

特定テーマ
評価

「貧困削減／地域社会開発」



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序 文

貧困削減は、その定義やアプローチの変遷はあるものの、これまでの開発援助政策において重要課題のひとつとして捉えられており、国際的にも共通の目標として様々な取り組みが進められてきました。2000年にはミレニアム開発目標にも掲げられ、国際的に共通の目標として取り組みが進められています。

その中で、従来の政府機関に対する協力だけでは、貧困層に協力の効果が十分に届かないため、より貧困層や地域住民を取り込んだ協力が必要であるという認識が高まっています。また一方で、貧困層や地域住民に直接働きかける協力は、直接的な効果が出やすい反面、効果が対象地域に限定され、他地域に広がりにくいという課題が指摘されています。

特定テーマ評価「貧困削減／地域社会開発」は、これまでにJICAが行ってきた貧困／地域社会開発関連案件のうち、行政と地域社会に「複層的」に働きかけた技術協力プロジェクトを対象に、横断的に評価を行い、貧困削減／地域社会開発における「複層的アプローチ」の有効性を検証し、今後の類似案件の実施に関する教訓をとりまとめました。

本評価の実施にあたっては、評価アドバイザーとして独立行政法人日本貿易振興機構アジア経済研究所の佐藤寛主任研究員と国際基督教大学の西尾隆教授を招いた評価検討会を設け、評価の枠組みから分析方法、評価結果にかかる協議を経て、ここに報告書完成の運びとなりました。

なお、評価の質と向上と客観性の確保のために、2003年度から全ての特定テーマ評価を対象として「外部有識者レビュー」（当該分野に知見を有する第三者による2次評価：評価の評価）を導入し、レビュー結果を報告書に掲載しています。レビューの趣旨を理解し、レビュー結果の本報告書への掲載に快く応じてくださった独立行政法人日本貿易振興機構アジア経済研究所川中豪研究員氏に感謝申し上げます。

本評価調査から導き出された教訓は、複層的なアプローチを持つ類似の案件形成及び実施の際に活用していく所存です。

終わりに、本評価調査にご協力とご支援をいただいた関係者の皆様に対し、心より感謝申し上げます。

2004年11月

独立行政法人 国際協力機構
理事 小島 誠二

現地調査（スラウェシ貧困対策支援村落開発計画）の対象村落の様子（2003年11月-12月）



ポントカシ村・農民集会所



タマラテ村・干物製造販売（起業家育成事業）成果物



バルガヤ村・飲料水用井戸からの水汲み風景



バンガエ村・縫製グループ（中学校中退者への職業訓練）



ラッサン村・レンガ造りグループの作業風景



バルガヤ村・灌漑用汲水ポンプからの放水作業

特定テーマ評価「貧困削減／地域社会開発」評価セミナーの様子（2004年7月26日）



第一部：評価結果報告

第二部：パネルディスカッション



会場（参加者）の様子

要 約

「特定テーマ評価 貧困削減/地域社会開発」 要約

1. 特定テーマ評価「貧困削減/地域社会開発」の概要

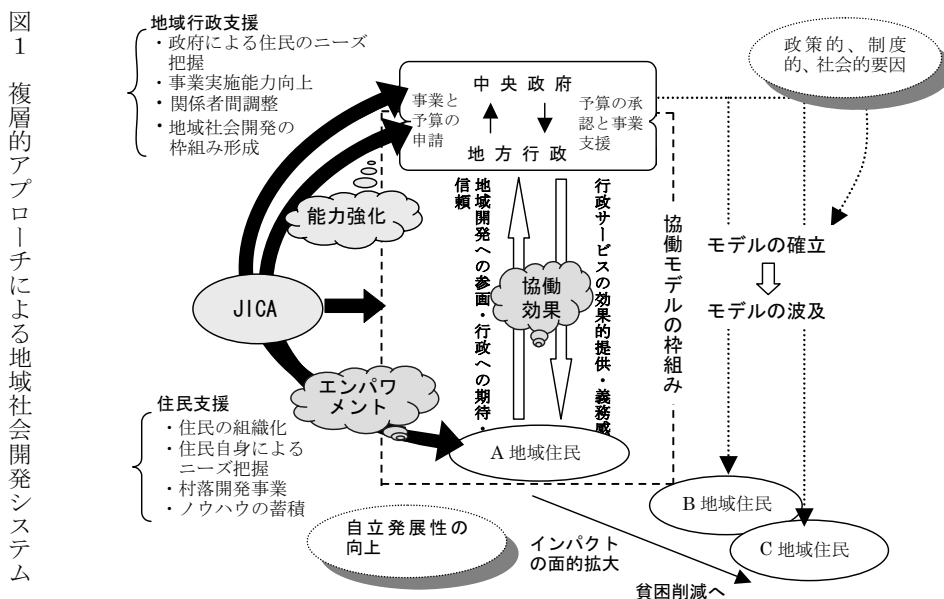
(1) 背景と目的

貧困削減は、その定義やアプローチの変遷はあるものの、これまでの開発援助政策において重要課題として捉えられており、国際的にも共通の目標として様々な取り組みが進められている。その中で、従来の政府機関に対する協力だけでは、貧困層に協力の効果が十分に届かないため、より貧困層や地域住民を取り込んだ協力が必要であるという認識が高まりつつある。また一方で、貧困層や地域住民に直接働きかける「直接問題解決型」のアプローチは、直接的な効果が出やすい反面、効果が対象地域に限定され、他地域に広がりにくいという課題が指摘されている。

1980年代までは、JICAにおいても、相手国の政府関係機関に対する「技術移転型」や村落の特定のターゲットグループに対する「直接問題解決型」アプローチ等、ある単一の層を対象として協力をを行うプロジェクトが多数を占めていた。これらの「単層的」な働きかけを行うアプローチのうち、政府機関に対する「技術移転型」は、相手国政府機関の行政官や技術者、研究者の能力強化に対する支援が中心であったが、住民のニーズを直接的に把握することや、相手国実施機関が行う開発事業の裨益効果を測定することが困難であった。一方、「直接問題解決型」は、緊急的な問題解決と住民自身のエンパワメントの面では有効性が高いが、支援対象が狭くインパクトが限定されることや、支援終了後の事業の自立発展性、対象地域や住民の選択時における公平性等が課題であった。

これらのアプローチの短所を補うため、JICAでは1990年代前半から、地域社会開発に携わる様々な関係者（中央政府、地方政府、住民、大学、NGO等）に「複層的」に働きかけ、連携関係を構築することで状況の改善を図るような支援形態がみられるようになってきた。

本特定テーマ評価では、このようなアプローチを「複層的アプローチ」と呼び、地域社会開発という視点からその有効性を総合的に検証し、今後の類似案件の計画・実施の際に有効な教訓を抽出することを目的として実施した（複層的アプローチのイメージは図1のとおり）。



(2) 調査の対象案件

JICA では、これまでに様々なセクターやスキームで貧困関連案件や地域社会開発案件を実施してきた。ただし、今回の評価調査は、前述のとおり「複層的アプローチ」の有効性を検証することを目的としているため、対象は以下の表のとおり、地域社会開発に携わる様々な関係者に複層的に働きかけ連携構築を図った技術協力プロジェクトに絞り込んで分析を行った¹（本評価調査報告書では、各案件の名称として以下の表中にある略称を使用する）。

表1 調査対象案件

番号	案件名	スキーム	実施年度	文中の略称
1	インドネシア・スラウェシ貧困対策支援村落開発計画	プロ技	97.03-02-02	スラウェシ村落開発
2	バングラデシュ住民参加型農村開発行政支援（PRDP）	専門家チーム	00.04-04.04	バングラデシュ PRDP
3	フィリピン地方生計向上計画	プロ技	91.01-96.09	フィリピン地方生計向上
4	フィリピン・セブ州地方部活性化プロジェクト	プロ技	99.03-04.02	セブ SEED
5	フィリピン・農村生活改善研修強化計画	プロ技	96.06-01-06	フィリピン生活改善研修
6	スリランカ・参加型農村開発手法の確立	専門家チーム	98.07-01.06	スリランカ参加型農村開発
7	インドネシア・南東スラウェシ州農業農村開発計画	プロ技	91.01-98.02	南東スラウェシ農村開発
8	ラオス・ビエンチャン県農業農村開発計画（フェーズ 2）	プロ技	95.11-02-10	ラオス農村開発
9	ネパール村落振興・森林保全計画（フェーズ 1,2）	プロ技	94.07-04.07	ネパール森林保全
10	タンザニア・ソコイネ農業大学地域開発センター	プロ技	99.5-04.04	ソコイネ地域開発

(3) 評価方法

本調査の実施において、フェーズ 1（2003 年 8 月～11 月）では文献レビュー及び関係者への聞き取り調査を実施し、対象案件の①計画のロジック、②実施段階における取組みと成果、③複層的アプローチの結果としての地域社会開発の枠組み（本調査では「協働モデル²」と総称する）の確立と自立発展及び波及、④教訓の抽出、という観点から個別案件分析を行った。

また、フェーズ 2（2003 年 11 月～2004 年 3 月）では、ケーススタディとして「スラウェシ村落開発」について、関係者への聞き取り調査やフォーカスグループディスカッションを中心とした現地調査を実施し、同プロジェクトが対象地域に導入した地域社会開発上の協働モデルの自立発展性やインパクトを確認した。その上で、全対象案件の総合的な横断的分析を行い、更なる検証及び教訓の抽出を行った（「スラウェシ村落開発」の個別分析事例及び現地調査結果については第 2 章、他案件の個別分析事例については第 3 章を参照）。

2. 仮説

この特定テーマ評価では、「行政機関と地域社会の双方のレベルに複層的に働きかけ、双方の連携を構築するという複層的アプローチは、地域社会開発の促進及び貧困削減の視点から有効であるか」という評価設問を設置した。この設問に答えるにあたり、評価作業における論点を明確にするために以下の 2 つの仮説を設け、これを検証するという観点から調査項目の設定と情報収集・分析を行った。

¹ 但し、これらの案件全てがプロジェクト計画段階または実施段階から、必ずしも「意図的に」複層的アプローチを行ったという訳ではない。また、行政機関や地域住民への働きかけのバランスについても案件により差がある。

² 実際には、各案件の実施段階では、協働モデルという呼称は用いていない。モデルという呼称はあくまで本評価において記述の統一性を持たせるために、便宜的に用いるものである。

⁴ 例えば、モデルの適用可能性の観点から、実施に係る予算規模、実施プロセスの手間、必要とされる技術レベル等が考えられる。

仮説1: 複層的アプローチにおいて、住民に近い政府機関(地方行政)と地域住民を連携(リンク)させることによって、地域開発における協働効果(シナジー)を高めることができるのではないかと。

仮説2: 複層的アプローチにおける地域開発の協働モデルが相手国側の政策・制度に組み込まれることにより、モデルの自立発展性及び開発効果の面的な拡大につながるのではないかと。

3. 横断的分析

(1) 複層的アプローチの計画段階

本項では、「計画時に何を目標とし、その目標に到達するためにどのようなロジック(論理的ステップ)を想定していたのか。また、それが明確にされていたのか」という観点から対象案件を分析する。

① 導入の背景とその目的

評価対象プロジェクトの計画段階に共通していた対象地の地域社会開発の状況は、相手国政府のトップダウン型の行政サービスや地方行政の能力不足等の理由によって、住民が開発事業等の計画から実施までのプロセスに参加する機会が閉ざされていたことである。その結果、地方行政機関が主導する開発事業に住民のニーズが十分に反映されず、開発事業への住民の参加を通じて地域社会のポテンシャルが活用されることも少なかった。このような状況に鑑み、各プロジェクトでは、地域住民の参加を確保し、中央政府(地方出先機関含む)、地方自治体、大学、住民等地域社会開発関係者に複層的に働きかけ、連携を構築することで状況の改善を図った。

表2 プロジェクト計画時における対象国の地域社会開発の状況

国名	行政制度	案件名	地域社会開発の行政主体*	実施機関名	モデル関係者(実施機関及び住民除く)
インドネシア	中央集権	スラウェシ村落開発	中央政府、州政府、県政府	内務省村落開発総局、南スラウェシ州政府、タカラール県政府	州政府、県議会、NGO、地域大学
		南東スラウェシ農村開発	中央政府	農業省南東スラウェシ州事務所	州政府、県政府
バングラデシュ		バングラデシュ PRDP	中央政府	農村開発公社	中央政府(各分野普及員及び郡事務所)、ユニオン評議会、NGO
フィリピン	地方分権	フィリピン地方生計向上	州政府、町役場	大統領府人造りセンター	中央政府、町役場、NGO、州立農学校
		セブ SEED	州政府、町役場	セブ州政府企画開発局	州政府、町役場、NGO
		フィリピン生活改善研修	州政府、町役場	農業省農業研修局及び農業研修センター	州政府、NGO、町役場、大学
スリランカ		スリランカ参加型農村開発	中央政府、州政府、県政府	コロombo大学	州政府、NGO、農業生産者団体
タンザニア		ソコイネ地域開発	県政府	ソコイネ農業大学地域開発センター	県政府、NGO
ラオス		ラオス農村開発	県政府、郡政府	ビエンチャン県農林部	NGO、郡、JOCV
ネパール		ネパール森林保全	郡政府	郡土壌保全事務所	郡政府、村落政府、NGO

* ここでは、地域社会開発の行政主体とは、当該国で地域開発事業の実施を担う行政機構であり、当該国の行政制度や対象分野により異なる。またインドネシア「スラウェシ村落開発」、「南東スラウェシ農村開発」及び「フィリピン地方生計向上」の場合には、プロジェクト実施期間中に、中央集権から地方分権に行政制度が移行した。

このような背景のもと、調査対象プロジェクトでは、住民の主體的な参加を促し、ボトムアップ的に地域社会開発を行うという明確な目的を持っており、住民自身のエンパワメントや生計向上を中心とした開発、地方行政機関と住民の連携関係の構築、村落開発事業の持続性の向上等が共通した特徴となっていた。また、スリランカ参加型農村開発及びソコイネ地域開発では、地域社会開発における

大学の新たな役割を提示すると共に、独自の参加型開発手法の確立を目指したことが特徴であった。貧困削減との関連については、明確に貧困への対処を掲げたのは「フィリピン地方生計向上」のみであった。他の案件では、貧困層を特定して支援を行うものではなく、地域社会全般の活性化を図り、その結果として貧困状況が改善されることをねらっていた。

② 協働モデルのメカニズム

各評価対象プロジェクトでは、相手国の中央政府、地方政府、大学のいずれかが実施機関として選定された。実施機関の選定経緯は当該国の行政制度や行政主体によって異なるが、いずれも複層的アプローチの目的を具体化するのに最も適切な機関を選定しようとしていた。しかし、地域社会開発の枠組みの中で、相手側実施機関が本来の業務以外の新たな役割や機能を担ったプロジェクトについては、協力終了後に予算や制度的な制約により、追加的役割の継続性が困難になったケースもあった。そのような場合、計画段階において、本来その役割を果たすべき機関をプロジェクトのアクター（協力機関）として取り込む等、十分な留意が必要であった。

