

(Not for Quotation)
**CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT IN JAPAN'S ODA:
EXPERIENCE FROM JICA'S TECHNICAL
COOPERATION ACTIVITIES**

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Hiroshi Kato*

Summary: As with many donors, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) is a strong advocate of the concept of capacity development (CD). Particularly in recent years, the agency has made steady efforts to mainstream the concept both within itself and in the international development community. *Conscious* application of the concept to its operations, however, is not as widespread as the agency claims. It seems that in JICA, the CD concept is at best a hypothesis and the degree of acceptance of and support for the concept is uneven in various segments of the organization.

This is not to say that JICA's activities are not directed to CD. Rather, many of JICA's projects are directed toward and do in fact contribute to CD. Actually, by analyzing a "representative" JICA project, one finds that JICA's business model and the value system underpinning it do embrace the values and logic of the CD concept. Though Japanese traditional values and systems of foreign aid have developed quite independently of the CD concept, the two do seem to share their basic orientations.

The value of the CD concept can be found not only in its contents, but also in its usefulness in policy analysis. A quick review of a case analysis suggests that the CD framework enables one to put the development endeavor in perspective; it enables one to visualize the complex interplay of the various actors involved, making it possible to see what was impossible to see with other tools.

Thus, (1) observing the reality that the CD concept is still on its way toward becoming mainstream in JICA (and in Japan in general for that matter), (2) confirming the essential validity of the values and logic of the CD concept, and (3) recognizing the usefulness of the CD concept as a policy analysis tool, this paper argues for accelerated and more organized efforts for its mainstreaming. The efforts for its mainstreaming should start with understanding the insights that the CD concept provides, and should be accompanied by specific changes in the ways that development interventions are planned, implemented, and evaluated. Such reforms should include those that are particularly intended to realize appropriate institutional changes to support sustainable CD in developing countries.

* Institute for International Cooperation, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official views of JICA.

1. Introduction

This paper aims first to give a fair and objective account of how and to what extent CD has come to be incorporated in JICA's operations. Based on that, it will then try to raise some issues for discussion among the seminar participants on the things that the author believes should be done to improve the effectiveness of Japan's ODA, especially in view of the birth of a new JICA in October 2008.

Section 1 briefly sketches how JICA has come, or has tried, to incorporate the concept of CD into its organizational thinking and practical operations, and tries to see what has been achieved and what has not. Section 2 will then quickly examine a JICA project from the CD perspective. Section 3 will briefly talk about the linkage between CD and institutional change, as observed from the case analyzed in Section 2. Finally, Section 4 will present some of the author's views and recommendations for further mainstreaming of the CD concept.

1. CD and JICA

1.1 CD and Technical Cooperation

The advent of the recent debate on CD is closely connected with the debate on the effectiveness of foreign aid, and particularly that of technical cooperation (TC) that, as a whole, has come under increasing skepticism regarding its true value during the 1990s. The criticism of TC during that time largely derived from the disappointing experience of TC during the early decades up to the 1980s, especially in Africa, and a number of publications were produced and conferences held to question the effectiveness of TC and to advocate for its reform.¹ It was argued that TC is not only ineffective, but can even be detrimental to the development of developing countries for a number of reasons including the following: its donor-driven nature damages the ownership of partner countries; expatriate experts tended to replace the functions of endogenous resources, thereby depriving the latter of opportunities of developing their own capacities; and TC tended to operate on a mistaken assumption that knowledge and skills could be transplanted from the developed world.

During the 1980s through to the 1990s, Japan, and JICA as part of it, was not actively participating in the debate. It was only after the turn of the century that JICA began to speak up on this matter, responding to the argument of the UNDP in its 2002 publication "Capacity for Development: New Solutions to Old Problems."² This rather slow response of Japan to the debate might have been in part due to the fact that it did not feel the need to question the effectiveness of its aid as seriously as other donors, largely helped by the favorable growth performance of its major aid recipients, like those in Asia.

JICA responded to the criticism of TC by mainly arguing that most of such criticisms are relevant only to an old type of technical cooperation, which had been the standard business model adopted by Western donors.³ For example, to the argument

1 Such documents include, among others, UNDP(1990), OECD/DAC (1991), UNDP (2004) , and World Bank (1996),

2 UNDP (2002)

3 Such responses of JICA are summarized in its booklets in Japanese and English. See JICA

that foreign experts had tended to undermine the capacities of local personnel by taking their positions and functions, JICA responded that unlike the experts of other donors, Japanese experts always work together with local people so that the latter can learn from learning-by-doing processes. On the problematic issue of independent Project Management Units (PMUs) outside of existing administrative structures, which critiques of TC had often cited as the most detrimental, JICA replied that that was a practice of Western donors, and that Japanese cooperation had always focused on the strengthening of existing public sector capabilities.

