

Source: Based on the interview results for the JICA's follow-up study (see Footnote 32).

2.3.3 Approaches to Facilitate Involvement of Local Population in Rural Development

Awareness of the need for various activities on the part of local population and their involvement in such activities will ultimately lead to self-reliant rural development even if their involvement is initially prompted by a project. The activities of local population may not be exactly the same as those introduced under a project. There may be cases where the forms of activities differ or the activities are considered to be options by local population who may not conduct them every year as they judge the suitability of conducting each activity depending on the natural situation of each year. All of these situations, however, suggest that local population conduct activities based on their own choice and, therefore, are closer to the state of self-reliant rural development.

In "development studies accompanied by a pilot study" so far implemented in several African countries, indirect assistance to enable local population to conduct activities as their own activities has been provided in various forms. The activities (approaches from the viewpoint

of donors) leading to "the enhanced ownership of local population", "the understanding of local population of the meaning of activities" and "the design of activities at a level easily accessible by local population" are described below in view of their special importance for the realisation of self-reliant rural development.

(1) Enhanced Ownership of Local Population

In general, a project has the appearance of an unexpected gift which suddenly arrives one day and the normal reaction of local population is to look for what they can get from it. When this attitude continues, the end of external inputs means the stoppage of activities. This has been the case in many projects. To change the situation, the JICA, other donors and NGOs have introduced the "cost sharing" approach to make local population realise the need for their own initiative to conduct the activities planned under a project. For local population who are basically the beneficiaries, cost sharing means their contribution to the funds, materials (mainly those which are locally procurable) and labour, all of which are required to sustain activities, and has the effect of increasing the seriousness of local population in regard to their involvement in activities (see Box 2-13).

Although this cost sharing has been attempted in many projects, a difficulty of its application to a project is felt when it is a different approach from those adopted by other donors in the same area. For example, let us assume that there is a project which emphasises the financial contribution of local population and which considers such financial contribution to be the sole contribution of local population. If a project of another donor which considers the supply of labour to be the contribution of local population is being implemented in a nearby area, local population participating in the first project may request the donor to count their supply of labour as part of their contribution. In this case, considerable time and energy will be required to make local population understand the idea of "cost sharing" conceived by the donor.

Meanwhile, in an area where the practice of a partial financial contribution by local population to sustain activities is established to a certain extent because of the adoption of such an approach by a previous donor(s), activities may be implemented relatively smoothly by introducing a suitable self-contribution ratio (which usually varies depending on the purpose of each activity) with reference to the precedents.

Box 2-13 Cost Sharing for Enhanced Ownership

1. What is cost sharing?
Cost sharing means that local population (beneficiaries) implementing a project and the external supporter share the project inputs when implementing the project. It aims at creating the ownership (awareness of being actors and independent involvement) of local population in a project. The main inputs for a project are labour, goods and cash. There can be many variations regarding the sharing ratio between local population and the external supporter depending on the project type and rules of the country concerned, ranging from the case where local population provide only labour while the external supporter provides the funds to the case where local population are asked to partly fund project-related activities.

2. Key Idea for Realisation of Self-Reliant Rural Development
Independent involvement in a project is crucial for the realisation of self-reliant rural development. In the case of Baringo in Kenya, emphasis is placed on the extent of preparedness of local population to contribute to the project inputs from the viewpoint that "the project is led by local population as they are the project owners".

Here, the Study Team considers the donor's contribution to the project in terms of "a subsidy" rather than

"cost sharing". Simple sharing of the burden does not clearly indicate whether local population or the external supporter are the project owner. The idea is that there is something which local population cannot prepare themselves for the project and, therefore, the external supporter provides such a thing in the form of a subsidy.

In the case where the supply of labour by local population constitutes part of cost sharing, the Study Team believes that as the labour can be provided by local population themselves, the idea of upholding such labour as part of cost sharing leads to the understanding that the labour of local population for their own project gains the status of a partial contribution to external assistance, obscuring the concept of the ownership of local population. Based on this thinking, the following conditions are introduced for cost sharing.

- The financial contribution of local population is clearly stated.
- Local materials and labour which can be provided by the local community are excluded from the scope of cost sharing (for example, river sand and gravel used for the rehabilitation of reservoirs).

It is important to plan the exact meaning of the cost sharing approach with a view to contributing to self-reliant rural development.

3. Implementation Method

1) Preparation
   - Clarification of the present situation
   - Cost estimation and procurement planning
   - Determination of the sharing ratios
   - Payment method

2) Implementation
   - Payment of the costs
   - Monitoring

3) Post-Project
   - Reporting of the settled accounts
   - Settlement of debts (in the case where an external supporter made advance payment)

4. Important Points for Implementation

There are several important points for cost share. 1) In the case of cash, the concrete amount must be clearly indicated at an early stage. 2) A project for which consent for cost sharing cannot be obtained should not be implemented. 3) In principle, a project should only commence when local population have prepared the funds to pay for their portion of the activities. In the case where a study team makes advance payment on behalf of local population for subsequent collection, repayment may not be completed by the time that the project ends. In this case, the outstanding amount should not be written off and a meeting of all those involved should be held to clarify how to deal with the repayment. It may be an idea for the outstanding amount to be continually collected by the village head or others following the completion of the study with a view to its use as the basis for a subsequent rural development fund. 4) The sharing ratios should be determined with reference to cases of other aid organizations implementing similar projects. The important points for the promotion of smooth cost sharing are 1) the introduction of opportunities for local population to observe successful examples in advanced areas so that local population can obtain information to help them understand the importance of the proposed project and also to judge whether it will be advantageous for them to proceed with the project even if they share the cost.

Source: Compiled by the IDCJ based on a paper prepared by Akihiko Hata, a member of the Study Team for The Study on the Integrated Rural Development Project in the Baringo Semi Arid Land Area in the Republic of Kenya, and the follow-up study on Etude de suivi de l'Etude sur la Lutte contre la Désertification dans le Sud de la Région de Ségou en République du Mali.

(2) Local Population' Understanding of the Meaning of Activities

Understanding of the meaning and merits of activities by local population through the exchange of experiences with other people involved in similar activities leads to their conviction to conduct such activities as their own. One way for local population to properly understand the meaning of activities introduced from outside is to witness actual activities in progress and to hear the stories of those involved in accordance with the saying that seeing is believing. In many "development studies accompanied by a pilot study", opportunities to exchange experiences with people living in another area are provided, contributing to the deepening and expansion of activities. In particular, experiences of past projects make it clear that when those exchanging experiences share similar status (for example, farmers), the exchange of opinions and experiences are more to the point, greatly stimulating all people involved in such exchange.

The suitable stage for the introduction of opportunities to "observe actual examples in progress" in the project cycle differs from one project to another. When a donor has a concrete image of measures to solve problems because of previous experience in an area belonging to the new project area, it may prefer to provide opportunities for the target local population to exchange opinions with people involved in activities similar to those planned under the project in an advanced area prior to the commencement of such activities. In this way, local population may be able to eradicate their vague anxiety about the activities proposed by the donor and to choose and pursue activities with conviction. In some cases, more spontaneous actions are observed as local population in neighbouring areas hear about the reputation of activities and visit the project area to learn more about the activities. Moreover, there are cases where a donor intending to expand the geographical area to benefit from activities dispatches people involved in activities in the project area to other areas as lecturers. Box 2-14 describes an example of exchanges of experiences between local population in different areas in the Study on the Integrated Rural Development Project in the Baringo Semi Arid Land Area in the Republic of Kenya.

Box 2-14 Study Tours

A study tour provides the opportunity for local population (beneficiaries) implementing a project to visit another area to observe a project in progress or the achievements of a previous project to learn useful lessons for their own project. Access to information in another area through a study tour allows local population implementing a project to confirm the relevance and effectiveness of their project with their own eyes and ears. In this way, the local population in question are able to evaluate their own project. Moreover, the independent actions of local population to improve the project can be facilitated.

A study tour can take different forms, including those where an area of an advanced example is visited and those where mutual visits are organized between people of different target areas of the same project. The development study in Kenya's Baringo Province included the expansion of the project to neighbouring villages as a result of study tours which allowed the participation of population of neighbouring villages in addition to those originally targeted. For this reason, this study called visits to advanced examples "study tours" and differentiated them from "extension monitoring" which involved mutual visits between neighbouring villages and which presented the project with a strong possibility of extension to neighbouring villages. As this example shows, a study tour is conducted in accordance with the purpose and progress situation of a project.

