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**THE JAPANESE VERSION OF PROJECT CYCLE MANAGEMENT:
ADOPTION, ADAPTATION AND APPLICATION OF ZOPP
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF METHODS AND METHODOLOGIES**

Saeko Nakabayashi

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper attempts to understand the perceptions of the theorists and practitioners in donor agencies who are responsible for standardising project planning methods¹. It focuses on the transformation process of variants of Logical Framework approaches: specifically the Project Cycle Management applied in Japanese aid agencies which has been modelled from the German ZOPP in its 1988 version, and it compares the theoretical and empirical content of these methods (Chapter 2). It later analyses the social and historical contexts of each donor agency - JICA and GTZ - in terms of management cultures(Chapter 3), development philosophies (Chapter 4) and organisational conditions (Chapter 5). By looking at the indigenization of standardised management methods, which mainly reflects their own social and historical conditions, this paper tries to point out the danger of simple application (or imposition in most cases) of these methods to the developing countries, and to address the need for methodological pluralism.

The purpose of the first chapter is to outline the general history of transition and transformation of the Logical Framework Approach (LF) among donor agencies, and state the research problem, the corresponding research scope and questions derived out of this historical context. This chapter also presents the limitations and the overall theoretical framework used in this paper.

1.1. History of LFA and its variants (from 1970 to 1999)

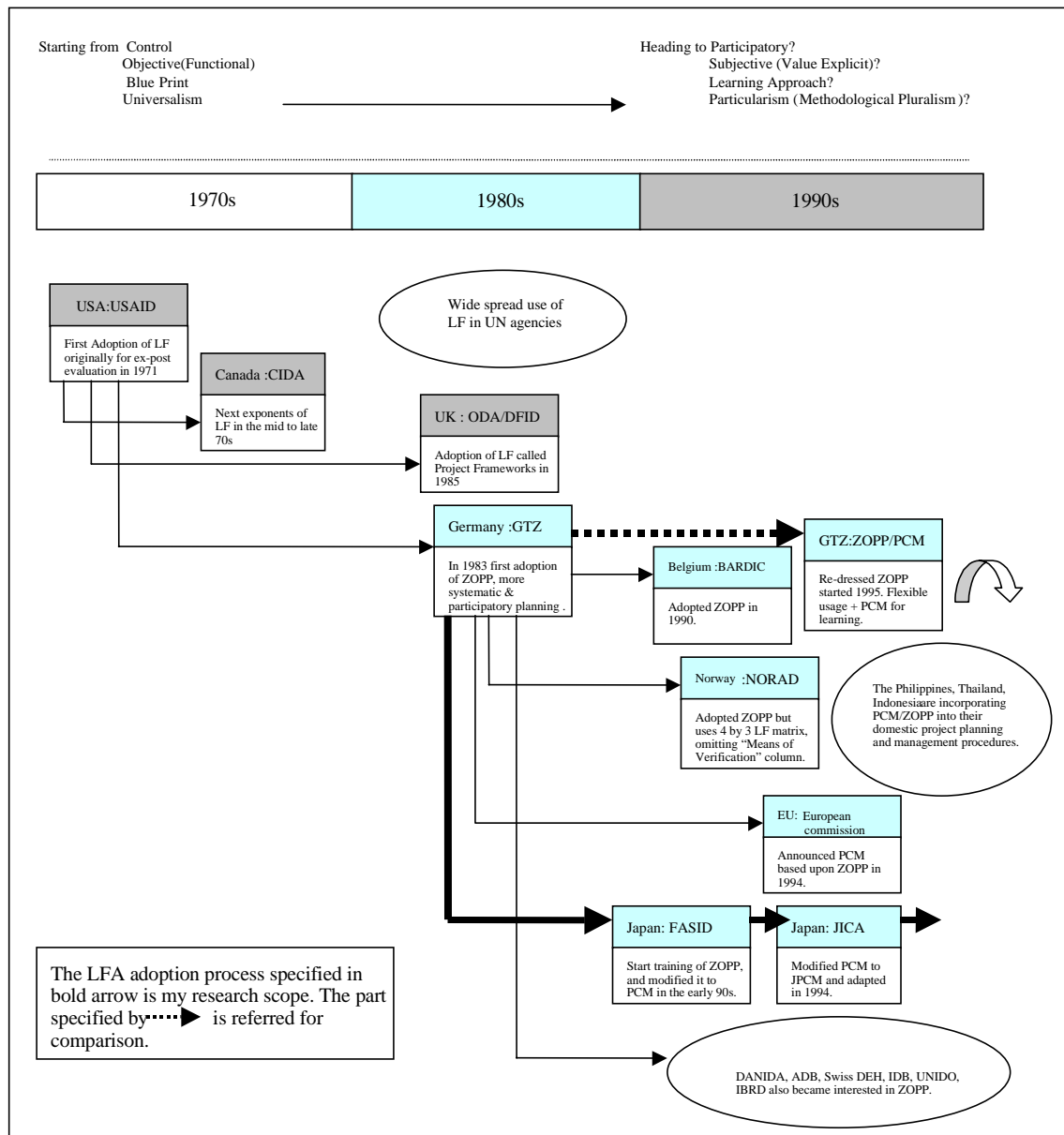
Donor agencies have approximately a 30 year-history of LFA (see Figure 1.1). The log frame was originated in Fry Associates and then PCI (Practical Concepts Incorporated), two American based management consultancies, at the request of USAID, which later adopted it in 1971 (Solem: 1987). This famous simple four by four matrix combines so-called vertical and horizontal logics². The LF intends to

¹ I am deeply indebted to many people. My sincere gratitude goes to Dr. Gasper, not only being my supervisor but also always giving needed guidance and assistance in the pursue of this work. I thank my former bosses and colleagues to have been supportive and connected me to JICA and FASID, and also those who cooperated in the interviews or mails to give me a wonderful learning opportunity to complete this study. Contact address : saeko_nakabayashi@yahoo.co.jp

² Coleman (1987) gives a detailed explanation of the original LF format.

1. clarify causal relationships with a four level hierarchical logic -Goals, Purposes, Outputs and Inputs- in a 'Narrative Summary', including articulation of the assumptions about external influences and factors in an 'Assumption Column', and to
2. establish indicators expressed in 'Objectively Verifiable Indicators' and corresponding 'Means of Verification' for monitoring and evaluation. This LF concept was rapidly accepted in USAID since 1971, initially for technical assistance projects, and later expanded to all types of foreign assistance projects since 1974 (MacArthur 1994:87).

Fig. 1.1 A Rough Sketch of Transition and Transformation of LF among Donors (1970 to 1999)



The next early exponents were CIDA in the mid 70s, taking salient parts from USAID's LF version with small differences, including an emphasis on the donor's perspective when writing assumption columns (MacArthur 1994:93)³. The CIDA version basically traces the USAID tradition, since initially the training of LF in CIDA was done by PCI, an originator of LF for USAID, for a couple years till the Evaluation Division in CIDA produced their own guidelines in the late 70s.

ODA/DFID also officially adopted LFs, called Project Frameworks, in 1985⁴, which were almost identical to the North American version but with some small differences in headings of the rows and columns⁵.

In addition to USAID, CIDA and ODA/DFID, there was widespread use in UN agencies in the 80s. UNDP & IFAD, for example, use a four-tier description instead of the LF matrix, and prefer more target-oriented headings such as impacts and effects rather than goals and purposes. In the FAO version of 1986 (FAO 1986) and ZOPP, the LF matrix added Activities as a level of project description between inputs and outputs. The additional row of Activities attracted other donor agencies that required a clear project concept, and this additional row has also been adopted in the integral approach of ZOPP (Ziel Orientierte Projekt Planung -Objectives Oriented Project Planning-).

The German aid agency GTZ responsible to the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation (BMZ) modified LFA and created and adopted ZOPP, `Objectives-oriented Project Planning` in 1983⁶. GTZ was established under the private law in 1975 mainly in charge of technical cooperation schemes. Due partly to its legal status as a private corporation, GTZ's general interest to make technical cooperation schemes more efficient and

³ MacArthur (1994) identifies that CIDA's LF guidelines in 1980 mention that Inputs of the host country are placed as important assumptions, not as part of Inputs in the Narrative Summary, where only CIDA resources are listed.

⁴ The ODA began using the LogFrame Approach sporadically in the late 1970s. It became a mandatory requirement for all projects in 1985. NGO applicants were also strongly encouraged to use Log Frames (INTRAC 1994a:25) and are now forced to do so.

⁵ In preparation of the ODA version of LF, Cracknell, a former Head of Evaluation Department, ODA and his colleague were sent on a mission to a number of aid donors, especially in the USA and Canada (Cracknell, 1989).

⁶ The line between North American versions of LF and the ZOPP group is blurred since ZOPP has its origin in LF in USAID and the North American version of LF has now also had great feedback from the integrated and participatory approach from ZOPP and vice versa. An American consultant joined the formulation of ZOPP.

flexible first centred on the well-known LFA as a comprehensive management tool for planning, implementation and evaluation (GTZ 1997). In fact, BMZ had requested GTZ to test it, which gave initial positive reactions and led GTZ to apply LFA in a pilot phase in 1980/81. This extended version of LFA, with a systematised process before drawing up a Project Planning Matrix (LF), through to a more participatory way of planning throughout an integrated project cycle, became mandatory in 1986.

The post-ZOPP approach was adopted in the Belgian aid agency in 1990 (INTRAC:1994b), and also by NORAD with a small modification of the LF using a four by three matrix by omitting the 'Means of Verification' column.

DANIDA, ADB, and Swiss DEH, IDB, UNIDO, IBRD also became interested in the ZOPP approach. In addition, an increasing number of partner countries such as Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand are incorporating PCM/ZOPP into their domestic project planning and management procedures. (GTZ 1997b,Steigerwald 1994b: 7).

Japan and the European Commissions later separately developed their own versions of Project Cycle Management (PCM) in the 1990s, based upon ZOPP.

Japan began to formulate PCM, a modified version of ZOPP, when the Foundation for Advanced Studies on International Development (hereafter referred as FASID), a non-profit organisation registered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture (MOE) was newly established in 1990. The aim of FASID is to train Japanese aid professionals and to promote research and education in development⁷. For the purpose of training development assistance professionals, FASID intended to first offer several project management courses including project planning, appraisal and evaluation methods. The Japanese version of PCM was formulated as a curriculum for these training programs aimed at implementing its foreign aid programs more effectively.

Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), an aid implementing agency mainly in charge of Technical Cooperation schemes under supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MOFA) then introduced Project Cycle Management in 1994 as a

⁷ Internet: http://www.fasid.or.jp/about/ab_index.html, September 9,1999.

standardised method for managing its projects. In FY1995, JICA decided to prepare an LF or Project Design Matrix (PDM), in principle, for all new project-type Technical Cooperation schemes⁸, and to strive for more extensive use of the PCM method in other schemes as well (JICA: 1998d).

The European Commission, on the other hand, reviewed the 1986 version of the LF format and announced the PCM concept in 1993 (Eggers 1994) with more emphasis on beneficiaries' needs expressed in a simple standardised descriptive format which will be used throughout all stages of project cycle⁹. This approach, due in part to the Netherlands based Management for Development Foundation (Gaspar: 1997), became compulsory in project applications from developing countries under the Lomé Treaties and other countries applying for European Commission funds.

In addition, GTZ now calls their new project management method ZOPP/PCM, but developed differently from both the Japanese and EC versions of PCM. This revised ZOPP has emphasis on a more flexible process-oriented approach and recognizes participation as a central quality criterion of German Development Cooperation.

Hereinafter, PCM is defined in this paper as any variants of post ZOPP which combine the concepts of logical frameworks and project cycle management, a cyclical management loop in project identification, appraisal, implementation and evaluation. It specifies particular types of project appraisal, monitoring and evaluation method applied by specific organisations, currently by EC, JICA, FASID and GTZ.

In general, LF is now in a transition from a blue print approach that is simply used for a control purpose by donors, to a more participatory and learning process approach. The modes used in methods show an attempt to move away from top-down rational (objective) problem solving approach with an emphasis on quantitative indicators, to a more bottom up, subjective, value explicit approach using some qualitative measurements. The real achievements of these efforts are still in question.

⁸ Project type-Technical Cooperation schemes accounted for approximately 31.7 % of total official aid in Japan since 1997(JICA 1999).

⁹Sida, the most independent minded donor, and most resistant previously to LFA was the last donor to adopt LFA. It applied its own version LFA in 1993 without any references to the experience of other donor agencies' (Gaspar: 1997).

1.2 Scope of This Study

Looking back at the history of LFA applied among aid agencies, many questions arise: A political science perspective of power relationships might question why LF is widely accepted in aid projects where a centre-periphery relationship always exists between financier and recipients, and why it is less used in domestic contexts in donor communities. An efficiency oriented evaluation theorist can question whether LFA, ZOPP, or PCM could contribute to the efficient design and implementation of aid projects. Systems thinkers, on the other hand, might question the limited capacity of a project approach that takes small parts out of a far more complex uncertain reality. From a sociological view point, the question rises such as why variants of LFA, ZOPP or PCM were produced and transformed among donor communities, and what kind of social contexts determine these variations and transitions.

This paper will attempt to answer the last question, that is, to analyse variants of project planning methods from a sociological perspective. Amongst various aid project planning, monitoring and evaluation methods, this paper limits its research scope to project planning aspects of ZOPP and the Japanese version of PCM. The fact that Japanese aid agencies adopted and modified the ZOPP method, primarily for project planning¹⁰, and that Germany and Japan are considered to be similar states among other developed countries, being 'late' donors with a relatively shorter experiences in aid administration after World War II, present good reasons for a comparative study. Moreover, the analysis of localisation of project planning methods in these 'developing' donors will suggest the limitation of simple application or imposition of donor-driven methods to developing countries where different value systems, management cultures and bureaucratic structures exist.

1.3. Statement of Problem and Research questions

Abundant researches have been done for aid planning and evaluation methods in-

¹⁰ FASID took NORAD's monitoring and ex-post evaluation method as a model. It invited Knut Samset, of Scanteam International, a key writer of the 1993 version of the evaluation textbook for NORAD, for formulation of the rest of the Japanese version of PCM - monitoring and evaluation part. GTZ' s ex-post evaluation method had not developed enough to standardize as a textbook. In other words, ZOPP focused on planning but made various aspects open in monitoring and evaluation methods, which required FASID to develop their own evaluation method by themselves based upon NORAD's evaluation method.

cluding CBA and PRA.

However (i) there are fewer researches on LFA and its modified versions such as ZOPP and PCM. PCM has not yet had enough attention compared with other approaches, although it now increases its presence among major donor agencies.

(ii) There are few research studies on the Japanese version of PCM except some unpublished internal documents for aid agencies in Japan.

In addition, (iii) fewer studies have been done to explain the social contexts behind project planning and evaluation methods. Some literature (e.g., Finsterbusch 1987&1988) focuses on technical arguments on methods which are either intentionally or unintentionally closer to a positivistic approach, trying to be apart from value. Other approaches can be found where the methodological proposal is made from a certain theoretical framework, or critical arguments on particular evaluation methods are made from a different value paradigm. One of these examples is Clements' proposal of a capability approach to project analysis (CAPA), which, from the Human Development perspective, criticises the CBA approach where neo-classical assumptions are embedded. Few researches come from a constructivist approach, which examines historically the transitions of planning and evaluation methods by identifying, comparing, and describing the values and social arrangements behind each methodology.

(iv) Researchers such as Howes (1992) and Binnendijk (1989) analysed historical transitions of donors' evaluation methods by linking methods to development theories. However, the arguments do not distinguish each donor's approach but instead generalise these experiences as a whole, although each donor agency such as IBRD, USAID, ODA/DFID, or GTZ has its own value system, social arrangement and history. Fischer's work (1995) in meta evaluation which analyses various American welfare policies and programs, by using 4 levels of analysis -verification, validation, vindication, and social choice - has many things in common with social context analysis that this paper attempts to do. Nevertheless, it focuses on policy evaluation but not on aid project planning methodology.

This paper tries to fill these various gaps. Taking a constructivist approach, it will first compare and analyse the design and practical experiences of ZOPP and the Japanese version of PCM, and then explain differences and similarities of theoretical assumptions

and practical applications of both methods by analysing social contexts behind them.

The social context here is broadly defined as transmitted, created and modified patterns of values, idea, and other symbolic meaningful systems and their embodiments such as culture, history, institutions (legal, economic, political, social and organisational systems) or their components, as factors in shaping, influencing and regulating the behaviour or thought of individuals, groups and organisations etc..

In this paper, the following three variables are chosen as relevant social contexts to determine diversity and similarity of both methods in theory and practice;

1. Values and practices on management: values toward uncertainty, collectivism or individualism, and relevant management practices etc..
2. Values and practices relevant to development aid: aid rationales and policy orientation, key aid philosophy and meanings attached to technical cooperation etc..
3. Institutional arrangements: certain mechanisms to embody the above-mentioned values and to reinforce these practices: organisational structure of aid agencies, policy-making mechanism, staff workload, field representation and its authority delegation etc..

Specifically, the following are research question in this paper; namely,

1. How do ZOPP and the Japanese version of PCM differ in theory? (Chapter 2)
 2. How did ZOPP and Japanese version of PCM differ in practical usage?(Chapter 2)
 3. Why did JPCM take salient parts from ZOPP, and why did both methods turn out to be different?
- How do particular management cultures affect framing and using the method? (Chapter 3)
 - How do values relevant to development aid or aid policies frame the theory and usage of a project appraisal/evaluation method? (Chapter 4)
 - How do organisational structures such as organisational arrangements and field representations affect the theory and usage of method? (Chapter 5)

1.4. Limitations

First, this paper is tentative and open-ended. It is an exploratory research since few

studies have been done in this area from my approach. It tries to illustrate the possibility of explanatory variables for differences on ZOPP and JPCM, without claiming to empirically verify the hypotheses. I reduce independent variables to three for operational reasons in order to explain some of observed differences of project planning method. However, this leaves open the possibility of other social variables, such as the international political and economic setting of Germany and Japan or language use in ZOPP and JPCM etc.. Within each broad variable I researched on, I also narrowed down to select certain aspects that seemed to me relevant out of variety of aspects. This also leaves other possibilities for investigation.

In addition, this paper treats any exploratory variables of Germany as a “shadow” to illustrate the adoption and modification of ZOPP in Japanese version of PCM¹¹. Therefore, it is not a ‘pure’ comparative study. The information asymmetry derives from lesser access to the German side due partly to my language limitation and unbalanced information through my practical experiences. I recognise that asymmetrical comparative studies do not serve to verify a hypothesis and instead remain just to propose a plausible hypothesis (Eckstein: 1975).

The paper also recognises the limitation of the structure-oriented approach mainly applied in this research as seen in criticisms mainly from actor-oriented analysis (Long et.al.: 1992). A methodology gives a surface structure of your thought by predetermining the logic to follow, but the users can de-construct the predetermined logic and can modify the method as they like. If the user applies ZOPP in a way that is geared to accountability purposes rather than as a participatory tool, the outcome will be closer to the previous USAID version of LFA. However, structure and process are not dichotomous, rather, understanding of structures comes before any actor’s behaviour since an actor always de-constructs and re-institutionalises as a counter reaction to the existing institutions (NIRA: 1999). Therefore, this paper still focuses on the structural approach but is open to actor oriented analysis as well.

¹¹ in a sense that plausible exploratory variables are extracted mainly from the analysis of Japanese experiences, and later researched on the corresponding aspects in Germany.

1.5 Data Collection

Data have been collected from literature on LFA and its variants among donor agencies, especially on ZOPP and PCM, supplemented by annual reports, textbooks, and project reports of GTZ, JICA and FASID. A variety of literature on management theory is used for Chapter 3, and DAC reports, annual reports, policy statements etc. are referred to for Chapters 4 and 5.