1.2 Recognition of the usefulness of the CD concept

Though, as seen above, the CD concept had emerged from the criticism on TC with which JICA was not comfortable, JICA reacted to the CD concept positively. After all, not having bad practices does not guarantee the effectiveness of aid. Thus, while maintaining that its operations are basically free from the problems cited by TC critiques, JICA did find the concept of CD useful as a framework against which to review its operations from a wider perspective that was new to Japanese aid practitioners. Thus JICA's Task Force on Aid Approaches compiled a booklet titled "Capacity Development Handbook for JICA Staff" (2004), and suggested that those who were engaged in JICA's activities should give it serious thought. Addressing its staff and JICA experts, it stated:

"This concept [of CD might look] familiar to JICA, an organization that has long advocated "human development and nation-building." We often hear the remarks, "This is nothing new to us; We've we've been carrying out capacity development for a long time." Yet, if we review our human development and nation-building projects from the CD perspective, we can see more clearly various challenges in improving the effectiveness of our assistance."⁴

The Handbook then argued that the CD concept can provide JICA with important hints in reexamining its operations, on such points as the approaches to cooperation, scope and level of cooperation, and the time frame of cooperation.

1.3 Mainstreaming of CD

Since then, there has been a steady movement toward the mainstreaming of the CD concept in JICA. One sign of JICA's organizational commitment toward CD is that the concept has been recognized as a guiding principle of JICA in its annual plan of operation since 2006:

"JICA will implement its activities reflecting the viewpoint of capacity development (CD) and will make efforts to mainstream that concept. At the same time, it will accumulate operational knowledge and experience on capacity development to be shared widely at various international fora."⁵

(XXXX), and JICA (2003a), JICA (2003b), and JICA (2003c).

⁴ JICA (2004)

⁵ The Japanese text of the JICA annual plan of operation 2008, for example, reads as follows:

Parallel to this official acknowledgment of CD as one of the organization's guiding principles of operation, steady efforts have been made to evaluate and reflect on its own operations from the CD perspective. The results of such exercises have been published as various study reports.⁶

Along with these largely intellectual exercises, efforts to operationalize the CD concept have also been under way, the most significant of which is the adoption in 2006 of "programs" as a framework of JICA's strategic planning. Defined as "a strategic framework prepared in view of the support for the achievement of medium-long term development goals of partner countries," "JICA programs" are expected to serve as a reference framework against which decisions on individual projects are made and as such, are expected to enable JICA to implement its activities in a more comprehensive and coordinated manner than before. These "JICA programs" typically include such points as (1) the development strategies in a particular sector of the partner country, (2) specific objectives that JICA intends to help its partners achieve, and (3) the scenarios through which such objectives are expected to be achieved. "JICA programs" also contain (4) a list of possible JICA projects that, combined together, are expected to contribute to achieving the program objectives. Behind the introduction of this framework is the recognition that more comprehensive and coordinated support, aligned with the development strategies of partner countries, is essential in making JICA's operations more effective. While not *directly* linked with the concept of CD, this movement toward the program approach is in line with the concept.

Concurrently, efforts to enhance awareness among JICA staff and experts were strengthened, and it has been made mandatory for most JICA experts to attend a lecture on CD before they leave for developing countries. To supplement these movements, a booklet titled "Operations Management Handbook" was published in December 2007. Using the CD concept as one of the core values of JICA's operations, the Handbook argues that JICA should move away from the conventional "project" approach, toward a more comprehensive "program" approach.

In addition to its efforts to mainstream the CD concept internally, JICA has been playing an active role, especially in recent years, for mainstreaming the CD concept in the international development debate. In 2003, together with UNDP, WBI and CIDA, JICA organized a symposium on "Capacity Development and Aid Effectiveness" in Manila, with the participation of more than 120 practitioners from around the world. Another symposium titled "Capacity Development: From Concept to Practice – Exploring Productive Partnership" was held in Tokyo, with GTZ of Germany added to the group of organizers. JICA has also been an active member of "LenCD," or the Learning Network on Capacity Development, since its establishment in 2004. Currently, an international study entitled "Technical Cooperation for Effective CD" is being conducted involving 11 developing countries and 7 donors, and its final synthesis report due at the end of July 2008.