1. Key Idea for Realisation of Self-Reliant Rural Development
Activities leading to the "independence" of local population and an independent approach to a project are emphasised as key factors for self-reliant rural development. A study tour can be considered to constitute one such activity.

By participating in a study tour, the local population (beneficiaries) implementing a project can actually see and understand the relevance and effectiveness of a project in an advanced area or neighbouring area with their own eyes and ears through the exchange of opinions and experiences with people of similar status and then return to their own project to think about its successful aspects and those points requiring improvement and embark on the trial and error process. A study tour can, therefore, provide the opportunity for local population to implement a project on their own initiative.

In the case of the development study in Baringo Province, both types of study tours, i.e. those for local population participating in the project to observe successful examples in advanced areas and those for people of neighbouring villages to visit the project area, resulted in the extension of appropriate technologies embodied by improved ovens and rainwater-based agriculture, etc. to areas outside the original project area. This was presumably the result of local population (in as well as outside the project area) who had participated in a study tour seizing the opportunity to verify the project with their own eyes and ears to independently start their own activities. It has been clearly established that the study tour approach, which provides the opportunity for local population to initiate activities on their own initiative, produces a project extension effect.

The experience of the study in Baringo indicates that visits by others to an ongoing project through extension monitoring constitutes an opportunity for the implementing people (beneficiaries) to become conscious of "us" in contrast to "them". In other words, the acceptance of such visits can function to make these people conscious of "us" which in turn makes them realise that a project belongs to them.

2. Implementation Method

1) Preparation
   - Selection of the subject area(s) for a study tour
   - Selection of the participants
   - Preparation of reference materials
   - Advance briefing

2) Implementation
   - Orientation
   - Study tour

3) Post-Project
   - Reporting at villages
   - Follow-up

3. Important Points for Implementation

- At the preparatory stage, the subject area(s) for a study tour should be selected, taking the budget of the study team, willingness of the subject area(s) to receive a study tour and such logistics as the available means of transport and accommodation, etc. into consideration.

- In regard to the selection of the participants through a workshop involving local population, it is desirable to select those people who are capable of actively extending what they learn during the tour to their own villages. Gender should also be taken into consideration.

- The participants should be notified as soon as possible.

- At the end of the tour, a debriefing session should be organized to allow the participants to discuss what they have learned and what is applicable to their own villages. At the same time, a questionnaire survey on the study tour should be conducted to improve the contents of future tours.

- Reporting in villages can be conducted by an external supporter as part of the programme and can be left to the discretion of each village.

Source: Compiled by the IDCJ based on a paper prepared by Akihiko Hata, a member of the Study Team for the Study on the Integrated Rural Development Project in the Baringo Semi Arid Land Area in the Republic of Kenya.

(3) Design of Activities at Easily Accessible Level by Local Population

For the introduction of activities, the adoption of technologies of an easily understandable level will facilitate the commitment of local population to rural development. For example, in the case of the study on improvement of technical capability for smallholding irrigation scheme in Malawi described in Box 2-15, ensuring the continuation of activities by local population following the end of the project is aimed at by means of using materials which can be easily procured locally at low cost, reducing the input volumes as much as possible and establishing a population' organization which reflects the circumstances of the project area.

Box 2-15 Cooperation Mainly Featuring Technologies of a Level Easily Acceptable by Local Population

Example of the study on improvement of technical capability for smallholding irrigation scheme in Malawi (from December, 2002 to March, 2005).

The extreme shortage of funding and human resources constitutes a major constraint to promotion of the development of self-reliant irrigation by the Government of Malawi. For this reason, the establishment of a systematic approach to proceed with the development of small-scale irrigation is essential while relying on the self-help efforts of farmers as much as possible, resulting in a request to the Government of Japan for cooperation.

From the viewpoint of providing technologies of a level easily acceptable by local population, the Study Team has introduced the following measures.

(1) Use of Local Materials for Construction of Irrigation Facilities
In the pilot project, locally procurable materials were used as much as possible for the construction of irrigation facilities. The locally available materials included wood, bamboo, grass, clay and gravel. Some materials were procured outside the project area, i.e. sand bags using man-made fibres, vinyl sheeting, PVC pipes and reinforced rubber bands made from the shredded inner lining of old rubber tyres (in principle, the cost of these had to be paid by the farmers).

(2) Selection of Routes Not Requiring Use of Advanced Surveying Equipment
One reason why the development of small-scale irrigation has not yet spread over a wide area in Malawi is the difficulty of selecting suitable routes for the irrigation canals. The simplest way to select a route is to excavate some 10 m of the canal at a time, followed by flooding of the canal with water to adjust the depth and direction of the canal to ensure a smooth water flow. However, this method is not very accurate, making the achievement of a high water conveyance efficiency difficult. The use of advanced surveying equipment enables accurate selection of the route but the necessity for the procurement of such equipment and the services of a surveying engineer means that the application of this alternative in the field is not practical in Malawi.

Under the pilot project, a simple tool called "a line level" was used to select the routes. The cost of this line level is as little as some ¥350 and it has already become familiar in land conservation and other projects in Malawi. The method of its use is very simple and farmers can use it after practicing for 30 minutes or so with the guidance of an extension worker. To use this tool, two poles are connected by a piece of string which is 5 m long and the elevation can be measured by observing the position of the water bubble in a container hung from the centre of the string. It is desirable to raise the tying position of the string at one pole by 0.5 cm or 1 cm above the other end of the string. The gradient of the canal is created by always positioning the pole with the higher tying position at the front when surveying. For example, the use of a piece of string which is 5 m long and a higher tying position of 0.5 cm at one end create a gradient of 1 in 1,000.

(3) Low Input Agriculture
Chemical fertilisers and agrochemicals (pesticides) used in Malawi are entirely imported and, therefore, are usually beyond the purchasing power of farmers. For this reason, the pilot project has been primarily promoting low input agriculture so that farmers do not face an excessive burden in terms of preservation of the soil fertility and the application of pesticides. The promotion of low input agriculture involves the establishment of crop rotation and mixed cultivation featuring leguminous crops, the quick return of the residuals of leguminous plants to the farmland and the application of green manure and compost (quick

compost). The residuals of leguminous plants are rich in N which is liable to decomposition, making it essential to mix them into the ground to fasten the fixation of N into the soil. Meanwhile, as compost requires two to three months to prepare using the normal method, the production of quick compost which is ready in as short a time as two to three weeks is encouraged. This compost enjoys a high fertilising effect because of the presence of yeast fungi (from the strained draff of a locally brewed alcoholic drink).

In regard to pesticides, the use of natural pesticides is promoted. Severe damage caused by the maize stalk borer is frequently observed in Malawi. The larvae of this harmful insect creep into the stalk at the tip during the early growth period of maize, eat inside the stalk and finally come out near the ground. In most cases, maize which is affected by this insect dies without yielding. A trial has been conducted to prevent such damage using a liquid extract from the leaves of the Jerejere tree (*Sesbania sesban*) or the Katupe tree (*Tephrosia vogelii*) as a natural pesticide (some 10 natural pesticides have been confirmed in Malawi). These extracts contain rotenone, tephrosin and deguelin which are effective to control harmful insects. Apart from the demonstration of Jerejere leaves at the Mtuwanjovu site, application of the extracts of other locally available useful species by farmers has been encouraged. These extracts are not particularly harmful to warm-blooded animals and are quick to decompose by ultraviolet rays.

(4) Extension Materials

Under this study, the preparation of extension materials for small-scale irrigation is one of the intended outputs. These materials must be prepared taking the current level of technology possessed by users, the density of extension offices and the number of agriculture-related staff members into consideration. Given (i) the administrative structure where the Bureau of Irrigation of the central government is responsible for policies and measures while the Bureau of Agricultural Administration and its subordinate bodies are responsible for agricultural development in provinces and agricultural extension at the front line and (ii) the situation of both a manpower and funding shortage, the preparation of extension materials for different levels is essential to ensure their proper functioning. Under this study, three types of materials have been prepared.