複層的アプローチの実施地域の選定に関しては、まず州や県レベルでは、当該国における地域間格差や貧困度合いを勘案しつつ、相手側政府の要望に沿って選定が行われた。次に、各州や州内における町や村レベルの対象地域（モデル地域）としては、全ての案件で比較検討の目的で複数の地区が選定された。選定基準は、社会経済状況の相違、各プロジェクトが持つ特定の目的との合致、事前の研究協力事業からの引継ぎ、相手国側の政治的理由の観点等、様々であった。

複層的アプローチの住民レベルのコンポーネントである村落開発事業の対象者としては、不特定多数の既存の住民組織（またはグループ）が選ばれていた。このような方法は、参加住民の主体性を重視し、受益層を幅広く確保する観点から有効であったといえる。

複層的アプローチの実施における協働モデルの確立方法については、プロジェクトの活動において、一連のステップを当初から明確に計画していた案件と、プロジェクト活動の実施による経験や試行錯誤の結果をもって、最終的にモデルを形成した案件に大別される。前者（7案件）は、協働モデルの設計から実証または普及までのプロセスが段階的に計画に組み込まれている案件で、後者（3案件）はモデル確立プロセスや完成の時期を明示せず、まずはプロジェクト活動を開始して、その経過に応じて柔軟に対処するとしていた。「スラウエシ村落開発」及び「フィリピン生活改善研修」以外の案件は、協働モデルの波及（モデル地域以外での採用）の具体的な計画を検討しておらず、プロジェクトの範囲を、相手側実施機関に対して同モデルを提示すること（相手側実施機関によって採用されることを期待する）に留めていた。この場合、協働モデルが波及するか否かは、相手国や実施機関の政策的、技術的、社会的な事情や環境に大きく左右されることが予見されるため、これらの外部要因を把握し、波及可能性とプロジェクトによる働きかけの必要性を検討することが必要となる。

(2) 複層的アプローチによる協働モデルの実施段階

本項では、「各案件の計画に対し、実施段階ではどのような協力や取組み（活動・投入）を行い、どのような変化（成果）があったのか」について、複層的アプローチにおける、地方行政、地域住民、双方の連携構築の各レベルになされた創意工夫とその成果を分析する。

① 地方行政への働きかけ（創意工夫）と成果

地方行政の組織強化と人材育成に関する特徴的な取組みと成果は表3のとおりである。各プロジェクトの取組みにおいて、OJTの他に、複層的アプローチにより形成された協働モデルを条例化・省令化等により通常業務として制度的・組織的に位置づけ、実施に係るマニュアルやガイドライン作成支援等により知見を蓄積した案件は、結果として同モデルの自立発展性向上に繋がった。また、実施機関が地方行政でない場合（例：大学等）も、地方行政の人材育成や機能強化に対する取組みは重要であり、これを行わなければ、プロジェクト終了後の協働モデルの自立発展性に支障が及ぶ可能性が示唆された。

表3 地方行政の組織強化・人材育成と成果

組織強化及び人材育成方法	案件名	成果
OJTを通じた地方行政への技術移転	ソコイネ地域開発以外の9案件	関連分野の知識や技術力向上
OJTの他に、研修モデルを制度化（条例化・省令化）	スラウェシ村落開発、フィリピン生活改善研修	モデルを支える人的資源の継続的育成
マニュアル、ガイドライン作成支援	スラウェシ村落開発、バングラデシュPRDP、フィリピン生活改善研修、ネパール森林保全	カウンターパートの理解促進（ネパール、バングラデシュ）、カウンターパート独自でのモデルの適用（スラウェシ）、モデルの効率的波及（フィリピン）
第三国研修、隣国への視察研修導入	ラオス農村開発、ネパール森林保全	カウンターパートの住民を対象とした指導に関する指導力向上や志気向上
経験（事例集、データ集）の蓄積	セブSEED、ネパール森林保全、ソコイネ地域開発	成果は不明（文献調査からは読み取れない）

地域社会開発に関わる多くの関係機関や関係者の役割分担を明確にした上で連携を構築した案件では、関係者からの技術的、財政的支援が得られ、村落事業の継続性も高い傾向が見られた。しかし、計画段階及び実施段階において、関係者間の役割分担があまり明確ではなく関係者への働きかけが遅れた案件（ラオス農村開発）、関係者間の役割分担に重複があった案件（フィリピン地方生計向上）、地方行政と住民との連携構築を意図しなかった案件（スリランカ参加型農村開発）では、関係者からの協力を引き出せず、協働モデルのメカニズムが有効に機能しない傾向が見られた。

実施機関の経費負担について、殆どの案件において活動実施経費の多くを日本側が負担したため、プロジェクト終了後の予算面での自立発展性が課題となった。これに対し、協力終了後の相手国実施機関による協働モデルの自立発展性を考慮し、「スラウェシ村落開発」では、プロジェクト側のローカルコスト負担を段階的に減額する取組みを行ってモデルの制度化に結びついた。また、「スリランカ参加型開発」では、相手国政府に活動経費として食糧増産援助（2KR）の見返り資金を充当するよう働きかけた結果、同資金が複層的アプローチの実施と形成した協働モデルの実施経費に充当された。

② 地域住民への働きかけ（創意工夫）と成果

村落事業の開始段階において、殆どの案件では、PRAワークショップや住民とプロジェクト（行政を含む）との会合、ファシリテーターによる意識化等を通じて、住民による問題点の把握が促進された。さらに、住民参加型の事業形成プロセスが採用された案件では、村落開発の事業活動参加への意欲向上に繋がった。村落事業実施段階においては、先進地域への視察研修等の動機づけが行われたが、住民の活動参加を促す特段の取組みがなされなかった「ラオス農村開発」では、住民の活動に対

するインセンティブの欠如が課題として残った。

動機づけ等の社会的準備作業が十分行われ、既存の住民グループまたは住民自身により形成されたグループが自身の発意により実施する事業に対して適正技術が導入された場合には、住民の活動に対する志気が高く、継続的に活動が行われている可能性が高い傾向が見られた。さらに、村落事業に対する予算面での自立発展性向上のための取組みも重要であった。

下表のとおり、地域住民に対する取組みに関しては、いずれもプラスの効果が見られている。

表4 地域住民の人材開発とエンパワメントに対する取組みと成果

取組み内容	案件名	取組みの成果
ワークショップや会合を通じた住民による問題認識促進	フィリピン地方生計向上以外の案件	住民自身による自らの問題把握が可能となった。その後、ラオス農村開発以外の住民参加型の事業計画プロセスが採用された案件では、ワークショップや会合等の開催が村落事業の動機づけや活発化、村落開発事業の計画能力向上に繋がった。
村落住民の組織化を通じた住民の発言力強化	バングラデシュ PRDP、スリランカ参加型開発、南東スラウェシ農村開発、ラオス農村開発、ネパール森林保全	住民代表が地方行政機関に対して組織として発言できるようになり、住民の発言権が向上した。
研修、技術指導を通じた能力強化	スラウェシ村落開発、フィリピン地方生計向上、セブ SEED、フィリピン生活改善研修、ラオス農村開発、ネパール森林保全	研修、技術指導等は住民の知識や技術力を向上させ、それに伴い、住民の収入増加にも繋がったグループもある。
行政と住民の会合を通じた行政サービスアクセス改善	スラウェシ村落開発、バングラデシュ PRDP、セブ SEED、スリランカ参加型開発、	住民の行政サービスへのアクセスが改善され、多くの住民に行政サービスが効果的に提供されるようになり、地域住民の技術向上等に結びついた。
社会的脆弱層へのターゲット・アプローチの導入	ネパール森林保全	女性へのターゲット・アプローチが導入されたことにより、女性の組織化が可能となり、女性の社会経済活動が活発化するとともに発言権が向上した。一方、被差別職業カーストを対象とした事業では、当該カーストの参画が十分得られなかった。

③ 双方の連携構築のための働きかけ（創意工夫）と成果

全ての案件において、住民参加型村落開発事業を実施するにあたって住民レベルでのニーズ把握、住民間の意見調整、住民の意識化、事業のモニタリング等を行う「ファシリテーター」が導入された。ファシリテーターは、住民のニーズに沿った行政サービス提供を引き出し、住民の地方行政に対する信頼関係の醸成にも寄与する等、地方行政と地域住民との連携構築において有効に機能した。

地方行政と地域住民の連携構築のため、地域で従来から行われていた村落集会の場や現地のリソース・パーソンの機能等をプロジェクトの活動に活用した事例があった。また、住民の行政サービスへのアクセス改善のため、殆どの案件では、住民同士、行政組織間または住民と行政の対話を促す新たな仕組みや場を構築する取組みを行い、これが双方のコミュニケーションを円滑にし、協働効果の発現に繋がった（表5）。

表5 地方行政と住民の連携構築（新たな仕組みや場の構築）のための活動と成果

	活動内容	案件名	成果
1. 水平的ネットワーク (住民間)	集落や村落レベルにおける住民同士の情報交換・意見調整の場も兼ねた行政の受け皿（委員会）の設置	バングラデシュ PRDP スリランカ参加型開発 南東スラウェシ農村開発 ラオス農村開発 ネパール森林保全	当該委員会が導入される前に、十分な社会調査が実施され、住民の意識化が行われた上で、村落委員会が導入されたバングラデシュ PRDP、スリランカ参加型開発、南東スラウェシ農村開発では、当該委員会を通じた活動が活発化した。
2. 垂直的ネットワーク	地方行政レベルに、地方行政と住民の情報交換の場としての定期会合を設置	バングラデシュ PRDP	地方行政と住民とのネットワークが構築され、住民のニーズに沿った行政サービスが効率的に提供されるようになった。これにより、地方行政官へ

	活動内容	案件名	成果
(住民—行政)	村落レベルに、地域住民による開発計画の策定と意見交換の場の設定	セブ SEED	の信頼感が醸成された。特に住民と行政のつながりに重点を置いたバングラデシュ PRDP では、効率的・効果的な行政サービスの提供、住民の行政への信頼感醸成、普及員の志気向上等の協働効果がみられた。
	地方行政レベルに、事業審査を通じた地域住民と地方行政の意見交換の場を設定	スラウェシ村落開発	
	住民のニーズを地方行政に伝えるため、大学と地方行政との会合の場の設置	スリランカ参加型開発 ソコイネ地域開発	住民のニーズに沿った事業が展開されるようになった。

村落開発事業の効果はこれまで各取組みの結果として述べてきたとおりであるが、中でも重要と思われる点を表6にまとめた。この表が示すとおり、村落開発事業を実施した殆どの対象地域において、村落開発事業の活性化、住民の技術力や問題解決能力向上というプラスのインパクトがみられた。

表6 村落開発事業のインパクト

	スラウェシ村落開発	バングラデシュ PRDP	フィリピン地方生計向上	セブ SEED	スリランカ参加型開発	フィリピン生活改善研修	南東スラウェシ農村開発	ラオス農村開発	ネパール森林保全	ソコイネ地域開発
村落事業の活性化	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
行政の透明性向上	○	○		○						
普及員の志気向上		○								
技術向上・収量増大・収入向上	○		○			○	○	○	○	○
住民の問題解決能力向上	○	○		○	○	○	○	○	○	○
住民の行政サービスアクセス改善	○	○		○						
地場産業の見直し					○					○

「複層的アプローチによる協働効果」という観点から注目できるのは、上の表のうち、「村落事業の活性化」、「行政の透明性向上」、「住民の行政サービスアクセス改善」という、行政と住民の関係向上に関するインパクトが同時に確認された3案件（スラウェシ村落開発、バングラデシュ PRDP、セブ SEED）に共通の創意工夫点がみられたことである。それは、行政に対する働きかけ（OJTを通じた技術移転）と住民に対する働きかけ（社会的準備のための活動と研修）をそれぞれ行ったのに加え、両者の直接的な「対話の場」を設置したことである。すなわち、これら3件は、行政、住民が直接的に接する機会を積極的に構築したことが協働効果に結びついた事例と考えられる。加えて、行政と住民とのネットワーク形成のための多くの取組みを行った「バングラデシュ PRDP」では、普及員の志気向上にも結びつくという効果もみられた。

④ 複層的アプローチ導入の成果

これまで述べてきたように、本調査対象プロジェクトではいずれも、住民レベル、地方行政レベルそれぞれに対する支援のみならず、双方を地域社会開発の重要なアクターと捉え、包括的に働きかけることにより、住民や行政の意識・能力向上や村落レベル事業実施等の実績がみられ、各プロジェクトが目的としていたボトムアップによる地域社会開発の実現に寄与したと言える。

(3) 複層的アプローチによる協働モデルの自立発展性と波及の要因

本項では、「各案件で開発／構築した「協働モデル」等の対象地での定着・発展（自立発展性）及び他地域（他の州や県）への適用可能性（波及性）はあるのか。また、これらの案件は「貧困削減」の視点からどのようなインパクトがあった／見込まれるか」という観点から、これまでの分析結果を検討する。

① プロジェクト実施対象地域における協働モデルの自立発展性

協働モデルの自立発展性を確保するには、制度化、予算確保、適正技術の三つの要素が重要である。「スラウェシ村落開発」と「フィリピン生活改善研修」は、上記三つの要素がある程度確保され、プロジェクト実施対象のパイロット地域においてプロジェクト終了後も事業が継続される可能性が高いと考察された。一方、「フィリピン地方生計向上」は、協働モデルを支える組織的・制度的支援が欠如しており、村落レベルにおいても継続されていない事業が多かった。その他の案件では、対象地域における協働モデルの有効性や住民レベルでの事業の有効性は実証されているものの、当該国（地域）の政府レベルにおいて政策・制度的支援や予算が確保されていないため、プロジェクト終了後の自立発展性が十分ではないと考察された。

② 協働モデルの他地域への波及性

全ての対象プロジェクトにおいて、複層的アプローチの結果として形成された協働モデルの有効性は認められた中で、各プロジェクトのパイロット地域以外に同モデルが波及したのは「スラウェシ村落開発」、「フィリピン生活改善研修」、「南東スラウェシ農村開発」の3案件であった。その他のプロジェクトでは、「フィリピン地方生計向上」を除き、一定の条件（下表参照）が整えばモデルの波及に至ると思われるものであった。

表7 協働モデルの他地域への波及性

案件名	モデルの波及計画	波及状況と波及の確保方法		留意事項等
スラウェシ村落開発	当初より、モデルの他地域への波及を考慮した具体的な活動計画を有していた	○：モデルが他地域に波及した。	モデルの県条例化が行われた	実施機関（県政府）によって、プロジェクト後にモデルが波及した。
フィリピン農村生活改善研修			実施機関によって省令化された	プロジェクト期間中にモデル波及の実証まで行われた。
南東スラウェシ農村開発	相手側実施機関に対してモデルを示すに留めていた	△：条件が整えば波及の可能性がある	モデルが実施機関、他ドナー等に採用された	波及を維持するためには、インフラ整備や住民への運営基金設置のための開発資金の投入が不可欠
セブ SEED、バングラデシュ PRDP、スリランカ参加型農村開発、ラオス農村開発、ソコイネ地域開発、ネパール森林保全			×：波及の可能性なし	モデルの自立発展性がなく、波及には至らない。
フィリピン地方生計向上				