「1. 技術協力（法第13条第1項第1号）（1）総論ア. 総合的な能力開発（キャパシティ・ディベロブメント：CD）の視点を反映した事業を実施し、主流化を図るとともに国際的な会議等において積極的な発信を行うための知見を蓄積する。」

⁶ For a complete list of publications, see the reference at the end of the paper.

⁷ JICA (2007x)

1.4 CD mainstreaming still on its way to development

As described above, there has been a steady movement toward the mainstreaming of the CD concept in recent years on various fronts. However, there is a large discrepancy between what is advocated and what is being practiced in the field. In other words, the mainstreaming of the concept has not reached a point where it is consciously and routinely applied to day-to-day operations.

There are several reasons for this situation:

First, not enough time has elapsed since conscious efforts started for CD mainstreaming; it will take much time and many trial-and-error processes before a complex idea like CD is internalized in a big organization like JICA.

Second, perhaps more importantly, the CD concept still remains a hypothesis at best; far from having become an organizational conviction, the concept is at times even dismissed as a useless, empty discourse. The concept is often greeted with skepticism for its lack of academic foundation. Though, as mentioned earlier, JICA made an official reference to CD as a guiding principle of its operations two years ago, that move was not necessarily followed-up with clear messages from the management, which perhaps indicates the lack of organizational conviction on the concept.

Third, paradoxically, it is possible that the familiarity of the JICA staff with the idea of human resource development is working against the acceptance of the CD concept, for those who are familiar with human resource development sometimes see the CD concept as being nothing new and hence is of little added value.

And fourth, the difficulty of having a uniform understanding of the concept is intensified by the diversity of practitioners involved in JICA's operations working in the field, comprised of people of many different backgrounds and specialties, (consultants, administrators from the government sector, NGOs, volunteers, etc.) none of whom are specialists on CD.

In sum, in recent years, JICA has made steady efforts to mainstream the concept of CD both within itself and out in the international development community. However, the mainstreaming effort has not reached a point where the concept is widely and deeply internalized so that it is applied in everyday activities. The CD concept remains a hypothesis at best, and the extent to which it is internalized is uneven in various parts of the organization.

2. JICA's Development Projects Analyzed from the CD Perspective

The previous section has seen the situation concerning the adoption of the CD concept in JICA, and concluded that CD is still in the middle of the process of being internalized and disseminated. Having seen this, this section will attempt to examine JICA's projects from the CD perspective. There are two points of interest:

1) "To what extent does the 'JICA way of cooperation' coincide with the principles of CD?" Many JICA projects, including the one analyzed below, started long before the CD concept came to be advocated, and hence have been operating without *consciously* applying the CD principles to its operations. Therefore, by examining a JICA project using the CD concept, one can see what common principles the "JICA way" has with the teachings of CD.

2) "What can one see, by using the framework of CD, that it was not possible to see without it?" This would be of particular interest because by reviewing, with the

CD concept, a project that had been planned and implemented using a different management tool (Project Design Matrix (PDM)), one would be able to sense what insights the CD concept can provide.

(㉞)The CD concept

Below is a brief summary of JICA's understanding of the CD concept, which generally follows that of the UNDP.^{8 9}

▪ Definition of CD

“The process in which individuals, organizations, institutions, and societies develop ‘abilities’ either individually or collectively to perform functions, solve problems, and set and achieve objectives.”

▪ Structure of capacity – three layers

There are three layers of capacity – at the individual, organizational, and institutional or societal level – each of which is interconnected with one another.¹⁰

▪ Two key features of the CD process

JICA attaches special importance to the two key features of CD, **complexity** and **endogeneity**, from which it draws important guiding operational principles.¹¹

1) Complexity of Capacity → Comprehensive approach.

As the capacity required by developing countries to solve problems on their own is a complex of elements, its analysis and efforts to develop them must be conducted comprehensively.

2) Endogeneity of Capacity → Catalytic role of external partners.

The CD concept views capacity as un-transferable and largely dependent on the initiative and ownership of developing countries. Hence the type of external assistance appropriate for CD support is one that encourages and facilitates the endogenous efforts, as a “catalyst.”

▪ Tips for effective CD.