1. Comprehensive Guidelines: for use by the Ministry proper and the Bureau of Agricultural Administration

2. Technical Manual: for use by the provincial agricultural development offices and front line extension stations

3. Extension Pamphlet and Posters: for use by front line extension stations and farmers

The Comprehensive Guidelines do not include technical descriptions and mainly feature measures relating to promotion of the small-scale irrigation sub-sector. The Technical Manual is a so-called how to manual describing matters of engineering and agricultural science, including the construction methods of irrigation facilities, canal route selection methods, compost production and application methods and natural pesticide application methods. Descriptions are given in the order of steps to be followed to deal with individual subjects. This type of manual tends to be rather boring. However, as the pilot project is built in to the Study, the positive use of the experiences and knowledge obtained through the pilot project is the key to the success of the Study. To be more precise, the introduction of things which were directly experienced by farmers in the field under the pilot project using photographs and illustrations in sequence for easy understanding stimulates the readers who are also farmers.

The Extension Pamphlet relies on its sheer number of distribution to produce a positive effect. Because of the absolute shortage of extension workers, they are basically randomly distributed. In addition to distribution by extension workers at front line extension stations, pamphlets are distributed to farmers through all available channels, including clinics, primary schools and village meetings, to convey information for the extension of small-scale irrigation. As the pamphlets may simply be thrown away, posters are made to remind people of the messages in the pamphlet. Even though the posters, unlike the pamphlets, cannot describe things in detail, illustrated posters are quite popular in developing countries, presumably because of their eye-catching, colourful presentation. As such, when they are placed on a wall, they can attract people's attention for several years.

(5) Project Implementation and Organization

An approach to organize local population has been designed to gradually establish and strength the organization through the process of "learning while implementing". This organizational process commences with a kick-off workshop in which the Study Team, counterparts and farmers concerned participate. It is unnecessary to officially decide the leaders (chairman, secretary and treasurer, etc.) of the farmers' group at this stage. At the planning workshop held prior to the actual implementation of the project, the leaders of various activities decided at this workshop proceed with the activities as potential

leaders together with other farmers. During the actual process of the work, villagers are eventually able to determine who would be suitable as leaders. This process constitutes on-the-job training for potential leaders to become true leaders.

(6) Conclusions

The characteristics of the Study lie with its insistence on the self-help efforts of farmers for the construction and renewal of facilities in addition to the maintenance of such facilities during the course of irrigation development. The external inputs are restricted to the technologies required for construction and tools, including wheel barrows, illustrating the project's intention of realising irrigation facilities within the locality of farmers. In other words, small-scale irrigation seeks the creation of "an irrigation culture" rather than the sustainability of the project itself. Here, culture means a fused body of knowledge and actions which is inherited from one generation to another. To enable such inheritance from one generation to another, things should start from a level which is realisable in the locality. One characteristic of Africa is the lack of intermediate technologies. In Africa where intermediate technologies are absent and the tax collection system based on direct taxes cannot function, project continuity cannot be expected without external inputs. Moreover, while irrigation development is an impossible task without water, the provision of substantial external inputs which are inherently rich with this rare resource, i.e. water, may be questionable. This is a question of how limited resources should be used to benefit the public.

The realisation of a project within a locality means that the development of irrigation should be based on intake weirs which can be constructed using such local materials as wood, stone, straw, grass and clay, etc. and those facilities which can be built using a hoe and other tools popularly used by farmers. The pursuit of zero external physical inputs is tantamount to a challenge to achieve development based on an antithesis. Even though simple weirs constructed with natural materials require renewal every year, the fact that these facilities are at a level where their annual renewal is possible suggests potential for the development of "an irrigation culture" which can be inherited from one generation to another. The roles of the government and aid organizations here are primarily to provide technical advice, to loan tools, such as wheel barrows, which cannot be provided by the farmers themselves and to act as media to convey information on irrigation to farmers in other areas.

For the implementation of the pilot project, the basic approach has been one of "learning while implementing" while reducing the external inputs to a minimum even in the workshops. The soft and hard aspects are often described as the two wheels required to get a project underway. Here, the hard aspect is something which is visible and constitutes the main axle of the project. In contrast, the soft aspect is something which improves in a spiral manner, i.e. capacity building, through the trial and error process implemented by farmers. It must be noted that the technical level of the hard aspect discussed here does not mean an advanced level likely to be perceived by Japanese people but the grassroots level. While grassroots technologies are at a low level, originality and ingenuity are essential to make them viable. The basis of self-help is a spirit to develop alternative items using what is available locally and to further improve their usefulness with originality and ingenuity.

There is a popular saying that seeing is believing. A study tour to an advanced area stimulates the mutual emancipation of the visitors and the hosts and also motivates the visiting farmers to implement small-scale irrigation. Here, it could be said that seeing is just part of the work. Seeing a good example should be followed by one's own action. There is no special need for an organization drive or leadership training before such action. Organization and leadership will emerge through the process of producing the intended outcomes. Repetition of the cycle of learning while implementing and feedback will strengthen an organization. Those who can produce an influential process which is capable of drawing the contribution of local population will grow as leaders.

(Kosei Hashiguchi, Team Leader for the study on improvement of technical capability for smallholding irrigation scheme in Malawi)

2.3.4 Monitoring to Realise Self-Reliant Rural Development

Various approaches to facilitate the initiative of local population to commence their own activities and the manner of their use have been explained so far.

The initiative of local population to commence their own activities means enhancement of their ability, i.e. empowerment, to monitor daily activities and to modify their contents to suit

the reality when necessary. To make such a process viable, local population themselves should develop their ability to judge activities by monitoring them and, at the same time, the donor should routinely monitor activities with a view to sharing the monitoring results with such other actors as local population, the local administration and other donors to improve the project. In this way, there is a chance that activities will continue in one form or another after the completion of the project.

The monitoring of daily activities and the feeding back of the monitoring results present major challenges for the realisation of self-reliant rural development. This section clarifies the important points for the monitoring of project-related activities which are prompted by a donor, by local population and also by a local consultant[34] entrusted by a donor.

(1) Selection of Simple and Visible Indicators for Monitoring of Activities

The development of monitoring indicators which can be used by local population to "visually" recognise the outputs and outcomes of activities and to judge whether or not they should proceed to the next stage of activities is necessary. As local population are busy trying to maintain their daily life, this monitoring can constitute an additional burden, making it essential for the significance of monitoring to be properly understood by local population. Without such understanding, the commitment of local population to monitoring may be half-hearted as they cannot see the advantages of monitoring because of being busy. It is essential for monitoring to be conducted in the simplest way possible. When indicators which can also be used by the local administration assisting the activities of local population are established, there is a better possibility that the activities will continue.

In regard to the various projects implemented so far, there is a tendency for participatory monitoring to be conducted by people with a high level of literacy because of the need to record activities. It is, therefore, important to try to develop a mechanism whereby people with a low literacy level can monitor and record activities through a pilot project for a development study.

(2) Ensuring the Quality of Baseline Studies

A key factor for monitoring is how much a baseline study, which provides the basis for comparison, can incorporate the contents linked to project-related activities. This is because whether or not the expected outputs are achieved is analysed by comparing the monitoring results with the baseline study results. However, the baseline study results are not necessarily accurate and it may be necessary in some cases to make modifications at the stage of actually evaluating the interim progress. The utmost attention should be paid to ensuring the quality of the baseline study for the effective feeding back of the monitoring results.

(3) How to Ensure the Quality of Monitoring Data Collected by the Study Team

In general, when local population conduct the monitoring of activities, the study team also conducts similar monitoring to cross check the monitoring results to improve the activities. In

[34] In many rural development projects, monitoring is entrusted to a local consultant because of the difficulty for the study team to directly monitor the vast subject area to monitoring and the familiarity of local persons rather than foreigners for local population.

some cases, it is impossible for the study team to visit all of the target areas for monitoring because the number of such areas is too large. In such cases, local consultants or other suitable persons/bodies are often entrusted to conduct the monitoring.

However, the monitoring results of the study team do not necessarily coincide with the monitoring results of local consultants. One example of a problem is that even if indicators ("degree of enthusiasm" among the target persons for monitoring, "degree of cooperation" between the actors and "good communication" with external actors, etc.) are introduced for items which are difficult to quantitatively evaluate by local consultants for evaluation in five grades, the evaluation of qualitative items tends to be subjective. Another problem is the difficulty of comparing the target persons for monitoring because of the lack of uniform evaluation criteria among local consultants.

Efforts to eliminate subjectivity by means of conducting as much quantitative monitoring as possible also causes the problem that the reasons for "changes" indicated by the gathered objective data may be difficult to understand by the study team. For this reason, it is essential for the study team to periodically organize meetings to discuss the monitoring results with local consultants even if the latter are entrusted to conduct the actual monitoring. Through such meetings, local consultants can understand the ideas of the study team and equip themselves with knowledge about crucial points of monitoring. On its part, the study team is able to understand the situation of the subject areas for monitoring.