協働モデルが他地域への波及に至った3つのプロジェクトそれぞれについて、その主な要因を次のとおり分析した。波及の要因は案件によって様々である。モデルの波及に係わる要因や条件は、(1)プロジェクト自身の働きかけによって変化していくものと、(2)プロジェクトではコントロールできない外部の環境や派生してくる状況に大別される。ここでは、(1)を波及に係る要因、(2)は波及を促進した外部条件とする。更に、(1)の波及に係る要因については、(ア)プロジェクト終了後に相手国によって他地域に波及し得るような内容やレベルであるか、というモデル自体に内在している要因⁴と、(イ)モデルの波及に必要であり、プロジェクトによって働きかけが可能な相手国の制度や政策的、組織的、予算的な環境整備等を外在している要因とに区別することとする。モデルが波及する際に重要

な点は、実施機関側や他のドナーに理解され容易に応用可能なモデルを設計したこと（内在要因）、または、関係者のモデルへの理解向上を図ったり、計画時より波及を具体的に考慮することで、プロジェクトを取り巻く政策的要因や組織的要因を有効に活用したこと（外在要因）である。これらの要因が有効に作用した場合には、モデルの他地域への波及が促進されたことが伺える。

<スラウェシ村落開発：計画当初から波及を考慮した例>

（１）波及に係る要因

ア）波及しやすいモデルの構築（内在要因）

- ・ 活動計画中に、カウンターパートと共同の現地調査を通じて状況を把握し、現地の状況に即した、相手側実施機関と住民に受け入れられやすいモデルを形成した。

イ）プロジェクトを取り巻く環境への働きかけ（外在要因）

- ・ モデルを実施・運営する人材を確保するため、PLSD研修による地方政府職員の能力強化を図った。この研修によって、実施機関のみならず、他の関係者も含めて、モデルのコンセプトや当該地における重要性について、意識が共有された。
- ・ 協力終了後に実施機関側がモデルの運営に係るコストを負担できるよう、プロジェクト実施中から関係機関に働きかけた。
- ・ モデルの政策的、制度的な要因を確保するために、県知事、県議会議長や議員を本邦研修に参加させた。研修の効果は大きく、県知事令に続き、県議会による県条例化によって、モデルの制度化がなされた。

（２）波及を促進した外部条件

- ・ 当該国の地方分権関連法の施行によって、中央政府から地方政府へ開発計画及び予算策定に係る権限が委譲され、実施機関がモデルを波及するための政策的、制度的な環境が整った。

<フィリピン生活改善研修：計画当初から波及を考慮した例>

（１）波及に係る要因

ア）波及しやすいモデルの構築（内在要因）

- ・ 波及を考慮して実施プロセスを簡略化し、マニュアルの改訂も行った。
- ・ プロジェクト実施期間中にモデル波及可能性の実証までを活動内で段階的に行った。

イ）プロジェクトを取り巻く環境への働きかけ（外在要因）

- ・ 実施機関である農業省にモデルの省令化を働きかけ、制度的なバックアップを得た。
- ・ 中央レベルの担当者をラボサイトに派遣することで、モデルの有効性を認識させた。
- ・ 現場での開発事業実施機関である町役場からの支持を取り付けた。

（２）波及を促進した外部条件

- ・ 実施機関が、中央政府の研修機関（農業研修センター）であり、この機関には33ヶ所の地方研修センターが所属しており、指示命令系統の面では、協働モデルを地方に展開しやすい体制であった。

<南東スラウェシ農村開発：波及の計画はなかったが協働モデルの成功によって波及が実現した例>

（１）波及に係る要因

ア) 波及しやすいモデルの構築（内在要因）

- ・ モデルが農業農村開発事業における住民参加型の計画や実施、住民への開発事業運営資金供与というシンプルなアイデアであり、実施機関側にとっても特段の機構上の困難も無く容易に受け入れやすかった。その結果、実施機関（及び世銀、県政府）がモデル・デザインを模倣する形で波及がなされ、同じ州内の他の2地域に対して波及された。

イ) プロジェクトを取り巻く環境への働きかけ（外在要因）

- ・ OJTによって、実施機関側カウンターパートがモデルのコンセプトや特徴を十分に理解した。

(2) 波及を促進した外部条件

- ・ 実施機関が中央政府（及びドナー）であり、モデルを実施するための予算や権限を持っていた。

なお、上記のうち「南東スラウェシ農村開発」の場合には、上記2案件のような、波及のための戦略的な働きかけをプロジェクトが意図的に行ってはいない。よって波及を維持するためには、インフラ整備や住民への運営基金設置のための開発資金の投入をいかに確保するかが課題となっている。

協働モデルが他地域に波及しなかった案件は、「南東スラウェシ農村開発」を除き、相手国実施機関側に同モデルを示すに留まり、プロジェクトとしては実施機関の主導によってこれが他地域に適用されることを期待するものであった。結果として、多くのプロジェクトにおいて、協力終了後、相手国により他地域へ波及する際、実施機関における政策的措置と事業予算の確保が必要となった。例えば「バングラデシュ PRDP」では、リンク・モデルの実施において、同モデルの枠組みにおいて核となるファシリテーターの雇用の確保を必要とした。また、「セブ SEED」の場合には、協働モデルの制度化には、州知事が同モデルを公的に州政府の業務とする政治的判断を必要とした。「ソコイネ地域開発」や「スリランカ参加型農村開発」では、波及のためには相手国側のみでは対応できないため、日本による継続的な予算的、技術的な支援が求められた。すなわち、これらの案件の場合、複層的アプローチによって形成されたモデルの意義は相手国政府、実施機関によって認められているものの、現状として波及には至っていない。そのため、波及を確保するためのより積極的な働きかけが協力終了間近ではなく、プロジェクトの早い段階から求められたと言える。

③ 自立発展性と波及性を確保する要件

対象プロジェクトを総合的に分析すると、複層的アプローチによって形成された協働モデルの自立発展性と他地域への波及性が高い案件には、以下のような共通要因が見られた。

- ・ 複層的アプローチの目的が具体的で、明確である。
- ・ モデルの確立プロセスが計画的である。
- ・ 波及に係る具体的な活動内容が計画に含まれている。
- ・ 地方行政機関の機能強化と人材育成に対する多くの取組みを行っている。
- ・ 協働モデルに携わる関係者の役割分担が重複無く明確化されている。また、多くの地域関係者と連携協力を行っている。
- ・ ローカルコスト負担の段階的減額措置、事業の予算化に対する取組み等、相手国の予算的自立発展性向上に資する具体的取組みを行っている。
- ・ 村落事業の実施に当たり、村落事業を住民参加型で形成し、社会的準備作業（住民の意識化）

を通じて、住民の活動参加への動機づけに対する取組みを行っている。

- ・ 住民間の意見交換会合の設定、住民と行政間の意見交換会合の設定、政府の普及員等からの技術支援（在来の技術やリソースの活用）等、地方行政と住民双方の連携構築を行い協働効果の発現に結びつく様々な取組みがされている。

④ 複層的アプローチの貧困削減へのインパクト

本評価調査における分析過程で、複層的アプローチの地域社会開発における有効性は十分に認められたが、同アプローチの実施と協働モデルの形成が貧困削減に至る道程は、必ずしも明らかにはできなかった。これは、評価対象プロジェクトの現状について、プロジェクトが終了している案件については現地の状況に関する情報が限られており、また、現在も実施中の案件については、インパクトの計測が十分に出来ないことによる。

もともと、現地調査を行った「スラウェシ村落開発」のケーススタディからは、複層的アプローチによって形成された地域社会開発の協働モデルが、相手側実施機関によって受け入れられ、その有効性を発揮した場合には、プロジェクトが実現したモデルの地域社会開発における効果を、面的に拡大することが可能であることが証明された。このことは、地域社会の状況を改善し、中長期的には地域の貧困削減に貢献する可能性を高めていると言える。

5. 結論(仮説の検証)

本項では、これまでの横断的分析の結果を踏まえ、本評価調査の目的である複層的アプローチの有効性の検証を行う。評価設問「地方行政と地域社会の双方のレベルに複層的に介入し、双方の連携構築を構築するという複層的アプローチは、貧困削減の視点から有効であるといえるか」に対して、二つの「仮説」を一つずつ検証し、設問への解答を抽出して結論とすることとする。

(1) 仮説1の検証

<p>複層的アプローチにおいて、住民に近い政府機関（地方行政）と地域住民を連携（リンク）させることによって、地域開発における協働効果（シナジー）を高めることができるのではないか。</p>
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評価調査対象プロジェクトはいずれも、地方行政機関に対して参加型開発を実施するための技術支援を行ったが、その結果、地方行政は、社会経済状況に関する調査（把握）能力を向上させ、住民の意見を尊重するようになった。そして、地方行政によって、住民のニーズに沿った多くの村落開発事業が以前よりも迅速に実施されるようになった。一方、住民に対しては、村落開発事業への住民の参画を促すための意識化作業や住民組織化、事業計画策定、事業運営等の技術支援が実施された。この結果、住民が開発事業に積極的に参加するようになり、住民のニーズを反映した事業の形成と実施に結びついた。

このような地方行政と住民への介入に加え、地方行政と住民が実際に接する「場」の設置や機会の提供が行われた。また、ファシリテーターが地方行政と住民間の橋渡しを行い、双方の連携が構築された例も見られた。この結果、地方行政の透明性の向上、地域住民の行政に対する期待感の向上、住民の地域開発に対する志気と義務感の向上、住民のニーズに沿った生計向上・生活改善事業の実施による地域社会開発事業の活性化等のインパクトが確認された。以上のことから、地方行政と地域住民

の能力向上がなされ、連携するメカニズムが機能した場合には、双方の自立性や自助努力の高揚を生み、地域開発に対する協働効果（シナジー）が発現することが確認された。

(2) 仮説2の検証

複層的アプローチにおける地域開発の協働モデルが相手国（地方行政）の政策・制度に組み込まれることにより、モデルの自立発展性及び開発効果の面的な拡大につながるのではないか。

評価対象である 10 案件のうち実際にプロジェクト実施対象地域外での適用（波及）が確認されたのは、「スラウェシ村落開発」、「フィリピン生活改善研修」及び「南東スラウェシ農村開発」であった（バングラデシュ PRDP においても、限定的ではあるが、対象地以外でも適用がなされている）。

「スラウェシ村落開発」では、形成された協働モデルの採用に関する県知事例及び県条例が定められた結果、同モデルの適用地域が 4 村から県内の 73 町村に拡大された。「フィリピン生活改善研修」では、協働モデル（研修事業）の他地域への波及が省令化（農業省）及び町条例化され、4 箇所を実施した同モデルを全国 33 の研修所にて実施する計画が立てられ、現在 16 センターに対し、段階的に展開実施中である。一方、「南東スラウェシ農村開発」では、協働モデルが農業省に採用されることによって、同じ州内の他の 2 地域に対して波及された。もっとも同案件では、協力期間終了後、1997 年のアジア経済危機による政府機関側の予算的欠乏によって本件のモデルの必須要素である地方行政側の投入が困難となり、同時に行政と住民の連携関係が休止したことから、協働モデル自体の自立発展性が高くても外部条件によって波及が阻害されている状況が明らかとなった。

協働モデルの波及による実際の開発効果の面的拡大に関して、「スラウェシ村落開発」の現地調査からは、同モデルの適用地域の拡大による、地域住民の開発への参加機会の拡大、行政サービスの普及活動の増加、村落開発事業の大幅な増加や、これらによる協働効果の発現というインパクトが認められた。一方で、県条例化による制度的な自立発展性は確保されていたが、地域社会関係者である村長による運用規則違反等によってシステムの健全な運営が出来ていない等、プロジェクト実施時のパイロット地域内及びモデルの波及先における自立発展性を向上させるための更なる改善の必要性も認められた。

協働モデルが相手側の政策に組み込まれることで他地域にも適用された場合には開発効果は面的に拡大する可能性は高いといえる。ただし、そのような波及は複層的アプローチを取ったことや同モデルが協働効果を生み出したことで自動的に確保されるものではなく、制度化のための明確な戦略がプロジェクトに必要と思われる。さらに、波及先での効果を確実なものとするためには形成された協働モデルに一定の精度が保たれねばならず、そのためには波及先地域での実施体制や同モデルの適正運営等、モデルの制度化を図る以外に検討すべき点があると考えられる。

結論として、地方行政と地域社会の双方のレベルに複層的に介入し、双方の連携構築を構築するという複層的アプローチは、地域社会開発プロジェクトにおいて有効であるということが出来る。しかし、その有効性を確保するためには、上述及び以下の「教訓」のとおり、モデルの自立発展性や波及性の確保に対する十分な留意が必要である。また、地域社会開発を通じた貧困削減への有効性については、今回調査し得た範囲内では確定的な結論を出すには至らなかったものの、可能性の高さは示唆された。

6. 教訓

複層的アプローチを他国で適用する場合、計画・実施の際に何を留意するべきかについて、教訓を以下のとおり抽出した。なお、「実施段階に関する教訓」の全ての事項は実施段階のみならず、その内容を計画及び立案段階から十分考慮し、計画的実施が行われるよう配慮することが重要である。

(1) 計画・立案に関する教訓

- ① 計画段階から複層的アプローチの目的や協働モデルのコンセプトを明確にし、日本及び対象国の関係者の間で共通認識を図ることが重要である。
- ② 実施機関選定の際には、組織分析を行い、導入する地域社会開発モデル実践の組織的・財政的能力が見込まれる機関を選定することが重要である。また、実施機関の組織的使命にない役割・業務をモデルに付与する場合、プロジェクト実施中は効果がみられても、協力終了後の継続可能性は自動的に確保されるものではないことを念頭に置き、状況に応じた対応策を検討する必要がある。例えば安全策としては、既存の制度の下でかかる役割を担う機関と役割分担を明確にした上で連携を図るよう計画に含め、実施段階でもこれを考慮することが考えられる。
- ③ 適正な調査の上、地域社会開発に関わる多くの関係者と連携協力を図ることが重要であり、尚且つ、関係機関の役割分担や位置付けを明確にした上で、効果的なタイミングで、協力を行うことが必要である。
- ④ 対象地域の選定にあたっては、活動スケジュールに見合った現実的な地域の選定等、効率性の観点を含める。対象住民の選定に関しては、自立発展性の観点からは既存の住民組織を対象とするか、或いはプロジェクトからの働きかけにより住民自身が形成した組織を対象とすることが重要である。また社会的脆弱層のエンパワメントには、自主的な開発事業への参画が困難な層に対するターゲット・アプローチの併用を考慮することも有効である。
- ⑤ 形成された協働モデルが他地域に波及されることを期待するプロジェクトでは、当初から波及を戦略的に計画するべきであり、モデルの制度化を視野に入れた計画を策定すべきである。

(2) 実施に関する教訓

- ① 地方行政と住民の協働効果の発現を期待するには、行政に対する働きかけ（OJTを通じた技術移転）と住民に対する働きかけ（社会的準備のための活動と研修）に加え、両者の直接的な対話の「場」を設置することが重要である。
- ② 行政への介入だけでは協働モデルの波及性確保が不十分である場合には、知事や議会への働きかけを検討することも重要である。また、相手国の中央省庁に派遣されているプログラム調整の専門家や個別派遣専門家と連携することも重要である。
- ③ 協働モデルの運営において、その役割を担う地方行政官の育成に対する取組みを重視することが重要である。
- ④ 協働モデルの自立発展性を考慮し、プロジェクト側の村落開発事業のローカルコスト負担を最小限に留め、徐々に、相手国側の予算負担に移行と同モデルの実施を行わせる等、相手国政府の自助努力を引き出す取組みが重要である。
- ⑤ 村落開発事業の実施には、まず社会的準備作業及び住民参加型事業計画プロセスを通じて、住民の問題解決能力向上を図り、その後、地域資源や在来の技術を活用した事業が展開されるよ