JICA's “Capacity Development Handbook” lists the following eight points as important messages to be kept in mind by aid practitioners.¹²

- ① Outside actors cannot directly develop capacities in a partner country.
- ② Ownership by the partner country is vital.
- ③ Joint efforts with the stakeholders of the partner country are important.
- ④ A long-term commitment is required.
- ⑤ Creating a sustainable mechanism after project completion is important.
- ⑥ Systemic thinking and program approaches are necessary.
- ⑦ A flexible approach responsive to the development needs and conditions of each country, issue and sector.
- ⑧ Measuring and evaluating the long-term CD process is important.

⁸ For a somewhat detailed description of JICA's understanding on CD, see the attachment.

⁹ This part of the discussion basically draws on JICA (2004).

¹⁰ For an illustrative list of capacities at the three levels, see the table attached in the Appendix.

¹¹ JICA (2006b)

¹² JICA (2004) Some phrases have been modified by the present author.

(1) The Case: Strengthening of Mathematics and Science in Secondary Education (SMASSE) Project in Kenya¹³

The case taken up for analysis below is a project in Kenya: The Strengthening of Mathematics and Science in Secondary Education (SMASSE) Project.” This is a project that is generally considered by many JICA-related people as one of the most successful, and perhaps one of the representative projects of JICA.¹⁴

(1) Project Outline

The Project was launched in July 1998, and with the completion of the initial five-year period, Phase II of the project followed from July 2003 to June 2008. The project focused on “lesson improvement” (improvement of the quality of teaching in class) as its key concept, and in the course of it established an In-service Training (INSET) system for teachers, which eventually became part of Kenya’s national education system. Starting from Phase II, the project has enlarged its scope so that the INSET system was expanded to other African countries with similar problems in mathematics and science education.

(2) Project achievement, in general terms

The project has generally been judged as being successful and having achieved its primary objective (i.e. establishment of INSET system for teachers), although some problems were identified in some respects, like “efficiency” and “impacts.” JICA’s evaluation report on the project (Phase I) summarizes its evaluation findings, following the DAC five evaluation criteria, generally in favorable terms.¹⁵ In particular, the evaluation survey team concluded that “the sustainability of the project [is] very high,” citing such observations as a) the activities established through the project are in line with the national policy, b) the Kenyan Government has been allocating the necessary budget for the activities, c) the establishment of the “SMASSE fund” will likely help sustainability of the project, d) the awareness of personnel has been observed as high and the dropout rate of trainers low, and e) national INSET trainers were found to have been capable of managing and improving the national INSET system.

(3) Project achievement, in CD terms

JICA (2007) analyzed the achievements of the SMASSE Project from the CD point of view. The analytical approach taken there was quite different from the one routinely adopted in ordinary evaluations. What it did was:

① to identify, in theoretical terms, the kinds of capacities of various actors involved, that were judged as necessary for the achievement of the objectives of the SMASSE Project;

¹³ This section draws on JICA(2007)

¹⁴ This project has been chosen as one of the 21 excellent projects of JICA, self-selected by JICA in 2003.

¹⁵ JICA (2002)

- ② to see which of these capacities thus identified were actually addressed in the Project, and;
- ③ to check what capacities were actually developed, both those ones that were consciously addressed by the Project and those that were not.

Having analyzed the level of capacity development overall, the report concluded that the SMASSE project had realized satisfactory CD at the national, local, and school levels, in addition to the achievement of its objective, establishing “a sustainable system for improving teachers’ capability to conduct lessons.” The table below briefly summarizes the types of capacities that the report concluded as having been achieved, though with varying degrees of achievement.¹⁶

Level-specific Outcomes: SMASSE Project in Kenya (excerpts)

Activity Level	3 layers of capacity (UNDP model)	Examples of Outcomes in terms of Capacity Development (improvement of problem-solving ability)
National	Societal level	Necessity of INSET clearly recognized in White Paper.
	Organization level	Training center has been established. Teaching materials, etc. have been developed.
	Individual level	60 teachers have been trained. Attitudinal changes.
Local	Societal level	Procedure to make four-cycle INSET system under way. Fund-raising system has been set up.
	Organization level	District Planning Committees have been established across the country. District INSET Training Centers have been established across the country. Independent training costs are being met through the SMASSE fund.
	Individual level	Trainers feel they are empowered.
School	Societal level	SMASSE fund was budgeted in real terms.
	Organization level	Though at an early stage, informal exchange among teachers are developing at schools where district-level trainers are in place.
	Individual level	Most math and science teachers are aware of the significance of improved teaching method. Teachers acknowledge the significance of training and of applying its outcome to their lessons.