(4) Examination of Utilisation Methods for Monitoring Results

At the field level, it is necessary to establish a system which is capable of timely solving the problems noticed by local population through monitoring. In the case of the monitoring results of local consultants entrusted by the study team, it is desirable for the Japanese study team members and their counterparts in the recipient country to share them and to use them as materials to think of ways and measures to solve the problems encountered. In reality, however, neither the Japanese side nor their local counterparts fully utilise these monitoring results in some cases because they are too busy. As some of the problems found by monitoring can only be dealt with by the competent government offices in terms of budgetary and personnel affairs, it is essential to thoroughly examine the feedback method to those persons or organizations with decision-making power when creating the monitoring system.

(5) Monitoring Cost

Monitoring at the field level involves some cost. This cost is usually borne within the study budget. In view of the desirability of continued monitoring following the completion of a project, it is important to work on the government of the recipient country to include this monitoring cost in its budget.[35]

[35] As already mentioned in 2.2, the IFAD Guidelines (for rural development monitoring: not Africa version) propose the AWPB (Annual Work Plan and Budget: incorporation of the project budget, including the training cost of M & E staff, in the government budget).

(6) Possibility of Excluding the Socially Weak from the Scope of Monitoring

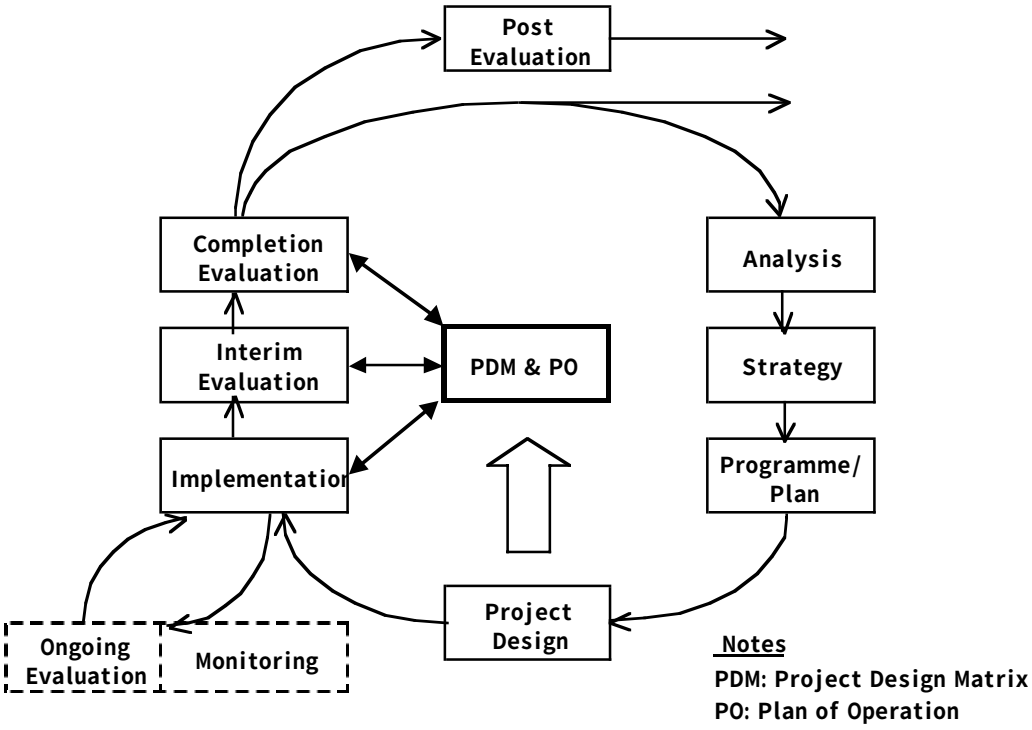
When participatory monitoring is conducted following the establishment of an organization or committee, a traditional leader or local assembly often acts as a front-runner because of the difficulty of finding an informal organization in the target area within a limited time. As a result, an organization or leader who is found to be convenient for the implementation of a project may play a leading role which those people who truly require assistance are excluded. It must, therefore, be noted that it is sometimes difficult to include alienated people in the participatory approach.

2.4 Current Situation and Problems of PCM Method for Realisation of Self-Reliant Rural Development

(1) What is the PCM Method?

Put simply, project cycle management (PCM) has two aspects. One is "a project management method" (scientific and logical analysis and evaluation), the starting point of which is the logical framework introduced by the USAID in 1969. The other is "a tool for consensus forming" (ZOPP as a participatory planning method introduced by the GTZ in 1983). Here, the aspect of a project management method is examined first. As the name suggests, the PCM method tries to consistently "manage" the finding, formulation, examination, implementation and monitoring of "a project" as a single cycle. The lessons and recommendations resulting from one project cycle are used for the next project cycle so that there is continuity from one generation of a cycle to another. The PDM (project design matrix) and PO (plan of operation) play a central role in this project management.

Figure 2.4 Project Cycle



The PCM method inherently intends to deal with a "project". What is a "project"? A project is commonly defined as (i) a collection of activities conducted (ii) within a certain period of time (iii) using certain inputs (iv) to achieve certain targets (v) in accordance with a predetermined plan. A good project is one where the perceived problems are directly dealt with to the clear ending of the problems. In the case of a "development project", a subject for international cooperation, as the external inputs and activities of outsiders are commonly included in such a project, the "autonomous development possibility", i.e. the prospect of sustained positive effects of the project following the ending of the external inputs and activities of outsiders, is emphasised as an evaluation criterion. (See (3) - Autonomous Development Possibility and Vertical as well as Horizontal Development" for the definition of the autonomous development possibility.)

(2) Development Plan and Project

The PCM method aims at achieving as much scientific and logical planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of a project as possible to make a project with the characteristics described above effective. For example, the participatory planning method, a type of PCM method, defines the core problem for analysis as a concrete, real and comprehensive problem, presumably because this method principally aims at solving problems which can be directly dealt with. Based on this definition, the goals (project goals and higher goals) to be achieved by a project become more concrete, meaning that they can be achieved within a certain period of time with certain inputs in accordance with a predetermined plan. At the same time, the scope of analysis of problems should preferably be limited to that which is the minimum but sufficient in line with the achievable project goals (without conducting wasteful and unnecessary analysis).

However, when preparing a development plan, which may not necessarily be a rural development plan, the use of such a restricted approach and scope is not enough for the necessary analysis and planning for the sole purpose of selecting and assembling the project components. In short, different approaches are necessary when the PCM method is only used for such downstream processes as project selection and design at the planning stage and when the PCM method is used right from the upstream processes at the planning stage, such as the clarification and analysis of problems in rural areas and the identification of all projects (as many projects as possible) which are believed to be necessary in the long term. In reality, there appears to be many examples of projects existing before analysis as a result of too much narrowing of the scope prior to analysis of the upstream, making the project selection process a mere formality.

The selection of one project should essentially be preceded by examination of alternatives at several stages. For example, the selection of a project to construct a dam for power generation at a specified site must have followed the proposal of alternative dams involving different sites and rivers at the planning stage. The alternatives for the concrete site must also have been preceded by another set of alternatives regarding the mode of power generation, i.e. hydropower, thermal power or nuclear power. In turn, the decision on the mode of power generation must have been preceded by a set of alternatives regarding how to deal with the power supply shortage. These alternatives may have included energy saving, purchase from another area and an increase of the generating capacity of the existing facilities. There is a question of how to apply the PCM method. For example, should the PCM method be used to

examine alternatives at all levels or should it be based on the assumption that a new facility or, more specifically, a new hydropower plant is necessary? There may be a case where the PCM method is used on the assumption that a new dam is to be constructed at a specific site (in this case, the PCM method can only be used to examine alternatives at the project design level). As the PCM method is simply a collection of tools, its application is based on the user or intended manner of application. However, it is apparent that the PCM method cannot possibly function as a "tool for consensus forming" if it is used for an already finalised project.