う働きかけることが重要である。

- ⑥ 対象地域でのモデルの自立発展性及び他地域への波及を図るには、相手国関係者のモチベーション（意欲）、イニシアティブ（推進力）を向上させるための取組みも重要である。
- ⑦ 形成されたモデルの行政内での位置付けと予算を確保するためには、モデルの有効性が相手国政府に認知されるのみならず、モデルが制度化されることが重要である。
- ⑧ プロジェクト終了後における協働モデルの精度を維持するため、モデル運用の規約やルールの制定等を行う取組みも重要である。また、同モデルの実施・波及段階で関わる地方行政、地域社会開発関係者、住民に対する協働モデルの広報・普及活動も重要である。
- ⑨ 複層的アプローチの実施においては、地域社会開発に係わる複数の関係者が関与し、事前の調査では十分な情報を把握出来ない場合や、プロジェクトの開始後に状況が変化し、新たな活動が必要になる場合があるため、活動計画の柔軟性を十分に確保しておくことが必要である。

付録：複層的アプローチ導入の成果

案件名	成果
スラウェシ 村落開発	<p>プロジェクトの活動によって、4つのラボ村を対象とした住民参加型の村落開発システムである SISDUK が形成された。2002年のプロジェクト終了時点では、SISDUK の枠組みにおいて、住民側より生活改善や生計向上のための170の開発事業の申請がなされ、40件が事業化されて、住民自身によって実施、運営された。このシステム（SISDUK）の有効性が実施機関であるタカラール県政府によって認められ、当該システムの県条例化が行われた結果、プロジェクト終了後に、県政府独自の予算で県内の73町村に SISDUK の適用が拡大されることとなった。</p> <p>現地調査においては、複層的アプローチの成果として特に、以下の点が認められた。</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> ① プロジェクト終了後にタカラール県政府自身で、SISDUK の運営・実施が行われており、2003年末の時点で、600件を超える村落開発事業の申請が住民側より提出、実施されることとなった。 ② SISDUK の実施上の技術的な課題を抱えつつも、住民側の高い開発への参加意欲、行政側の地方分権化における SISDUK 実施への期待と熱意が感じられた。 ③ PLSD（地域社会開発）研修コースの実施によって、このシステムを支える人材が行政側、住民側で育成されることも確認された。 ④ タカラール県の SISDUK 導入に刺激された近隣県が、参加型開発の導入を試みるようになった。 ⑤ 複層的アプローチによって形成された SISDUK は、地方分権化に有効な開発システムとして、地域の関係者によって受け入れられ、十分に活用されていることが確認された。このことから、SISDUK の継続的な運営・実施は、今後も地域の活性化に貢献していくものと推察された。
バングラデ シュ PRDP	<p>プロジェクトによって、モデル地域においてリンク・モデルが形成された。リンク・モデルの実施において、2003年10月時点で、39の村落委員会（VC）が設立され、21の小規模インフラ事業が実施された。これらの事業実施を通じて、村落の生活環境が改善される共に、住民の活動が活発化し、地域開発への義務感と自立心が向上したことが確認された。</p> <p>リンク・モデルでは、末端行政のユニオンに地域開発関係者の情報交換の場（ユニオン連絡調整委員会）を設置し、郡、ユニオン、村落間の縦の連携構築を図り、さらに、様々な分野の政府普及員の横の連携構築を図った。その結果、地域行政と住民間の様々な協働効果が発現し、地域社会の活性化におけるモデルの有効性が確認された。同モデルの有効性は、バングラデシュ政府や他ドナーにも認められ、モデル地域外への波及が期待されている。しかし、実施機関である BRDB において、モデルを支える制度や予算が確保され、モデルの運用と実施を支える人材の確保が課題となっている。</p>
フィリピン 地方生計向上	<p>プロジェクトを実施した結果、フィリピンの低所得地方自治体に居住する貧困層の生計向上（雇用創出及び収入増加）に適した様々な事業モデルとして、4地域で計35件の生計向上事業、4件の水産養殖事業を実施した。これらの結果、裨益住民側の、技術や収入向上に結びついたことが確認された。</p> <p>しかし、貧困層の副業としては比較的高度な技術が多数導入され、技術的適応性が低いモデルも少なくなく、結果として継続されていない事業が多い。また、アプローチの実施において、住民を支援する地域行政との連携が不十分であったことから、町役場からの支援が得られなかった。このため、開発における行政と住民間の協働効果は結果として発現しなかった。また、フィリピン政府の組織改編により、モデルを支える組織的責任の所在が明確ではないことから、モデルの自立発展性が確保されていない。このことから、本アプローチの地域社会開発への貢献は限定的であると言える。</p>
セブ SEED	<p>本プロジェクトでは、地域行政の機能強化を図り、住民や NGO と協同しながら開発資源を持続的かつ効果的に利用する地方開発メカニズムを形成した。プロジェクト期間中に、このメカニズムの運用によって、地域行政と住民の意見調整と合意形成を行った。その結果、事業の実施において、州、町、住民間で合意書を締結し、67件の村落開発事業が形成された。また、これらの関係者間による合同評価の実施によって、開発事業の問題点等について認識が共有され、地域の開発における意識が向上した。以上のことから、このメカニズムが地域社会開発における効果的なツールであることが実証された。しかし、同メカニズムの継続性、自立発展性の可能性は、州知事や町長の政治的意思と行動にも深く関わっており、今後のフィリピン側の意向（次期の新知事等）に依存する部分が多い。</p>
フィリピン 生活改善研 修	<p>本プロジェクトでは、農業研修局（ATI）が、より地域住民のニーズに即した研修を提供できるよう、ATI の研修実施能力強化及び地域社会開発のファシリテーターとしての機能強化を図ったものである。その一環として、モデルセンターの5村において、住民のニーズに基いた生活改善事業（家庭菜園による栄養・家計改善、地域生活環境改善等）を試行的に実施した。各々の事業の計画・実施過程において、ATI 職員に対する OJT、住民のエンパワメント及び地方自治体の職員（普及員等）に対する研修を行った。研修センター、地方自治体、地域住民に複層的に働きかけることにより、事業の実施が生計向上や生活環境の向上に資することが確認された。また、これらの事業の実施サイクル（ニーズの把握、事業の計画立案、実施、モニタリング・評価）及び各段階における研修の実施プロセスをマニュアル原案としてとりまとめ、初期展開センター（3ヶ所）での事業展開の過程を通して改訂し、農村生活改善研修マニュアル（実施モデル）としてとりまとめた。プロジェクト期間終了前に、ATI の上位機関である農業省の省令により、このマニュアルに沿って全国33ヶ所の研修センターに段階的に展開、実施することが制度化された。2004年2月の在外事務所による事後評価時点においては、計19の研修センターでモデルの実施が行われており、順調にモデルが波及しており、地域社会の活性化への貢献が期待されているが、一方で、政府側予算の減少によって各センターが実施する事業予算が限定されていることが課題となっている。</p>

スリランカ参加型農村開発	<p>本プロジェクトは、孤立した農村の生活状況を改善するために、農村と外部社会や資源とのリンクを図るための有効な参加型開発手法の形成が目的であった。そのため、大学を地域社会開発の支援機関として、地域住民、地域行政の三者間に複層的に働きかけ、協働効果の発現をねらった。</p> <p>プロジェクトを実施した結果として、6つのモデル農村で、農村開発委員会を中心とした様々な住民組織が形成され、59の村落開発事業が実施された。また、視察旅行等を通じて、地域住民の見識が広がり、地場産業の見直しに繋がる等、農村の活性化と住民のエンパワメントが確認された。また、州政府側関係者が村を訪問し、諸問題について住民と話し合うようになった。これらのことから、この参加型開発手法は、住民と大学及び州政府の間で信頼関係を醸成し、住民活動の活発化と迅速な事業の実施という協働効果が発現することで、地域社会開発における有効性を示したと言える。一方で、同手法をスリランカ国内の他地域に波及するには、中央政府や地方政府との関係性を強化することが重要となっている。</p>
南東スラウエシ農村開発	<p>本プロジェクトは、農業農村開発事業において参加型の要素を取り入れた。プロジェクトの支援を受けて、地域行政である農業省南東スラウエシ州事務所が、地域住民である農民の参加を得て、農村開発事業の計画、実施、管理・運営を行うアプローチの実証を行った。8つのパイロット地域でモデルの実証を行った結果、地域における農民の自力開墾による水田面積が890ヘクタール拡大し、水稻栽培の収量が1ヘクタール当たり2トンから3.5トンに拡大する等、農業開発面において大幅な発展を見た。また、住民側の能力強化において、住民組織の活動の自立発展性を向上させるためにストックファンドを導入し、多くの住民組織が継続的に活動を実施することが確認された。同モデルは、実施機関側にとって適用は容易であったため、実施機関である農業省や県政府、世銀等が独自にアプローチを適用して、モデルを波及した。同モデルは、地域社会開発における開発事業の量的、面的拡大や、住民による村落開発事業の維持等に有効性を発揮したが、モデル実施における投資コストが不可欠であり、モデルの波及による開発効果の面的な拡大は実施機関側のコスト負担能力に係わると思われる。</p>
ラオス農村開発	<p>本プロジェクトは、住民レベルでの実証を通じて、住民参加による持続可能な農業農村開発の手法と技術の開発を目指した。パイロット地域である5村で村落委員会が形成され、開発事業の受け入れ体制を整えて、事業を実施した結果、水供給設備が整備されて、5村の平均米自給率が124.9%に達し、換金用の野菜作物も継続的に栽培される等の農業面での改善が確認された。また、住民側への能力向上支援によって、各村落委員会は年間活動計画の作成ができるようになった。プロジェクトの実施によって、モデルで導入した栽培手法が住民レベルで普及する等、住民レベルでの適用性が高く、パイロット地域における手法の有効性を示した。一方で、プロジェクトのカウンターパートであったビエンチャン県政府において、モデルの実施と波及を担う農業農村開発センターを組織的に支援する体制が明確されていない。このことが、パイロット地域で実証した開発効果を面的に拡大することへの課題となっている。</p>
ネパール森林保全	<p>本プロジェクトでは、行政関係者の関連能力向上を図るのみならず、地域住民の問題解決能力向上を図ることにより、住民自身による流域・森林保全を含む村落資源の維持管理に結び付けるとして、行政関係者に対する技術移転のみならず、地域住民に働きかけることにより状況の改善を図った。プロジェクトの実施において、フェーズ1では住民組織を対象とした643件の村落事業、199件の能力向上事業が実施され、住民の問題解決能力向上や村落資源開発事業の活性化に寄与した。フェーズ2では、集落を対象に事業を実施し、2002年2月時点で対象全88集落に集落保全委員会が設立され、組織強化が図られた。76集落は、個別事業実施のためにプロジェクトから得た管理費の積み上げで基金が創設された。本プロジェクトでは、地域行政である郡土壌保全事務所がモデルを他地域に波及するための働きかけを行ったが、ネパール政府側の制度的・予算的体制の確保が課題として残った。また、住民側への働きかけにおいて、住民から森林保全事業の計画が発案されるまでに時間を要することが課題であった。</p>
ソコイネ地域開発	<p>本プロジェクトは、従来の農村開発手法に欠けていた在来技術と資源を活用し、持続性を重視した農村開発手法としてSUAメソッド（持続可能な地域開発手法）の実証を行った。プロジェクトでは、このメソッドを2箇所のモデル地域で実施した結果、従来の地域行政主導では困難であった住民ニーズについて、住民自身の議論と問題提起によって抽出することで、事業化を行った。その結果、 hidro・ミル（水力利用の製粉）、養蜂、農地保全、谷地部の営農活動、畜産振興、風力発電等の事業が発掘、形成され、住民組織によって、実施、運営された。SUAメソッドにおける、「住民自身の問題把握、コミュニティ開発計画の作成、住民組織による様々な村落開発事業の形成実施」というサイクルが、地域社会開発における有効性を発揮することをプロジェクトで証明したことにより、その有効性がタンザニア政府や、モデル地域県政府に認識されることとなった。一方で、現段階では、SUAメソッドの実施機関であるソコイネ大学は、メソッドを自らの波及活動を行うためには、その予算の確保や、政府機関や他開発実施機関との連携を行うことが必要であり、今後の課題となっている。</p>

1 Summary of Thematic Evaluation on Poverty Reduction / Community Development

1-1 Background and Objective of the Study

The issue of poverty has received high priority in the context of cooperation to developing countries for a long time, leading to global efforts and initiatives for poverty reduction. In 2000, poverty-related issues were included in the Millennium Development Goals; thus reaffirmed as a common fundamental goal of development assistance among donor countries.

Poverty reduction has been recognized as an important development issue within Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and various efforts were made through community development projects. Up to the 1980s, poverty-related projects assisted by JICA were mainly based on two approaches: the direct problem solving approach applied for projects with specific village-level target groups and the technical transfer approach applied for projects designed to develop the capacity of civil servants such as administrative and technical staff. Characteristically, these two approaches provided development interventions at a single level, such as the government and the community level.

The direct problem solving approach was effective in providing quick development solutions as well as empowering the target population. However, the projects based on this approach often brought impacts to a specific target area, thus limiting the number of beneficiaries. This aspect raised certain questions regarding the post-project sustainability of the activities introduced as well as equity in the selection of target areas and populations.

The technical transfer approach was effective in strengthening the capacity of institutions involved in community development. However, the replication of cooperation activities to the local people was left to the discretion of the counterpart organization. It is difficult to assess local needs directly as well as evaluate the impact of activities conducted by the counterpart organization. (see Figure I-B)

As an alternative to the above two approaches, JICA introduced a more comprehensive approach towards poverty reduction called the multi-level cooperation approach. In this approach, each project incorporated interventions at multiple levels, such as central and regional government, community, university, and NGO. Furthermore, this approach enhanced collaboration by creating linkages among above mentioned stakeholders. JICA-supported projects based on the 'multi-level cooperation approach' began to appear since early 1990s in various countries. (see Figure II)

In order to learn from past experiences, the Office of Evaluation of JICA conducted "Thematic Evaluation on Poverty Reduction/Community Development". The study is composed of a comprehensive review of relevant projects as well as the extraction of lessons learned for improving the planning and management of JICA's poverty-reduction projects. For this purpose, projects based on the multi-level cooperation approach to poverty reduction were specifically highlighted.

1-2 Scope and Method of Evaluation

The following ten projects conducted in seven different countries were selected for this study. These technical cooperation projects in the areas of poverty reduction and community development adopted the multi-level cooperation approach.