I also referred to Web sites, and discussion through a Mailing List for Japanese aid professionals on actual practices of JPCM and opinions stated in a seminar on PCM.

Semi-structured interviews with open ended questions to 8 key informants (three former FASID officers, 2 JICA officers, 1 JICA expert, 2 PCM moderators) were conducted from July to September 1999 to find out the theoretical interpretation and actual practices of PCM since published literature could hardly provide this information. I used these findings in Chapter 2. The well-sampled and closed survey type of interviews for empirical verification are not conducted since this paper's primary concern is on exploratory research to find out the differences between ZOPP and JPCM in theory and practice. Also two FASID officers through e-mail confirmed the findings on the differences between FASID's version of PCM and ZOPP's.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

1.6.1. "Method" and "Methodology"

"Methodology" is not equated in this paper with a "method" or an overall planned way of doing or just a technique within the overall plan such as for data collection, data processing or any other ways to do for the given purpose. "Methodology" is defined as a set of principles, and ideas that define a particular approach to selecting and using methods (Padaki 1995:57, Gasper 1997-8 lecture note: 3). Therefore, the "methodology" covers more than a technical definition of method, and includes a set of components of implicit or explicit positions that give internal consistency to the research choices made in various contextual conditions.

In Chapter 2, I will compare the methods of ZOPP and PCM. The three chapters following will concern methodology- a comparative analysis of implicit and explicit posi-

tions reflected in ZOPP and PCM methods.

1.6.2. Planning Theory and its limitation for the analysis of methodology

Planning as a method involves making conscious choices of techniques and criteria in each of these stages: 1) defining the problem to be addressed for action or policy intervention, 2) modelling and analysing the situation for the purpose of intervention with specific policy instruments, institutional innovations or methods of social mobilisation, 3) designing one or more solutions which are typically expressed in terms of futurity, space, resource requirements, implementation procedures, procedures for feedback and evaluation, and 4) ex-ante evaluation of the proposed alternative solutions (Friedmann 1987).

Historically, planning theorists worked a lot with planning as a method, a combination of choices at the above-mentioned stages. For many years, planning was defined as a “rational” social decision making process. The definition of rationality comes from different sources including for example, economic or bureaucratic rationality, and political rationality or “bounded rationality” proposed by Simon who discussed a more realistic rationality by considering limitation of human capacity in the face of complexity (Parsons 1997). However, the rational choice models did not pay attention to the assumptions, pre-set positions or the convictions which are taken for granted as “rational”. It did not explain the validation of choices of methods in each planning stage.

Howes (1992) worked on methodology, by linking development theory to the choices of a set of modes used in planning, monitoring and evaluation methods. The section below briefly describes this linkage to development theoretical paradigms, focusing only on the modes of planning methods in his analysis.

Howes found a strand of ‘modernisation theory’ in planning practices among the multilateral and bilateral donors in the (50s and)60s. The ‘modernisation theory’ advocated a series of predominantly economic measures for ‘developing’ nations to catch up economically, and emphasised large infrastructural initiatives to kick-start the process of growth. This is believed to eventually trickle down to all the social groups. Typical appraisal methods used in this ‘modernisation’ paradigm were a form of technical feasibility assessment combined with social cost benefit analysis.

The 1970s to the 1980s may be seen as decades with discrediting of modernisation theory, but still few attempts were succeeded in the form of sufficient supporting changes in the use of appraisal methods in the 1970s to the 1980s. The many criticisms of this simple paradigm dominant in the 1960s led to an emerging concern with 'Basic Human Needs'. The Basic Human Needs school provided a central organisational principle to satisfy 'basic human needs' and target the poorest, which was accompanied by the increasing amount for rural development aid in practice. The Logical Framework was used first for monitoring and ex-post evaluation, later for planning methods to encompass these new realities among donors. Used alongside the social cost benefit analysis, LF is potentially useful to support in the areas that cannot be assessed on purely economic grounds. However, Howes sees that LF still falls in the modernisation paradigm since LF by itself makes no explicit provision for the identification and targeting of the poor. Therefore, LF was applied by donors to define, execute and assess for themselves, as 'a clearest concrete expression of the blueprint approach' (Howes 1992:383).

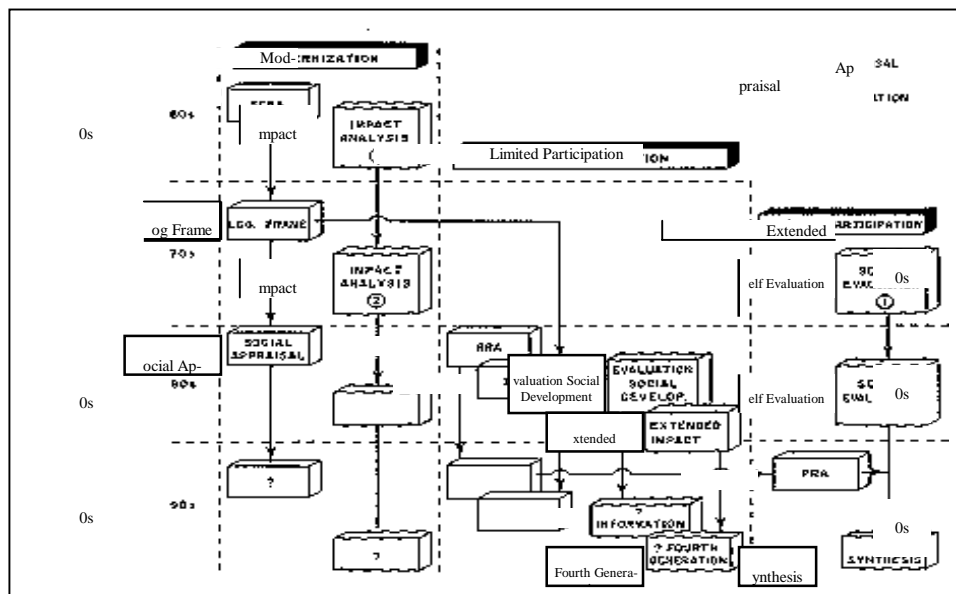
Through the 1980s and 1990s, neo-liberalism became dominant in donor perceptions of development and practice. The idea of the new orthodoxy resulted in gradual withdrawal of large donors from direct investment at the project levels, and increasing attention to the program levels. No major innovation in planning methods was made in this era, instead, more attention was given to monitoring, and previous blue print planning methods were rigorously applied.

An alternative view was presented mainly by NGO works at the grass roots level - the advent of the 'participation' school that started from the 1970s. Having recognised that the outsider could hardly identify what the poor rural people need, this school emphasises a sense of ownership and participation by the poor themselves, and the need for a paradigm shift from the control attitude of the outsiders to the facilitation of a process of indigenous self-development. Participation and the 'Learning Process' approach were presented as opposed to the rigorous blueprint approach. Beneficiary participation required major changes in methods: symbols instead of words and graphs, critical incident analysis for unforeseen occurrences, and culturally familiar idioms such as story telling or plays.

Howes categorised new approaches to planning such as ZOPP and Rapid Rural Ap-

praisal (RRA) in between blue-printing rooted in modernisation theory and the extended participation rooted in the new 'participation' school (see Fig. 1.2). He claims that ZOPP partly addresses the objections by providing procedures for building on the perspectives of different interest groups but mostly the outcome still depends upon the manner in which LF is constructed and operated. RRA also facilitates rapport building between the outsiders and rural people at the early stage of planning by using a combination of mapping, diagramming, semi-structured interviewing methods, it does not guarantee a possible course of action in the latter stages (Howes 1992:391)¹².

Fig. 1.2 Howes' categorisations of planning and evaluation methods from the 60s and 90s



Linking methods to development paradigm is very useful in the analysis of methodology.

However, as Howes himself acknowledged, reality is more complex, therefore, a practical activity cannot be put into a single ideological paradigm. Major donors now implement projects broadly along with much modernisation theory with the mix of neo-liberal thought behind it, but also claim participation, ownership and empowerment concepts at

¹² Howes also mentions dependency theory, neo-Marxism and structuralism, but found little contribution to the innovation of appraisal and evaluation methods by these schools.

the same time. Therefore, when this paper considers aid rationales or aid philosophy in the methodological analysis, especially in discussion of a donor's policy orientation, it will not categorise them each into just one of the academic ideological styles. In addition, values about development do not provide sufficient answers to why JPCM modelled its approach on ZOPP instead of other LFA variants, and why it turned out to be different from ZOPP too. The paper needs to find other possibilities to determine the modes of methodology. However, extra components in methodology relevant to my research were not fully studied in other major planning theories. This called for an investigation of components in evaluation theory and their modification to the planning theory.

1.6.3 Evaluation Theory and its modification for my study of planning methodology

Shadish et al. (1991) summarised components of ex-post evaluation methodology as follows; 1) Theory of Social Programming, 2) Theory of Value, 3) Theory of Knowledge, 4) Theory of Knowledge Use, 5) Theory of Evaluation Practices. Some modifications are necessary to apply this to planning methodology.

A Theory of Social Programming concerns how social programs can contribute to social problem solving, and how programs can be improved for this task. This component describes 1) internal program structure and functioning, 2) external constraints that shape and constrain programs, 3) the process of how social change occurs, how programs change, and how program change contributes to social change (Shadish et. al. 1991:31-41).

A Theory of Value addresses how evaluators can make values explicit which are omnipresent in social programming, deal with them openly and produce a sensitive analysis of the value implications of programs. This component involves meta-theory the study of the nature of and justification for valuing, and identification of different approaches to valuing: 1) prescriptive theories which advocate primacy of particular values, and 2) descriptive theory which describes value positions without claiming one position is best (Shadish et. al. 1991:46-52).

A Theory of Knowledge questions how evaluators construct their knowledge. It has to deal with 1) ontology- the study of the ultimate nature of reality, 2) epistemology - the study of the nature, origins, and limits of knowledge, and 3) the set of methods for knowl-

edge construction (Shadish et. al. 1991:41-46).

A Theory of Knowledge Use asks how evaluators can produce results that are useful for social problem solving. It describes possible kinds of use, depicts the time frames in which the use occurs, and explains what the evaluator can do to facilitate use under different circumstances (Shadish et. al. 1991:52-57).

The final component, Theory of Evaluation Practice integrates the above 4 dimensions by discussing the pragmatic concepts to orient evaluators to their task and to suggest general strategies. It deals with the appropriate time and purpose of evaluations, roles of evaluators, types of question, design and activities for evaluation (Shadish et. al. 1991:57-64).

I found components 1) Theory of Social Programming, 2) Theory of Value, 5) Theory of 'Planning' Practices more relevant to ex-ante planning.

The Theory of knowledge and Theory of knowledge use are less relevant for planning, since ex-ante planning is not aimed at knowledge accumulation as in ex-post evaluation processes, instead, it is mainly used for decision making for an uncertain future.

Theory of Social Programming and the Theory of Valuing are main concerns in the methodological analysis in planning. I selected internal structures such as administrative procedures or organisational structures out of Theory of Social Programming component to analyse methodological differences in ZOPP and PCM. The values relevant to development aid and to management are selected as other aspects out of Theory of Value.

Theory of practice is also relevant for planning under time and resource constraints. Specific policy implications can be drawn from the integration of Theory of Social Programming and Theory of Value and the accumulation of practical experiences in planning., which explains the different choices as to the following questions;

1. Whether the planning should be done,
2. When the planning should be done,
3. What the purpose of the planning should be,
4. What roles planners ought to play
5. What design will be used.

This component, Theory of 'Planning' Practice needs further accumulation of meth-

odological analyses of planning theories as well as of the practices of these proposed methods in theory, but again this goes beyond my research scope¹³.

2 ZOPP VS. PCM - COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF METHODS

This chapter describes ZOPP in theory and practice from the 1980s to mid 90s, and compares it with theory and practice of the Japanese version of PCM. It also adds background information on the transformation process from ZOPP, first to Japanese PCM in FASID, and later in JICA, presenting possible reasons why Japanese aid agencies used ZOPP as their base for formulation of JPCM.

2.1 ZOPP

2.1.1 ZOPP in Theory from the 1980s to the mid 90s

The original LF incorporated into ZOPP was a four by four matrix containing major elements of the Management by Objectives approach (GTZ 1997b). As seen in LF forms widely used in other donor agencies such as FAO or ODA/DFID etc., the left hand column in ZOPP contains the project 'activities', 'results', 'project purpose', and 'overall goal', all linked by cause-effect relationships (see Figure 2.1). The next column allocates 'objectively verifiable indicators' for the overall goal, the project purpose and the results, and 'specifications of inputs` are used as an indicator for the 'activities'. The column gave preferences for quantitative indicators in the original ZOPP version. This LF, or Project Planning Matrix' in ZOPP term, also contains 'sources for verification' in the third column and 'important assumptions' in the last column¹⁴.

The essential aspects newly incorporated in ZOPP, which distinguish it from other versions of the original LFA in USAID or ODA/DFID, are the following:

1. a greater attention to participatory planning and its systematized mechanisms, through
 - (a) 'Participation Analysis' or stakeholder analysis in the first stage before derivation of the project objectives,
 - (b) participatory workshop methodology using visualization

¹³ Other relevant theories are discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. Theories about knowledge transfer are also relevant, but reserved for future work.

¹⁴ The detailed ZOPP description is available in GTZ (1987 & 88a, 88b), Gasper(1997), MacArthur (1994),Goebel et.al.(1996),Kutlu (1998).

techniques such as the use of cards and blackboard,

2. More attention to vertical logic compared with other LFA by (a) introducing systematic exercises of 'Problem Analysis' and 'Objectives Analysis' before drawing up the objectives hierarchy, and (b) paying more attention to assumptions analysis,
3. More emphasis to formalised planning stages (5 stages) to detail, revise and update the project designs.

ZOPP emphasises the participation of relevant interest groups and target groups, being used as 'a communication tool'. In addition, the comprehensive 12 planning steps¹⁵ in the original version start with "Participation Analysis", where all interest groups, institutions and target groups are scanned, listed, and classified to discuss whose interests and views are given priority (GTZ 1988a & b). The workshop style is also intended to facilitate discussion amongst relevant groups and people by exchanging information, experiences and opinion to build consensus and shared commitment, through the facilitation of an 'outside' moderator. Visualisation techniques such as the use of cards and a board help the participatory planning process.

Another newly adopted feature of ZOPP was systematic analytical steps in 'Problem Analysis' and 'Objectives Analysis' proceeding to the LF or 'Project Planning Matrix. In Problem Analysis, first, definition of a core problem is to be shared among participants through card exercises and consensus building. Causes-effects analysis follows by placing each substantial and direct cause underneath the core problem. The hierarchy of problems - the problem tree - is transformed into a hierarchy of objectives. This elaborate and systematic analysis before drawing up the LF provides the shared understanding of a comprehensive view around the core problems, which helps later in determining the project objectives hierarchy, analysing assumptions and discussing project alternatives.

In addition, more focus on the analysis of the assumptions is shown in the order of

¹⁵ The 1988 version of ZOPP identifies 12 steps as follows. 1st step : Participation Analysis, 2nd step : Problem Analysis-identifying the core problem, 3rd step :Problem Analysis-analyzing the causes of and effects of the core problem, 4th step :objective analysis, 5th step: discussion of alternatives, 6th step : Project Planning Matrix -overall description of the project, 7th step : PPM - important assumptions, 8th step :PPM -wording indicators, 9th step :PPM-means of verification, 10th step :PPM - analysis of assumption relevance, risks, 11th step: PPM checking whether the project management can guarantee the results/outputs, 12th step :PPM - inputs (GTZ 1988b).

16 steps to fill in the PPM matrix; assumptions analysis comes soon after filling the hierarchical objectives (See Figure 2.1). This arrangement functions to avoid undermining of assumptions analysis, which is frequently observed as a danger in other versions of LFA, by placing it before the energy consuming exercises on indicators and means of verification.

Thirdly, ZOPP offers 5 planning stages to clarify, revise, and update LF through a workshop at each stage, incorporating the project cycle management concept into GTZ's technical cooperation scheme (See Figure 2.2). ZOPP 1 or 'Pre ZOPP' workshop was held among 4-7 team members from the relevant Regional Department in GTZ, and other relevant project departments and resource persons from BMZ or KfW to picture the project concept. In ZOPP 2 or 'appraisal-ZOPP', the appraisers for the project participate to further clarify PPM and prepare the Terms of Reference. This was followed by 'Partner ZOPP' among GTZ Head-Office project liaison officer, appraisers, counterpart institutions, representatives or target group and other relevant actors for joint project design purposes. ZOPP 4, 'Take off ZOPP' specifies the plan of operations through updating and further developing analyses and project planning. ZOPP 5, 'Re-planning-ZOPP' is identical to the monitoring phase, which intends to adjust plans, modify or supplement predetermined objectives. Other ZOPP workshops are also recommended by GTZ whenever necessary.

Fig. 2.1 Project Planning Matrix (PPM) in ZOPP 1988 version
(Source: GTZ 1988a)

PROJECT PLANNING MATRIX (PPM)		Project Title: Project No: Est. Project Duration: Country:	PPM prepared by on (date):
SUMMARY OF OBJECTIVES/ACTIVITIES	OBJECTIVELY VERIFIABLE INDICATORS	MEANS/SOURCES OF VERIFICATION	IMPORTANT ASSUMPTIONS
<p>OVERALL GOAL to which the project contributes</p> <p>1. How do we word the OG, taking into account the results of the analysis of objectives?</p>	<p>INDICATORS that overall goal has been achieved</p> <p>9. How do we define the contents of the OG (in the various phases) i.e. the contribution to the achievement of the OG, so that they become measurable? <u>Note:</u> Quality, quantity, time and possibly location and target group.</p>	<p>12. Which database is available, or which documents have been drawn up or can be obtained elsewhere, to prove that the OG has been achieved?</p>	<p>For sustaining objectives in the long term</p> <p>8. Which external factors will have to occur in order to assure sustained continuity of the achieved contribution to the OG in the longer term?</p>
<p>PROJECT PURPOSE</p> <p>2. With which PP (independent of factors manageable by the project management) will we make a considerable contribution to the achievement of the OG?</p>	<p>INDICATORS proving that the project purpose has been achieved (end-of-project status)</p> <p>10. How do we define the contents of the PP (in the various phases), i.e. the achievement of the project purpose, so that it becomes measurable? <u>Note:</u> Quality, quantity, time and possibly location and target group.</p>	<p>13. Which database is available, or which documents have been drawn up or can be obtained elsewhere, to prove that the project purpose has been achieved?</p>	<p>For achieving overall goal</p> <p>7. Which external factors will have to occur for the anticipated contribution to the overall goal to actually take place?</p>
<p>RESULTS/OUTPUTS</p> <p>3. Which results/outputs (as a whole and in effective combination) will have to be obtained in order to achieve anticipated impact (the Project Purpose)?</p>	<p>INDICATORS proving that the results/outputs has been achieved (end-of-project status)</p> <p>11. How do we define the contents of each individual result/output (in the various phases) so that they become measurable? <u>Note:</u> Quality, quantity, time and possibly location and target group.</p>	<p>14. Which database is available, or which documents have been drawn up or can be obtained elsewhere, to prove that the results/outputs has been achieved?</p>	<p>For achieving the project purpose</p> <p>6. Which important assumptions in relation to the results/outputs 1 to that cannot be influenced by the project or have been consciously defined as external factors, must occur in order for the project purpose to be achieved?</p>
<p>ACTIVITIES</p> <p>4. Which activities (also as complex packages of measures) will the project have to tackle and implement in order for the results/outputs 1 to to be obtained?</p>	<p>SPECIFICATION of inputs/costs of each activity</p> <p>16. How much does it cost and what inputs are needed (including personnel inputs in man-months) in order to implement each individual activity?</p>	<p>15. What records vouch for the costs entailed, consumption of materials, use of equipment, inputs of personnel etc.?</p>	<p>For achieving the results/outputs</p> <p>5. Which important assumptions in relation to the activities 1 to that cannot be influenced by the project or have been consciously defined as external factors, must occur in order for the results/outputs to be achieved?</p>