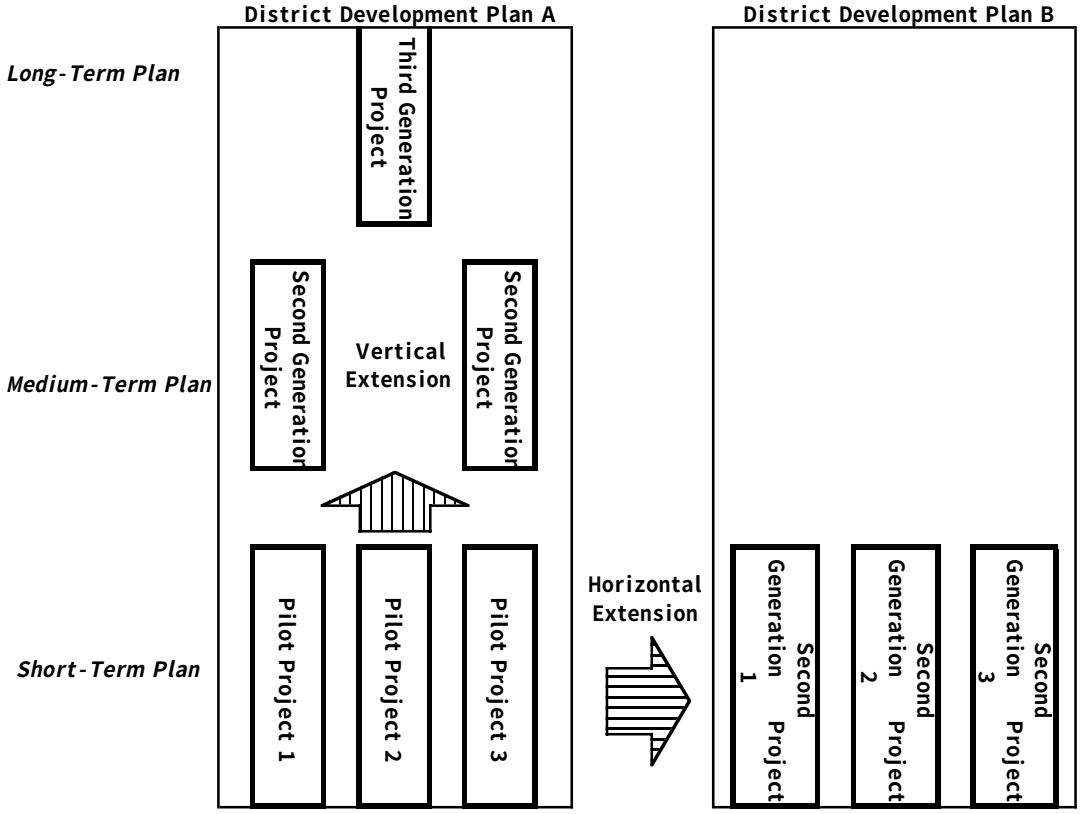
(3) Autonomous Development Possibility and Vertical and Horizontal Extension

The PCM method considers that the purpose of a project is to solve a problem(s). In the participatory planning steps using the PCM method, a project is designed after clarifying whose problems and which problems must be solved and how. When the highest priority of a project is to achieve its goals by directly dealing with the problems together with such purposes as achieving positive effects as higher goals and sustaining such effects, there is no strong prospect that this project will produce a next generation of new projects or that similar projects will spread to other areas without fresh inputs despite the continued survival of the original project. In the case of a huge public sector project or a large-scale facility, it is not assumed from the beginning that many projects of a similar scale are necessary. Once a problem has been dealt with, it is unnecessary to consider similar problems or projects for a while. As there may be many projects which only become feasible after certain facilities have been constructed, it may not be necessary to worry about the next generation of projects. In any case, the conventional project approaches should be valid for these projects and should still be important.

In the case of rural development, it appears that there are not many large-scale projects described above or problems which can be solved once and for all. All projects which are implemented with external inputs can, in fact, be described as "pilot projects" or "model projects" and are often implemented as models for extension throughout a region or country rather than being self-conclusive projects. If self-reliant development is the goal which is aimed at, the expansion of such projects is what is required. What should really be aimed at is for one project to generate the next project. In other words, the implementation of one project leads to (i) the creation of new projects by the people involved in the original project (vertical extension which may be described as a direct outcome of the original project) and (ii) the creation of similar projects by people who have witnessed or learned about the positive effects of the original project (horizontal extension: extension from "point to plane"). Here, the vital question is no longer whether or not a project can survive or whether or not the positive effects of a project are sustainable.

If this is the case, there is a possibility that the development of a mechanism or system to bring out the next step from a project as a more essential project purpose (for example, the extension of new expertise from farmers to farmers through study tours or the establishment of an extension system/mechanism centering on extension workers) is far more important than the solving of a problem by a single project or the achievement of the goals of a single project. This perspective far exceeds the scope of the existing PCM method and the establishment of new management and evaluation methods which are appropriate for this new perspective is urgently required.

Figure 2.5 Vertical and Horizontal Extension of a Project



(4) PCM Method as a Tool for Consensus Forming

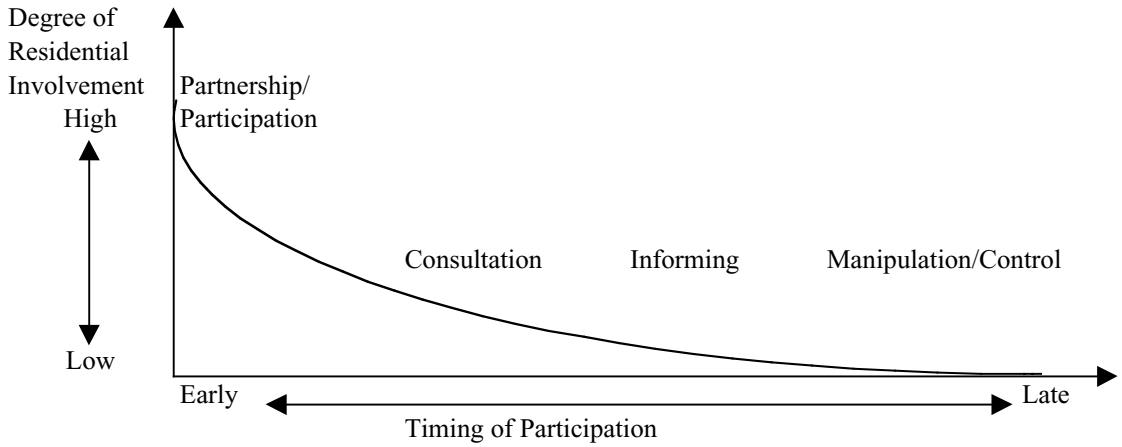
What is the nature of the PCM method as a tool for consensus forming (participatory planning method)? When the PCM method was first introduced (first half of the 1990's), representatives of the administration and aid organization and consultants were often the only participants in a PCM workshop to plan and design a project despite the pretence of using a participatory planning method. In some cases, a workshop without the participation of representatives of the end beneficiaries was called a "participatory workshop". Many people believed that the job of the moderator was to control the workshop so that the debate did not go beyond the assumed scope of the project. While the number of workshops in which farmers were the main participants did subsequently increase, there is no assurance that these workshops truly functioned as a tool for consensus forming.

For example, there is a question of whether or not a plan or decision in which only village representatives or influential villagers participated can be described as a product of a consensus. In short, it may be more natural to consider the PCM method to be basically a method to prepare a "draft plan" based on as much participation as possible despite the claim that it is a tool for consensus forming. In other words, it is a planning tool based on the needs of local inhabitants, i.e. demand-driven, rather than a convenience for the aid provider, i.e. supply-led, and is also a tool to prepare the basis for consensus forming based on logic and actual needs. Even if more than 100 people participate in a PCM workshop held in a rural

village, such a workshop is often simply a participatory workshop as decision making by a village community is usually separately conducted at a general village meeting or a meeting of the elders.

Different types of project ownership must be considered next. Even if a project is based on the needs of local population, the subsequent process greatly varies depending on the type of ownership. In the case of a public work-type project, the implementer is the administration which could tell local population "to leave the rest to the professionals". In contrast, a participatory project must be implemented by local population even if the project is formed with the initiative of outsiders or an external organization (administration, aid organization or NGO). In the case of the former, the degree of participation is higher with more public investment at the early stage of planning where there are many alternatives as shown in Figure 2.6. Despite such participation, however, the key players are still outsiders or an organization with a different degree of involvement by local population.