Source: Drawn by the author based on the information extracted from JICA (2007) pp.73-74. Format of the table and wordings have been changed for clarity and space.

(4) What types of external assistance worked well to support CD

Observing the overall success of the Project in terms of CD at multiple levels, the report (JICA 2007) then traced the history of the Project and concluded that the following features and measures had led to the successful CD:

¹⁶ JICA (2007), pp.74-75.

- **Incorporating various needs of various stakeholders**

The first reason for the project's success was the fact that the diverse needs shared by a range of stakeholders were identified at an early stage and taken into consideration in the implementation process. The second was an effort to bring local needs to the attention of political and administrative stakeholders. Project members approached key persons at the Ministry of Education and other administrative bodies who, throughout the project, played central roles leading the project to success.

- **Using existing capacities for sustainable development**

What made the Project a success was the shared idea that "sustainability is imperative." With this in mind, the Project members made thorough analyses of existing capacities and made realistic planning based on such analyses.

- **Taking local financial capabilities/constraints into consideration**

Kenya's low ability to bear the operating costs for the training was a concern from the start, and the Project persistently called for the Government commitments for the project, and eventually witnessed increasing budgetary burden-sharing by the Kenyan Government.

The establishment of the SMASSE fund for district-level training implementation is noteworthy, for it enhanced the probability of sustaining the activities of the project; this is a mechanism by which part of the tuition paid by parents is used to cover various needs of school management, reducing the financial burden of the Government.

- **Building an institutional basis for sustainable expansion**

In view of the sustainability of the outcome of the Project, it sought to expand the INSET system into a national policy. That was later realized, and the system of teacher training initiated in 9 districts is now operating in 72 districts of the country at the time of the writing of JICA (2007).

- **Nurturing ownership**

Throughout the project activities, utmost care was taken and efforts made to nurture the sense of ownership felt by the Kenyan members. Such efforts included:

- ✚ **Feeling the real needs increases the feeling of ownership.** Kenyan counterpart personnel were encouraged to visit the schools to see with their own eyes what is really needed by the teachers working in district schools.

- ✚ **Making decisions increases ownership.** Discussing with and gaining support from Japanese experts, Kenyan counterpart personnel basically made important decisions, like formation of training programs or the establishment of the SMASSE fund. By taking part in the decision making process. By taking part in the decision-making process, stakeholders cultivated a sense of responsibility and became more deeply committed to their activities.

- ✚ **Proper incentives increase ownership.** The project tried to provide its counterpart personnel with non-monetary incentives rather than monetary ones. Hence the Project maintained a strict principle which is not always easy to adhere to; not providing Kenyan members (counterpart personnel, or training participants) with any economic incentives, like "per diem" for the participants of training programs.¹⁷

¹⁷ The report states: "Based on the notion that 'paying allowances kills a project,' no C/P [counterpart] allowances or daily allowance for the training period was provided. Since daily allowance paid by aid agencies is a routine in Africa, the project met various difficulties at its start. However, this spirit is now understood and shared by the Ministry of Education and by national -level trainers."(JICA (2007), p.)



Pride increases ownership. The project developed its scope internationally in Phase II, and with this international expansion, Kenyan Project members felt their presence heightened through partnerships with NEPAD and ADEA and through cooperation with other African countries. Thus, “national pride helped to strengthen the sustainability of the activities.”¹⁸

▪ **Having appropriate leadership**

The Project has been fortunate to have had highly capable and committed leaders both on the Kenyan and Japanese sides. On the Kenyan side, the Head of the INSET unit is said to have played an essential part in promoting the project from the launching period up to the end of 2005. On the Japanese side also, there was a strong Chief Advisor, a legendary figure in the history of the Project.

(ウ) The CD Concept and JICA’s Activities: Section Summary

The previous sub-section quickly traced and reviewed an analysis done by JICA (2007). The intention of the review was to see to what extent the CD concept and “JICA way” of cooperation overlap with each other, taking as an example a project that is considered representative among numerous JICA projects. The result of this quick review illustrates that the JICA project is found to have adhered to many of the principles that the CD concept demands, though it was not applying such CD principles *consciously*. Such principles included, most notably, the comprehensive approach to address the various capacity needs at different layers of society and the catalytic role of donors to secure and develop ownership of partner country members.