Fig. 2.2 ZOPP cycle (1988 version) (Source: GTZ 1988a)

Step	ZOPP 1 "Pre ZOPP"	ZOPP 2 "Appraisal ZOPP"	ZOPP 3 "Partner-ZOPP"	ZOPP 4 "Start ZOPP"	ZOPP 5 "Re-planning ZOPP"
Duration	1 day	1-2 days	2-5 days	3-10 days	3 to 10 days
Participants	Regional Dep. relevant project dep, Resource persons (BMZ, kfW) 4-7 team members	Project Dep. Appraiser, resource persons, 3-7 team members	GTZ head-office project liaison officer, appraisers, counterpart institutions (representatives of target group) head of GTZ project Admin. Service, Rep. Of competent ministry, rep. Of German embassy	Project team, PS, project executing institutions, representatives of the responsible ministry, target groups, external moderator, head of PAS	As in ZOPP 4, plus where applicable appraisers, GTZ Head Office Project Liaison Officer, Head of GTZ PAS, external moderator
Scope	Wide	Limited 1)	Limited 1)	Very limited 2)	Large
Information review	Limited information, only name major groups	Information still limited, list should be as comprehensive as possible making gaps to be filled by appraisers	Intensive analysis	Review the participation analysis, supplement where necessary, structure cooperation relationships	Review documents from ZOPP4 and possible additions particularly when redesigning project
Analysis of	As comprehensive as necessary but not too detailed, identify information gaps	Refer to ZOPP 1, but review gaps and mark where more information is required	Answer open issues, evaluate the relevance of problems and objectives	Review and in-depth processing of existing analyses, prepare ongoing monitoring of the problem situation 2).	Review in regard to the new problems encountered or modifications planned
Alternatives	Where sufficient information available, identify and evaluate alternative project approaches	Depending on contents of BMZ order	If Overall Goal and Project Purpose cannot be achieved =appraisal result is negative, if result is positive, examine implementations alternatives at activity level , and to a limited degree also at results level	At activity level, if applicable; depends on the content of the implementation offer/order	Identify and assess alternatives, especially when redesigning project
Binding primary of and activities	Overall goal, objectives, results :no activities	Preliminary statement of activities	Binding definition of overall goal, project purpose, results; state activities	Determine activities, plan of operation and possible detailed project-internal work planning	Restate again overall goal, project purpose, results and activities
Assumptions	State assumptions known	As in ZOPP 1	Clear definition of external factors, contributions and inputs by third parties, pre-conditions for project implementation	Development of a plan to monitor for assumptions	If necessary state now assumptions and draw up plan to monitor assumptions
Indicators of verification	Not yet applicable	Underline their importance, discuss examples	State main indicators	To be detailed and serve as a basis for monitoring	Details of new indicators and means of verification where necessary
Detailing inputs	Not yet applicable	Rough estimate	Details must be sufficient to be the basis for an offer for project implementation	Detail planning, possibly for individual working areas	Detail planning for new approach

- 1) At this point in time, an order to appraise a defined project proposal has already been received from the BMZ.
- 2) At this point in time the BMZ order to implement a defined project has been received the government agreement has been signed, changes can only be made after renewed coordination and agreement with the BMZ and the project executing organization.

In summary, ZOPP was conceptualised out of two different streams, 1) a control approach derived deeply from the assumptions of the original LFA formulated for USAID in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and 2) a participatory learning approach, which was newly added in the 1980s. As explained in Chapter 1, this corresponds to Howes' categorisation of ZOPP; its location in between two different streams, containing traits of both modernisation theory and the participation school. Or it can be described as an attempted incorporation of a learning process approach into a blue print approach¹⁶.

The original version of LF was developed primarily for monitoring and ex-post evaluation for accountability purposes in USAID, and emphasises horizontal logic such as quantitative indicators and their means of verification. Horizontal logic is mainly for transparency and good justification for project funding, and efficient implementation of the project. Necessary information for monitoring and evaluation is centrally controlled. This mode is closer to the 'Paradigm of Things' by Chambers (1996), or 'Style A' labelled by Power (1997; also Gasper, 1999) (see Table 2.3 & 2.4).

Table 2.3 the Summary of 'Paradigm of Things' and 'Paradigm of People'
Source: Chambers (1996)

The Paradigms of Things and People Contrasted		
	<u>Things</u>	<u>People</u>
Mode	<u>Blueprint</u>	<u>Learning Process</u>
Key concept	<u>Planning</u>	<u>Participation</u>
Objectives	<u>Pre-set</u>	<u>Evolving</u>
Logic	<u>Linear, Newtonian</u>	<u>Iterative</u>
Actions/Outcomes	<u>Standardised</u>	<u>Diverse</u>
Assumptions	<u>Reductionism</u>	<u>Holistic, Systematic</u>
People seen as	<u>Objects, Targets</u>	<u>Subject, Actors</u>
Outsider's Roles	Transfer, 'motivate'	<u>Facilitate</u> , Empower
Main Outsiders	Engineers, economists	<u>Any/ all who have participatory Behaviour /attitude</u>

Outputs	Infrastructure Physical Change	Capability Institutions

Aspects relevant to ZOPP are highlighted.

¹⁶ The ambivalence can be traced in the line between scientific management and human relations approaches in management. This also relates back to the argument of Theory X and Theory Y addressed by McGregor.

Table 2.4 Style A and Style B by Power
Source: Gasper.(1997)

Style A	Style B
Resources make people Central information can be sufficient	People are a resource Central information is inevitably limited and distorted.
<u>Uncertainties can be sharply reduced by good analysis</u>	<u>Uncertainties remain massive</u>
Key foci are: delivery of resources control of unreliable individuals and agencies, use of targets to stretch people underlying causes, etc.	Key Foci are: forming positive attitudes, institutions, <u>team-building</u> , action on
Monitoring/evaluation focus Expert analysis Indicators and targets (plus rewards and sanctions) Accountability.....	<u>Participatory- and self-analysis</u> <u>Stakeholder analysis</u> <u>Assumptions analysis</u> <u>Learning</u>

Aspects relevant to ZOPP are highlighted.

As in the ‘Paradigm of Things’, ZOPP contains clear shortcut linear logics in its hierarchical goals and strictly standardised ZOPP procedures. It could be a blueprint planning method preoccupied with pre-set objectives. People can be treated as object or a target by the external control. The additional procedures of Problems and Objectives analyses potentially provide good analysis to avoid uncertainty, which features some aspects of ‘Theory A’.

On the other hand, additional ZOPP features such as emphasis on participatory planning method, more attention to the assumptions column¹⁷ and core problem setting from the participant” subjectivity, reflect the other mode: the ‘Paradigm of People’ labelled by Chambers, or ‘Style B’ by Power.

As in the ‘Paradigm of People’, the hierarchical logic and its corresponding assumptions drawn from objectives and problems analyses can be constructed in a holistic and systematic manner. People are potentially treated as actors or participants in a planning stage, and ZOPP moderators ideally facilitate the participatory workshops. ZOPP also has some aspects shown in ‘Theory B’ such as the emphasis on team building, stakeholder analysis and assumptions analysis. Therefore, in theory, ZOPP can be used for learning process approach.

In short, ZOPP is a product of 'aufheben' between two different modes. This am-

¹⁷ The assumption analysis also fits in Style A by reducing uncertainty in advance.

bivalence in theory will explain the swinging pendulum in practical application, which will be discussed in the next section.

2.1.2 ZOPP in Practice

Soon after theorising ZOPP in 1980/81, ZOPP was introduced and spread widely in GTZ. GTZ in-house organisational instruction formally introduced it into project planning on a provisional basis in 1983. ZOPP later came into GTZ's organisational manual in 1987 as a binding regulation, No.4211 (GTZ 1997b). By the end of 1988 (within 5 years of its introduction), GTZ trained all the managers, staff, and sub-contractors concerned with project implementation in ZOPP method (GTZ 1997b). In fact, ZOPP produced newly created jobs, like ZOPP moderator. Mastering the ZOPP method is now conceived as a critical pre-conditions for careers (GTZ 1997b).

The Pendulum of practising ZOPP first shifted toward a more control oriented approach. ZOPP first received praise for the improvement of control/ steering purpose. According to Goebel (1996), more than 10 years of ZOPP application produced remarkable improvement in project management: improvement of project justification by clarifying relationship between hierarchical objectives, better 'involvement' of stakeholders in project preparation and design, transparency at all steps in planning and decision making.

However, GTZ began to receive criticisms mainly from the NGO community, EC and internal GTZ discussions in the early 90s.

First, it did not fulfil the grounds for 'participation'. 'Participation Analysis' or analysis of interests and potentials of stakeholders is often omitted (Breitschuh 1996). Participatory workshop style reduced to ritual workshops just for fulfilling the GTZ organisational criteria. Mechanical sequences of workshops prevented case-by case flexible planning. Degree of participation was generally low, often reduced to including 'the token poor' in the workshop or even more commonly to showing 'alibi representation' just to fulfil the operational requirement. In addition, the conventional appraisal period with 3-4 weeks did not allow full-scale participatory planning. The over emphasis on quantitative indicators is also now recognised. All these factors induced loss of spirit of local ownership. The reduced participation finally led to un-sustainability of projects, where ownership

of the planning process is not taken over after projects.

Second, ZOPP turned out to be a blueprint planning method with less attention to a continuous process of building consensus. Too much attention was given to make a "perfect plan", in which the Project Planning Matrix will be neither revised nor newly formulated in a continuous process of project cycle. A standardised application of LF to the similar types of projects also led to creation of more pre-set objectives and neglect of the special features of individual cases.

Finally, as seen in the cynical phrase 'We're ZOPPed', the standardised ZOPP approach undermines cultural or group differences. Some claim that ZOPP does not differentiate interest groups (e.g. men & women) at target group level. The rigid ZOPP procedures starting with identification of problems rather than potentials or future aspirations, and mainly reflecting outsiders' opinions, were felt odd in certain cultures¹⁸. Problems analysis may be interpreted as a 'you have problems, I will help you out' approach (Gagel: 1996). Robert Chambers warned of the dangers of written-word oriented cards, asserting that officials are liable to dominate logically, verbally and in writing, which leads to underestimation of less powerful opinions (Breitschuh 1994, Gasper 1997, INTRAC 1994, GTZ 1997).

Criticisms in the 90s also revealed other assumptions in ZOPP. Since, LFA and its variants including ZOPP has been developed mainly for managers and planners in donor agencies, or some governmental officers in the recipient countries, their assumptions are obviously different from the those in the NGO driven bottom-up planning approaches such as PRA or PLA. Other assumptions in ZOPP include; 1) literacy, 2) visualisation, 3) democracy, 4) linear time span from past to present to future, 5) linear cause-effect chain, and 6) needs for planning (for donors).

ZOPP method disfavours the illiterate and the handicapped in eyesight, especially when using the cards on the board. Moreover, ZOPP does not count the culture of oral tradition that may make participants uncomfortable in the written-based tradition taken for granted in LFA.

¹⁸ When BMW acquired Rover a couple years ago, a former Rover worker complained about the training method in a BMW factory in Munich, saying 'why are German always obsessed with asking what are the problems and how to solve these, but we want to enjoy more.'(BBC World "Rover Meets BMW").

The use of ZOPP and JPCM, especially participatory workshops, requires a certain degree of democracy or some extent of equality within the group with respect to power relations regarding caste, gender, class, ethnicity and job status.

The ZOPP assumes a linear time span, which proceeds from the analysis of the past or present (Problems Analysis), to future statement (Objectives Analysis). Some moderators omitted Problems Analysis for the planning of, for example, the improvement of medical services for the aged. “Scenario writing approach”, a method which first describes the desirable state of the future, is more appropriate for the aged who have lived long and have a desire to look for the desired future rather than the problems of the pasts.

In addition, the presumption of linear cause-effect chains in LF and its variants underestimate web-type analysis where causes and effects are inter-mingled and inter-related each other.

Moreover, ZOPP and PCM and other LFA variants assume the need for planning. Clarification of project objectives is mainly meant for the donors/funders, or the managers and planners. PCM and ZOPP are the tools to search for the meeting points between top-down and bottom up approach (often with the emphasis on the former), therefore, they are not planned for the “pure” bottom up approach.

In summary, the ten years experiences of ZOPP in GTZ in the 1980s and early 90s showed relative success as a control method which gave a clear and unified structure of projects and transparent decision making process. However, the other side of the sword, also incorporated into ZOPP - a participatory learning tool for planning - was largely neglected.

2.2 Japanese version of PCM

2.2.1 Background - the role of FASID in ZOPP adoption process

The adoption process of Japanese PCM commenced relatively late compared with some other donor agencies who already had 20 years of LF application history. Beforehand, the Japanese aid agencies barely had experience in applying the Logical Framework con-

cept to project formulation except for a few spontaneous and sporadic individual efforts¹⁹. A mere emphasis on inputs and obscure linkages between inputs and overall objective made it difficult to distinguish levels of objectives. Normally inputs were directly justified by the super goal: one level higher goal than the Overall Goal. Some keen JICA officers suggested that JICA should introduce the LF concept in its project formulation and evaluation method in the late 1980s but this was rejected. The LF was considered not to fit into the JICA scheme at that time²⁰.

The creation of FASID, especially the organisational backup - structure, money, human resources with authorisation by both ministries (MOFA and MOE), made a PCM adoption process possible in 1990. After overcoming initial obstacles of bureaucratic politics²¹, FASID gained abundant financial support of one billion yen from Keidanren²² as a foundation for its activities. It also receives financial support from each ministry each year.

In addition to the financial back up, newly employed staff in FASID who were familiar with the LF or ZOPP concept also contributed to the adoption process. The main actors involved in developing Japanese PCM were;

1. 2 of the top FASID officers who took leadership roles,
2. a couple of other FASID officers with some knowledge of LF or ZOPP through their advanced education or LF experience in international organisations, who mainly developed the JPCM concept based upon ZOPP.
3. three GTZ officers²³ or ZOPP moderators who came to teach the ZOPP method in FASID for about one and half years from 1990, and,
4. other key informants who had trained in some form of LF through their practical and

¹⁹ Interviewee No.3, a former FASID officer.

²⁰ Interviewee No.5, a former FASID officer.

²¹ The establishing process of FASID itself represents bureaucratic politics, in this case, between MOFA and MOE. Originally, the MOFA had greater intention to establish graduate universities for development assistance administrators, therefore, it set up a new office within MOFA in February 1990 for the preparation to establish an 'international development graduate institute' in Japan. This initiative had to confront strong opposition by MOE which claims the authority over educational institutes. The MOFA failed to establish an official graduate school to get official diploma, instead, it created a non profit organization to just offer training courses to aid administrators.

²² Keizai Dantai Rengokai or Federation of Economic Organizations

²³ They were Peter Siebenhehner (a free-lance consultant, who works a lot for GTZ), Ulrich Winkler (GTZ HQ officer in the Strategic Corporate Development Unit - previously Unit 04 -, Corporate Organization and Management) and Helmut Blaufusz . Other officers also came later to take over their positions.

theoretical experiences in their organisations including JICA, NGOs, private consulting firms to reflect their opinion through informal network with FASID officers²⁴ .

Some FASID officers who had working experiences in JICA provided a bridge function to fill the gap between the ZOPP concept and the JICA administrative scheme.

2.2.2 *Why was ZOPP used as a model for JPCM?*

FASID researched various LFAs used by other major donors and came to the conclusion that ZOPP has strengths in its combined principles of participation and systematic planning for clarification of logical chains. Especially, the participatory aspects in ZOPP, which are added to the control-oriented original LFA, drew the attention of FASID officers. Some officers pointed out that they were more attracted by the participatory planning method than by the controlling aspects for project transparency and clear logic²⁵. The top two officers in FASID seemed more concerned with efficient implementation of the projects and improvement of project steering mechanisms. However, ZOPP satisfies both purposes at the same time, which helped it gain many supporters within FASID and relevant agencies.

In addition, the leadership roles to promote ZOPP in Japanese aid agencies can explain one of the reasons of choosing ZOPP out of the other various LFAs. Former FASID officers whom I talked to, said `the Director of training department of FASID took initiatives to introduce ZOPP into Japanese aid schemes after he was impressed in an international seminar on ZOPP in his field office`. In addition, due to their previous job careers, top officers of FASID were closely associated with JICA and MOFA, which facilitated JICA's decision in 1993 to adopt PCM.

The most plausible reason for the adoption of ZOPP method was that ZOPP had already gained a reputation as a successful planning method among international donor communities, including some NGOs. For instance, the OECD's DAC, a promoter of the logical framework usage, praised the ZOPP method ('ZOPP has been successfully applied to many projects') in its aid review in 1988 just before FASID tried to develop JCPM (OECD 1988). In fact, Japanese aid agencies have been very keen about DAC recommen-

²⁴ Interviewee No.5, a former FASID officer.

²⁵ Interviewee No.5, Interviewee No.7 former FACID officers.

dations since 1964 when Japan became a DAC member²⁶. Many aid agencies such as NORAD, DANIDA, the Dutch aid ministry, and various major NGOs showed their interest in this newly created alternative to LFA in the later 80s to early 90s.

To sum up, under the international pressure to devise rational planning techniques incorporating “participation” into the development field, Japan finally came to a conclusion to use ZOPP as a model, and created JPCM in the early 90s. This was possibly due to the active leadership roles and the organisational back up of FASID. In other words, along with a rapid penetration and international reputation, ZOPP has attracted the Japanese aid officers in its perfect presentation i as one form complementing both contradictory principles of management and participation. The closer mental distance in management culture seems also another plausible factors to have chosen ZOPP out of other LF variants, which will be explored in Chapter 3.

2.2.3 *PCM in theory – FASID version*

FASID followed ZOPP as it was in GTZ, for the first one or two years from 1990. Three GTZ officers came to teach ZOPP introductory courses. The lectures were offered in English using GTZ's ZOPP textbooks. Meanwhile, three FASID officers were sent to GTZ to be trained in ZOPP method. Later, FASID developed its own textbook in 1993 based upon GTZ's experiences in ZOPP while referring also to NORAD textbooks. These textbooks have been revised a couple of times.

The differences between ZOPP and FASID's version of PCM are subtle (FASID 1998b, 1991, 1994, 1998b, Okada et al. 1994). Many FASID officers whom I spoke to claimed that JPCM was a translation of GTZ's and NORAD's textbooks and exactly the same as ZOPP in GTZ. JPCM follows the same systematic analysis -- participation analysis, problem analysis and objective analysis before writing up a LF, or 'Project Design Matrix'. The order of filling a PDM repeats GTZ's textbook. Instead of a Four by Three matrix as used in NORAD, JPCM uses a Four by four matrix, the same format as then used in

²⁶ For instances, many aid reform actions in Japanese aid agencies were stimulated by DAC recommendations such as introduction of Environmental Impact Assessment in project appraisal, strengthening the evaluation system, increasing untied aid projects.

GTZ. It also emphasises participatory planning method and uses the same visualisation techniques such as the use of card and board.

However, subtle differences are identified as follows.

1. As to LF matrix form, JPCM added one cell for 'Pre conditions' below the Assumptions Column, to identify pre-conditions for project initiation.
2. FASID's version of PCM does not use a clear definition of the participation and ownership concept while GTZ defines it "co-determination and power sharing"²⁷.
3. FASID's version of PCM uses more integrated criteria for comparison of projects in Alternatives Analysis than does ZOPP²⁸.
4. FASID changed the time dimension at the project purpose level. While ZOPP defined Project Purpose in Narrative Summary as "the purpose which shall be attained by the partner government after the project completion", FASID re-defined it as "the purpose which shall be attained at the point of the project completion"²⁹. The change was adopted after some ethical and practical considerations. FASID thought ZOPP's original definition irresponsible if it leaves out the donor's commitment at the project purpose level, and in addition of no utility, especially for technical cooperation schemes, if JICA cannot evaluate the attainment of the project purpose just after the project injec-

²⁷ The difference comes from each organizational role. The role of FASID as an academic organization does not require attaching the interpretation of development philosophy to PCM, which normally operational organization adds to the methods.