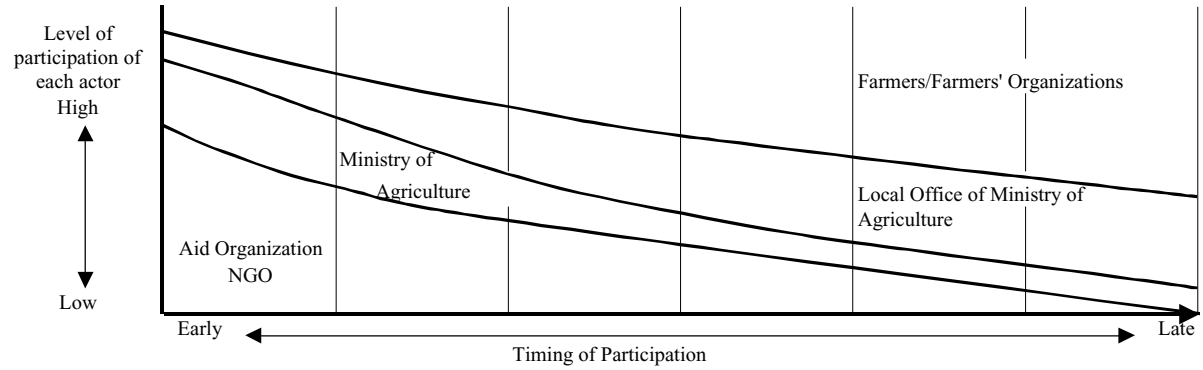
Figure 2.6 Degree of Public Involvement at Planning Stage (Public Work-Type Project)



Planning Stage (How far to decide)	Decision on Policy/Strategy (What to do)	Programme Selection (Where to do)	Project Design (How to do)	Implementation (Plan modification)
Technical cooperation scheme	Master plan-type development study	F/S-type development study	Preliminary study for project-type technical cooperation, etc.	Implementation of project-type technical cooperation
Key points of ZOPP/PCM	Analysis of participants, problems and objectives	Analysis of alternatives	Log frame (PDM)	Implementation plan/monitoring/ Evaluation
Environmental assessment	Policy/strategy assessment	Plan assessment	Project assessment	Monitoring

In the case of the latter, even though outsiders take the initiative at the beginning, the key factor is how far the project ownership is transferred from the Ministry of Agriculture to the local office of the said ministry and further to farmers and farmers' organizations. It is hoped that second and third generation projects will be implemented with the initiative of farmers and farmers' organizations right from the beginning.

Figure 2.7 Level of Project Participation and Project Cycle (Participatory Project)



Stage	Analysis	Strategy	Programme/ Plan	Project Design	Implementation; Monitoring; Ongoing Evaluation	Completion Evaluation
Example of main decision to be made		Farming, stock raising or health	Irrigation, transportation or marketing	What, where, why and how	Learning and action	Lessons learned and recommendations

In short, the structure and manner of application of the PCM method completely differ between a public work-type project where professionals take over after the initial identification of local needs and a participatory project which aims at the self-reliant development of farmers with a project providing the initial push.

(5) From Project (Emphasis on Results) to Development (Emphasis on Process)

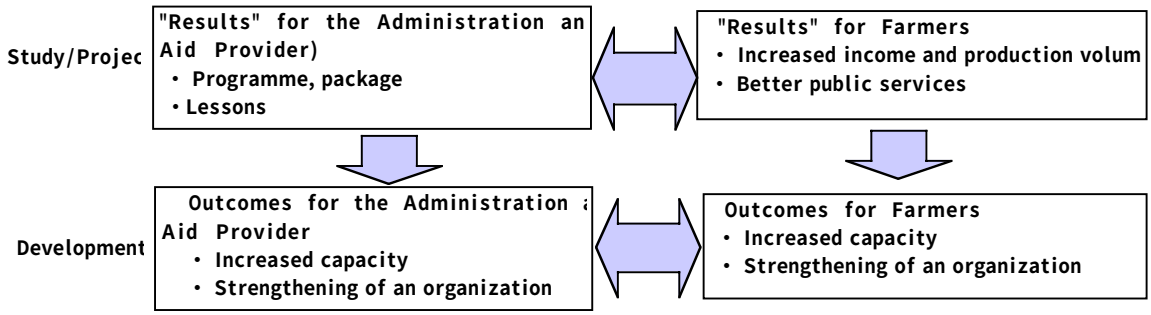
As the PCM method aims at serving the planning, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of a problem solving-type project, the scope of application is naturally limited. However, the author believes that the PCM method can be a tool to realise self-reliant rural development when it is used (a) for the planning of long-term rural development while freeing itself from the purpose of selecting and managing a project, (b) for self-reliant development while freeing itself from its association with the direct "results" of a project and (c) as a tool for farmers to manage a project where they play a central role in addition to its application for public work-type projects. In the case of (a) and (b), the original purpose of the PCM method of precisely and efficiently managing a project is expanded to analysis and planning which cover the scope and period necessary to think about self-reliant rural development. (c) is made possibly by the joint use of the PCM method by important stakeholders or farmers as the end beneficiaries or extension workers in the field instead of its use being led by outsiders.

Before ending this section, it is essential to discuss what the PCM method is good at and not so good at. The PCM method can prove to be extremely useful when it is used to logically (albeit in a linear manner) analyse and explain the structure of a problem and also to monitor and evaluate the direct "results" of project implementation. It is less useful to solve a problem which can be directly dealt with, when the expected "results" are not concrete or to conduct

the planning and design of a project of which the long-term, wide-ranging and integrated impacts must be taken into consideration. These weaknesses are presumably associated with the project-oriented approach where the scope and period for implementation are limited.

Another major issue which transcends the scope of the present PCM method is how to understand technical cooperation. It is inferred that a study or project always has two or more objectives when technical cooperation is involved. The precise and efficient solving of a problem does not spell the end as the counterpart organization of the recipient country or an organization of farmers as the end beneficiaries must be strengthened or vitalised through the study or project. Particularly when a autonomous development possibility is at stake, the "results" of a study or project are not so important and the real question is whether or not such a counterpart or farmers' organization has been strengthened/vitalised through the implementation of the study or project, leading to the launch of the next project on the basis of its own initiative.

Figure 2.8 "Results" and Outcomes



From the viewpoint mentioned above, the PCM method is mainly used to produce the "results" shown in the upper row of Fig. 5. It is used to solve a problem(s) faced by farmers who are the end beneficiaries, i.e. production of "results", while the administration and the aid provider learn lessons to improve a subsequent project or to prepare a programme or package. When the problem to be solved relates to the capacity or organization of farmers or the administration, the PCM method is commonly used to plan, design and manage those items described in the upper row of Fig. 5.

In contrast, the matters described in the lower row are more important for self-reliant rural development. The solving of a problem by anyone does not signify the end as every project is, in fact, a pilot project for the next step. The questions of who learns what, who passes on the outcomes and who conducts the next stage of development are constantly being asked. To repeat the argument presented in (3) – Autonomous Development Possibility: Vertical and Horizontal Extension, it is important to locate a project in the development process of each stakeholder and to assemble, implement, monitor and evaluate the project within the development framework for each stakeholder instead of being confined to the existing PCM method so that the project does not simply end as a development approach/exercise with a limited scope and period.

2.5 Process Monitoring for Self-Reliant Rural Development in Africa

This section examines the important points and other relevant matters for the introduction or implementation of process monitoring to realise self-reliant rural development based on the arguments presented so far in this Report.

2.5.1 Concept of Process in Development

Most donors and aid organizations are planning or attempting to introduce process monitoring to their projects. Major rethinking of the meaning (purposes) of development forms the background of this trend. In Africa, the priority areas for cooperation in recent years have been the improvement of primary education and public health,[36] both of which will lead to the strengthening of human capital and institutional reform, including that of the administration, rather than the construction of roads and irrigation facilities. At the same time, the empowerment of local population and the administration is widely recognised as essential for sustainable development to achieve poverty alleviation, making the capacity building of local population based on empowerment a priority task.

As described in 2.1 of this Report (Mosse, 1998), the concept of development in cooperation has been changing in the following manner.

- Assistance for decentralisation and institutional reform, including administrative and fiscal reform → emphasis on improvement of the administrative framework and organizational capacity
- Emphasis on a flexible and repetitive approach rather than technological and management projects using blueprints
- Emphasis on more decentralised and participatory approaches

Moreover, the meaning of development has been reviewed from the theory of planning as described in 2.1 of this Report (Emoto). The background of this review is the debate on the theory of planning which originates from the question of why the outputs differ even though the same inputs may be made to areas with very similar conditions. As a result, it is necessary to understand the process between the inputs and outputs which is a type of black box despite the seemingly rational explanation that inputs are always utilised with the maximum efficiency. It is also necessary to flexibly respond to changes at the implementation stage of the project cycle (plan → action → M & E → review → action). One factor for the necessity for a flexible response is the need for the creation of a mechanism which, as an institutionalised system, is capable of making a flexible response based on learning at the project implementation stage, i.e. "the learning process". This project cycle and process reflect the idea of placing the main focus on project improvement by means of making the institutional framework at the project implementation stage reflect the learned contents of "the learning process".