Table 1 List of Projects Selected for This Study

No.	Country	Project Title	Abbreviation	Project Period
1	Indonesia	Project on Strengthening Sulawesi Rural Community Development to Support Poverty Alleviation Programs	Sulawesi Rural Community Development Project	1997/03-2002/02
2	Bangladesh	Participatory Rural Development Project	Bangladesh PRDP	2000/04-2004/04
3	Philippines	The Rural Livelihood Generation Project	Philippines Livelihood Generation Project	1991/01-1996/09
4	Philippines	The Cebu Socio-Economic Empowerment and Development Project	Cebu SEED	1999/03-2004/02
5	Philippines	Training Services Enhancement Project for Rural Life Improvement	Philippines Training Service Project	1996/06-2001/06
6	Sri Lanka	Joint Study Project on Strengthening Capacity for Participatory Rural Development through Mobilization of Local Resources	Sri Lanka Participatory Rural Development Project	1998/07-2001/06
7	Indonesia	Integrated Agricultural and Rural Development Project in Southeast Sulawesi Province	Southeast Sulawesi Integrated Agricultural and Rural Development Project	1991/01-1998/02
8	Laos	The Agricultural and Rural Development Project in Vientiane Province	Vientiane Agricultural and Rural Development Project	1995/11-2002/10
9	Nepal	Community Development and Forest / Watershed Conservation Project	Nepal Community Development and Forest Project	1994/07-2004/07
10	Tanzania	Project on Sokoine University of Agriculture Center for Sustainable Rural Development	Sokoine Rural Development Project	1999/05-2004/04

In this thematic evaluation study, the multi-level cooperation approach was cross-examined from the perspective of its effectiveness in reducing poverty through multi-level interventions at the local government and the community levels to create linkages between them. The following hypotheses were employed to clarify the points under discussion during the evaluation study and were subject to verification. Thus, the framework of the study was designed as to verify these hypotheses.

- 1) *The multi-level cooperation approach could generate synergy in community development, by building linkages between regional governments and community members.*
- 2) *If the synergy model in community development proposed through the multi-level approach could be extended to other geographic areas by the counterpart institution, the impacts of development initiatives may be enhanced.*

The evaluation study began with the analyses of individual projects based on literature reviews and interviews with relevant individuals. In exploring the above hypotheses, evaluation questions listed below were considered. Individual project analyses were then followed by the comparative analysis of all projects selected for this study.

- 1) Planning Stage: What were the project goals and the logical sequence applied to achieve such goals? Were they clearly stated?
- 2) Implementation Stage: What activities and inputs were introduced and what were the changes (or effects) were generated as a result of implementation?
- 3) Post-Project Stage (sustainability and replication of synergy models developed): Was the synergy model accepted and sustained at the project area? If so, how? How was the replicability of the synergy model outside of the project area? What were the impacts (or

expected impacts) of these project with regard to poverty reduction?

As a part of this evaluation study, a field survey was conducted on Sulawesi Rural Community Development Project (No.1 of the above list) where detailed information and data was collected through interviews and focus group discussions with government officials and community members. This field survey focused on how synergy model developed by the project was expanded (sustainability), as well as what changes were brought about within the government and local communities (impacts).

The evaluation study was conducted between the end of July 2003 and the end of February 2004. The field study was conducted between November 28 and December 20, 2003.

1-3 Findings

1-3-1 Planning Stage

(1) Background and Objectives of the Multi-level Approach

Several common characteristics were found through the literature review of the ten projects selected for this evaluation study. All of these projects aimed to promote community development in seven different countries through the capacity development of various stakeholders. These countries, despite the differences in the degree of decentralization and the types of administrative systems, were generally characterized as having a top-down approach towards development planning and administration. The needs of the local people were rarely incorporated in the planning of projects, nor popular participation secured during implementation. Often times public services failed to reach those in need at the grass-roots level. The people had been passive and indifferent, and the sentiment of government distrust was prevalent among them. Under such circumstances, each project had a clear aim for promoting bottom-up community development in a participatory manner.

Each project tried to achieve such an aim by developing a synergy model in community development through the involvement of local administrations and other relevant agencies. Each project attempted to empower community members in selected model villages or pilot areas by launching small-scale activities based on their needs. People learned to identify and prioritize their problems, to establish activity plans to solve them, and to manage the activities themselves.

In relation to poverty issues, only Philippines Livelihood Generation Project included a clear concept of poverty alleviation. The other projects did not specifically their targets for the poor, but expected indirect impacts in poverty reduction by vitalizing the entire regional society.

(2) Mechanisms of Synergy Models for Community development

① Selection of Counterpart Organizations

The counterpart organization (implementing agency) of each project was central government, local government or university of the partner country. Although the level or type of the counterpart organization varied based on administrative system in a country and assigned responsibilities for community development, they were deemed appropriate for materializing the aims of the multi-level cooperation approach. However, whenever the projects assigned implementing agencies new

organizational roles necessary for adopting the proposed community development models, securing the appropriate funds and institutional mechanisms became problematic when continuing with pilot activities upon completion of the projects. Therefore, this study proposed that a prior organizational assessment of the counterpart organization is needed for the activities to be sustainable.

② Approaches to Counterpart Organizations

The counterpart organization of each project varied in levels such as the central, provincial, and line ministry levels. Most projects intended to build the capacity of administrative officers, particularly in relation to participatory planning and management skills. The projects were expected to provide hands-on training for officers by involving them at every stage of pilot activities. In addition, building new administrative system which is bottom-up system in a government, especially planning and management was emphasized so that the needs of local community can be incorporated.

③ Selection of Target Areas

In selecting target areas for the adoption of the multi-level cooperation approach, several issues were taken into consideration. Selecting target provinces and prefectures was often based on suggestions by the counterpart organizations, while also considering local characteristics and socio-economic conditions. With regard to town and village-level target areas, target projects were selected more than one site for the purpose of comparison. The selection was made based on socio-economic conditions, compatibility with project goals, presence of previous JICA cooperation, and political reasons. In selecting the beneficiaries of rural development activities, which were conducted as the community level component of the multi-level cooperation approach, most projects identified them as any existing community groups in the target areas. This rather broad approach proved effectiveness in spreading the benefits of projects to a large number of beneficiaries.

④ Development of Synergy Models

Some projects had predetermined strategic and step-by-step processes for developing synergy models. Such processes were incorporated throughout all phases of the project, starting from the planning stage to the final stage where the developed synergy models were replicated outside the original target areas to test their applicability. All this was considered a part of the project design. Meanwhile, some of the other projects took a less structured approach where synergy models were formulated as a result of trial-and-error processes during project implementation. In such cases, the scope of the projects did not extend beyond model development; thus, the responsibility for the replication of models rested upon the counterpart organization after the completion of projects.

1-3-2 Implementation stage

(1) Activities for Regional Governments

① Demarcation of Roles and Responsibilities among Stakeholders

It was observed that many of the projects did not clarify the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders, thus had limited success in gaining their participation including technical and financial support from them. As such, these models did not work well. Further observation was made that even when the demarcation of stakeholder responsibility was unclear at the outset of the project, the function and sustainability of the synergy model was ensured with the adoption of appropriate measures during the course of the project. In other words, the synergy model can be effective when

stakeholder roles and responsibilities were adjusted according to the reality on the ground.

② Capacity Building Activities for Regional Government Officials

Activities for capacity building and human resource development of regional government officials in the projects are shown in the following table. Projects that went beyond OJT and attempted to institutionalize or internalize the synergy models into the existing administration system such as by issuing a new decree or regulation, or forming guidelines and manuals to operate models, tended to demonstrate relatively high levels of sustainability and replicability of the synergy models.

Table 2 Activities for Regional Governments

Capacity and human resource development	Project Title	Result
Technical transfer though OJT	All projects except Sokoine Rural Development Project	Improved knowledge and techniques
Besides OJT, institutionalization or internalization of training system	Sulawesi Rural Community Development Project, Philippines Training Service Project	Led to continuous human resource development for operating synergy models
Making guidelines and manuals on how to operate models	Sulawesi Rural Community Development Project, Bangladesh PRDP, Philippines Training Service Project, Nepal Community Development and Forest Project	Helped to understand activities and to apply synergy models by counterparts themselves, and to efficiently replicate them in other areas.
Third-country-training, field trips to more advanced areas	Vientiane Agricultural and Rural Development Project, Nepal Community Development and Forest Project	Improved counterpart staff morale and initiatives at field levels
Accumulation of experience in print or on web-sites.	Cebu SEED, Nepal Community Development and Forest Project, Sokoine Rural Development Project	Unidentified.

③ Utilization of Facilitators

Some projects, instead of developing the capacity of existing institutions, temporarily hired project facilitators to achieve results quickly. This was conducted to facilitate the process of project implementation through understanding local needs, coordinating opinions, and monitoring activities at village levels. This was effective in making the synergy model in a short-term. This evaluation study reported that when facilitators were stationed at the community level, project implementation tended to be more effective. This was due to the sense of reliance and expectation generated among community members towards the facilitators and the projects. However, in most cases the lack of financial and institutional mechanisms to maintain the presence of facilitators became a constraint when the projects were completed.

④ Involving Community Stakeholders

In most projects except for one, various stakeholders representing regional governments, NGOs, universities, private sectors, research institutes, cooperatives, etc., were tapped as catalysts for improvement. When their roles and responsibilities in community development were clearly outlined, they functioned well. The sustainability of these projects was higher than that of the other projects.

⑤ Sharing Project Expenses

While most project expenses were borne by the Japanese side, financial sustainability became an issue after the completion of projects. In the case of Sulawesi Rural Community

Development Project, Japanese experts approached the regional government attempting to gradually reduce the local cost burden and to institutionalize the synergy model within the government. As a result of this, all project expenses were borne by the district government by the end of the project. In most of the other projects, such problems were not adequately dealt with. As a result, financial sustainability became an issue in these projects.

(2) Activities for Local Communities

① Introducing Social Preparation

Some projects introduced social preparation activities for the target population in order to increase their participation in pilot projects. Field trips to more advanced areas were conducted to keep motivation levels high in pilot projects. In most projects, facilitators also played an important role in motivating people. Without such measures and incentives to raise motivation levels, participation in pilot projects proved inadequate.

② Motivating Local Communities Towards Participation

When projects managed to motivate people through adequate social preparation and when appropriate techniques were introduced in pilot projects planned by the people, the overall motivation levels seemed to be relatively higher. The sustainability of activities also seemed to be higher. Also, in some projects where people were required to share expenses for pilot project activities, the sense of ownership at the community-level was generated. As a result, such projects worked in a more desirable manner. The following chart lists the activities conducted for local communities and their results.

Table 3 Activities for Local Communities

Activities	Project Title	Results
Conscientization through social preparation	8 projects except Philippines Livelihood Generation Project and Vientiane Agricultural and Rural Development Project	People were able to understand their problems. Also, their motivation to participate in pilot projects and their planning ability community development were improved
Organization of community people	Bangladesh PRDP, Sri Lanka Participatory Rural Development Project, Southeast Sulawesi Integrated Agricultural and Rural Development Project, Vientiane Agricultural and Rural Development Project, Nepal Community Development and Forest Project	Community representatives were able to voice their suggestions to regional governments
Capacity building through training and technical guidance	Sulawesi Rural Community Development Project, Philippines Livelihood Generation Project, Cebu SEED, Philippines Training Service Project, Vientiane Agricultural and Rural Development Project, Nepal Community Development and Forest Project	Knowledge and techniques related to pilot projects were improved. Furthermore, incomes of some groups increased.
Creation of forum or venue linking regional governments and local communities	Sulawesi Rural Community Development Project, Bangladesh PRDP, Cebu SEED, Sri Lanka Participatory Rural Development Project	Access to government services by targeted people improved; thus, increased the number of service recipients.
Introduction of targeted approach for vulnerable people	Nepal Community Development and Forest Project (phase two)	Introduction of target approach on women caused them to organize themselves as a group. Their socio-economic activities became active. Furthermore, their voice became stronger within the community. On the other hand, target approach on discriminated professional castes did not achieve an adequate level of pilot project participation.

(3) Activities for Generating Synergy through Linkages between the Regional Governments and Local Communities

① Setting a Venue or Forum linking Government Officials and Local Communities

An important component in most projects was to set a venue or forum to facilitate regular dialogue among government officials and local communities. By sharing these venues, vertical networks were developed between the government and local communities. As a result, community members were able to voice their suggestions to regional governments and to access government information on development planning, including budgets, among others. In the case of Cebu SEED, frequent consultation meetings between regional governments at the provincial and municipality levels and communities functioned as a platform for dialogue. Their rapport was strengthened through the process of pilot project planning towards community development backed by active participation of people. In Bangladesh PRDP, village committees were formed to organize opinions in a village, and committee representatives spoke on their behalf at the regional government level.

② Creating Vertical and Horizontal Networks

Also in the case of Bangladesh PRDP, a horizontal network among the extension workers of the regional government led to efficient service provision. Besides that, the horizontal network expanded beyond village boundaries, leading to the creation of an inter-village network for sharing experiences and lessons learned from each other. Thus, the multi-level cooperation approach for creating vertical and horizontal networks generated a stronger sense of responsibility and commitment towards community development among the stakeholders. This enhanced the synergy of the cooperation. Specifically, it is worth noting that three projects¹ generated the following impacts. These are: 1) 'Activation of community development activities' 2) 'Improved transparency of regional government' 3) 'Improved delivery of government service'. These impacts were achieved through the multi-level cooperation approach in which venues or forums between regional governments and local communities were set up in addition to separate interventions targeting regional governments and communities.

Table 4 Activities for Generating Synergetic Through Linkages Between Local Governments and Communities

	Activities	Project Title	Result
1	Setting a venue or forum at the community level where villagers shared information and coordinated opinions while receiving government services.	Bangladesh PRDP, Sri Lanka Participatory Rural Development Project, Southeast Sulawesi Integrated Agricultural and Rural Development Project, Vientiane Agricultural and Rural Development Project, Nepal Community Development and Forest Project	When sufficient social surveys and conscientization of community members were done prior to introducing a venue or forum, activities using such venue or forum were enhanced. This was observed in Bangladesh PRDP, Sri Lanka Participatory Rural Development Project, Southeast Sulawesi Integrated Agricultural and Rural Development Project.
2	Setting a venue or forum for government officials and universities to convey needs.	Sri Lanka Participatory Rural Development Project, Sokoine Rural Development Project	Community development projects based on needs were formed

¹ Sulawesi Rural Community Development Project, Bangladesh PRDP, Southeast Sulawesi Integrated Agricultural and Rural Development Project

	Activities	Project Title	Result
3	Setting a venue or forum at the government level where government officials and local communities have regular contact to share information and opinions.	Bangladesh PRDP	By sharing these venues, a horizontal network of regional government and communities was formed. Service delivery by regional governments improved. This enhanced the sense of trust among community members towards regional government officials. Various synergetic effects were generated especially in Bangladesh PRDP.
	Setting a venue or forum at the community level where the government and local communities formed plans for community development and shared information and opinions	Cebu SEED	
	Setting a venue or forum at the government level where government officials and local communities reviewed application forms.	Sulawesi Rural Community Development Project	

1-3-3 Sustainability and Replication of the Synergy Models

The synergy models of Sulawesi Rural Community Development Project and Philippines Training Service Project were categorized as having higher levels of sustainability in terms of institutional set-up, budget, and expertise. On the other hand, the synergy model of Philippines Livelihood Generation Project was categorized as having a lower level of sustainability due to the lack of the support of governmental organization as well as motivation to continue with pilot projects. The synergy models of other projects were categorized as having inadequate sustainability. In these projects, synergy models were verified as being effective at the community level, but lacked policies and budgets to sustain the synergy models.