²⁸ ZOPP in the 1988 version uses feasibility focused criteria for discussion of alternatives such as Development policy priorities, Specific conditions in the project country, Suitability of the alternative solution for the Technical Cooperation scheme (in contrast to Financial Cooperation or other instruments of development cooperation), Funding availability, GTZ's experience in this region or sector, Available manpower, Complementary or competitive activities of other donors (GTZ 1988)

On the other hand, JPCM uses more integrated and comprehensive (which may be similar to DAC) criteria; Target group: characteristics of target group, size, gender balance, citizen's needs, priorities of development policies in recipient countries, and aid policies in donor country, technology: appropriate level of technology, needs of new technology, social aspects: gender, cultural restrictions, risks, environmental impacts, inputs: feasibility of inputs, economic aspects: cost/benefit analysis, economic impact, feasibility of effectiveness: feasibility of outputs (time etc.) relation with other donors: avoid redundancy, accelerating effect through overlapping (FASID 1993, 1994, 1999)

The differences in the criteria for the selection of projects in Alternatives Analysis can relate to the year of adoption and its relation to the DAC recommendations. ZOPP seems to have been formulated in 1983 without reference to DAC criteria. Later it accepted DAC principles. The criteria used in PCM mainly follow the DAC principles which were conceptualized in the early 90s.

²⁹ E-mail confirmed by a FASID officer. As Gasper (2000:17) indicated, the LF lacks explicit time dimensions in each means-ends chain. The comparative study of the time interpretation used in the "narrative summary" by different agencies will be a worthwhile research topic.

tion in order to immediately judge on project extension or completion.

2.2.4 *PCM in theory – JICA version*

JICA created its version of PCM in a top-down manner with more emphasis on control purposes for its own schemes. The initiative by FASID to introduce the PCM concept into JICA was first brought to the table with/by President of JICA (1988-1994), and adopted from top down. In fact, the president of FASID at that time perceived that “PCM, a management technique especially for quality control has to be introduced from the top to down”³⁰, and did this for PCM adoption in JICA.

JICA also initially showed more interest in PCM for control or management purposes, for using in monitoring and ex-post evaluation. Since the establishment of its evaluation unit in 1988, there has been a concern within JICA that it is difficult to apply DAC recommended evaluation criteria - efficiency, effectiveness, impact, relevance, sustainability - to ex-post evaluation without having used LF in the planning stages³¹. The utility of PCM, therefore, was recognized initially for evaluation purposes in a long run.

JICA prepared general guidelines in 1992 based upon the PCM concept presented by FASID, and detailed programming guidelines for each type of “typical” project³². The core philosophy in these detailed guidelines is more oriented to control over the recipient government with less emphasis on participation than in FASID’s version. This could be readily observed in 1) their intended purposes of PCM, 2) criteria for alternatives analysis 3) reduced number of workshops in PCM cycle with less emphasis on participation.

First, JICA’s guidelines define PCM as a management tool to improve project efficiency, and largely expect that PDM or LF functions as a check table for the clarification of responsibilities among each government and organisation. Some guidelines, for instance, interpreted the major failure of JICA’s technical cooperation schemes as unwillingness to attain project goals as scheduled, and concluded that it was due to the over ambitious project purpose, poorly set pre-conditions pledged by the recipient government, and ambiguous

³⁰ Interviewee No.3. A former president of FASID.

³¹ Interviewee No.4. A JICA officer.

³² Such as forestry promotion, industry research institution, vocational training center etc..

scope of responsibilities between the recipient and donor side. In this context, a model of PDM or LF presented in these guidelines uses the "assumptions column" to clarify responsibility of the recipient country, and the "input column" to confirm what the Japanese can provide and what the recipient government has to offer for the project.

Second, these guidelines reduced the roles of alternatives analysis mainly to project justification, and weakened its function of clarifying possible uncertain events or finding other paths which are excluded from the linear links expressed in the narrative summary. Although JICA's version of PCM uses similar criteria as in the FASID version such as environmental impact, WID, social cultural context, political and economic analysis and appropriate technology and overlaps with other donors etc., it additionally emphasises project management capacity of the recipient country. It includes the qualifications and availability of personnel, financial resources for self-management, and other organisational capacity in the counterpart organisation for technology transfer.

In addition, the JICA version of PCM reduced the participatory emphasis compared with ZOPP.

The guidelines specify to convene participatory workshops three times within the project cycle of JICA technical cooperation scheme: one before preliminary study, another workshop during preliminary study at the project site, and the last workshop after implementation. The first workshop, called "PP1" or Participatory Planning 1, which corresponds to ZOPP 1 or pre-ZOPP, is intended to form an agreed basic project concept among representatives from relevant department(s) in JICA and relevant ministries. This workshop is to find out necessary information to be collected in the following preliminary survey at site³³. Therefore, the focal point in PP1 is on problem analysis, objective analysis, and vertical logic in LF matrix. Appraisal procedure remains confidential or unknown to the public since workshops at appraisal stage such as in ZOPP2 are omitted in the JICA version of PCM. The following workshop called "PP2" which is similar to ZOPP 3 or Partner ZOPP, is intended to be in the partner country.

³³ Some guideline gives examples of venue, expected hours, participants for the PP1 as follows: three hour mini-workshop at JICA meeting room among two representatives from Ministry of International Trade and Industry, one expert in industry, and director of mine and industrial development cooperation department of JICA.

PP3, the final workshop of the first phase in the JICA scheme (5 years)³⁴, is planned to take place to design a detailed plan of operation, to confirm institutional arrangements for monitoring and indicators for the following evaluation. This workshop also does not clarify who should participate, but according to guidelines, mainly expects to have participants from the JICA mission team, JICA experts who had been dispatched to the project, counterparts and relevant partner government staff³⁵. The basic framework of PP2 and PP3 differs from the corresponding ZOPP workshops - ZOPP 3 and ZOPP 4 respectively - in the following points:

1. there are no specifications of days required for workshop,
2. there are no clear definitions of participants and degree of participation, which induces a tendency to exclude beneficiary groups in the participant's list.
3. representatives from the Japanese side are not from the regional office as planned in GTZ, but a planning team dispatched from Tokyo.

2.2.5 JICA version of PCM in use

JICA started to use PCM in 1994, and made it compulsory to prepare a PDM /LF for all new project-type Technical Cooperation schemes in 1995. Five years of experience of PCM in JICA since 1994³⁶ shows major failure in both control and participatory aspects (Shimadzu 1999b, JICA 1996b, 1997a&b, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c)³⁷.

First, JICA did not succeed in obtaining full adoption of PDM/LF for each project³⁸. According to an internal survey by the Planning Department of JICA in October 1998, LFs, even including those prepared without workshops, were attached to about 70% of total projects. The ratio of JICA staffs who were trained in the planning method of PCM at FASID remained 60% of total permanent staff in 1998. The survey also revealed diverse ratios of LF application among departments: the highest application ratio was in the Social Development Department, followed by Mining Department and Agricultural Development

³⁴ Guidelines say PP4 will follow for the projects in need of a follow up phase of an additional 2 years.

³⁵ Most of these guidelines do not present specific examples of the participation from beneficiary groups applied to each prototyped project.

³⁶ in fact, 7 years including trial practice.

³⁷ Interviewee No.1, No.2. PCM moderators.

³⁸ Interviewee No.4. A JICA officer.

Department. Lowest score was recorded in the Forestry & Fisheries Development Cooperation Department, although the Forestry section had an almost 100 % application rate³⁹.

Moreover, PCM practices showed less emphasis on horizontal logic: the core logic for control purposes of monitoring and evaluation (Shimadzu 1999b, JICA 1996b, 1997b, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c). Most of the LF matrices hardly proved to provide “objectively verifiable indicators” to measure effectiveness of corresponding objectives. For instance, most of the indicators are described in qualitative words just showing ambiguous guidelines for a desirable future (See Appendix I).

Lastly, most of the Project Design Matrices (LFs) in project reports show a limited success in clarifying vertical logic but marked by many ritual usages due to bureaucratisation of the whole PCM process (JICA 1996b, 1997b, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c). For instance, many cases observed ritualization of the problems and objectives analyses, by fixing to the project purpose addressed in the official request form. Often, problems analysis and objectives analysis were additionally attached later to match with the pre-determined core problem.

The partner workshops if held, were pressurised to follow the core problem or target group determined in preliminary studies (Shimadzu 1999:76). Stakeholder analysis is underestimated in workshops. Or sometimes, a PCM moderator is faced with the strong discontents from some participants, who claim that “it is not appropriate to address the issue of this sector (a medical issue) because this project is handled by that particular ministry (e.g. Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries)” (Shimadzu 1999:78). Also the core problem or project purposes are often determined according to input feasibility of the donor agency (Minamoto 1994). In addition, the LF matrix reduced its function to an attached document of governmental contracts to confirm the amount of inputs in the ‘input row’, and the scope of responsibilities of the counterpart government, in the ‘assumptions column’ and ‘pre-condition column’ (See Appendix I).

PCM practice in JICA drastically reduced participatory aspects of ZOPP, and was even less participatory than FASID and JICA’s original intention. There were few partner workshops (PP3). The above mentioned survey found less than 10% of projects conducted

³⁹ Interviewee No.4. A JICA officer.

full-scale PP3 workshops⁴⁰.

In addition, participants of the partner workshops, if held, were limited to representatives from relevant ministries in the recipient government or relevant institutions, and tended to exclude beneficiaries. For instance, a human resource development project for urban transport in Brazil held a PP3 for two days at Brasilia University without participants from local government in charge of urban transport administration. Also the viewpoints from the users of urban transport were neglected in identifying core problems of the urban transport system in Brazil (JICA 1998c).

PCM also gave positive insights for some keen planning teams to shift their attention from a project oriented approach to program based strategies with clear logical justification. The step-by step procedures to reach hierarchical objectives justified by means-ends relationship, such as problems-, objectives- and alternatives-analyses helped clarify validation of project purposes by sector, region, or even at macro level. Some JICA officers and consultants acknowledged a positive impact of PCM for JICA. They said “after all the abundant criticisms toward its reductionistic linear approach, however, PCM is better than nothing”⁴¹, or “PCM brought abrupt improvement in previous practices where many of the project concepts had been explained in terms of inputs (i.e. to provide food containing protein) by linking directly to super-goal (to improve well-being of the people in the country)”⁴². Previous practices have often neglected all the logical analysis and sequences of means - ends chains in between.

2.3 Concluding Remarks

ZOPP in theory is an attempt to reconcile two different principles in planning: control and participation. It reduced the emphasis on horizontal logic, the residues of the previous LF version used heavily for the accountability purpose, by adding participatory features including more attention to the assumption column and additional participation analy-

⁴⁰ Interviewee No.4. A JICA officer.

⁴¹ a discussion on PCM in a mailing list, June 18, 1999

⁴² A statement by a consultant in "Kaihatsu Enjyo to Jinruigaku Benkyo-kai" a Study Group in Anthropology and Development. Discussion on the topic of "PCM reconsidered" held in July 28, 1999. More than 100 people met together even it was a voluntary study group.

sis and core problem setting based on participants' subjectivity.

Although the FASID version of PCM followed the overall ZOPP features, JICA version of PCM turns out to be more control oriented. The definitions of participation and participants are absent in the guidelines. The number of participatory workshops is reduced. PCM is perceived as a management tool rather than a communication tool in the JICA version. Assumptions Columns are preserved to clarify the responsibility of the recipient government.

Key features of ZOPP and JPCM in theory are summarised in the Table below⁴³.

Table 2.5 ZOPP & JPCM in theory

	ZOPP	JICA's version of PCM
<i>Vertical Logic & Horizontal Logic Relationship</i>	<p>More attention to Vertical Logic than Horizontal Logic</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Additional systematic exercises on problems and Objective Analyses, and Alternatives Analysis. 2) More attention to assumption analysis than horizontal logic 3) Clear & Quantitative Indicators 	<p>Same as ZOPP</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Same as ZOPP Alternatives analysis is used for project justification. 2) Same as ZOPP Use of assumptions column for control 3) Qualitative Indicators or no indicator 4) Additional Prerequisites Columns
<i>Participatory Aspects</i>	<p>More emphasis added to participatory planning than original LF</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Additional procedures in "Participation Analysis" – stakeholder 2) Participatory workshop method With Visualisation Technique 3) Emphasis on team work building 4) Clear Definition of Participation --Co-determination & Power sharing -- definition of beneficiary group 	<p>PCM Reduced participatory aspects than ZOPP.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Same as ZOPP 2) Same as ZOPP 3) Same as ZOPP 4) No Clear Definition of Participation 5) Reduced number of participatory workshops
Project Cycle	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Rough incorporation of Project Cycle Approach for Learning 2) Formalised planning stages 5 stages (ZOPP 1- ZOPP5) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Same as ZOPP 2) Less formalised planning stages 3 stages (PP1 – PP3)
<u>Overall expectation</u>	Attempt to have a balanced combination between control and participatory	More Emphasis on Control than Participation

On the other hand, the practices of ZOPP and JPCM went different from the theories, the versions on paper which we have just presented.

ZOPP became more control oriented during the ten-year experiences up to mid 90s. More attention was given to make a perfect plan, rigidly applying the original project pur-

⁴³ The comparative tables in this paper provide a rough sketch as a heuristic device to illustrate general differences between ZOPP and JPCM and their links to social contexts. Therefore, they are not intended for reductionism, or dichotomous arguments, instead to provide a starting point for further arguments which embrace the variances, spread and exceptions within the categorization.

pose, and fixed scheduling of workshops and ZOPP procedures. Participatory workshops often resulted in ritual, sometimes called alibi-participation. Stakeholder analysis is undermined or resulted in ritual analysis, all of which leads to the loss of ownership spirit.

JPCM in practice, on the other hand, succeeded neither in control nor participatory features. As to control aspects, JICA showed major failures in internal control but also some success in control over the recipient countries. For instance, 40 % of projects were implemented without a LF matrix. Most of indicators were useless and not specific. The objectives and problems analyses often resulted in ritual. However, the assumptions column and pre-requisite column were often used to clarify the recipient countries' responsibility.

As to participation, fewer participatory workshops have been conducted especially in the recipient country. If held, these resulted in a lower degree of participation with confusion of participants. Key features of ZOPP and JPCM in practice are summarised in the table below.

Table 2.6 ZOPP & JPCM in practice

	ZOPP	JICA's version of PCM
<i>Vertical Logic</i> & <i>Horizontal Logic Relationship</i>	<p>Yes but too much attention to making perfect plan.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Yes. Additional systematic exercises on problems and Objective Analyses, and Alternatives Analysis. But fixed project purposes. 2) More attention to assumption analysis than horizontal logic ? 3) Clear & Quantitative Indicators ? 	<p>Fewer applications of LF matrix (LFs are prepared only for 60% of projects)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Ritual Analysis. Problems, Objectives, Alternative tree are often attached after the project approval. Hesitation in diverting from original objectives. 2) Same as ZOPP. But assumption columns are used to clarify the recipient government's responsibility. 3) Qualitative Indicators or no indicator 4) Prerequisites Columns are used to clarify the conditions that the recipient government should prepare before the project implementation.
<i>Participatory Aspects</i>	<p>Major Failure in Participation</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Stake stakeholder Analysis often undermined. (ritual analysis) 2) Most resulted in Ritual Participatory workshops ---alibi-participation, enforced participation (we're zopped), workshop style exclude the illiterate & blind & powerless -- standardised method does not count cultural or group differences 3) Emphasis of team work building 4) Loss of local ownership spirit 5) Exclusion of beneficiaries, stakeholders 	<p>Failure in Participation with some exceptional successes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Same as ZOPP 2) Few Participatory workshops in recipient country (Less than 10% of projects) 3) Same as ZOPP 4) Same as ZOPP 5) lower degree of participation (excluding local authorities, beneficiaries)
Project Cycle	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Project Cycle Approach for Blueprint 2) Rigidification of the Formalised planning stages 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) No rigid LF matrix 2) planning stages are not rigid 3 stages (PP1 – PP3) often PP 2 is omitted. If held, shorter workshop. Few workshops in PP1 & PP3
<u>Overall Practices</u>	More control oriented than participatory	Neither Control nor Participatory aspects showed success. (but better than before). It is still in the process of self-learning.

3. VALUES IN MANAGEMENT: ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL CONTEXTS BEHIND ZOPP VS. PCM

The purpose of this chapter is to compare and contrast selected values relevant to management concepts reflected in project planning methods among donor communities, and to illustrate the similarities in the collectively shared values at the national level between the German and the Japanese⁴⁴. Amongst various dimensions of values in national culture pursued by social anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists since around the

⁴⁴ Concept of 'national culture' has to be dealt with care. First, "nation" is perceived through shared experiences, languages and history but also the imposition by the States as phrased as a "imagined community". Within the national culture, regional, ethnic, gender, religious groups, or other forms of groups account for differences within countries. Therefore, Hofstede and Trompenaars treat national traits as normal distribution within which you expect the spread, outliers around the norm. Hofstede, in particular, uses dimensions which can also show its diversion by showing it in the space, instead of using typologies which sometimes involves over-generalization.

turn of this century, this paper selected the following two values taken from the influential Dutch sociologist Geert Hofstede, to relate to variations of donor's planning methods: values toward uncertainty (strong uncertainty avoidance vs. weak uncertainty avoidance), and values in the relationship with self and others (individualism and collectivism)

Two cases are provided to illustrate these cultural preferences of management styles in Germany and Japan, which are seen in the transformation of American originated management concepts; MBO practices in Germany and Quality Control Circle practices in Japan.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework in this chapter mainly derives from Hofstede's 4-dimension model. This was found through his massive statistical analysis of survey data collected between 1967 and 1973 among employees of subsidiaries of IBM, a US-based multinational cooperation (Hofstede 1991). The total data bank contains more than 116,000 questionnaires from virtually everyone in the corporation from the unskilled workers to research PhDs and top managers. Data were collected twice during a period from 1967 to 1969 and a repeat survey during 1971 to 1973 (Hofstede 1980:226).

Hofstede identified 4 dimensions as criteria to distinguish national cultures, out of his empirical surveys and theoretical accumulation of precedents on cultural studies, labeling them as 1) Power Distance, 2) Uncertainty Avoidance, 3) Individualism - Collectivism, and 4) Masculinity -Femininity. The first and last values are not considered for the analysis in this chapter.

The Masculine-Feminine dimension is less relevant to assumptions behind project planning method. Hofstede also came to recognise some drawbacks in his question wordings for this dimension, after triangulating with a similar survey of non-Westerners (Chinese Values Survey - CVS -, led by Michael Bond, a Canadian who had long lived in China with Chinese philosophers and social scientists). The IBM work set questions on "values as the desired" or personal objective and not on "values as the desirable" or abstract virtues as set by CVS (Hofstede 1991:180). However, both German and Japanese are categorised as "Masculine" cultures scoring 95 and 65 respectively in his Masculinity in-

dex (Hofstede 1991:84).

The values on power distance seem relevant particularly to participatory aspects in planning but I found major flaws in Western biased question setting. Japan scored 55 in Power distance index showing higher power distance, whereas Germany scored 35, lower than USA, Canada and Netherlands. Hofstede used degree of “dependence” relationships between subordinates and bosses and preference for consultation”, to conclude about the degree of hierarchy within societies. However, these criteria, notably use of “dependence” to measure social hierarchy, seem odd especially for non-Westerners. In fact, he admits limitations in his study especially in “decentering” treatment - a process that involves researchers from different cultures developing research questions out of different cultural environments. When he compared his findings with CVS, Hofstede admitted, “it seems that the questions composed by Western minds have tapped, in particular, the power aspect of this dimension” (1991:162). In fact, the correlation between “Power distance” in IBM research and “Moral Distance”, a corresponding dimension in CVS, recorded 0.55, the lowest correlation among other dimensions.