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[36] The proportion of aid for primary education and public health, including the control of infectious diseases, the outcomes of which are relatively easy to understand, has been increasing because of the changing emphasis of the evaluation of outputs and the impacts of cooperation. In recent years, the World Bank has begun to also emphasise rural development using the community driven development approach. (Based on the results of interviews with the CDD and Social Capital Group of the World Bank on 24th February (Tuesday), 2004.

The process viewed from the idea of capacity building, which forms the core for development as described earlier, is, in fact, "the process of learning" from project implementation. As already explained in 2.1, it means the re-defining of development in the peculiar socioeconomic context of the target area although the area itself is changing. It reflects the peculiar reality of the area in that a project is not implemented solely based on (i) the rationality that the maximum outcomes should be achieved by the minimum inputs and (ii) technical aptitude or the fact that local population do not essentially accept a project. Here, the actors must uphold the process of utilising capitals (resources)[37] in the socioeconomic context of the area as being (the purpose of) development itself. This "process as development" (learning) is believed to be integral to the "process as an institutionalised system" and a flexible response can be made under the latter using the changes and lessons learned from the former.

The idea of "the process as learning" is further examined next. The preconditions here are that the actors establish their "relational and contextual" understanding of their relationship with the stakeholders and the local context in an interactive manner[38] and that many layers of such understanding, i.e. social structure based on different levels of awareness on the part of the actors, lead to the generation (formation) of a peculiar social context, including local norms. Here, changes of awareness due to a "relational and contextual" understanding and the process of activities between actors in a community are considered to represent "the social capacity of a community"[39] or development itself or an important factor of development. According to this idea, the process is understood to be "development" (learning) itself.

Cognitive social capitals (norms, trust and social rules, etc.) which considerably affect project implementation and other matters significantly affect the activities of population' organizations and the community. Cognitive social capitals formed in one community are not static entities but are formed with constant changes through various activities involving community members.[40] Because of this, when capacity building is attempted, changes of awareness through the actual implementation of a pilot study, etc. (actual experience) regardless of the scale are important in addition to training through which the participants can learn new knowledge and new viewpoints. Changed awareness based on experience of project implementation, i.e. learning by doing, constitutes the capacity building of population' organization and a community and can lead to strengthening of the capacity building process.

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37 This idea is basically the same idea as "the social ability of a community" determined by "the resources, organization and norms" proposed by Yogo, Ouchi, Akamatsu and others and the focus here is more placed on the actors constituting organizations. See Watanabe, Social Capital in Rural Development: Actors' Viewpoints, Paper presented to the International Development Society, Nagoya University, June, 2000

38 See Giddens, A. (1984), The Constitution of Society, Polity Press, Cambridge. Giddens theorises the relationship between actors and the social structure as the theory of structuration. Meanwhile, J. Hebermas who provides the theoretical base for the interpretation of actors is another leading figure together with Giddens attempting to build a theory of awareness through the "relational and contextual" understanding and interpretation of actors.

39 See JICA, Problem of Poverty and Countermeasures: Importance of Developing Local Communities and Their Social Capacity, March, 1995 for discussions on "the social capacity of a community".

40 Actors judge the social situation and other matters and actively take action which includes a stance of wait and see.

Let us further examine the issue of the capacity building of a village organization (or community) from the "relational and contextual" viewpoints. The capacity of the individual members of a village organization is expressed in terms of literacy and state of health, etc. which fall in the category of human capital of the five capitals. Cognitive social capital which is interactively formed between the actors, i.e. the members of a village organization, is formed between the members of a population' organization or community, takes root and then changes based on the judgement of the situation of many events occurring in the said organization or community. In a paradoxical way, such cognitive social capital cannot be formed or maintained if there is no social structure supported by "relational and contextual" encounters between the actors and also by the awareness formed between the actors. The norms and trust of which the members are aware greatly affect the activities of a village organization. In short, enhancement of the cognitive social capital incorporating the norms, trust, customs and values formed in a "relational and cognitive" manner in a community is believed to be at the core of the capacity building of a population' organization or community.

However, for the further establishment and extension of such capacity building of a population' organization or community, further clarification of the process as development is necessary together with further examination of the methods to understand what cognitive social customs and networks really are. In other words, although the idea of "development as process" proposed by Mosse (1998) and others is widely supported, the current situation appears to be that the search for a suitable approach for its application to actual projects is still in progress.

2.5.2 Why Process Monitoring and Pending Issues

There are the two following ideas regarding process in development as described above and further examination of process monitoring is conducted below based on these two ideas.

The examination so far indicates the necessity for a flexible response to changes caused by "learning" in the project cycle (process) of plan → action → M & E → review → action. Donors in particular are now considering the introduction of process monitoring to realise a flexible response in this cycle (process) to ensure more efficient as well as effective cooperation (projects). Process monitoring is an exercise to emphasise the process from the viewpoint of project management by a donor. To be more precise, this means "process monitoring as an institutionalised system" designed to secure flexibility so that the actors can learn through the project cycle and modify the original plan when necessary.

Meanwhile, "process monitoring as development" (learning) commands its own status with the emphasis being placed on the process of the capacity building of local population and the administration, etc. through participation in and "learning" from a project, etc. by stakeholders.

"Process Monitoring as an Institutionalised System"

One characteristic of "process monitoring as an institutionalised system" is that it allows donors and aid organizations to systematically review, change and implement their projects in a much more flexible manner based on learning through the project cycle. Instead of viewing programmes or projects in progress in terms of the inputs and outputs like a blueprint, this system (mechanism) corresponds to the process described as "learning". To be more precise, when activities are monitored, they are evaluated by judging the meaning of the activities in the real situation based on a "relational and contextual" understanding of the target area (community). The evaluation results are fed back at appropriate times and flexible modification of the course of a project/programme is made in a systematic manner according to need.

Review as a flexible system is normally conducted using a log frame. The IFAD[41] and the EC are typical examples as shown by the review of donors and aid organizations regarding process monitoring (see 2.2 of this Report). The IFAD is proposing process monitoring (M & E) to complement the log frame. It is the IFAD's intention to consolidate the indicators used for the log frame approximately one y ear after the initial externally entrusted implementation of a project by involving the administration and local population. In short, the basic idea is to examine the purposes, etc. of a project using the log frame as a common language (place) for stakeholders and ultimately to reduce "learning" as a process to a log frame.

On its part, the EC stresses the sharing of information and the learning process, mainly featuring internal monitoring. For this reason, the EC believes it necessary to conduct the timely exchange of opinions and to establish a place for communication. Based on such emphasis and consideration, the EC is proposing a review of the log frame, activity schedule and resources distribution schedule.

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[41] International Fund for Agricultural Development

"Process Monitoring as Development" (Learning)

The focus of this idea is placed on development (process) itself in "process monitoring as an institutionalised system" which provides the framework as discussed earlier. Its meaning is described in the following manner by the CARE[42] in 2.2.
"Even though an activity plan for a project with a specific implementation period is formulated in the form of logical causes and effects, there is always an imperfect understanding of parts of the plan regarding human behaviour, systems and role played by the external environment. For this reason, The CARE recommends collaboration between the project planners and implementers (beneficiaries) to learn and understand the community and organization and to make the necessary arrangements to achieve the targets."

The CARE intends the achievement of "learning" by routinely conducting Reflection on Action on the grounds that the process itself is development. The CARE urges people to ask the following questions themselves as stepping stones for Reflection on Action.

- What effects have been achieved?
- What have we learned?
- What is our next step (action)?

As explained in 2.2, the GTZ is also attempting to introduce process monitoring similar to that of the CARE. The GTZ emphasises discussions with stakeholders based on the reality that all stakeholders view a project in a different light because of their different interests and considers the development of a hand-made framework for process monitoring through Q & A sessions, etc. involving stakeholders to be unavoidable. In fact, the GTZ regards this process of developing a framework as an important exercise of capacity building and hopes to determine the subject(s) for monitoring through the participatory process or the process of dialogue involving stakeholders. The idea is to develop the autonomy and self-accountability of the actors through this process which is accompanied by "learning" by asking the question "why".