While most synergy models were verified as being effective at the community level, only three out of the ten projects² successfully extended the framework of the synergy models beyond original project areas. Based on the results of this study, following are the primary factors deemed necessary to extend synergy models beyond original project areas:

< Sulawesi Rural Community Development Project: An example where the replication of the synergy model was intended from the outset >

- (1) Designing a Synergy Model that is Easy to Apply Outside of Project Areas (Internal Factors³)
 - (i) As the model was based on a thorough field study conducted jointly by Japanese experts and their counterpart, it was well accepted by the counterpart organization and villagers.
- (2) Approaching the Surrounding Environment of the Project (External Factors⁴)
 - (i) Capacity-building training for regional government officials was formally established with the intention to attract personnel for the implementation and management of the synergy model. The importance of the synergy model was acknowledged among the staff of implementing organization and others as a result of this.
 - (ii) The Japanese side, in consultation with the counterpart organization, gradually reduced its share of the project costs so that the counterpart organization may eventually self-finance the costs for operating the synergy model
 - (ii) Various stakeholders including politicians were involved in the implementation process.

² The synergy models of Sulawesi Rural Community Development Project, Philippines Training Service Project, Southeast Sulawesi Integrated Agricultural and Rural Development Project

³ Internal factors refer to factors internal to the synergy model

⁴ External factors refer to project efforts that meant to influence the conditions surrounding the synergy model

Politicians were invited to attend training courses in Japan. As a result, these politicians introduced policies to institutionalize the synergy model.

(3) External Conditions Promoting the Replication of the Synergy Model

- (i) In accordance with decentralization policy in the country, the authority of the implementing institution (local government) was expanded to include development planning and budgetary issues. This created a politically and structurally conducive environment for the implementing institution to expand the synergy model. (Sulawesi Rural Community Development Project).

< Philippines Training Service Project: An example where the replication of the synergy model was intended from the outset >

(1) Designing a Synergy Model that is Easy to Apply Outside of Project Areas (Internal Factors)

- (i) Manuals and implementation procedures were simplified to facilitate the replication of the synergy model by the counterpart organization.
- (ii) Possibilities for the replication of the synergy model were explored and verified during the project period.

(2) Approaching the Surrounding Environment of the Project (External Factors)

- (i) The project encouraged the counterpart organization to legitimize the synergy model by a ministerial ordinance.
- (ii) The project arranged pilot site visits by concerned central government personnel so that the effectiveness of the synergy model could be recognized by them.
- (iii) The project secured support from local governments that were in charge of community development.

(3) External Conditions Promoting the Replication of the Synergy Model

- (i) The counterpart organization was the training institute of central government that had 33 regional training centers. Such an organizational set-up facilitated the process of model replication.
- (ii) Due to the establishment of Agriculture Fishery Modernization Law in 1997, collaboration between the counterpart organization and local governments became legitimate. This provided the counterpart organization with access to the local governments' community development budgets, offsetting its lack of rural development budgets.

<Southeast Sulawesi Integrated Agricultural and Rural Development Project: An example where the synergy model was extended beyond the project area even though the original project plan did not include such a process>

(1) Designing a synergy model that is easy to apply outside of project areas (Internal factors)

- (i) As the synergy model was straight forward, it was easily accepted by the counterpart organization within the existing framework of rural development.

(2) Approaching the surrounding environment of the project (External factors)

- (i) Through OJT, the counterpart personnel understood the concept and characteristics of the model well. However, the project did not take any strategic action for extending the model; thus, continuous inputs for the maintenance of infrastructure and costs for community-level activities became problematic.

(3) External conditions which promoted the replication of the synergy model

- (i) The counterpart organization had the authority to allocate budgets for the replication of the synergy model.

All projects in which synergy models were not extended outside of project areas, except for Southeast Sulawesi Integrated Agricultural and Rural Development Project, the project scope was limited to the development of a synergy model by the end of the cooperation period. In this framework, the Japanese side expected the counterpart organizations to extend the synergy models to wider areas at their own initiative upon completion of the projects. This expectation showed in later necessity of introducing policy measures as well as new budgetary allocations in extending the synergy model.

A comprehensive analysis of all projects revealed that the common factors leading to high levels of sustainability and applicability of the synergy models developed through the multi-level cooperation approach were as follows:

- (i) The objectives of the multi-level cooperation approach were clear and descriptive.
- (ii) The replication of synergy models was planned from the outset.
- (iii) Specific activities for the replication of the synergy models were included in project plans.
- (iv) Activities for capacity building and human resource development of regional government staff were emphasized
- (v) The roles and responsibilities of all relevant personnel were clearly described without duplication. Upon clarification of the roles and responsibilities of all personnel, collaboration with various stakeholders in the society (NGOs, universities, private sectors, research institutes, cooperatives, politicians, etc) were encouraged.
- (vi) Concrete activities for ensuring the financial sustainability of synergy models were included, such as by gradually shifting project costs to regional governments.
- (vii) Community members were motivated through adequate social preparation. Furthermore, appropriate techniques were introduced in pilot activities that were planned by people.
- (viii) Capacity building or activities for empowering people were included. Creating vertical and horizontal networks between regional governments and community members were also included in addition to the provision of their training.

1-4 Verification of Hypotheses

1-4-1 Verification of the First Hypothesis

The multi-level approach could generate *synergy* in community development, by building linkages between regional governments and community members.

Most projects technically supported regional governments through OJT for better implementation of participatory rural development at the community level. For an example, the capacity building of regional government officials on the skills of socio-economic survey enhanced their respect towards the opinions of community members. As a result, most community development pilot activities were implemented based on the needs. Most projects also approached people at the community level through social preparation activities including conceptualization and participatory planning processes. As a result, community members participated in pilot projects at their own initiatives, which in turn led to the formulation and implementation of community development projects that were more responsive to local needs.

Besides these activities, some projects set up forums or venues among stakeholders of community development in order to create networks between regional governments and communities, as well as among regional government officers. The synergy generated as a result of

these activities included: increased transparency of regional government procedures and activities, increased expectation towards the government by community members, enhanced sense of ownership and motivation towards community development by local people, and increased number of community development projects reflecting the needs of people. In sum, the “multi-level cooperation approach” in projects generated synergy in community development when the establishment of linkages between capacity development of regional governments and community members were achieved successfully.

1-4-2 Verification of the Second Hypothesis

If the synergy model in community development proposed through the multi-level cooperation approach could be extended to other geographic areas by the counterpart institution, the impacts of development initiatives may be enhanced.

Among the ten projects selected for this study, only three synergy models were extended outside the original project areas. These were: Sulawesi Rural Community Development Project, Philippines Training Service Project, Southeast Sulawesi Integrated Agricultural and Rural Development Project. In the case of Sulawesi Rural Community Development Project, the area that adopted the synergy model was expanded from 4 pilot villages to 73 villages/towns. In the case of Philippines Training Service Project, the synergy model (set up as a training program) was institutionalized or internalized through a ministerial ordinance, and was scheduled to be adopted in 33 training centers across the country.

In the case of Southeast Sulawesi Integrated Agricultural and Rural Development Project, the synergy model was adopted by the counterpart organization upon completion of the project, and was extended outside the project areas. However, the activities of the synergy model were suspended as a result of the lack of funds caused by the Asian Economic Crisis of 1997. This unfortunate outcome was recognized as a factor that hindered the sustainability of the synergy model, thus raised as an issue of concern.

Through the field study of post-Sulawesi Rural Community Development Project, impacts from the replication of the synergy model to wider areas were observed. Such impacts were increased opportunities for community participation in development activities, increased efficiency in service delivery by extension workers, and increased number of community development projects. The impacts were further multiplied by the creation of networks among regional governments and communities. On the other hand, while the sustainability of the synergy model was institutionalized by a district ordinance, there still was room for improvement of sustainability at the implementation level. For an example, the management system did not function well since a leader in a village; implementer did not practice the rule. As such, ensuring the sustainability of synergy model in both pilot project areas and extended areas remains an important issue.

When the replication of synergy models was supported by adequate institutional mechanisms, the resultant development effects were more positive. However institutionalization cannot be automatically attained by adopting the multi-level approach or through synergy. Clear strategies for institutionalization need to be incorporated within the project from the outset. Furthermore, though minor adjustments of the synergy model may be inevitable for replication, it is important to maintain a certain degree of accuracy of the synergy model for it to be effective in new areas. In order to achieve this, adequate attention must be paid to the framework and process of replication, such as the

implementation structure and the operating procedures of the synergy model. These factors need to be considered along with measures for proper institutionalization.

In conclusion, the multi-level cooperation approach can be effective in community development with above mentioned constraints. It also demonstrates high potential for being effective in poverty reduction. However, clear evidences were not identified through this evaluation study. This was mainly due to the lack of current data on past projects and long-term impact analyses of on-going projects. Nevertheless, the field study suggested the possibility of long-term poverty reduction through the overall improvement of the regional socio-economic conditions through wider application of the synergy model.

1-5 Lessons Learned

As presented above, the evidence from the case study showed that the multi-level approach was effective to some extent in introducing a new system in community development cooperation. However, difficulties were identified in implementing and extending the synergy models. The following are several lessons learned that can be useful to the planning and implementation of future projects adopting the multi-level cooperation approach.

1-5-1 Lessons Learned in Planning Stage

- (i) The aims of the multi-level cooperation approach and concept of synergy model should be clearly understood by concerned individuals of both Japan and recipient countries at the planning stage.
- (ii) When selecting a counterpart organization, it is important to analyze organization and to select a suitable organization with potential for organizational and financial capabilities to operate the community development model to be applied.
- (iii) By conducting an effective survey, ensure cooperation among all relevant individuals associated with community development activities. Also, ensure the roles and responsibilities of relevant organizations are clearly defined and interventions occur in a timely manner.
- (iv) In selecting target areas, efficiency is an important factor, such as in reference to the implementation schedule. In selecting target populations, give priority to existing organizations. Organizations formed through facilitation by development projects can also be considered as long as they were formed at their own initiative. With regard to the empowerment of socially vulnerable groups, consider adopting the target approach specifically for those that are unlikely to participate at their own initiative.
- (v) When the replication of the synergy model is expected out of a project, ensure that strategies are incorporated in the project plan.

1-5-2 Lessons Learned in Implementation Stage

- (i) In order to generate synergy, a place for direct dialogue between regional governments and communities need to be established. This is in addition to interventions at regional government (technical transfer through OJT) and community (social preparation activities and training) levels.
- (ii) When the replication of the model cannot be effectively achieved through interventions at the administrative level, it is important to consider appealing to political authorities. This was seen in

the case of Sulawesi Rural Community Development Project.

- (iii) The capacity building of regional government officers with significant roles in the implementation of the synergy model is crucial.
- (iv) To ensure the sustainability of the synergy model, minimize the amount of Japanese support to project operation costs. Also, gradually shift implementation and financial responsibilities to the counterpart organization.
- (v) In implementing rural development projects, incorporate social preparation activities as well as participatory development planning processes to enhance the problem solving ability of communities. Later, facilitate activities that utilize local resources and technologies.
- (vi) Activities designed to increase the level of stakeholder motivation and initiatives are important to ensure sustainability of the synergy model within the project area as well as for extension in other areas. The activities of the synergy model should be aware of policy makers by adequate publicity measures.
- (vii) In order for the synergy model to be accepted and budgets to be secured within the counterpart organization, the model needs to be supported by a proper institutional mechanism. This is in addition to the wide-spread acknowledgement of the synergy model's effectiveness within the government.
- (viii) In order to maintain the accuracy of the synergy model upon completion of the project, rules and procedures for the management of the synergy model should be established. Also, the awareness raising and extension activities of the synergy model need to be conducted by targeting regional governments, relevant development workers and communities that will be involved in the implementation and extension of the model.
- (iv) In implementing the multi-level cooperation approach, various stakeholders in community development will be involved. As such, there should be room for flexibility within action plans.

2 Case study (Indonesia : Project on Strengthening Sulawesi Rural Community Development to Support Poverty Alleviation Programs)

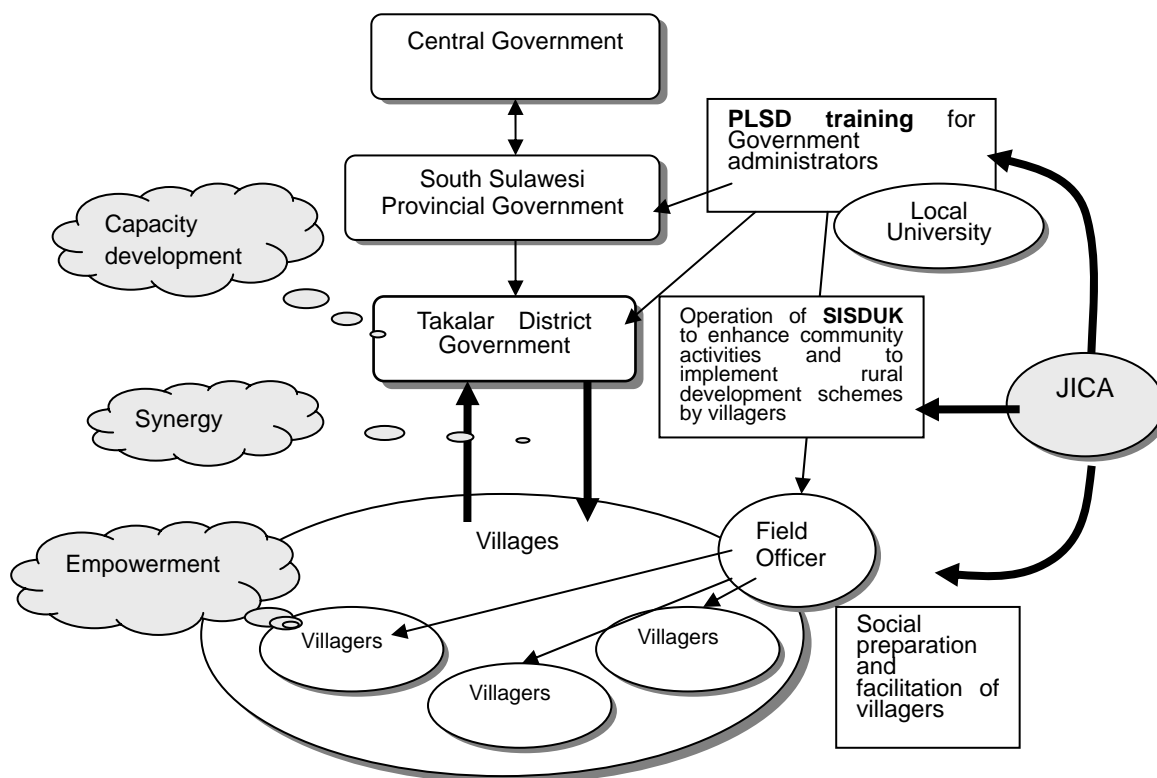
2-1 Overview of the Project

The Project on Strengthening Community Development to Support Poverty Alleviation Programs⁵ (hereafter referred to as “the Project”) is a technical cooperation project implemented in Takalar District of Southern Sulawesi Province in Indonesia with JICA assistance from 1997 to 2002.