Therefore, only two dimensions of Hofstede - 1) Uncertainty Avoidance and 2) Individualism vs. Collectivism are referred to in the analysis here.

The wider validity of his study relies upon whether differences found among employees of one single corporation could be used to deduce national traits. Hofstede administered a number of the same questions in 1971-1973 to an international group of about 400 managers from different public and private organisations following management development courses in Lausanne, Switzerland. The results showed a statistically significant similarity to those from his IBM study (Hofstede 1980:226).

However, it also poses question whether the national traits found in his study can apply to the organisational culture in aid administration. Since no comparative survey on donor agencies is available, I list this question as my research limitation, an issue that would deserve further attention.

In addition, the applicability of his study in the early 70s to values in the late 90s remains questionable although culture changes more slowly than personal value traits. This again is an issue for further investigation.

3.2. High Uncertainty Avoidance vs. Low Uncertainty Avoidance

Hofstede defines “Uncertainty Avoidance” as “the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations” (1991:113)⁴⁵.

Among major donors, Japan scored highest next to Belgium among major donor countries, scoring 92 & 94 respectively on a scale ranging from 0 for the country with the weakest uncertainty avoidance to around 100 for the strongest. This is followed by Germany, Finland, Switzerland, Netherlands and Norway counting 65, 59, 58, 53, 50 respectively. Canada, USA, and Great Britain, Sweden are the countries with relatively low uncertainty avoidance traits, scoring respectively 48, 46, 35, 29 (see Fig. 3.1.).

Uncertainty-avoiding cultures feel threatened by uncertain and ambiguous situations and try to avoid these situations by providing greater career stability, establishing more formal rules, not tolerating deviant ideas and behaviours. Hofstede also found ritualising traits in uncertainty avoiding cultures (1980:150). Other traits are summarised in Table 3.1.

The uncertainty avoidance mechanism may be reflected in ZOPP, a modification of American originated LFA from a relatively weak uncertainty avoidance culture by relatively strongly uncertainty avoiding Germans. The formalised step by step procedures before drawing LF are the German products, which are normally perceived redundant by USAID and ODA/DFID. In fact, Trompenaars et al. observed that Germans are “less interested in Anglo-American empiricism, or Zweckrationalismus, literally sequential, means-ends rationality. Their preferred ideal is Zielrationalismus, reason drawn toward, and converging upon a target or purpose” (1993:208). ZOPP seems to have complemented German strength in ‘Zielrationalismus’ with ‘Zweckrationalismus’, by formalising means-ends exercises, which are relatively not in the German nature.

Whereas Japan, a higher uncertainty avoiding country without a historical tradition of linear means-ends analysis in aid practices, seems to prefer sequential formalised procedures as shown in ZOPP. Uncertainty avoidance may explain the detained planning proce-

⁴⁵ Hofstede (1990:111) explained the detailed questions set in questionnaires to draw uncertainty avoidance index.

dures in ZOPP whereas evaluation and monitoring are left less formalized⁴⁶ since uncertainty is felt more in planning stages than ex-post evaluation stages. This also shows significant differences within USAID and CIDA, organisations with weak uncertainty avoiding cultures who traditionally focus relatively more on ex-post evaluation for their accountability.

Table 3.1 the Uncertainty Avoidance dimension

Weak Uncertainty Avoidance	Strong Uncertainty Avoidance
The uncertainty inherent in life is more easily accepted and each day is taken as it comes.	The uncertainty inherent in life is felt as a continuous threat which must be fought.
There is more willingness to take risks in life.	There is great concern with security in life.
Conformable in ambiguous situations and with unfamiliar risks	Acceptance of familiar risks; fear of ambiguous situations and of unfamiliar risks.
There should be few rules as possible.	There is need for written rules and regulations.
Low stress; subjective feeling of well-being	High stress; subjective feeling of anxiety
More acceptance of dissent is entailed	A strong consensus is involved.
There should not be more rules than is strictly necessary	Emotional need for rules, even if these will never work
Time is framework for orientation	Time is money
Comfortable feeling when lazy	Emotional need to be busy; inner urge to work hard
Hard-working only when needed	
Precision and punctuality have to be learned	Precision and punctuality come naturally
Tolerance of deviant and innovative ideas and behaviour	Suppression of deviant ideas and behaviour; resistance to innovation
Motivation by achievement and esteem or belongingness	Motivation by security and esteem or belongingness.
Belief is placed in generalists and common sense	Belief is placed in experts and their knowledge.

Source: Hofstede 1991, 1980

3.3 Individualism vs. Collectivism

Another dimension, individualism vs. collectivism, is defined as follows;

“Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people’s lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty”
(Hofstede 1991:50).

USA, Australia, UK, Canada, Netherlands scored relatively high in Individual index (91, 90, 89, 80, and 80 respectively). Following Belgium (75), Denmark (74), Sweden (71), France (71), and Norway (69), Germany shows medium(67) individual index. Japan

⁴⁶ FASID officer noticed ZOPP did not have standardized procedures for evaluation as in planning even though ZOPP incorporated project cycle concept. Therefore, FASID used NORAD’s for preparing its own evaluation guidelines.

marked lower individual index scoring 46 points.

In collectivist cultures, identity is in social networks, and harmony and “keeping face” stand as norms. In individualistic societies, identity is based in the individual, speaking one’s opinion is a virtue. Management in an individual-oriented culture means management of individuals, while management in collectivist culture means management of groups. Other traits are summarised in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 the Individualism vs. Collectivism dimension

Individualist	Collectivist
Identity is based in the individual’s consciousness.	Identity is based in the social network to which one belongs’ consciousness.
Speaking one’s mind is a characteristic of an honest person	Harmony should always be maintained and direct confrontations avoided
Low context communication	High-context communication
Trespassing leads to guilt and loss of self-respect	Trespassing leads to shame and loss of face for self and group
Purpose of education is learning how to learn	Purpose of education is learning how to do
Management is management of individuals	Management is management of groups
Task prevails over relationship	Relationship prevails over task
Belief is placed in individual decisions.	Belief is placed in group decision.
Value standards should apply to all. (universalism)	Value standards differ for in-groups and out-groups (particularism)

Source: Hofstede 1991, 1980

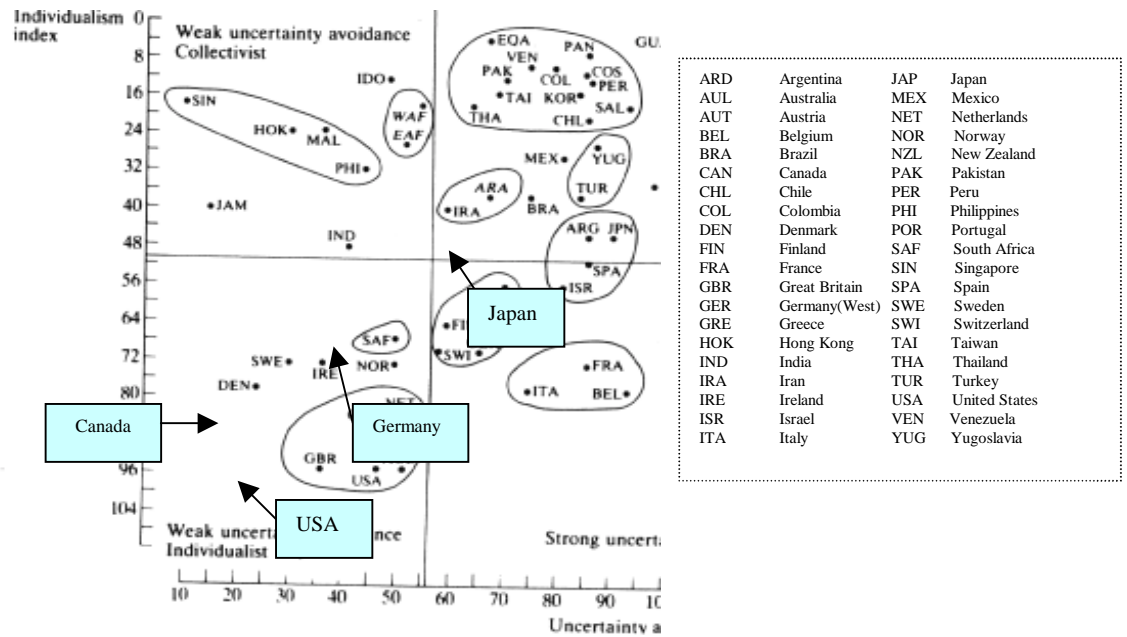
The relatively strong collectivist traits of German compared with Anglo-Saxon countries are reflected in ZOPP. For instance, the strong emphasis on team building and co-determination of project purpose through participatory workshop shows one indication of collectivist traits. Another study also revealed German and Japanese preferences for extended discussions and widest agreement (Trompenaars 1993:284). Confrontation avoiding cultures prefer anonymous opinion using cards⁴⁷.

The dimensional map of these two values - 1) uncertainty avoidance, 2) individualist - collectivist index are illuminating (see Figure 3.1). As mentioned earlier, the analysis by nations always contains risks and danger of over-generalisation and reductionism.

⁴⁷ PCM moderators often found it difficult in workshop with the Japanese to make them speak up their opinion. They saw the use of card quite useful to avoid direct confrontation among participants.

Therefore, I hereby present the following figure as a prototype (an original model from which improved types can be made or that has analogies at a later period; a thing that serves as an example of a type) and not as an archetype (a perfect or typical specimen) (Gasper 2000:15), to function as a starting point to see further diversification within the units of analysis for further study.

Fig. 3.1 Uncertainty Avoidance index And Individualism Index
Source: Hofstede (1991)



Japan is situated relatively close to Germany compared to other major donors such as Canada and USA. It is interesting to note that other ZOPP followers such as Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland are above, and Thailand and Philippines are far above, the individualist-collectivist index of USA, Great Britain and Canada. The ZOPP followers in general are not close to the Anglo-Saxons' individualism index.

ZOPP possibly functioned as an more accessible version than the USAID version of LFA, reducing the mental distances perceived by the Japanese given their collectivistic and uncertainty avoiding traits.

3.4 Practices in Management

Two case studies below illustrate the transfer and indigenization of American-born

management concepts in Germany and Japan. Both cases illuminate the value shifts and slight modification of practices in order to incorporate (1) individualism oriented concepts with lower uncertainty avoidance traits into (2) collectivism oriented and high uncertainty avoiding settings. The transformation of LFA to ZOPP or the Japanese version of PCM shows a close analogy to the indigenization of MBO in Germany and Quality Control Circles in Japan.

3.4.1 MBO practice in German

MBO - Management By Objectives - a famous management concept entitled by Peter Drucker involves objectives-setting jointly with managers, and performance review and corrective actions after periodic intervals. Bringing a German flavour to MBO meant adding a teamwork approach and fuller co-determination of objectives, as seen in additional elements in ZOPP.

According to Hofstede(1980:382), MBO reflects an American value position such as:

1. the subordinates are sufficiently independent to negotiate meaningfully with their boss (not too large Power Distance)
2. both superior and subordinate are prepared to take some risks (weak Uncertainty Avoidance)
3. performance is seen as an important criterion by both (Masculinity).

According to Ferguson, this concept has acquired a German flavour - MBO has changed to Management by Team-Based Joint Goal Setting (Führung durch Zielvereinbarung) to reduce individual risks (Hofstede 1980:382).

3.4.2 Quality Control Circle practices in Japan

The American Edward Deming's idea of the Quality Control Circle was introduced to Japan in 1950 (Misumi 1994:263). Based upon this concept, Misumi, a noted social psychologist in Japan who had studied in the University of Michigan, came to initiate small group meetings activities for bus accident reduction in Nishitetsu Railways, a large bus company in Japan (Cole 1992:304). These meetings showed considerable success, which

led other Japanese firms to rapidly adopt the modified QC activities. The QC circle became combined with the idea of Zero Defect Group Activities⁴⁸.

The Japanese version of QC involves problem-solving activities among a small group around 6 to 8 people in frequent workshop presentations. This also combines the highlighted management commitment, *Keiei Sanka*, which conjures up images of the German co-determination system. Misumi pointed out the possible reasons for this rapid and wider adoption of QCs in Japan than the original country as

- 1) historical roots in small group activities in Japanese firms since the inter war period
- 2) egalitarian system between blue and white collar staff after W.W.II
- 3) *ringi* procedure - a traditional bottom-up decision making style
- 4) flexible job specification assigned for workers (Misumi 1994).

Many JICA officers and private consultants involving development enterprises identified similarities in QC Circle practices with PCM. They claimed that the workshop concept was familiar to the Japanese, especially the elements such as the use of cards⁴⁹, small group discussion, a problem solving approach and objectives-setting by team work⁵⁰.

3.5 Concluding Remarks

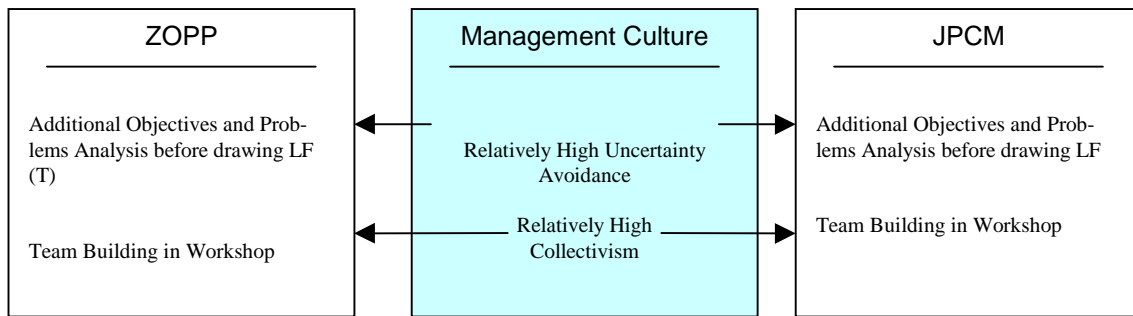
This chapter looked at management value orientations and traditional practices to help explain why Japanese aid agencies adopted ZOPP instead of another LFA version.

The Germans and Japanese tend to have some uncertainty-avoiding traits, hence the appeal of the additional elaborate process in problem analysis and objective analysis in ZOPP.

⁴⁸ Zero defect activities were originated in the Pershing Missile System for the US Army in the early 60s

⁴⁹ A PCM moderator has been mystified about the different size of the card in ZOPP. Card used in ZOPP is bigger than that for typical QC circle activities and KJ method (A-usu NGO project Hyoka Kenkyu Kai 1996), a Japanese NGO originated project-planing method. He came to a conclusion that card in Japanese practices was used for smaller group (normally 6 to 8 people), while ZOPP involves larger group discussion which requires larger card for the presentation to larger audiences.

⁵⁰ Interviewee No.4, An opinion by consultant.



This chapter also illustrated that both the Germans and the Japanese fall in categories of more collectivist societies compared to such as USA and Canada. This seems to show some connection to the emphasis on additional values of teamwork building in workshops in ZOPP and JPCM⁵¹.

4. VALUES RELEVANT TO DEVELOPMENT AID

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the similarities and differences in values relevant to development aid of the German and Japanese aid agencies. Specifically, it compares; 1) aid rationale and policy orientation, 2) meanings attached to Technical Cooperation, 3) self-help philosophy and other relevant aid philosophy.

⁵¹ I briefly touched upon the time perception since concept of project cycle, it reflects in major aspects for planning such as determining a time span for objective setting and scheduling of the plan. I refer to the analysis done by Trompenaars and Hampden Turner through their cross-cultural questionnaires on more than 50,000 managers of multinational corporations (1993 & 1997) to show the similarity in a relative long-term orientation by the Germans and Japanese.

Trompenaars et.al. conducted survey on the question to indicate relative time horizons for the past, present and future by giving the number for each horizon. In his survey, Randomly sampled people were asked to fill in the following in the scale of 1 for seconds, 2 for minutes, 3 for hours, 4 for days, 5 for weeks, 6 for months and 7 for years.

His team has taken the average of relative time horizons of past, present and future ranging from 1 for second to 7 for years. According the survey findings, German and Japan were ranked in a similar position scoring 4.69 and 4.72 respectively, and shows relatively longer time horizon compared with LF originators and first followers (US and UK) among major donors (Trompenaars 1997:129-130).

It is interesting to note that SIDA (Sweden), which has been perceived as a unique donor with longer view in its objective setting, ranked first in the longest time horizon among major donors (5.23). In the Trompenaars' original study, USA and UK have relatively shorter time perspective, ranked 35th (4.3) and 32nd (4.5) respectively out of 42 countries. The average score for future orientation also shows the same trend (Trompenaars 1997:129).

Long-term vision possibly clings to more effectiveness orientation, while short termism may have correlation with efficiency orientation. Trompenaars analyzed French strategies in winning the new product contract the Mexican minister of communication after competition from a large American company, pointing out the tactics of the French: "Instead of the efficiency of getting from A to B in the shortest possible time, there is the effectiveness of developing closer relationships long-term"(1997 :135).

4.1 Aid Rationale and Policy Orientation - Germany and Japan

4.1.1 Aid Rationales and Policy Orientation in Germany

In Germany, aid policy orientation has been constantly to the combination of humanitarian aid and the promotion of domestic commercial interests. German aid philosophy, therefore, was often categorised as in between the aid policy of USA, an explicit pursuit of national interests, and of Scandinavian countries which provide aid for humanitarian purposes (Kato 1998:88).

These two principles appeared in all the policy statements from the 70s to late 80s: the 'Development Policy Conception's from 1971 through 1973, '25 themes' announced in 1975, '17 themes' in 1979, the 'Development Policy of the Federal Republic of Germany' in 1980 and its updated version in 1986 (Kato 1998:87). For instance, the policy in 1986 stated that:

'the Federal Republic's development assistance is governed by the constitution, which serves to benefit and protect the German people. Thus development policy is directed towards achieving a balance of interests. The Federal Republic respects the interests of its partners and their right to make their own decisions regarding their development, but at the same time it expects them to respect its own interests in the context of its development co-operation and its economic and foreign policy objectives.' (Federal Republic of Germany 1986:21, emphasis is added.)

On the other hand, this policy also emphasises noblesse oblige or humanitarian principles of the respect of human and legal rights, and prescribes to target the poor through bottom up aided self help principle (Federal Republic of Germany 1986).

Therefore, the focus policy areas have been kept constant to poverty alleviation, primary education, primary health care, environment, and trade promotion and the protection of natural resource bases (OECD DAC 1995:11). The policy consistency is due partly to the well institutionalised Corporatism as a policy decision making mechanism among ministries, aid agencies, political foundations, trade unions and Christian based NGOs (Kato 1998).

In the 1990s, Germany added some aspects to the major components of the rationale for giving aid. In addition to humanitarian considerations and economic justification for aid, conflict resolution in the international community was added to the aid policy agenda in response to the recent eruption of ethnic and regional conflicts after the end of Cold

War. However, German development co-operation continues to focus on poverty alleviation, protection of the natural resource base and education and environment, while giving some new attention to conflict and disaster prevention (OECD DAC 1995:11).

4.1.2 Aid Rationales and Policy Orientation in Japan

In Japan, aid policy orientation has kept changing as response to the international political and economic settings. Unlike Germany, Japan's attention to the humanitarian aid targeted for poverty alleviation including bottom up participatory development came later in the 90s.

Many researchers chronologically categorised Japan's policy orientation as follows: 1) the era of an effort to return to the international community after World War II (mid 50s to mid 60s); 2) the commercialism era for the promotion of trade (the mid 60s to early 70s); 3) the food and resource security era after the oil shocks (1973 to late 70s); 4) the aid expansion era for comprehensive peace security and to mitigate Japan-bashing over its trade surplus (the late 70s to 1988); 5) a new era for international contribution including advent of humanitarian aid (1989 to the 90s). (Yamaya 1994b, Kato 1998).