This observation might indicate, though by no means definitely, that the CD concept and JICA’s philosophy of cooperation do share some basic principles, though they have been developed quite independently of each other. It can also be said that the success of the JICA project, which inadvertently had been applying the principles of CD, testifies to the validity of the CD concept.

Another finding that comes from the review is the usefulness of the CD concept as a policy analysis model. When we compare the evaluation of the project done according to the DAC 5 criteria of evaluation (see, 2.2 (2)), and the evaluation done from the CD perspective (see 2.2 (3)), we find that the latter method can provide us with far richer information about the achievements of the project than the former. In fact that simple analysis of CD reminds one that capacity development is indeed a complicated process, involving a variety of actors, each of whom have different interests and perceptions and make their own choices and decisions. Thus the model can provide us with a realistic understanding of development processes.

One specific example that shows the usefulness of the CD framework is the analysis of whose capacities have been development to what extent, as we had a glance on in section 2.2 (3) above. Having analyzed the CD achievements at each of the three (national, local, and school) levels, the report remarks that a few problems had been found to remain unsolved, particularly in terms of developing each individual teacher’s

¹⁸ JICA (2007)

skills and other aspects at the school level. It then states:

“...Such an outcome was predictable from the fact that project planning focused on the establishment of INSET implementation mechanisms at the national and local levels, while school-levels activities were not included in the PDM objectives. However, capacity enhancement at the school level is an indispensable condition for the sustainability of the INSET system and for its ability to yield results in the classroom. Thus, this project analysis serves to confirm the importance of the complexity [comprehensive] approach, which is emphasized from a CD perspective [...].”¹⁹

This kind of analysis would not have been possible had the project team relied only on the conventional PDM tools.

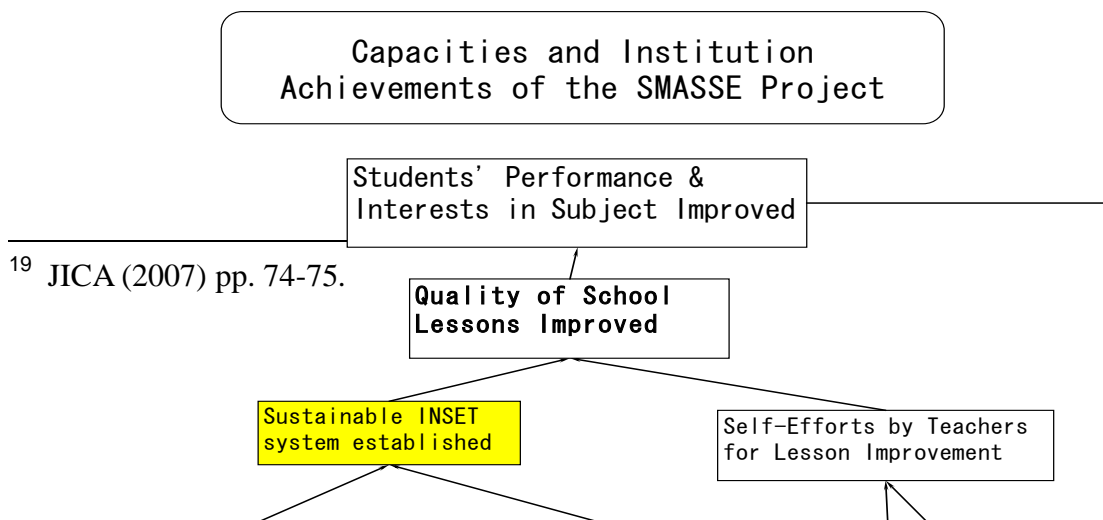
These observations indicate that though JICA has been doing CD on its own way (as hinted above), it had not developed an analysis tool with which it can *consciously* and *systematically* apply the concept to its operations: to construct policy models, to design practical intervention strategies, and to evaluate such interventions. Perhaps what JICA can learn from the CD concept is not its specific contents, but rather, the importance of having a conceptual framework.

3. CD and Institutional Change

The SMASSE project seems to present us with a good case for supporting the hypothesis on which today’s seminar is based; the interdependence between CD and institutional change.

First, the case indicates that institutional changes were necessary for sustaining the capacity changes that were taking place. The Project is a case in which there were indeed a number of different actors interacting with one another, like teacher-trainers at central and district levels, teachers, and officials at the Ministry of Education. Given this complexity, in all likelihood sustaining such an interplay of various actors would not have been possible without certain forms of institutional arrangements, which in this case came as incorporating the INSET teacher’s training system into the national policy.