The Project objectives included fostering of capabilities of local residents in identifying regional issues and needs, the establishment of a Rural Development Support System (SISDUK) ensuring that development projects are implemented based on regional issues and needs, and Participatory Local Social Development (hereafter referred to as “PLSD”) training program for personnel involved in rural community development. SISDUK and PLSD are sometimes called the Takalar Model. (See Figure III)

⁵ In Indonesia, this project is called PMD-JICA project.

Figure I Component of Sulawesi project



2-2 Project Activities and Achievement

2-2-1 Introduction of the Project

In Indonesia as well as other developing countries, regional development was associated with the problem of urban and rural disparity in development levels. Under the conventional approach that is dominant in the country, there were limited opportunities for communities to reflect their opinions and needs on development projects. Regional development in Indonesia was characterized as follows⁶:

- Top-down planning process was dominant
- The P5D⁷ mechanism of government did not induce aspirations
- Sector-oriented, short-term and focus on quantitative results
- Problem identification was improved through participatory approaches such as PRA, but further merits to improve individual capabilities towards self-reliance and sustainability were not achieved
- Program or project formulation was not commenced with social preparation, thus limiting conscientization of people

The Project intended to improve the livelihood of people in Southern Sulawesi through local governance, especially at the district level where collaboration between the government and people was possible. The Project recognized that the local government needed to build its capacity to reflect needs in development projects as well as in other public services. Also, the Project focused on empowering people to participate in development activities based on their own abilities and

⁶ "Local government experience: Takalar District", Bappeda of Takalar District, Nov.2002

⁷ P5D is the conventional approach of rural development planned during Suharto era. In Indonesian, it is called "Pedoman Perencanaan dan Pengendalian Pembangunan di Daerah", which was referred to as P5D in the government.

knowledge. The Project started to provide technical cooperation to the Central Office, South Sulawesi Provincial Office and Takalar District Office (of the same province) of the Directorate General of Community and Village Empowerment (PMD) in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Using the multi-level cooperation approach, the Project attempted to establish SISDUK based on the Participatory Local Social Development theory. During the Project period, four villages in Takalar district were selected as the lab sites to establish SISDUK.

2-2-2 Activities

In brief, SISDUK had two target groups: government officials and the local community. Government officials were expected to improve their managerial capacity, develop mutual coordination and consultation with other institutions, and improve public service delivery system in a transparent manner. On the other hand, community members were expected to improve the management of their groups, respect collective rules in group activities, and utilize local resources optimally, so that rural community development can be conducted in participatory and sustainable ways.

(i) SISDUK Mechanism in Takalar District Government

The SISDUK mechanism was developed to fit into the existing government structure of Takalar district. The personnel involved in SISDUK were provided more concrete tasks and functions than those within under the conventional development mechanism. These tasks and functions are as outlined below:

- In the district government, the Coordination Team was formed by the heads of sectoral departments and concerned agencies of the district. The Coordination Team was assigned to coordinate activities and to set up a policy concerning community development proposals to be submitted by the community.
- The Secretariat was placed within PMD office Takalar, and it dealt with the daily operation of SISDUK.
- Assistant Teams were formed at the sub-district level with members representing the relevant agencies of the sub-district. The tasks of the Assistant Teams were to function as facilitators, to accommodate proposals, to confirm the contents of proposals, and to discuss them with the relevant individuals.
- The village governments provided support/facilitation towards the activities of community groups and to extend them to the sub-district level.
- Members of NGOs were involved as Field Officers (FOs) to assist the community in the process of social preparation and the formulation of community development proposals.

(ii) Capacity Building of Takalar government

The Project recognized that local governments had worked under the direction of the central government for a long time, thus lacking the ability to understand local situations and the potentials of the community. First of all, the Project conducted several surveys with Indonesian counterpart personnel in Takalar PMD. Several reports and village profiles were made to grasp local resources and the capacity of community. Through this activity, the PMD staff came to recognize the needs of

the community and their potentials, and understood that the local government should act as facilitator for development rather than as implementer. Also, the Project prepared guidelines and manuals for operating SISDUK. These guidelines and manuals were prepared based on the local situations on the ground; thus, the staff of Takalar PMD could operate SISDUK at their own capacity.

The Project also conducted PLSD training to the staff of Takalar PMD. Through the training, they learned the concept and techniques of participatory development, and recognized the role of local government and its responsibilities. Some staff members were sent to Japan to become the trainers of PLSD training courses.

(iii) Empowerment of Community

The Project was keen to work with existing groups as local resources for the community. However, most community members did not realize their own capacity and their right to participate in the development process. To raise the level of awareness, the process of social preparation was introduced within the community. In this process, FOs actively worked to support the community. Consequently, the community members gradually recognized their issues and problems, and they ultimately realized their needs and capacities. The community members were also helped by the FOs to seek development opportunities and prepared proposals for community development projects to submit to the district government.

(iv) Collaboration with Other Stakeholders in Regional Development

The Project involved local universities and NGOs as important contributors to the regional development of Takalar. Hasanuddin University was invited to develop the module for PLSD training. The mother modules were produced by the University for various types of trainees such as policy makers, project planners, front liners in the local government and field workers of NGOs. The Hasanuddin University, South Sulawesi Provincial Government (BPM) and a local NGO implemented separate PLSD training courses for various groups of trainees.

2-2-3 Achievements

According to the Takalar government, the establishment of SISDUK resulted in the preparation of proposals for community development projects and the provision of support for the community. SISDUK's motto is: "small-scale, easy, and tangible". This means that activities are conducted based on prior experiences and decision making by community itself⁸. At the sub-district level, the Assistant Team evaluated the proposals submitted by community members quickly. The Team discussed with community members if the proposal was clear. Community members displayed a sense of ownership towards their projects as a result of a cost-sharing measure requiring the applicants to be responsible for one-third of the total cost of project.

By introducing SISDUK, the processing time for each project proposal, starting from the submission of the proposal to the disbursement of the subsidy, was shortened dramatically from 18 months to 5 weeks. By the end of the Project cooperation period, more than 50 community groups were formed and 170 proposals of development project were submitted by the community.

⁸ "Local government experience: Takalar District", Bappeda of Takalar District, Nov.2002

Consequently, 40 projects were implemented in lab villages after being approved by the district government.

As a result of project activities, Takalar District Government acknowledged SISDUK as being efficient and effective in regional development. In 2002, following decision of the Governor of Takalar, the District Parliament passed a regional regulation to extend the application of SISDUK from 4 lab sites to all of the 73 villages and towns of Takalar district.

An important factor influencing the application of SISDUK may be associated with the decentralization process within Indonesia. In 1999, two laws regarding local governance and finance were introduced, which then became effective in 2001. This structural change became a significant determinant factor in the trial of SISDUK application in Takalar District. On the other hand, because of the same decentralization policy, the provincial governments transferred their authority regarding development issues to district governments. Due to this transfer, the extension of SISDUK to other districts through the provincial government became difficult.

2-3 Field Study

2-3-1 Purpose and outline of the field study

A field study was conducted in November 2003. The field study mainly focused on the impact and sustainability of the effects generated through the multi-level approach adopted by the Project. The main data collection methods were interviews with government officials and villagers including community leaders, and focus-group discussions with former FOs of the Project. The purposes of the field study were as follows:

- To verify the effectiveness of the multi-level approach in poverty reduction, in terms of the impact and sustainability of the synergy model developed by the Project; and
- To extract useful lessons that could be used for future planning, implementation and evaluation of similar projects.

2-3-2 Results of the field study

(i) Current Situation of the Takalar Model

Since a regional regulation for the adaptation of SISDUK was issued in 2002, the year of termination of the Project, Takalar District Government has operated the system in the whole district. The local budget allocated by the district government for SISDUK amounted to Rp. 2 billion for 2002/2003 and Rp. 2.2 billion for 2003/2004. In 2002/2003, 218 community development projects were implemented within the framework of SISDUK, and it increased to 618 for 2003/2004⁹.

Dealing with all of the 73 villages (including towns) in the district, the government increased the number of FOs from 4 to 13. Also, Assistant Teams were formed in all sub-districts. The district government continued to provide PLSD training for government officials and newly-hired FOs, all of them having no prior experience with the operation of SISDUK.

For 2004/2005, the Governor of Takalar district intends to double the size of the local budget in previous year. Also, the 2004/2005 plan increases the number of FOs. Eight people will be recruited from local NGOs to strengthen the social preparation process, public relation activities, and the

⁹ This number is counted at the end of November, 2003.

replication of the system to wider areas.

(ii) Issues

Several challenging issues were identified with regard to the operation of SISDUK. Because of the quick expansion of target areas from 4 villages to 73, some stakeholders, both the government and villages, fully recognized the philosophy and the role of SISDUK. Also, a leader in a village was criticized by community members for alleged abuse of their political authority to employ SISDUK resources while neglecting their responsibility for facilitating community participation in the system. It was reported that such a leader in a village often intervened in the process of proposal-making by community members and tended to select proposals based on their own interests. The most serious problem was the exclusion of assistant teams from the screening of proposals.

Takalar District Government attempted to rectify the situation by providing PLSD training courses to a leader in a village and the members of assistant teams. The government also strengthened public relation activities to raise awareness among community members to ensure better monitoring of the activities of a leader in a village.

(iii) Impact

The impacts of the multi-level approach were observed at all levels of intervention, meaning the government, community, and other stakeholders. Also, synergy was generated as a result of linkages created among them.

Within Takalar Government, the Governor, PMD staff, and other departments confirmed the effectiveness of SISDUK in promoting participatory development in the region. They also acknowledged the role of SISDUK being necessary for the local government during the process of decentralization. Government officials who attended PLSD training courses became catalysts for the accurate operation of SISDUK by correctly understanding the role of local government as facilitators in participatory development. In addition, some members of Takalar parliament expressed that SISDUK can be run self-sufficiently in the region and that it could induce development potentials within the community.

The community gained some benefits through the adoption of SISDUK in the region. Many villagers reported that the overall relationship between the community and the government improved. Some members of the community started to attend government meetings to express their opinions. Meanwhile, government extension officers also increased their visits to the community. The officers listened to their opinions and incorporated them into their activities. Some community members increased their incomes through small-scale activities initiated within the framework of SISDUK. Some also went further to seek larger funding from rural credit schemes. Other community members gained the sense of ownership of village infrastructure constructed by SISDUK. Following their success in SISDUK activities, people may try for large scale activities going beyond the limitation of the SISDUK budget.

The operation of SISDUK improved the relationship between the government and community. Government staff became more sensitive community needs, and community members began to participate more actively community development. Many community members realized that the

SISDUK resources needed to be utilized fairly and transparently. They also started to request transparency in village governance and even criticized a leader in a village for abusing SISDUK resources. These can be seen as synergy generated as a result of improved collaboration between the government and community.

The positive impacts of SISDUK were also apparent in the other districts of South Sulawesi Province. The follow-up team of the project¹⁰ in South Sulawesi Provincial Government supported district governments to introduce participatory development models. Through PLSD training courses, the follow-up team and the supported district government gained opportunities to communicate with each other.

Maros and Bulukunba District Governments showed the highest level of commitment for introducing participatory approach into their community upon being impressed by the potentials of SISDUK during their visits to Takalar District. Maros district had already introduced participatory development projects supported by the follow-up team and Hasanuddin University. On the other hand, Bulukunba District chose to improve the conventional P5D system instead of introducing a full-fledged participatory development model such as SISDUK. The activities of these two districts are still at a trial stage, but they have strong intentions to establish participatory development on their own.

(iv) Sustainability

SISDUK was institutionalized in Takalar District as a synergy model. In the government, legislative measures and budgetary allocations were established. The implementing team was set up and its personnel were recruited. Takalar District government operated SISDUK without any support from the project since 2002. Although the present operation of SISDUK does not fully materialize the complete feature of the system, it is likely that the government staff and community members would gradually improve the situation.

2-4 Conclusion and Lessons Learned

2-4-1 Conclusion

The project generated positive impacts within the local government and the community under the multi-level approach. As a result of the project activities, the capacity building of the local government and empowerment of community was achieved through SISDUK system. In addition, synergy was generated through collaboration between the government and community. The most significant output of the project was considered to be the institutionalization of SISDUK through a regional regulation confirming that Indonesians alone can operate SISDUK. It can be concluded that the institutionalization of the synergy model was taken on by Indonesians themselves and that was not forced onto them by outsiders. At the same time, the multi-level approach proved its effectiveness in community development.

On the other hand, the institutionalization of SISDUK resulted in the need for an increased

¹⁰ The follow-up team was formed in 2002 by the former counterpart of the Project in the Department of Community and Village Empowerment (BPM) of South Sulawesi Provincial Government. For 2002 to 2007, the follow-up team was mandated to expand PLSD training courses as well as to support participatory development conducted by the districts of South Sulawesi Province.

number of stakeholders within the government and the community in operating SISDUK. The expansion of scale resulted in the need for increased human resources in order to maintain operational effectiveness.

2-4-2 Lessons Learned

The following are the lessons learned from the project in relation to the multi-level approach.

- (i) The eventual replication process of the synergy model needs to be incorporated in the project plan from the outset. It must be planned so that the synergy model will be operated by the counterpart organization by the end of the cooperation period. Ideally, the plan should describe the process in which the synergy model will be extended by the counterpart organization as well as the required inputs such as funding, human resources, and expertise. Training for those responsible for the operation of the synergy model needs to be conducted regularly. Awareness-raising activities targeting the community is also necessary.
- (ii) With regard to implementation, the roles and tasks of all stakeholders need to be clarified. Each individual or organization must adhere to the rules of the synergy model and respect the roles of each other for it to function effectively. For this purpose, incentives may be provided to those following the rules and disincentives to those breaking the rules. It has been observed that transparency in governance can be achieved through proper operation of the synergy model. Synergy can be generated when the relationship between the government and the community is enhanced.
- (iii) To ensure the synergy model to be effective, monitoring and evaluation processes need to be strengthened. The counterpart organization needs to take on such responsibilities.
- (iv) Consideration for the poorest is important. The poorest are described as those unable to participate in project activities due to financial constraints or unable to form groups to apply for community development projects. The difficulty to involve the poorest was recognized at the village level. Target approach may be effective in solving this problem. Separate measures can be introduced to adjust project requirements to meet their eligibility.

3 Outline of Other Nine Case Studies

The following nine projects that adopted the multi-level approach were analyzed based on literature reviews and interviews in Japan. This chapter outlines each case study.

3-1 Participatory Rural Development Project in Bangladesh

(Project Period: 2000/04-2004/04)

Overview of the Project	Participatory Rural Development Project in Bangladesh aimed to establish a synergy model for participatory rural development called the Link Model. The synergy model was designed to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of government service delivery by linking local governments and communities. The project targeted all stakeholders of community development in target areas. Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDP) was the counterpart organization. Four unions located at the lower sub-district level of the government were selected as pilot areas.
Approach	The project established a forum called Union Coordination Committees (UCC) at the union level in order to facilitate discussion and information sharing among stakeholders associated with

	community development. All stakeholders were involved in the committee, such as sub-district extension workers in agriculture, health, family planning, and education, NGO members, and village representatives. Also, Village Committee (VC) was formed at the community level as a focal point for receiving government services, as well as for coordinating opinions among villagers. Union Development Officers (UDO) were hired as facilitators by the project among villagers in order to coordinate and facilitate the committees and pilot activities to build small-scale community infrastructure. Community members were expected to participate in the planning and implementation of such activities. The project set requirements for community participation in pilot activities such as the payment of union tax and 20% cost sharing of total pilot project costs. Notice-boards were set up at community focal points in order to increase the transparency of public services.
Findings of the Study	The Link Model was verified as being effective at the community level as it enhanced rural development activities. Synergetic effects, such as increased confidence towards extension officers by the community, and increase in the motivation levels of extension officers, were also observed. A number of small-scale pilot projects, such as the construction of community infrastructure and maintenance of market facilities, were implemented with active participation by villagers. Government service delivery through sub-district extension workers became more efficient. The establishment of government policies and budgets for supporting the synergy model has not taken place with only six months left before the completion of the project Training system for facilitators was not established even though facilitators had an important role in the synergy model.