Kato (1998) characterised Japan's aid policy formulation system as a state-private cooperative network, loosely and informally linked among relevant ministries, aid agencies, private firms and economic associations. NGOs have been often excluded from this informal information network until recently.

After World War II Japan started aid for Asian countries as a part of war compensation, first by a bilateral grant to Burma (Myanmar) in 1954, semi-grants to the Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam, and later expanded to Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore (JICA 1999).

Japan also initiated the technical cooperation scheme when she joined the Colombo Plan in 1954 from a strategic point of view to be acknowledged as a member of donors in the leading international community. The Colombo Plan was implemented by an international organisation for poverty alleviation in Asia, targeting increase of food production, technology transfer and the provision of capital goods for basic industry (JICA 1999). In 1955, the Government took a strong initiative to receive 16 trainees and dispatch 28 ex-

perts in South East Asian countries despite financial deficiency and the strong discontent from Japanese firms to receive trainees for technology since they were still in the process of their own development (JICA 1999:9-10).

In the mid 60s to the mid 70s, Japan's aid policy shifted to the promotion of commercialism and the designated aid role was to secure natural resources for export production and food for domestic consumption. In this context, Overseas Technical Cooperation Agency (OTCA), a former body of JICA, focused on the trade promotion of primary goods in the developing countries and established a special unit for this purpose in 1967 (JICA 1999)

After the oil shock in 1973, the increasing demand for food security and a stable resource market for domestic industry accelerated the commercialism philosophy in aid policy. MITI was trying to establish an aid associated organisation to invest in infrastructure necessary for natural resource development, and to start trial projects of primary goods production in developing countries for export to Japan (JICA 1999:44). MAFF also attempted to establish another aid implementing agency whose role is mainly to secure food and natural resources that Japan must import, such as woods, feed crops and soy beans etc. (JICA 1999:44). In 1975, OTCA was reorganized into JICA, merging these ideas proposed by MITI and MAFF and the function of another organization which dealt with emigration of Japanese personnel mainly to Latin American countries (JICA 1999:44). Therefore, JICA was expected to have multiple functions including technology transfer initiated in the 50s, food security and acquisition of natural resources which emerged in the 60s to 70s, and emigration promotion.

In the 80s, the decade of economic expansion which brought a huge surplus on foreign trade for Japan, the Government changed its aid policy to promote comprehensive peace security as an obligation of a country with economic prosperity, and greatly enhanced the amount of aid. From the first 5-year plan addressed in 1977 to the 4th plan in 1988, the aid amount has almost doubled in every 5 years, sometimes doubling even within 3 years (JICA 1999:66-67). Because of the strong emphasis on human development explicitly ad-

vocated in this decade⁵², the emphasis was given to the Technical Cooperation scheme. Its share in the bilateral ODA expanded from 5.7 % in 1974 to 17 % in 1988-89⁵³ (Kato 1999:74, OECD DAC 1990-1:25).

Japan's aid agencies officially absorbed new concepts such as environment, Women in Development, participatory development and poverty alleviation mostly in the 90s. In response to the DAC's recommendations in 1985 and 1986, JICA also formed a research group on environment in 1988, and established an Environmental Unit in 1989, which produced a set of environmental guidelines in the 90s (JICA 1999:104). JICA also formed another research group on Women in Development in 1990, and produced WID guidelines with the adoption of the revised DAC's WID Guiding Principles in 1989 (OECD DAC 1996:37). JICA carried out studies in connection with poverty alleviation in 1989, which led to the guidebook in 1994 that highlighted the need for considering poverty issues in all JICA activities. It also addresses the importance of targeting, carrying out social analysis and enhancing local participation in poverty reduction related activities (JICA 1999:108, OECD DAC 1999:45).

Nevertheless, this new effort remains at the marginal level due to its recent advent and the long history of the support to 'hard' sectors such as economic infrastructure. DAC found that Japanese technical cooperation on education and vocational training mostly of higher technology can be traced to the historical emphasis on the need to lay the basis for economic expansion (OECD DAC 1996:33).

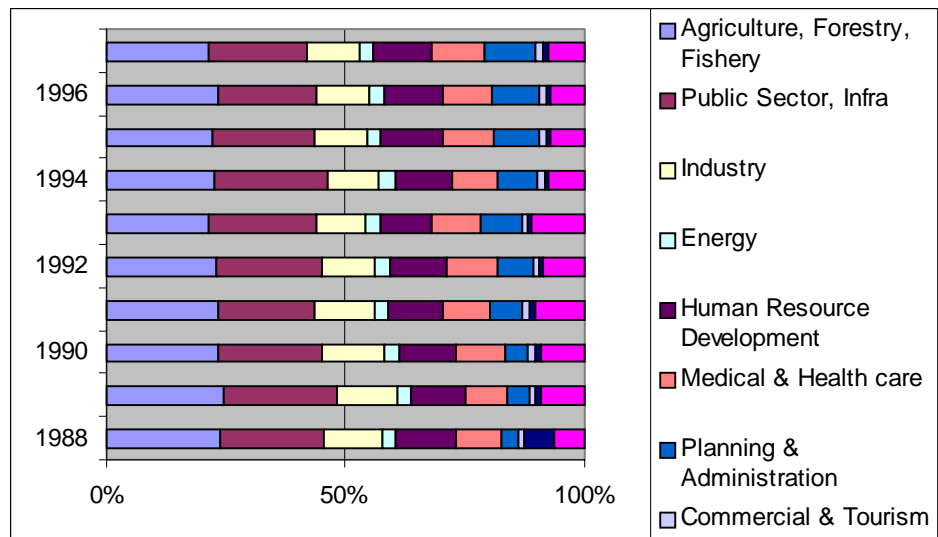
The budget allocation of JICA's Technical Cooperation schemes by sector clearly explains a long history of Japan's emphasis on the need to lay the basis for economic expansion by training personnel in the area of infrastructure (electricity, transport and communications), small and medium-sized enterprise and basic industries in agriculture, forestry and fisheries (see Figure 4.1)

⁵² Hitodzukuri, or human development is a key word in JICA language. This was clearly addressed in the speech by the former prime minister Nakasone in 1985 for the UN 40 year anniversary ceremony (JICA 1999:69)

⁵³ However, the share remains at the half of the DAC average in 1989. It now reached to 31.5% in 1997 (OECD DAC 1999:25).

Figure 4.1 JICA's Technical Cooperation Scheme by Sector 1988 to 1997

Source: raw data from JICA 1999



Figures for 1988 to 1997 shows more than half of the technical cooperation is targeted to technology transfer in 1) agriculture, forestry, and fishery, 2) infrastructure and 3) industry. The technical cooperation in education accounted for about 12%, medical and health care for 11%, and welfare for 1.1% in 1997 (See Appendix II). This 'basic human needs' element was historically directed to higher education, tertiary health, and urban water supply and sewerage projects as opposed to basic education, primary health, and rural water supply and sanitation projects. More than 60 % was allocated to higher education and vocational training and only 30 % to primary education in 1996 (JICA 1999:111). JICA historically gave more attention to laboratory research and education in clinical medicine in hospitals, accounting for 60%, while only 9.8% was spent for primary health care a decade ago⁵⁴ (JICA 1998:18).

The portion of the Participatory Development project is considerably smaller than the basic human needs component. JICA's official participatory study committee reported only five out of 216 technical cooperation projects were implemented in 1994 as participatory development projects (Kamemoto 1997:5).

⁵⁴ The situation have been improved in recent figure by reducing the former (30 %) and increasing the share of primary health care to 32% (JICA 1998).

DAC criticized that 'neither the ODA charter nor any other official document clearly defines poverty, poverty reduction, or who the poor are, nor do they elaborate on the options of targeting poverty directly versus a "trickle-down" through support to economic infrastructure' (OECD DAC 1999:45).

In addition, the policy study committee in JICA also used vague language for participatory development. It defines that:

Participatory development is an attempt to compensate for or overcome the limitations of the top-down development approach by adopting a bottom-up development approach. The latter approach involves taking the needs and opinions of local residents into account as much as possible in the formulation and implementation of development project policy (Kamemoto 1998:57. Emphasis is added).

In summary, the policy orientation in Japan shows the long history of support for economic infrastructure and promotion of basic industries, which can be traced to a state-led and relatively top-down style of development experiences of Japan. Therefore the newly adopted concept of participatory development and poverty alleviation brought some confusion and hesitation to articulate definitions of 'participation' and 'the poor'.

It took a while for the PCM concept, especially its participation aspects, to penetrate to many of JICA's technical experts and consultants, since they have been more familiar with technical and engineering knowledge transfer than a participation concept in development processes. This historical experience of Japanese aid policy orientation can explain the reduction of participatory elements in JPCM, both in its theory and more obviously in its practice.

4.2 Meanings attached to Technical Cooperation

JICA and GTZ each define different expectations for technical cooperation, especially of 1) the types of technology to be transferred and 2) to whom the technology has to be transmitted.

4.2.1 Components of Technology - 'soft' or 'hard'

GTZ combines engineering technical cooperation - 'hard' technology transfer - and institutional technical cooperation - a 'soft' technology-transfer, with emphasis on the latter.

GTZ defines its role as to 'strengthen the capability of people and organizations in developing countries, in which technical, economic and organizational knowledge and capability are to be conveyed and mobilised' (INTRAC 1994 b). Therefore, technical cooperation activities include engineering technology, but also include activities for institutional capacity building such as the transfer of organisational management skills and planning and advisory services for national economic schemes and entrepreneurial ventures (GTZ 1984).

In this context, ZOPP is considered to be one of the 'soft' knowledge instruments for institutional capacity building in recipient organisations. For instance, in GTZ's service package for water supply and sanitation projects, one of the components is the support for organisational management by using standard GTZ instruments such as ZOPP, operational planning and progress reviews⁵⁵. Consequently, GTZ offered ZOPP training to counterpart government officers and other relevant staff, which produced a number of ZOPP moderators and specialists abroad.

JICA, on the other hand, has historically referred to technical cooperation as only a 'hard' technology transfer including engineering and construction know-how and production skills for economic development through the exchange of personnel.

Therefore, less attention has been given to the 'soft' type of knowledge transfer such as organisational management and institutional capacity building as a main component of technical cooperation. JICA listed its software component such as regional master plan studies and 'policy advisers' dispatched to recipient countries in policy-making ministries to assist in preparing and implementing national development plans in the fields of irrigation, agricultural development, environmental administration and the overall economy (JICA 1996a:13-15). However, these schemes cover only planning capability or advise on legislation at the state level, and do not extend to the organisational management skills of the state administration, government-commissioned authority or counterpart organisations.

Thus, unlike ZOPP, PCM was prepared and used as a tool for aid administrators in Japan, and not for the transfer of management skills as a part of capacity building of the recipient country. FASID offered PCM training courses mainly targeting JICA staff and

⁵⁵ <http://www.dainet.de/gtz/html/OLD/division/div414e.htm>. November 11, 1999.

administrators of aid relevant ministries at the beginning, and has later extended to consultants and NGOs in Japan. Nevertheless, it did not intend to train administrators in the recipient country so far. Consequently, PCM moderators are only Japanese unlike ZOPP moderators who come from different nationalities, which limits the number of available PCM moderators for the workshops. The relatively limited availability of PCM moderators is one of the reasons for the fewer PCM workshops held in the recipient country.

4.2.2 *Definition of Target Group*

GTZ clearly defines the 'target group' of technical cooperation as 'persons or groups in society who are to be directly affected by the impact of a project' (GTZ 1996b:1) Therefore, it also prescribes that the target group should be distinguished from the mediating organisations in the partner country which render support services (GTZ 1996a, GTZ 1996b).

In contrast, the end-user or beneficiary concept is relatively absent in JICA's Technical Cooperation scheme. The technology is expected to transfer from JICA experts in the field to the official counterparts, who are often governmental officials and government-commissioned authorities or their assigned staff (Kamemoto 1997:153). Therefore, most of the JICA staff define these official counterparts as a target group, and mostly exclude the end users who are intended to benefit from these official counterparts.

The leader of JICA's task force for study on participatory development, said:

Bilateral ODA is the cooperation between one government and another government. Benefits of ODA go through counterparts, who are officials of recipient countries, to local people. This two-step structure works in a way that JICA trains rural-extension staffs and they train local farmers. For this participatory development study, we needed to broaden the interpretation of the meaning of counterparts, by including key farmers as trainees (Kamemoto 1997:153, emphasis is added).

The absence of the beneficiary concept is reflected in the lack of guidelines on who should participate in the PCM workshops, and the more limited participation of the beneficiary group.

4.3 Key Philosophy

4.3.1 'Self Help' with 'Partnership' in Germany

A Self Help concept is adopted by both German and Japanese aid agencies but with different origins and different meanings.

BMZ clearly stated a self-help principle in its development policy paper in 1983 (Federal Republic of Germany 1983). The first detailed policy paper, titled “fighting poverty through self help”, also made explicit this 'self help' concept in 1989 (OECD DAC 1998:31). It refers to `promotion of self-help among the poorest sections of population, starting from the interests of independent self-help groups and organizations with least intervention from outside`. It, therefore, seeks closer co-operation between governmental and non-governmental organisations (Federal Republic of Germany 1983:22).

Kato (1998:239) suggests that one source was in the 'self help' social movement in Germany around the 1960s or earlier when the government helped establish and manage many voluntary groups for the socially vulnerable such as the handicapped and the aged.

In addition to the 'self-help' principle, Germany attaches importance to the 'partnership' principle. This principle prescribes that the recipient country should be at the centre of the joint development effort with active participation of the local population that shall be the precondition for sustained success (OECD DAC 1998:14)⁵⁶.

4.3.2 'Self Help and 'Request Base ' principle in Japan

In contrast to the German concept of self-help with participation at the community level or voluntary groups, 'self-help' in the context of Japanese aid agency refers to the self help efforts by the recipient states when they are 'taking off' as in the 5 stages advocated by Rostow (Kato 1998:239).

According to MOFA, self-help, or *jijyo-doryoku* means that primarily, the recipient governments are supposed to make an effort to improve their development by themselves

⁵⁶ The 'partnership' principle is shown in the stricter conditionality introduced in late 1991 for German bilateral assistance. The German authorities begun to apply the following 5 principles as conducive criteria for successful development;1) respect for human rights, 2) popular participation in political decisions, 3) the rule of law, 4) introduction of social market economy, and 5) the development commitment of the partner government (OECD DAC 1998:14, 199:14).

whereas aid only assists their self-efforts (Kamemoto 1997:20). DAC reports found that the philosophy is largely based upon Japan's own experience in development after its industrial revolution since the late 19th century, and particularly after W.W.II (OECD DAC 1999:22). Japan strove to develop through self help efforts by hiring many Western advisers, improving administrative capacity, and accumulating human resources thorough education policy while receiving 34 loans from the World Bank, which contributed to the development of core infrastructure and industry to boost the economic development in the 60s.

Historically these concepts have been interpreted by aid practitioners as a due responsibility of the counterpart government to prepare pre-conditions for projects such as customs clearance for aid equipment, personnel for training, basic facilities for the project site. The recipient country is expected to continue to run the project by themselves after handing-over of the inputs from the Japanese side. This self-help concept induces the usage of the assumptions column just to confirm areas of responsibility of the recipient government, and the additional 'pre-condition' column used for pre-requisites for funding.

A parallel concept to 'self help' is a 'request base' principle, a principle that Japan will provide aid only if it is requested by the recipient government. This non-interventionist approach in domestic affairs of recipient countries stood firm until 1994, giving the impression of Japan as a passive donor.

The historically cautious stance of Japanese government on conditionalities in aid was rooted in the diplomatic implications with respect to Asian countries. The Government of Japan, especially, MOFA, weighs the fear of other Asian countries over expanding Japanese political and economic power, due to long-lasting horrible memories of Japan's occupation during W.W.II.

However, this non-interventionist principle has an un-written rule that the request shall be addressed from the government of the recipient country, therefore, initiatives from voluntary groups at the community level or local authorities have to be channelled through the official diplomats at the state level. Consequently this principle runs counter to the German 'partnership' concept which presumes joint development through participation of the local population.

4.4 Concluding Remarks

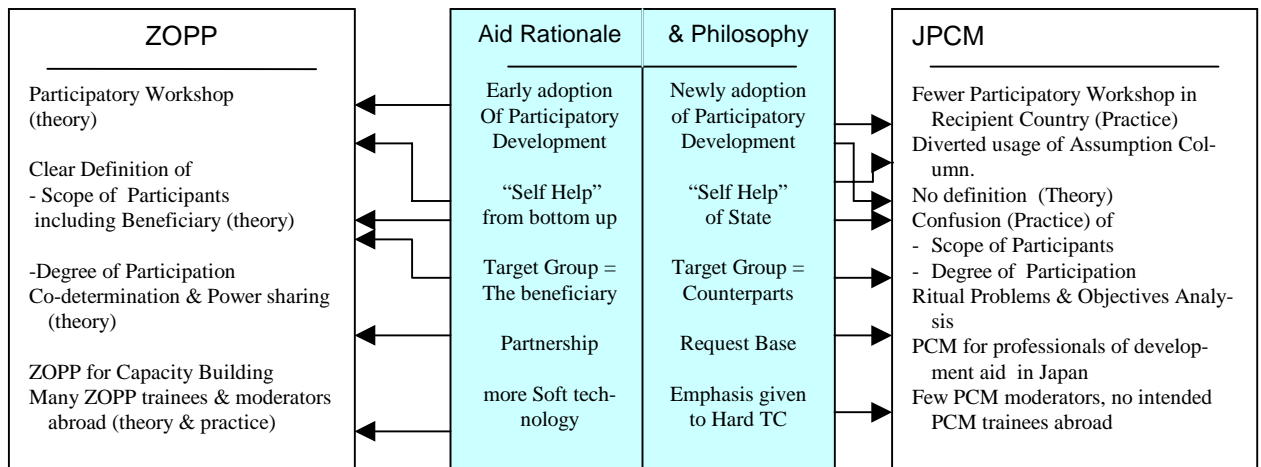
The differences in aid rationale and key philosophy explain the relatively weak conceptualisation of participation in JPCM, and the confusion over the scope of participants and the degree of participation in actual JPCM workshops.

First, participatory development from bottom up is a relatively new concept to Japanese aid agencies. They attempted to adopt it in the mid 90s, but its share in technical cooperation remains fairly small. On the other hand, ‘participation’ of the poor has been a common language in German aid agencies for more than two decades.

In addition, the different interpretations of ‘self help’ concepts differentiate the expected degree and scope of participation. Unlike the German interpretation of bottom-up ‘self help’, the Japanese definition - ‘self help’ of the recipient state - is reflected in JPCM, especially in reduction of participatory aspects, and the expected functions of assumption columns and pre-requisite columns just to clarify the responsibility of the recipient government.

JICA’s technical cooperation scheme historically intended a transfer of ‘hard’ knowledge to the official counterparts. Therefore, the GTZ’s principle of beneficiary group or end-user was left out in JPCM’s theory, which brought further confusion in who is to be included as a participant in practice. In addition GTZ finds a dual role in ZOPP - project management for GTZ and BMZ as well as capacity building in the recipient government or organisations. In this context, training in the ZOPP method has been conducted widely abroad. On the other hand, JPCM is perceived as a management tool for the aid administrators, consultants and NGOs in Japan. Therefore, the PCM moderators, consequently only Japanese, have to be dispatched from Japan to the recipient country for each partner workshop, which makes it difficult to schedule workshops three times for each project.

The ‘request principle’ in Japan conflicts with the systematic procedures of problem and objectives analyses, in which project purpose is determined by relevant stakeholders including beneficiary groups. The project purpose written in the request form becomes sacred and fixed at the beginning of the planning stage. Thus, the problem and objectives analyses in JPCM tended to become more ritualistic than in ZOPP practice.