Like the CARE, the GTZ intends to implement process monitoring through self-questioning (asking "why").

- Why have similar activities taken different routes?
- Why has specific cooperation been successful while other cooperation has failed?
- Why have the expected outcomes not been achieved?

In sort, the GTZ is trying to conduct the capacity building of village organizations and others through mutual "learning" while attempting to clarify the process by means of dialogue with local population and the administration using self-questioning (why) as an opportunity.

[42] An international NGO primarily based in the UK

2.5.3 Process Monitoring in Self-Reliant Rural Development and Pending Issues

In Chapter 1, self-reliant rural development is defined as follows. Self-reliant rural development is defined as the act of empowering rural people and communities to materialise the following objectives.

"The population of rural areas sustain their lives without external support using resources which are naturally available to them. Self-reliant rural development means to strengthen or reinforce the available resources (five capitals) without disturbing such independent lives of rural population and to maintain as well as improve their livelihood (enhancement of the sustainability of lives) while assisting rural population to enhance their capacity and to engage in various activities based on their own initiative."

Self-reliant rural development seen from the relationship between rural population and external assistance discussed in Chapter 1 means that external assistance is provided in accordance with the capacity of rural population to digest such assistance so that these population can re-interpret aid activities by themselves to commence such activities on their own initiative. To realise this scenario, the capacity building of a population' organization and/or community is essential. The question is what should be conducted for such capacity building.

The socioeconomic context specific to one area (community) by definition varies from one area to another and it is believed to be difficult to understand such context in a short period of time from outside. Parts of it should, however, become clear with the actual implementation of a pilot study no matter how small the scale of such a pilot study is. During this process, a "relational and contextual" understanding and judgement are made to develop and strengthen the cognitive social capital of a population' organization and/or community. This process itself constitutes "development" (learning) and the implementation of "process monitoring as development" (learning) should realise self-reliant rural development.

Literacy education is used next as an example to examine desirable external assistance with emphasis on the process. There have been cases where literacy education or training using the local language in a rural village has not led to a sustained improvement of the literacy of the villagers. While the literacy of villagers improves through literacy education in the local language, the preservation of the newly acquired literacy appears to be difficult if there are few opportunities for villagers to continually use the local language for reading and writing. For the capacity building of a community as a whole, it is essential to consider how local population will utilise the capacity for which assistance is provided in their own area.

As it is difficult to infer such outcome in advance and to plan accordingly, what is required is the provision of the necessary assistance with a proper understanding of the process by which villagers intend to use their reading and writing capacity in their own language. This process concerning a local language is, in fact, seldom understood in advance by the local population themselves and is generated and formed among the population of a community taking the intended purpose of the external assistance and the situation of capital supply into consideration. In this sense, the actors (the local population) always make their own

judgement of the intended purpose of external assistance and the situation of capital supply[43] and it is essential that those providing external assistance take proper note of this fact.

For external assistance, process monitoring which facilitates a process such as that discussed here is quite important. There are still pending issues regarding the implementation of process monitoring as listed below.

Pending Issues for Implementation with a Flexible Response

- Need to secure the time, budget and particularly human resources required for processing monitoring
- Difficulty of judging the appropriateness of changes of the original project contents, etc. based on the process monitoring results and difficulty of quickly providing budgetary measures following changes of the project contents
- Question of properly responding to the complicated work of changing the project contents in an appropriate manner in the project cycle

Limits as an Approach

- It is expected that the issues and problems in terms of project implementation will be clarified by repeating the questions of "why" and "how". As this kind of hand-made monitoring forms the core of process monitoring, there is concern that the quality of monitoring will be greatly affected by the different levels of knowledge and experience of those conducting monitoring.
- While there is a growing consensus regarding the basic idea, process monitoring as a development approach is still at the trial and error stage.

A more fundamental issue is the possibility of "process monitoring as an institutionalised system" based on the log frame smoothly accepting and responding to the process (development) from "process monitoring as development" (learning) which involves the routine practice of "learning". The possibility of the PCM method (approach) based on the log frame is discussed in 2.4 – Current Situation and Problems of PCM Method for Realisation of Self-Reliant Rural Development. The advantage of the PCM method is explained in 2.3 as follows.

"The PCM method can prove to be extremely useful when it is used to logically (albeit in a linear manner) analyse and explain the structure of a problem and also to monitor and evaluate the direct "results" of project implementation.

The true value of the log frame lies with its logical character. One major task is how to make the process in the context of the learning process, which appears to be more of a quantitative issue than a qualitative issue, acquire such a logical character as there appears to be a possibility that this process may be buried in the project cycle without recognition.

[43] The different understanding of PRA between local population receiving PRA training and the study team providing the said training and subsequent mutual understanding (process) are explained in Box 2-10 – Use of PRA: Lessons Learned from the Study in Mozambique" in this Report.

Meanwhile, the idea of the process as learning itself constituting development is extremely important in addition to the problem of the different capacity and experience of those conducting process monitoring as mentioned earlier. The important judgement criterion for this idea to be implemented is whether or not self-reliant development is taking place. Following this line of thought, there appears to be a problem of the difficulty of judging the rights or wrongs of a project in progress as the sustainability of development can only be judged after the completion of a project or programme. The fact that "learning by doing" is the central feature of "process monitoring as development" (learning) has the inherent problem of making the judgement of the rights or wrongs of activities extremely difficult in addition to the ambiguity of qualitative criteria. The solution to this problem appears to lie with the understanding that the empowerment and capacity building of population' organizations, the community and the administration are essential to achieve self-reliant rural development.

For example, the capacity building of village organizations is believed to take the following processes.[44] One criterion for the validity of process monitoring as development is whether or not it contributes to these processes.

- Awareness of the need for collaboration (cognitive social capital): low level of awareness → high level of awareness
- Leadership: low level of trust among members → high level of trust
- Relationship with outside: passive → active
- Eagerness to utilise the five capitals in the community: passive → active
- Operation of organization: passive → active

Given the problems identified so far, strong attention should be paid to the following points for the implementation of process monitoring.

- Although routine, minor fine adjustments are necessary and an appropriate time span for an entire review appears to be one to three years. In this sense, the implementation of "process monitoring as an institutionalised system", taking the planned period of cooperation into consideration, is appropriate for the JICA.

- The most important role of participatory approaches, including the PRA, is to provide a "place" or an "opportunity" for all stakeholders to gather and discuss various issues. In this sense, the institutionalisation of process monitoring can lead to the disclosure and sharing of information as well as clarification of the significance of such information although it is still necessary to pay attention to the said role to be performed by process monitoring.

- From the viewpoint of rural development, the capacity building of village organizations and the administration, etc. should be given the highest priority and an approach which is capable of contributing to the achievement of this end should be adopted.

[44] Compiled by the Study Team based on the Final Report (Summary in Japanese) for the Study for Rural Development Project in Resettlement Areas for Former Soldiers in Mozambique, pp. 24 – 25, JICA Development Study, November, 2002

- The mutual complementary nature of “process monitoring as an institutionalised system” and “process monitoring as development” (learning) is crucial and concrete analysis of this aspect is a task for the future.

The cooperation of donors and aid organizations for Africa is shifting towards assistance for policies and institutionalised systems. At the implementation stage, international NGOs and specially organized independent units for individual projects are generally used in the rural development sector and the direct involvement of a donor or aid organization in actual project implementation has become a rare phenomenon. In short, the priorities of donors and aid organizations are to work on national policies and to improve such institutionalised systems as decentralisation and taxation, etc.

In contrast, the JICA and other Japanese aid organizations make their study teams become directly involved in the implementation process of rural development and examine appropriate technologies and desirable organizations by making the best out of the lessons and knowledge obtained by a pilot study with a view to extending such technologies and organizations to other areas. This is very characteristic of Japanese cooperation which is directly involved in field work. The feasibility of a cooperation activity (project) is, therefore, examined based on the lessons, etc. learned from carefully planned direct involvement in the implementation of pilot projects for rural development. The subsequent compilation of guidelines in which the mechanism, lessons and important points for implementation are identified through direct involvement in field work makes it possible to influence the policies of the country concerned, particularly in the form of an implementation manual. In other words, vertical extension within the government, etc. becomes possible. The implementation of “process monitoring as development” (learning) while proceeding with horizontal as well as vertical extension (as discussed in 2.4 of this Report) is another vital step towards the realisation of self-reliant rural development.