Second, the case indicates that institutional changes happened only when such capacity was accumulated that a certain form of institutionalization was felt to be necessary by decision makers. The important institutional changes, such as the one adopted in the Project (adopting the INSET teacher training system into the national education policy) could not have happened unless the capacities of various actors at the district/school levels were fully recognized by the key decision makers.



Source: Drawn by the author, based on JICA (2007)

4. CD and JICA, and Japan's ODA

This section argues that more accelerated and more organized efforts should be made for the mainstreaming of CD. The arguments here are based on several recognitions thus far reached, summarized as follows:

- (1) CD mainstreaming in JICA is still on the way, and the degree of acceptance of and support for the concept is uneven in various segments of the agency (Section 1); but
- (2) The business model of JICA and the values underpinning it are essentially the same as those suggested by the CD concept (Section 2.3); in addition;
- (3) The CD concept can be a useful tool for policy analysis, and JICA can learn a lot by conceptualizing its operations (Section 2.3).

The following subsections will first deal with the discussion on the significance of the CD concept for JICA (4.1), and then will present some recommendations for further mainstreaming of the CD concept (4.2).

(ア) The significance of the CD concept.

There are several dimensions in which the CD concept has made, and can make, meaningful contributions in making JICA's operations more effective.

First, the CD concept has broadened the domain of JICA's operations, from the traditional "technological transfer" and "human resource development." This is not to say that these two business models of JICA have become useless or obsolete. Rather, with the introduction of the CD concept, these traditional modes of business have come to be positioned in a wider perspective, enabling JICA to select different modes of

cooperation depending on the capacity of its partner countries or organizations. This expansion of the business model is of particular importance in light of the gradual shift of partner countries of Japan's ODA from Asia to other parts of Africa; in the latter area, for example, technical cooperation based on technological transfer or human resource development paradigms usually does not work well, because other capacities that are needed to take advantage of acquired technology or developed human resource were often times not in place.

Second and perhaps more importantly, the CD concept, with its structure and logic, makes it possible and easier for development practitioners to construct a policy model of their interventions. This is of enormous benefit, for only by having a policy model can policy/decision makers and practitioners visualize, understand and anticipate how their policy will work.

Third, related to the previous issue, the CD concept and the policy model based on it enable one to perceive development as a highly interactive process, affected by the interplay among various actors. The importance of this recognition cannot be overemphasized because many aid practitioners, including those working in JICA, are long accustomed to rely on a simple model of development, assuming linear causality between actions and outcomes, as typically represented in the logical framework format of the "Project Planning Matrix."

Fourth, by focusing on the capacity of various actors rather than performance, the CD concept makes development workers, who inadvertently have tended to take a rather naive assumption that people behave rationally, aware of the very human nature of development processes. The model, the CD concept, and the analysis of the cases tell us that the development is fundamentally a political process, determined or affected profoundly by different motives, choices, and decisions of various actors. This recognition of the human nature of any development venture leads us to several important recognitions about the features that development processes have, like: (1) the process of development is highly unpredictable and is difficult to plan and control, hence (2) the achievement of objectives cannot always be taken for granted, (3) incentive systems in various forms, both monetary and non-monetary, are critical, and (4) equally, leadership is of critical importance.

And fifth, the definition of development as an iterative process of acquisition of capacities and institutionalization of them reminds us that the development, after all, is a succession of innovations. Though nothing new, this perception of development may have some significance to those involved in the ODA business, in reminding them anew that innovations can happen not only in developed nations, but can and should happen everywhere, even in the least developed countries. This recognition also leads us to see that there is no guarantee of success for development ventures, which should be shared by a wide range of stakeholders and taxpayers.

(イ) Recommendations for Further Mainstreaming of the CD Concept

The following actions seem to be advisable if JICA's activities are to be

reshaped toward more effective CD support:

First, systematic and conscious efforts should be intensified to make sure that CD considerations are incorporated in project/program design. For example, measures such as the following are worth serious consideration:

- (1) Making distinctions between achievements in terms of performance and in CD in, for example, setting the project purposes. It does not seem that such distinction is being made consciously in current project management practices.
- (2) Likewise, it would be useful to make it a rule so that special and explicit emphasis will be paid on the institutionalization of the acquired capacities in planning development interventions.