5. AID ADMINISTRATION

This chapter will analyse key elements in aid administration which influence the differences in usage between ZOPP and the Japanese version of PCM. It will first identify the similarities in the pluralistic policy implementing systems in Germany and Japan, and then analyse the differences in the co-ordination mechanism, staff workload and field representation of the two aid implementing agencies.

5.1 Pluralism in Policy Making System in Germany and Japan

The German aid administration is characterised as orchestration of multi-actors.

BMZ was established as a special ministry for development cooperation in 1961 aiming to integrate all the responsibilities of other ministries involved in aid administration. However, BMZ remains as a semi-independent ministry merely to co-ordinate other ministries involving development aid. For example, five other Ministries - those of Economic Affairs, of Foreign Affairs (AA), of Science, Technology and Education, of Labour, and of the Interior - have their own aid budgets, contributing about 27 % out of total and 15 % of bilateral aid (OECD DAC 1995:15). AA also plays an important role in policy formulation, allocation of bilateral commitments and even individual projects as well as management of the program in the field. The embassies in the developing countries organise monthly or weekly meetings with implementing agencies such as GTZ and KfW.

Therefore, BMZ is required to have frequent inter-departmental consultation and

co-ordination for policy initiatives and individual country programmes with other ministries.

Even in the technical cooperation scheme where BMZ is supposed to exercise its independent power over policy planning and implementation, BMZ has to rely on other federal organisations. For instance, as to receiving trainees from developing countries, BMZ has to first consult with AA which has authority over overseas cultural exchange and language education, and later should address the Joint Committee for Economic Cooperation consisting of relevant ministries. If the plan is approved by the Committee, BMZ will implement it while cooperating with the Ministry of Labour, CDG (Carl-Duisburg Gesellschaft), DSE (Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst), and other relevant organisations (Kato 1998:237).

Similarly, Japan also has pluralistic characteristics but with a more diverse and complex state mechanism for planning and implementation of development aid.

First, Japan does not have a single and central aid ministry like BMZ. The integration of aid administration has been frequently discussed at the state level since the 60s and increasingly advocated by academia and economic associations after the 80s. Despite all the efforts, aid relevant organisations have remained dispersed since 1960s (Kato 1998:200). Eighteen ministries had their own development aid budgets in 1991 (Mori 1995:187) and the same ministries are listed for the budget of fiscal year 2000 (IDJ 1999)⁵⁷.

The internal system of MOFA is also complex, and is often loosely and informally linked by personnel networks from other ministries. For instance, the Economic Cooperation Bureau in MOFA received 50 officers from other ministries out of about 120 staff in the bureau in the late 80s (Kato 1998:208). Most of the embassy staff in charge of development cooperation are from other ministries, therefore many pointed out that they are not trained in the field of development cooperation, which means weak field representation in Japanese aid agencies.

⁵⁷ These ministries include 1)Ministry of Foreign Affairs (53%), 2)Ministry of Finance(34%) , 3)Ministry of International Trade and Industry (4.8%), 4)Ministry of Education(4.4.%), 5)Ministry of Welfare (0.9%), 6)Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, 7)Ministry of Labour(0.3%) etc.(numbering from the larger budget holder).

5.2 Co-ordination Mechanism for Pluralistic System

BMZ first introduced more institutionalised comprehensive country concepts and a strategic programming approach. In 1992 it introduced the country concept paper as the central management instrument of the BMZ for the planning and co-ordination of all instruments of German development co-operation. These central management instruments served for more than 50 recipient countries, and replaced the previous less binding and less detailed country policy papers (OECD DAC, 1998:16)⁵⁸.

Once approved by the Minister, these guidelines become binding to all official assistance including technical cooperation. These guidelines are prepared by the BMZ, and regular reports received from the embassy, combined with the suggestions from NGOs and other implementing agencies such as GTZ and KfW. In 1992 and 1993, BMZ prepared regional concepts for Africa South of Sahara, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East & Mediterranean countries, Central & South East Europe and the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union. These regional papers are integrated into overall policy paper and country strategies. BMZ also tailored systematic concepts for sectors and sub-sectors in selecting, designing, monitoring and evaluation (OECD DAC 1998:16).

The effort to tailor systematic country approaches has just begun in Japan. MOFA has not yet established a systematic mechanism for a country approach with a legal basis as in Germany. In 1994, Japan announced it would re-consider the 'request base' principle in order to incorporate the country and program approach. The 1994 annual ODA report recognizes that the 'request basis principle' is becoming inappropriate given the growing demand for a country programming approach, since country programming calls for some activism in planning such as policy dialogue with recipient countries over the contents of aid program (OECD DAC 1996:31).

The Government has just decided to prepare a five-year policy guideline by a country-by-country strategy, initially for only 11 major recipient countries (OECD DAC 1999:25). JICA is now re-organising workflow to incorporate their guidelines into a policy

⁵⁸ The recent trend of strategic programming approach addressed in international donor community, shows (at least for me) an adverse vector against participation concept. Making strategic programming policy in advance means the increase of predetermined objectives derived mainly from the demands of donors and government of the partner government.

guideline prepared by MOFA⁵⁹.

GTZ is a key actor for the co-ordinating mechanism of the pluralistic policy formulation system in Germany. GTZ mainly works for BMZ but also carries out projects for other Ministries (OECD DAC 1998:20).

GTZ devises the original countrywide programming guidelines which are closely referred to in formulating country concepts by BMZ to co-ordinate policy orientation among aid relevant agencies. Its organisational structure, an effort to be apart from sectionalism of related ministries, makes this country approach possible.

GTZ restructured its organisations divided by sectors into a regional based departmental arrangement in 1989 (GTZ 1997b). In GTZ headquarters administration is now carried out by 8 departments which comprise four regional departments and one for planning and development of various cross cutting sectors such as refugees, emergency assistance and poverty alleviation. It also improvises matrix organisational arrangement for cross cutting issues such as gender and poverty. Special advisors for poverty reduction, gender and process management are allocated in individual country departments while the main responsibilities for these issues remains in the Strategic Cooperation Department.

Unlike GTZ, JICA does not devise strong co-ordinating mechanisms in the pluralistic aid administration of Japan.

JICA has organised country studies since 1986 for 17 countries and three regions (JICA 1999:116), and prepared country aid implementation guidelines which have been updated every year for 48 countries up to 1997. However, these guidelines remains as `soft` guidelines based on the information on economic and political conditions of the recipient country, its policy priority and other donors' practices, which are just 'noted' for project formulation and implementation. Therefore, Japan did not have the formal institutionalised mechanism to incorporate these findings to comprehensive programming which links whole policies to programs and programs to projects.

JICA has not completed organisational reform from the long-lasting sector basis to a regional based department system until recently.

The ministerial politics within JICA slowed the organisational reform for regional

⁵⁹ Ref No.7.

based department system. Historically, the sector based department arrangements have been evolved in order to correspond to the division of responsibilities assigned to each relevant ministry. In fact, the institutional arrangement of JICA, which is supposed to be solely under the supervision of MOFA, even reflects the divisions of relevant ministries: 1) the Mining & Industrial Development Cooperation Department in JICA corresponds to MITI, 2) the Agriculture, Forestry & Fisheries Development Cooperation Department corresponds to MAFF, 3) the Medical Cooperation Department corresponds to the Ministry of Health and Welfare etc. JICA also receives officers from relevant ministries who occupy 30% of director positions and 10% of assistant director positions (Kato 1998). Therefore, the interests of each relevant ministry are often against or deviant from aid policy formulated by MOFA or JICA.

JICA finally announced the organisational reform in 1999 but reduced the content. It will establish 4 regional departments: 1) Asia I, 2) Asia II, 3) Latin America, 4) Africa, Middle East and Europe, and one cross cutting sector department: Forestry & Environment (IDJ 1999). However, the previous sector based departments co-exist within the system, which will demand complex co-ordination.

The bureaucratic sectionalism also led to ritual problem- and objectives analyses in PCM practice. All the addressed problems are manoeuvred not to trespass over the territories of other departments and ministries. The commitment of many representatives of relevant ministries in Japan before the project approval will give pressure on the later workshop to stick to the project objective as requested. In fact, the higher PCM adoption ratio in the Social Development Cooperation Department, a department relatively independent from bureaucratic sectionalism, and the lower PCM adoption ratio in Agriculture, Forestry & Fisheries, a department with close ties with MAFF, explains that PCM is not suited to the bureaucratic sectionalism.

5.3 Staff Workload in GTZ and JICA

GTZ can be summarised as a relatively well-staffed aid-implementing agency among DAC members. In 1998, GTZ had 1,231 staff in headquarters, around 1,572 exa-

triate staff, 8,318 local staff (of which about 1,853 officers are in professional positions⁶⁰) and 806 integrated experts with a direct contract of employment with an organisation in a partner country (GTZ 1998:39-40). Approximate total turnover of DM1, 746.6 million (approx. \$873.3 million) in 1998 was operated by 11,927 staff (about 4,656 in professional positions), thus, workload per person amounts to a relatively light DM 0.37 million (\$0.18 million) for professional staff, and DM 0.146 million (\$0.07) million for total staff. (GTZ 1999, OECD DAC 1998:21&59).

On the other hand, Japan's program is thinly staffed, being ranked by DAC as among the most thinly staffed DAC members in 1993 (OECD DAC 1996). In 1998, the total staff in JICA was only 1,217 (of which 334 staff are in the field offices) to carry out a programme of about 160 billion yen (approx. \$1.5 billion) (OECD DAC 1996: 29, JICA 1999: 12). Even including the numbers of JICA experts and junior experts dispatched to each project (approx. 3,000), the workload per professional to JY 38 million (approx. \$0.35 million). This figure is almost twice as much as the amount assigned by a GTZ officer. Further, JICA employed fewer local staff in field offices, most of whom are not at the professional levels⁶¹.

It is fairly understandable that, for JICA officers, PCM is another burden on their administrative workloads. Preparation of a LF is perceived as an additional elaborate task to get project approval. The Planning Department of JICA, a promoter of PCM, noticed that many staff did not have time to attend PCM training session, which normally take three whole days just for the planning part, and a whole week for evaluation.

5.4 Field Representation & Authority Delegation in the field offices in GTZ and JICA

GTZ is well represented in the field and a promoter of local staff employment. At present it has offices in 81 developing countries each staffed by several people, mainly with an increasing number of local personnel in professional positions. Approximately 90 % of

⁶⁰ <http://www.gtz.de/home/english/gtz/zahlen/htm>

⁶¹ There are no available data for the number of local staff in field offices. However, I expect less than 20 per office, which will amount about 1,100 for 55 field offices.

total staff were allocated in the field in 1997, of which only 7 % of project staff were GTZ officials on leave from headquarters (OECD DAC 1998:21). Even for staff at the professional levels more than 73 % (1,231 staff in headquarters, around 1,572 expatriate staff, 1,853 local staff in professional position) were allocated in the field in 1997, of which about 40 % were local staff (GTZ 1998).

GTZ had well represented field offices even from the mid 80s when it started to introduce ZOPP. In 1983, the year of ZOPP adoption, GTZ had 1,504 field staff and 952 officials in the headquarters (OECF 1985). It is amazing to note that approximately 60 % of total staff were already allocated in the field 25 years ago.

To the contrary, the field representation is poor in JICA. Only 27% (334 out of 1,217 JICA officers) are allocated in the 55 field offices (OECD DAC 1998). The figure of local staff employment at the professional level is not available, but very limited since most of the local staff are at the administrative level.

The local offices in GTZ are also delegated authority from headquarters. These offices primarily provide logistic support and supervision for project implementation, and report to the headquarters and embassies, but are also directly in charge of planning and monitoring. The presence of GTZ's local offices has been increasing so that some recipient governments considered the GTZ office rather than the embassy to be their counterpart (OECD DAC 1998:27). The recent decentralization process from 1996 to 1998 will strengthen the presence of field offices who are expected to have greater decision making autonomy.

The degree of delegated authority is fairly limited in JICA field offices. They often are not involved in the planning stage, most of which is in hands of the embassy and the relevant sectoral ministries and JICA headquarters in Tokyo. The field offices are mainly involved in the support for implementation of the projects, give logistical support for JICA technical experts and official volunteers and regularly report to headquarters on project monitoring. JICA headquarters tried to decentralize in 1995-6 but only delegated authority over the staff welfare program, which leaves the core authority over project planning, selection and appraisal in the headquarters in Tokyo (JICA 1999).

Since most of the core authorities are attached to headquarters, PCM workshops are

done by missions dispatched from Tokyo. A mission always is conducted in a very short period, so they either do not to have a time-consuming workshop, or if they have a workshop, limit it to 1.5 - 2 days (Shimadzu 1999b), considerably shorter compared to ZOPP⁶².

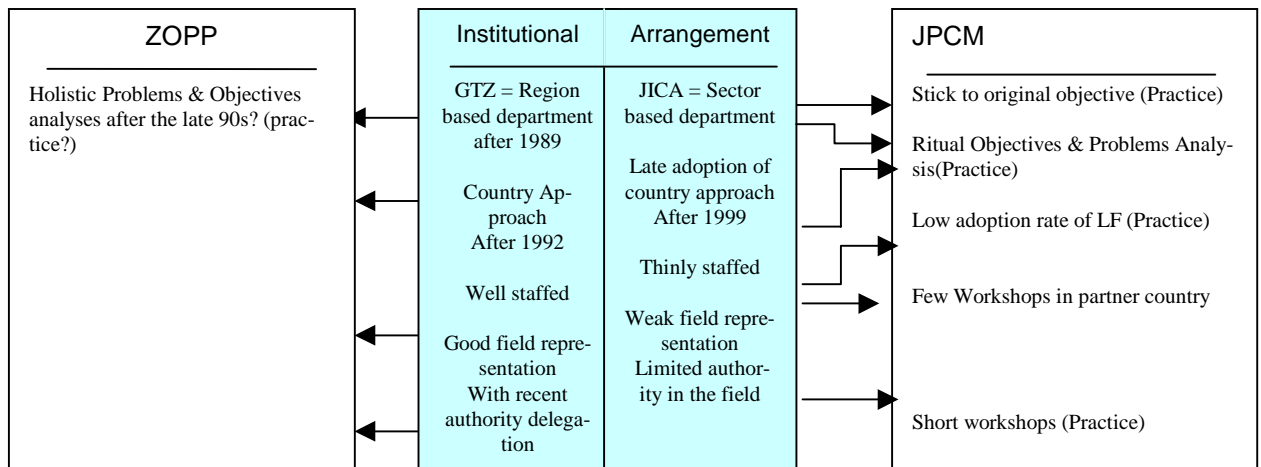
5.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter found similar pluralistic systems for development cooperation policy-making in Germany and Japan, but also identified major differences between GTZ and JICA in the organisational structure, workload per staff member, field representation and degree of decentralisation.

GTZ restructured from a sector based department arrangement to country based organisation in the early 90s to co-ordinate a pluralistic aid policy making mechanism. A country approach has been also introduced in the early 90s. The well resourced GTZ staff as well as the good field representation can carry out the cumbersome administrative procedures required in ZOPP, especially to have participatory workshops in the recipient countries.

To the contrary, JICA has kept a sector based or relevant ministry based department arrangement till the later 90s. It also lacks the systematic linkages between policy, program and projects. The obstacle to coordinate by a country approach is partly bureaucratic politics within relevant ministries involved in aid administration. JICA is also highly centralized in its headquarters in Tokyo. It has planned the organisational reform for decentralising but not yet implemented it at the moment. This leaves the problems of underrepresentation of field staff and the issues arising from the very limited authority delegation to the field office. The differences in staff workload and field representation can be one source of fewer PCM workshops in the field and fewer attendants for PCM training courses in Japan.

⁶² Now relatively long-term mission (3-5 months) has been undertaken as a trial to prepare a regional development master plan in Kenya. The team uses PCM workshop with some combination of PRA and newly created version of LF matrix at the village level to accumulate these informations up to the regional level. I would like to see the final outputs of the study later.



6. CONCLUSION

The last chapter will synthesise and conclude the arguments in the previous chapters. This chapter includes a summary that takes each of the research questions set in Chapter 1 in turn. It then identifies future work for further investigation, elaborates recent trends in ZOPP and JPCM, and finally, touches upon ethical implications of the findings on the use of donor-driven planning methods.

6.1 Summary

6.1.1 ZOPP vs. PCM –Comparative Analysis of Methods

- How do ZOPP and the Japanese version of PCM differ in theory?

As seen in Chapter 2, ZOPP and FASID's version of JPCM show little difference except for the additional cell of 'pre-requisites' at the bottom of JPCM's assumption column, and the criteria used for alternatives. The organisational function of FASID, as an academic not an operational organisation, possibly meant it adopted the ZOPP concept with little modification.

JICA's version of PCM in theory shows major differences from ZOPP (See Table 2.5). As an overall expectation, ZOPP attempts to combine two conflicting principles: control and participation. By adding systematic exercises on problems and objectives and alternatives analyses and more attention to the assumptions column, ZOPP focuses more on vertical logics than horizontal logics compared to the original American management consultant based LFA. GTZ attaches a participation emphasis to ZOPP through additional

planning procedures such as "participation analysis" and participatory workshops with a teamwork emphasis. It defines the degree of participation and scope of participants clearly and in detail.

JICA's version of PCM traces these major elements on the vertical and horizontal logics of ZOPP but emphasises the control purpose more. It attempts to use the assumptions column to clarify the responsibility of the recipient country. Alternatives analysis largely reduces to a project justification. In addition, participatory aspects are also underestimated because of the lack of clear definition of participation and participants, and the reduced number of participatory workshops.

- How did ZOPP and the Japanese version of PCM differ in practical usage?

As seen in Chapter 2, a decade of ZOPP experiences resulted in a more control-oriented than participatory planning method (see Table 2.6). Planners were more concerned to make perfect plans by strictly following the elaborate ZOPP procedures, which made the LF rigid and fixed throughout the each stage of ZOPP. It also resulted in major failure in participation: alibi-participation, ritual stakeholder analysis, exclusion of beneficiaries and loss of local ownership spirit.

JICA's experiences, though it has only 5 years since official adoption, have achieved neither control nor the participatory aspects in PCM. It resulted in lower usage of the LF matrix than in GTZ. Problem, Objectives, and Alternatives analyses often become ritual, showing hesitation to divert from the originally stated project purpose⁶³. The assumptions column is largely used to clarify the recipient's responsibility mainly for minutes between the two governments.

Although PCM exercises led to a formal articulation of the participation aspect as shown in the planning methodology of the Japanese aid agencies, there was considerable loss of participatory aspects of PCM in practice. Few workshops were held in the recipient country. If held, these workshops limited the scope of participants, often excluding local authorities or beneficiaries.

⁶³ It needs additional data of LF application ratio of ZOPP in 1988 to verify this trend (5 year later from its official application) for a real comparison with the trend of JICA.

6.1.2 Values in Management –Analysis of Social Contexts behind ZOPP vs. PCM

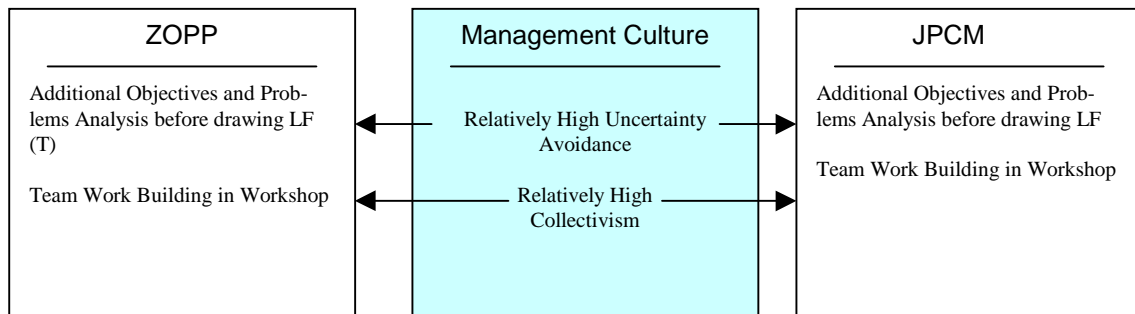
- Why did JPCM take salient parts from ZOPP?