3-2 Rural Livelihood Generation Project in the Philippines

(Project Period: 1991/01-1996/09)

Overview of the Project	Rural Livelihood Generation Project was the first JICA project on poverty alleviation in the Philippines aimed at improving the livelihood of the poor. The project targeted people who lived in "low-income areas" categorized by the national government. The project aimed to establish synergy models which could improve rural livelihood in low-income areas. The project verified synergy models at the community level by implementing small-scale activities in various sectors such as agriculture, animal husbandry, fisheries, handicrafts, etc., in order to create employment and income generation opportunities for the poor. Philippine Human Resources Development Center (PHRDC), which was built with a grant aid from the Japanese government, was the counterpart organization. Three low-income local government units (LGU) including municipalities and a coastal area were selected as pilot areas for project activities.
Approach	While the project constructed the synergy models that would utilize the original function of PHRDC as a training institute, it added new responsibilities of organizing pilot activities based on individual needs using a revolving fund provided by the project. Besides the revolving fund for selected groups, equipments and facilities for pilot activities were also provided by the project. Provisional branches of PHRDC were set up at the municipal level in three pilot areas for organizing and coordinating pilot activities. LGUs and NGOs in the pilot areas were expected to provide technical and financial support for the pilot activities.
Findings of the Study	The project was unable to receive adequate support from the counterpart organization due to the lack of human resources in managing the revolving fund. Furthermore, the restructuring of the central government organizations in the middle of the project period precluded them from collaborating with the project. Therefore, Japanese experts implemented the project without the support of counterpart organization during the latter half of the project period. Also, the project was not able to gain adequate collaboration by NGOs and LGUs, because their roles and responsibilities were duplicated and they avoided being responsible for activities. Another issue was that the project introduced non-traditional techniques in most pilot projects. Some of the pilot project activities were not suitable for the target population in terms of the skills required. Even the extension officers at the municipal level were unable to provide adequate technical assistance. The synergy models did not function well due to above factors. The replication of the models was low due to the lack of organizational, financial, and technical support from the Philippine government .

3-3 The Cebu Socio-Economic Empowerment and Development Project in the Philippines

(Project Period: 1999/03-2004/02)

Overview of the Project	The Cebu Socio-Economic Empowerment and Development Project aimed to establish a synergy model in the Provincial Government of Cebu in the Philippines. In the Philippines, due to the decentralization policy, provincial governments as well as municipal governments were responsible for regional development. The provincial government allocated sufficient funds for development activities and constructed social and economic infrastructures. On the other hand, municipal governments were in charge of small-scale community activities based on local needs, but often lacked resources. Both levels of government planned and implemented projects independently. As there was no coordination of government activities, communities received little benefits from regional development projects. Under such circumstances, the project developed a synergy model to enhance coordination among stakeholder activities. For this project, Provincial Planning Department Office (PPDO) of Cebu Provincial Government became the counterpart organization and sixteen municipalities were selected as pilot sites to test the mechanism.
Approach	The synergy model consisted of three key functions: 1) Platform; 2) Social Network and Partnership; and 3) Knowledge Management Bank (KMB). The role of the Platform was to organize consultation meetings among provincial, municipal, community and other stakeholders such as NGOs and Universities. PPDO conducted large-scale consultation meetings with these stakeholders to identify issues and solutions in community development. Following the discussion and agreements in the consultation, municipal governments and communities implemented several small-scale activities financed by the provincial government. Through the Social Network and Partnership, the provincial government and NGOs supported community groups and provided technical assistance for implementing the small-scale activities. Field Assistants were also employed by the project to monitor and report on small-scale activities. PPDO accumulated the experiences of all project activities that involved community groups in the form of KMB. KMB was accessible through the internet in order to share the experiences of the synergy model among stakeholders of regional development.
Findings of the Study	Through the synergy model, 67 small-scale activities for improving rural livelihood were implemented. Relationships among the province, municipalities and community improved dramatically. The roles and functions of different government levels were clarified. By sharing the vision for regional development and through collaboration, local governments and the community built confidence for each other. Although the provincial government recognized the effectiveness of the developed mechanism, authorization by the Governor of Cebu Province is required for it to be officially adopted in addition to the present duties of the provincial government.

3-4 Training Services Enhancement Project for Rural Life Improvement in the Philippines

(Project Period: 1996/06-2001/06)

Overview of the Project	This project aimed for the development of a participatory training program for the community and government extension officers in order to improve rural livelihood in the Philippines. Pilot activities were implemented to develop a training program reflecting local needs. With the application of the training model, the problem-solving ability of the community was expected to improve with support from the local government. The Agriculture Training Institute (ATI) in the Department of Agriculture was the counterpart organization. Five villages in four municipalities were selected as pilot areas.
Approach	First, the project developed a participatory training program for rural life improvement (RLI) with a model training center in Bohol province. Based on the experiences accumulated through pilot activities during the first half of the project period, the first draft of a training manual was prepared. Municipal governments supported the pilot activities, both technically and financially. The counterpart staff later introduced the training model at three other training centers. The first draft of the manual was revised based on the experiences through the new training centers. This took place during the latter half of the project period. The project planned to introduce the training program in three additional training centers every year after completing the project with budgets provided by the Philippines.
Findings of the Study	ATI counterparts acquired skills to develop training courses reflecting local needs. The municipalities became responsible for implementing community development projects in accordance with individual needs as a result of this. Meanwhile, the local people became more self-reliant through the pilot activities. The training program and the manual were developed based on the pilot activities in four training centers. As the training program was institutionalized through a ministerial ordinance at the end of the project period, the sustainability of the training program

	seems to be high. The training model was scheduled to be adopted in additional three training centers each year. In 2004, the total of 16 training centers out of 33 adopted the training model.
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3-5 Joint Study Project on Strengthening Capacity for Participatory Rural Development through

Mobilization of Local Resources in Sri Lanka

(Project Period: 1998/07-2001/06)

Overview of the Project	This joint study project aimed to establish a participatory rural development approach in Sri Lanka. Colombo University was the counterpart organization. Prior to the project, regional development was conducted under the Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP), and provincial governments were responsible for implementing IRDP. IRDP concentrated mainly on the construction of infrastructure and failed to address community needs as well as to induce community potentials. With the introduction of the new project, the key issues of rural development such as human resource development and effective utilization of physical resources became emphasized. Six villages were selected in North West province for pilot activities.
Approach	In this project, Colombo University was assigned a new mandate as a supporting agency for rural development alongside the government and the community. Project Management Board was set up in the University. The task of the Board was to make decisions on implementing small-scale activities in pilot villages as well as to consult with the provincial government on matters related to community development. In pilot areas, Rural Development Committee was formed in each village. The committee represented the community in dealing with the provincial government and Colombo university. It also became responsible for coordination at the community level. Some university graduates were sent to each village as facilitators. They resided in villages to support community members in forming agricultural groups and identifying problems related to development. The facilitators acted as a catalyst between the university and the community, while the university implemented small-scale activities reflecting community needs..
Findings of the Study	Community members gained experience in identifying problems and searching for solutions through discussions. Through study tours to other villages, they discovered local resources which had been available to them, renovated conventional fishery and agricultural works, and tried to reach external markets. In addition, youth and women's groups, which had been regarded as minority groups in the community, joined the development process. The provincial government became motivated by the project and started to visit villages frequently. Colombo University confirmed the effectiveness of the new participatory development approach upon observing such positive results. However, it should be noted that the involvement of the provincial government remained weak.

3-6 Integrated Agricultural and Rural Development Project in Southeast Sulawesi in Indonesia

(Project Period: 1991/01-1998/02)

Overview of the project	Southeast Sulawesi province had been recognized as an underdeveloped region in Indonesia. Small farmers lacked skills and resources to carry out effective and sustainable rural development activities. The project was planned to introduce a participatory approach into conventional agricultural and rural development processes. The regional office of the Ministry of Agriculture, which was in charge of such development projects in the region, encouraged the introduction of the new approach by JICA. Eight villages were selected as pilot sites where agricultural conditions were worse compared to other areas.
Approach	The new participatory approach to agricultural and rural development aimed to involve the community at all stages of rural development projects (planning, implementation and operation). At the planning stage, the government and the community held workshops to discuss rural development issues. Draft development plans were presented to the community to share the vision and to collect their opinions. At the implementation stage, community members joined in the construction of rural infrastructure as laborers. At the same time, they were recommended to form farmers groups or cooperatives for activities such as irrigation water management and agricultural machinery management. Approximately 30% of the payment received by community members was saved as stock funds, which was later used as part of the budget of these groups and cooperatives. In the operation of rice and vegetable cultivation, a demonstration field was maintained in each pilot village where community members easily accessed and acquired agricultural skills. Government extension workers regularly visited pilot sites providing advice to the farmers.
Findings of the Study	The pilot villages developed dramatically through the project. Cultivation areas expanded to more than 1,000ha and agricultural production, especially rice, increased. In eight villages, 67 agricultural groups and cooperatives were formed to access the stock funds, and remained active. Because of

	such success, the Ministry of Agriculture adopted this approach in the other areas of Southeast Sulawesi province. Also, a development assistance project of another donor introduced the approach in three other provinces.
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3-7 The Agricultural and Rural Development Project in Vientiane Province in Laos PDR

Project Period: 1995/11-2002/10)

Overview of the Project	Sustainable community development had been an important theme of regional development in Laos PDR. This project aimed to develop a participatory and sustainable rural development approach through pilot activities in five pilot villages. The Agriculture and Forestry Department of Vientiane District was selected as the counterpart organization. Their role was to enhance the management of Agricultural and Rural Development Center (the Center) as a training institute that had been built with a grant aid from the Japanese government.
Approach	The project intended to involve the community at all stages of rural development, from planning to evaluation. Experimental groups verified new techniques for cropping and cultivation. The capacity development of district and sub-district government officers through OJT was planned in order to make public services reflect local needs. Meanwhile, village development committees were formed in the pilot areas to enhance the planning ability of the community in regional development.. The Center carried out capacity-building training courses for community members as well as for government staff.
Finding in the project	By adopting the developed approach, a community irrigation system was built in a participatory manner. As a result of the training for community members, rice production increased to the level of self sufficiency. Various cash crops were introduced and incomes increased. Recognizing the effectiveness of approach introducing cultivation techniques were transferred on to other farmers. While the approach was verified as being effective at the community level, its institutionalization did not take place before the terminal evaluation of the project. Sub-district level support, although considered important for facilitating the approach, was not available because of unclear roles and responsibilities of the sub-districts. This delayed approaches at the sub-district level. Another issue was that institutional mechanisms for the management of the Center was not clarified yet at the time of the terminal evaluation.

3-8 Community Development and Forest/Watershed Conservation Project in Nepal

(Project Period: first phase:1994/07-1999/07, second phase:1999/07-2004.04)

Overview of Project	Community Development and Forest/Watershed Conservation Project aimed for natural environment conservation of the hilly areas of Nepal. The project developed a community development model that could be applicable in such areas. As natural environment conservation is closely linked to communities, the improvement of livelihood was crucial. The main component of the model was small-scale sub-projects to satisfy individual needs before introducing the concept of natural environment conservation. The counterpart organization was the District Soil Conservation Office (DSCO) of the Ministry of Forestry and Soil Conservation in Kaski and Parbat Districts. Ten villages in these districts were selected as project sites.
Approach	The project introduced a participatory approach for community resource management with active involvement of people in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation processes. The project provided technical assistance to DSCO in implementing small-scale sub-projects. Although groups were targeted in the implementation of sub-projects during the first phase, Ward Conservation Committee which is structured by local people was set up in each ward below the village level. The second phase of the project targeted Ward Conservation Committees in order to make community activities more sustainable. Two community members per village were employed as facilitators to mobilize people and to facilitate community activities. In each village, community resource management plan and annual action plan were made, and communities prepared their sub-projects according to those plans. In the second phase, besides approaching the whole community, the target approach was utilized for the lower professional caste and women in order to empower the vulnerable people of the area.
Findings of the Study	Community development activities became active through the project. Eighty-eight ward conservation committees were formed in the project sites. More than 400 sub-projects were implemented by February 2002, such as the construction of rural feeder roads, water facilities, and sanitation facilities. Also, 190 capacity-building programs such as literacy education and study tours were implemented for the empowerment of the community. Meanwhile, the project prepared technical guidelines for managing sub-projects that might have been utilized in extending the model

	to other areas of the country. However, there was no budgetary allocation and set policies to support the model at the time of the mid-term evaluation of the second phase.
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3-9 Project on Sokoine University of Agriculture Center for Sustainable Rural Development in Tanzania

(Project Period: 1999/05-2004/04)

Overview of the Project	The Center for Sustainable Rural Development (SCSRD) was established by this project within Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA). SCSRD aimed to experiment a new sustainable community development approach called the SUA method. The characteristics of the SUA method include its basis on fieldwork as a matter of principle, respect for realities of rural areas, and search for endogenous development based on indigenesness and uniqueness of each locality. It was expected that the method would be a useful approach in Tanzania as well as in neighboring countries. SCSRD chose Mbinga and Morogoro districts as pilot areas, and two villages in each district were selected for the implementation of small-scale activities using the method.
Approach	In this project, SCSRD had several functions as the implementing body of the SUA method. SCSRD conducted research through field studies, and became the catalyst between the local government and the community. At first, SCSRD conducted a basic socio-economic survey in a participatory manner. The results of the survey were discussed at workshops to form community development plans. Participants for the workshop included district government staff, community members, and NGO staff. Based on the plans agreed at the workshops, community members began to operate small-scale activities. SCSRD supported these activities by financing and providing technical assistance. Also, SCSRD monitored the activities. The results gained through monitoring were analyzed by SCSRD and reported at stakeholder workshops. When necessary, a community development plan was revised based on discussions at the workshops. Also, SCSRD offered technical assistance to Mbinga District Government in which its district development plan was supervised by the center. On the other hand, Mbinga District Government appointed a coordinator to collaborate with community members on small-scale activities.
Findings of the Study	According to the implementation result of the SUA method by SCSRD, community development plans were formed at workshops. Community members in the pilot areas implemented several small-scale activities utilizing appropriate and indigenous technologies. These projects were reported as being well operated and showed sustainability due to a strong sense of ownership in the community. Also, the district government provided continuous support to the community. SCSRD is being expected to publish the experience and the technical manual of the SUA method for future replication in the other area of Tanzania as well as in neighboring countries. SCSRD is expected to expand the SUA method to other areas through collaboration with another institution that also has JICA support..