Second, the way projects are managed should be reconsidered to make them more flexible and hence more conducive to CD, for CD, as stated earlier, is a complex and unpredictable process that requires a long time to happen. One practical way to do this is to allow, or even encourage, revisions of the project objective and plan of operation, adapting to changes in the environment in which the project operates.²⁰

Third, special attention should be paid so that Japan's ODA system becomes more conducive to its partner country's institutional development. Of particular importance in this regard is the merger of JICA and JBIC in October this year, which should endow the new JICA with a complete set of tools for cooperation from volunteers, NGO programs, up to more massive financial resource mobilization by means of grant aid and yen loans. If "scaling up" of activities increases the probability of stable institutionalization of the capacities acquired initially, the new JICA should take full advantage of its width of intervention options.

Fourth, capacity development on the donor's side should be accelerated, for a successful CD process needs to be planned, implemented and managed by competent personnel who possess profound understanding of human behavior and social systems. Such competent development workers are in short supply. In this connection, the importance of sharing CD experiences should be emphasized.

Fifth, academic inquiry into the CD concept should be promoted. Since it was first proposed by the UNDP in 2002, the concept does not seem to have grown in theoretical terms, though a number of reports have been compiled on case analyses of development projects and programs. Joint efforts among different disciplines of studies - economics, political science, sociology, pedagogy, management science, public health, and a number of others sciences - might help us to understand and use the CD concept with more confidence.

²⁰ The author is also aware that this is easier said than done. Many practitioners in the field often say that while nobody wants to be inflexible in project management, it is many a time difficult to be so for a number of reasons, including, especially, administrative and resource constraints.

(ウ) Words of Caution

Thus far, this paper has been advocating the mainstreaming of the CD concept, based on the assumption of its basic validity and usefulness. Some words of caution, however, seem to be in order here:

First, while the ideal of the CD concept is commendable, it is neither necessary nor desirable to try to apply it universally. Different modes of cooperation should be selected depending on the needs of partner countries. Conventional approaches based on the “technology transfer” or “human resource development” models could very well be used as per the situations.

Second, we should be sensitive to the historical context from which the CD concept has emerged. As shown in Section 1, it is a discourse invented by Western donors and it has been applied only to developing countries by the donors, never having been applied to developed countries themselves. Japan, as a non-Western donor, perhaps should be sensitive to the historical context of the concept.

Third, related to the previous discussion, efforts to refine our understanding of the CD concept are necessary. Though this paper has argued that the CD concept is in harmony with the Japanese traditional notion of development, the two might not be identical, and we are not sure what the difference is, if any. We should be aware, as stated above, of the different historical contexts from which different views on development have emerged at the least.

Fourth, efforts to conceptualize our experiences and ways of thinking are of urgent necessity. Japan is now trying to “understand” and “accept” the CD concept (which is what this paper, in fact, has been arguing). However, this current situation looks like déjà vu, reminding us of the time when the concept of “ownership” came into the vocabulary of development, and when we Japanese did not know (and we still do not know even today) the difference between “ownership” and the Japanese traditional philosophy of “self-help principle.” Efforts for the conceptualization of Japan’s experience and philosophy are urgently needed, and this seminar should be taken as a step in such an exercise.

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Appendix:

<Elements of capacities to be developed at the three levels of CD>

The Capacity Development Handbook (JICA 2004) gives illustrative examples of capacities at these three levels and typical elements of capacity at different levels.

Key capacity features and elements to be developed in the three levels of CD

Level of Capacity	Key capacity	Elements of capacity
Individual	The will and ability to set objectives and achieve them using one's own knowledge and skills	Knowledge, skills, will/stance, health, awareness
Organizational	The decision-making processes and management systems, organizational culture, and frameworks required to achieve a specific objective.	Human assets (capacities of individuals comprising organizations)
		Physical assets (facilities, equipment, materials raw materials) and capital
		Intellectual assets (organizational strategy, management and business know-how, manuals, statistical information, production technology, survey and research reports, household precepts, etc.)
		Form of organizations that can optimally utilize assets (human, intellectual, physical), management methods (flat organizations, TQC (total quality control), KM (knowledge management), personnel systems, etc.
		Leadership
Institutional Societal	The environment and conditions necessary for demonstrating capabilities at the individual or organizational level, and the decision-making processes, and systems and frameworks necessary for the formation/implementation of policies and strategies that are over and above an individual organization.	Capacities of individuals or organizations comprising a society
		Formal institutions (law, policies, decrees/ordinances, memberships, etc.)
		Informal institutions (customs, norms)
		Social capital, social infrastructure

Source: Reproduced from JICA (2004)