- How do particular management cultures affect framing and using the method?

As seen in Chapter 2, the reasons why JPCM took salient parts from ZOPP seem to be multi-fold. The leadership in FASID, power relations with respect to DAC, and the balance in ZOPP of planning principles of both participation and control, are among the plausible reasons. The paper also explored in Chapter 3 the similarities of management culture as another possible reason for ZOPP adoption.

Japan is situated closer to Germany in terms of Collectivism and Uncertainty Avoidance traits, than to USA and Canada which have relatively strong individualism and risk taking preferences. High uncertainty avoidance traits drew extra attention to additional systematic procedures before drawing up the LF matrix, and more attention to the assumptions column is given to avoid the uncertain risks in future.

Collectivism preference may have added to the team work emphasis in planning procedures as shown by collective agreement in objective setting and frequent use of workshop approaches.



6.1.3 Comparative analysis of Social Context- Values relevant to Development Aid

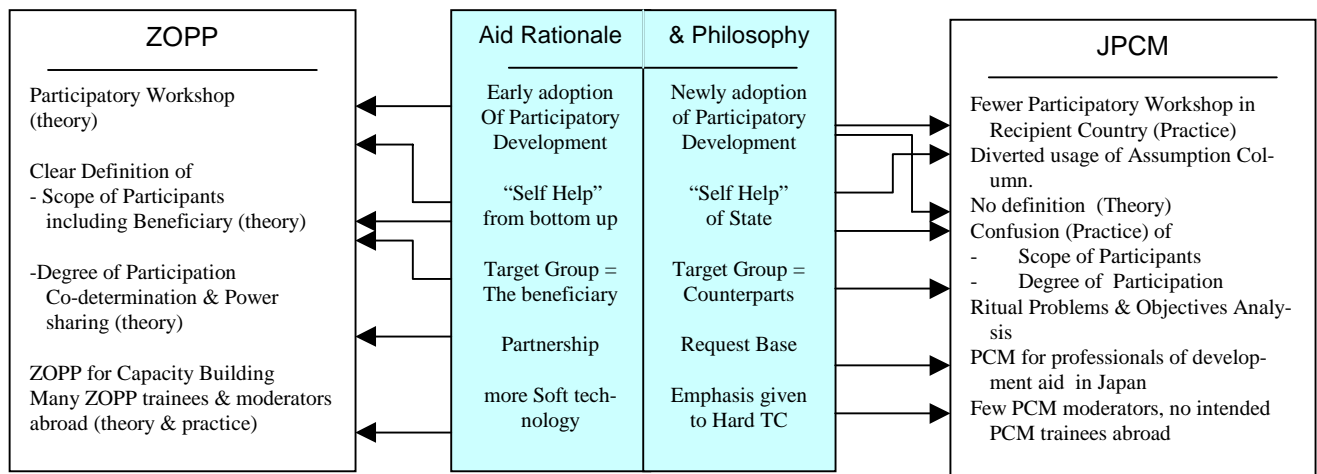
- How do values relevant to aid rationale and philosophy frame the theory and usage of a project planning method?

As seen in Chapter 4, aid rationales and aid philosophy also influence theory and practices in planning.

The clear indication of a participation concept and the definition of participants in

ZOPP have been backed up by the long history of policy orientation to participatory development. The self-help philosophy rooted in social movements in Germany in the 60s or much earlier, favoured the attention to support for bottom up self-help activities at the grass root level in developing countries. The target group is perceived to include the beneficiary or end-user, which is reflected in a clear indication of participants in ZOPP. The partnership concept frames the degree of participation - “co-determination & power sharing”. ZOPP is assigned dual roles; for project management for GTZ, and for capacity building of the recipient organisations. In this context, the ZOPP concept and ZOPP trainees and moderators became widespread in the partner countries.

JICA, on the other hand, has only lately adopted a participatory development scheme, which shares only a very small portion of its technical cooperation scheme. The traditional “self help” concept applied in Japan means “self help” of the recipient state to prepare conditions for “take off”. The target group has been understood as counterparts or governmental officers in charge, often excluding the supposed beneficiaries. Technology transfer has meant the transfer of ‘hard’ knowledge for economic growth. All this historical background disfavours conceptualising and practicing participatory development projects, which leads to the relative absence of participatory aspects in JPCM. In addition, JPCM was targeted not to the aid administration in the recipient government or organisations, but to the Japanese aid professionals for efficient implementation of the projects. Consequently, JPCM moderators and trainees are the Japanese. The lesser access to JPCM moderators leads to fewer workshops in the partner country.



6.1.4 Comparative analysis of Social Context- Aid Administration

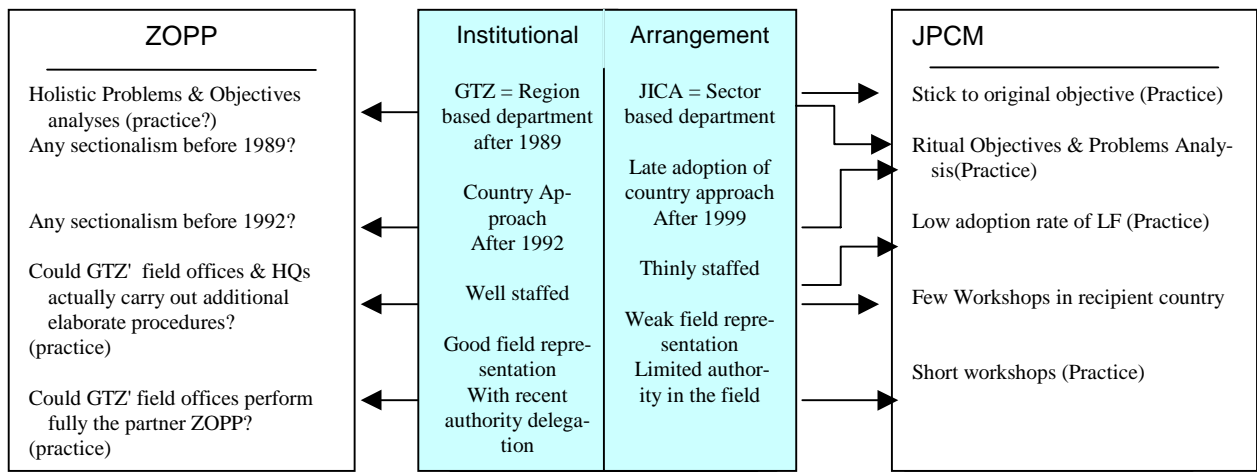
- How do organisational structures such as organisational arrangements and field representation affect the theory and usage of methodology?

As seen in Chapter 5, the comparison of institutional arrangements between GTZ and JICA gives many insights on the differences in ZOPP and JPCM in practice, but also casts many questions.

JICA's sector based department arrangement is linked to each aid-relevant ministry, which prevents holistic and cross sector analysis of problems and objectives analyses and tends to make the analyses rituals. A proposed project purpose was fixed from the official request form onwards, due to inertia of the customary 'request based principle' and the complicated aid co-ordination mechanism. Therefore, problem analysis and objective analysis were often additionally attached later to correspond to the pre-determined core problem. This is accentuated by the absence of a country approach until very recently, and the lack of strategic linkage between policy, program and project⁶⁴. The heavy workload assigned per person becomes an obstacle to carry out additional planning procedures and results in the omission of time consuming participatory workshops. Due to the weak field representation and limited authority delegation, the partner workshop always needs missions sent from Japan. All these aspects lead to fewer workshops in the recipient country, and if held, they are carried out within fewer days.

However, the findings also indicate further questions on ZOPP in practice: Could GTZ carry out objectives and problem analyses as in theory, before its organisational reform to establish a country based department arrangement in 1989? If so, did the organisational reform actually improve the use of ZOPP? How about the impact of the change to a country-focused approach? Is there any correlation between decentralisation and advancement of participation concept in GTZ? This paper leaves these questions for future work.

⁶⁴ However, I feel that the absence of currently addressed strategic programming mechanism avoids the danger of strengthening top-down approach, which normally increases pre-determined objectives derived from the needs of the top before extracting the needs articulated from the bottom or at the project level.



6.2 Future Work

I acknowledge the limitations of this study's scope and available data, given its time constraints, and recognise needs for further research mainly for the following areas.

First, data on practices of ZOPP and JPCM have to be complemented by project reports using a good sampling technique and any official survey on the use of ZOPP and JPCM. I summarised the general trend of practical experiences of ZOPP and JPCM based upon the observations by researchers and practitioners. However, it is not a sound summary based upon sampling technique to verify the trend and distribution including the variation, skewedness and outliers etc. I have an impression so far that Japanese experiences are more diverse with wider variance because of the less strict organisational legislation, but of course I cannot verify it at the moment.

In addition, more research is called for on GTZ and its practices with ZOPP, to avoid information asymmetry in a comparative study. This includes data collection from annual and project reports, interviews with ZOPP practitioners and, if possible, field research.

The paper also needs to explore other possible aspects to determine differences of ZOPP and JPCM in theory and practice. Among them, the political and economic situations in Germany and Japan are influential factors on aid policy and reforms of aid administration; for instance, the power relationships with DAC and with other states such as US (for Japan) and EU (for Germany).

6.3 Potentialities of ZOPP & JPCM

The recent effort by GTZ shows some potential for improvement of ZOPP. Between 1992 and 1995, GTZ actively reviewed the mis-use of the ZOPP system and made

more flexible ZOPP procedures to redress ZOPP into so-called ZOPP/PCM. ZOPP/PCM aims at a more flexible usage expecting that creative workshop facilitators incorporate ‘non-scheduled’ elements into workshops, sometimes change the sequence of ZOPP steps, delete some steps, or introduce completely new steps.

The new version incorporates the idea of methodological pluralism and a larger range of choices is given for the tool selection and indicators. For situation analysis, for instance, the new guidelines give alternatives for participation analysis methods including target-group analysis, relationship maps, power matrix, service interaction analysis, organisational analysis, and participatory rapid appraisal (PRA) (GTZ 1997:15). The guidelines recommend customised Indicators instead of pre-fabricated ones and recognise the use of qualitative indicators. A major modification is in the Project Planning Matrix, where the means of verification column is omitted as in the NORAD’ version, and an ‘indicators of the assumptions’ column is added next to the assumptions column. More emphasis is thus given to vertical logic than the horizontal logic.

GTZ also started de-regulation of the in-house procedures. In 1996, regulation 4211, a core regulation of ZOPP procedures, was replaced by a guide on ‘Standard Procedure’. In addition, GTZ’s Directors General decided to deregulate all organisational project directives except those to which GTZ was bound by outside rules (GTZ 1997:31). The impact of this would be worth further research.

JPCM is also in the improvement process. PCM moderators (12 official moderators and approximately 50 other potential moderators) have been accumulating the PCM experiences. They have learnt methodological pluralism through learning by doing. They quite often change the sequences of PCM, omit certain steps according to the participants, and apply other methods if necessary. The less rigid organisational procedures allowed the flexible use of JPCM. Organisational re-structuring and decentralisation have just started, which also deserves further investigation.

6.4 Ethical and Policy Implications for Developing Countries with Different Social Contexts

This paper has looked at the differences of ZOPP and PCM and tries to relate these

to differences in social contexts between Germany and Japan. The findings have implications for the replicability of ZOPP and PCM in the planning process in different countries where the contextual variety and diversity is greater, especially at village level.

Looking back at a 30 year history of applications of variants of Logical Framework approaches even including ZOPP, aid agencies conceptualised methodologies mainly by their own staff or consultants (the planner of the developed countries), without reflecting the realities of officers in developing countries or of "target" groups. In other words, the planning method derived by each donor mainly reflects perceptions of "Northern" method creators. As far as I know, only for ZOPP/PCM 1997 have officers in developing countries (but they also share the same culture of "planners" or "bureaucrats" with donor officers) joined the process, to revise the previous rigid ZOPP procedures to a more process oriented one. In this sense, PRA, which has developed mainly from NGOs who worked in the fields for a long time, or other methods developed by local NGOs, have different implicit or explicit value positions and development philosophy.

Sida also conducted some research and reported from Zimbabwe and Zambian local officials' point of view, that they were confused by the massive increase of administrative procedures to fulfil the different variants of ZOPP and PCM required by each donor (Rylander et.al.,1996:8). The exchange of research and experiences of the variants of ZOPP or other LF approaches would help understand the situation encountered by officers in the developing countries.

Planning (and evaluation) theory is now moving to more participatory approaches based upon methodological pluralism. Participants themselves should now determine their planning methods or decision making procedures by themselves, according to their own criteria (e.g. logical transparency, efficiency, learning, or their familiar decision making systems or any other or mixture). Or even they can decide not to do planning (evaluation). Therefore, the participants own the process (methods or procedures) of planning itself. And they shall own the selections of participants as well.

In conclusion, the contextual diversity calls for the outside planner to first identify the assumptions embedded in the methodology they use, carefully observe other social contexts of the people with whom they are planning, and apply, modify, or create more ap-

appropriate planning methods. Careful attention to the diverse social contexts also calls for reform of the attitude and manner in conceptualising and standardising aid management methods. In this sense, planners or moderators have to be trained to be professional and standardised manuals will not cover the range for flexible and creative use of planning. As Robert Chambers changed his title from “putting the last first” to “putting the first last” in a recent publication, I believe it is for the donor’s side to scrutinise their assumptions first, and to be trained in the awareness of their own culture and values instead of standardising a donor driven planning method which usually only reflects the donor’s reality. Then they can identify what are the potentials and what are the limitations in the use of ZOPP and PCM.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
BADC	Belgian Administration for Development Co-operation
BMZ	German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
CBA	Cost Benefit Analysis
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (of OECD)
DANIDA	Danish international development cooperation agency
DEH	Swiss Consultative Commission on Development Cooperation
DFID(UK)	Department for International Development (after 1997)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FASID	Foundation for Advanced Studies on International Development
GMZ	German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Agency for Technical Cooperation)
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development

JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JPCM	JICA's version of Project Cycle Management
KfW	Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (German loan aid lending agency)
LF	Logical Framework
LFA	Logical Framework Approach
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry & Fishery of Japan
MITI	Ministry of International Trade and Industry of Japan
MOE	Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture of Japan
MOF	Ministry of Finance of Japan
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development
ODA	(UK) Overseas Development Administration (to 1997)
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OOIP	Objective-oriented intervention planning
PCM	Project Cycle Management
PDM	Project Design Matrix (LF for Japanese version of PCM)
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organisation
USAID	United States, Agency for International Development
ZOPP	Ziel Orientierte Projekt Planung (Objectives Oriented Project Planning)

APPENDIX I JPCM' s Project Design Matrix: Floricultural Development Project in Argentine Republic
(Source :JICA 1998b:).

Narrative Summary	Verifiable Indicators	Mean of Verification	Important Assumption				
<p>1. OVERALL GOAL</p> <p>The project is to be set with the overall goal to augment income of floricultural farmers through improvement of floricultural products quality in the Argentine Republic.</p>	<p>1. Incomes of floricultural farmers will augment more than the average incomes of 1990.</p> <p>2. The amount of flower production will increase more than that of 1999 in the Argentine Republic.</p>	<p>1. Statistical data of the Argentine Republic. Horticultural annual bulletin.</p> <p>2. Statistical data of the Argentine Republic. Horticultural annual bulletin.</p>	<p>A. The Argentine supporting policy to floriculture will be maintained.</p> <p>B. INTA will promote the extension of results of the Project to floricultural farmers.</p> <p>C. The distribution system on floricultural products will be arranged.</p>				
<p>2. PROJECT PURPOSE</p> <p>The purpose of the Project is to enhance the research activities on floriculture and flower breeding technology through growing useful cultivars of Argentine origin.</p>	<p>1. The thesis on flower breeding will be presented by the counterparts in the congress of horticultural society of Argentine Republic.</p> <p>2. Counterparts will be able to create new practical cultivars by themselves.</p>	<p>1. Reports in annual congress of horticultural society.</p> <p>2. Reports in annual congress of horticultural society. Annual bulletin of INASE.</p>	<p>D. The composed Argentine Research Unit will continue the activities.</p>				
<p>3. Outputs of the Project</p> <p>(1) Argentine Researchers trained in the fields of new breeding systems and preservation methods, using native potential ornamental plants of Argentine and commercial varieties, taking advantage of the wealth of plant genetic resources.</p> <p>(2) The appropriate flower breeding technology fixed on the basis of plant breeding theory and floriculture under Argentine climates.</p> <p>(3) Establishment of useful and practical technology for flower breeding</p>	<p>1.1-4 Information on the genetic resources concerning the native ornamental plants will be accumulated.</p> <p>1-4 The preservation methods of breeding materials will be established.</p> <p>2-1-4. Together with the genealogy of cultivars, the table of various traits of these cultivars will be completed.2/1-4. The standard of breeding test will be completed.</p> <p>3-1. The standard for the test of adaptability to Argentine climates and the rest of various characteristics will be established.</p> <p>#-2-3. According to the degree of advance of the Project, the new cultivars will be created and the seeds and saplings of the new cultivars will be produced.</p>	<p>1.1-3 Accumulated information. Research reports.</p> <p>1-4-3.3 The reports of the Project. Research reports. Publication.</p>	<p>E. The research Unit concerning floriculture will be composed by the Argentine Republic.</p> <p>F. The facilities environment for the research activities concerned the flower breeding will be arranged.</p>				
<p>ACTIVITIES</p> <p>1-1 Exploration and collection.</p> <p>1-2 Clarify the specific traits</p> <p>1-3 Evaluation of involved traits</p> <p>1-4 Preservation Methods</p> <p>1-5 Improvement of flowering habits in ornamental plants</p> <p>2-2 Selection to shorten the juvenile stage in ornamental flowering trees</p> <p>2-3 Breeding for salt tolerance, especially high sodium concentration</p> <p>2-4 Breeding by means of poliploid production</p> <p>3-1 Comparison between introduced foreign commercial and domestic cultivars.</p> <p>3-2 Introducing new genetic traits of native Argentine plants showing potential ornamental value into commercial cultivators.</p> <p>3-3 Propagation by means of tissue culture.</p>	<p align="center">V. Input of the Project</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Japanese Side</th> <th>Argentine Side</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td> <p>1. Dispatch of Japanese Experts</p> <p>2. Training of the Argentine personnel in Japan</p> <p>3. Provision of machinery and equipment.</p> <p>Note :see the details of the Master Plan of R/D.</p> </td> <td> <p>1. Services of the Argentine counterparts personnel and administrative personnel.</p> <p>2. Provision of land, buildings and facilities.</p> <p>Running expenses.</p> </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Japanese Side	Argentine Side	<p>1. Dispatch of Japanese Experts</p> <p>2. Training of the Argentine personnel in Japan</p> <p>3. Provision of machinery and equipment.</p> <p>Note :see the details of the Master Plan of R/D.</p>	<p>1. Services of the Argentine counterparts personnel and administrative personnel.</p> <p>2. Provision of land, buildings and facilities.</p> <p>Running expenses.</p>	<p>G. The climates in the Argentine Republic will not change considerably.</p> <p>H. The procedures regarding the customs clearance and the transportation of the equipment within the Argentine Republic will not delay.</p>
Japanese Side	Argentine Side						
<p>1. Dispatch of Japanese Experts</p> <p>2. Training of the Argentine personnel in Japan</p> <p>3. Provision of machinery and equipment.</p> <p>Note :see the details of the Master Plan of R/D.</p>	<p>1. Services of the Argentine counterparts personnel and administrative personnel.</p> <p>2. Provision of land, buildings and facilities.</p> <p>Running expenses.</p>						
	<p align="center"><Prerequisite></p> <p>1. The activities of Technological Center on Floriculture, fruits culture and horticulture (CETEFFHO) will continue.</p>						

