

Handbook for Rapid Project Ethnography
(First Edition)

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Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)

Glossaries

Terms	Definition
Action research	Researcher, without making clear distinction from research subjects (or people who cooperate), participates in the research to address specific issues. By being part of people concerned, he/she finds practical solution (results) while emphasizing on process for improving problem solving and analytical capacities of those participated in the research. ¹
Observational research	Practice of direct recording and analysis of certain subject using five senses, including collecting and analyzing such practices conducted by someone else. For example, records of townscape and landscape, noise of crowd, smell of a city, seasoning of dishes, touching of architecture and interior. ² In this handbook, the term refers to direct recording and analysis.
Social capital	Something invisible, such as trust, norms and network etc., but considered effective resources for growth and development and considered a “resource” that can be measured and accumulated similar to economic resources. ³
Participant observation	A method of observing and describing cultural characteristics of population or organization by being in the field for a comparatively long time and by spending the daily life with the subjects. ⁴
Dialogue	While the term refers to conversation between or among people, it is different from discussions and chats. It is more than exchange of information but deepens understanding of each other through understanding other’s standing point and communicating each other’s opinions. It refers to creative communication that transforms behavior and awareness. ⁵
PDM (Project Design Matrix)	One of logical frameworks used in JICA’s technical cooperation projects. It is used to explain assumption on causal relationship

¹ Japan Association for Social Research (2014) *Encyclopedia of Social Research* (in Japanese)

² http://kccn.konan-u.ac.jp/sociology/research/03/frame.html?1_1.html (accessed on 2018/8/30)

³ JICA (2007) *Use and manner for social research*

http://open_jicareport.jica.go.jp/210/210/210_000_11878550.html (accessed on 2018/8/8) (in Japanese)

⁴ Japan Association for Social Research (2014) *Encyclopedia of Social Research* (in Japanese)

⁵ <https://dictionary.goo.ne.jp/jn/132439/meaning/m0u/> (accessed on 2018/8/8) (in Japanese)

	(cause and result) of a project subject to evaluation. ⁶
Focus group discussion	Discussion among people who belong to a common social group, with common interest, or have stakes. ⁷

⁶ JICA (2010) New JICA Guidelines for Project Evaluation (First Edition)
https://www.jica.go.jp/english/our_work/evaluation/tech_and_grant/guides/c8h0vm000001rfux-att/guideline_2010.pdf (accessed on 2018/8/8)

⁷ JICA (2007) *Use and manner for social research*
http://open_jicareport.jica.go.jp/210/210/210_000_11878550.html (accessed on 2018/8/8) (in Japanese)

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Introduction

JICA conducts ex-post evaluation aiming to improve its projects and to ensure accountability to stakeholders including Japanese nationals and people of the partner countries. Particularly, from the perspective of improving projects, the Evaluation Department has taken initiative to look into not only outcome of the projects, but also its process – “process analysis” – since 2015 and been actively disseminating the results of the analysis in and out of JICA.

One of the approaches of “process analysis” which has been tried out is project ethnography. Project ethnography uses ethnography, an anthropologic field study method, and records implementation process of development projects. It provides vicarious experience of project process from the viewpoint of various stakeholders and makes possible to learn lessons that contributes to improvement in the project.

While this handbook is based on the concept of project ethnography, it establishes basic procedures for rapid project ethnography (RPE) in which the amount of time, contents and workload etc., are reduced to the level possible for taking up as JICA’s work. It has also organized basic knowledge and concepts that are required in actual fieldwork and analysis.

Expected users of the handbook include people who are related to projects in and out of JICA (JICA officers, experts/consultants who implement the project, persons who will be involved in RPE). The handbook may be referred widely for making and utilizing RPE.

What is Rapid Project Ethnography? – For making the handbook for RPE

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Economies Japan External Trade Organization

I. What is ethnography?

Ethnography is one of the research methodologies mainly used in anthropology and sociology. Researcher places him/herself within a society/community, records the actions and voices of various stakeholders who are related to the subject through “participatory fieldwork.” Based on the observed information, the researcher depicts a story as an outcome of the research. The written product is called “ethnography” and the person who uses this research methodology can be called an “ethnographer” even if he/she is not an anthropologist or sociologist.

Ethnography may be used in many occasions. For example, there exists “shopping mall ethnography” in which behavior of consumers in supermarkets and shopping malls are studied using participatory fieldwork and are utilized for marketing analysis. The consultant who conducts such study may be also called “ethnographer.” However, simple reportage and traffic volume survey cannot be called ethnography. I would like to mention two characteristics of ethnography here.

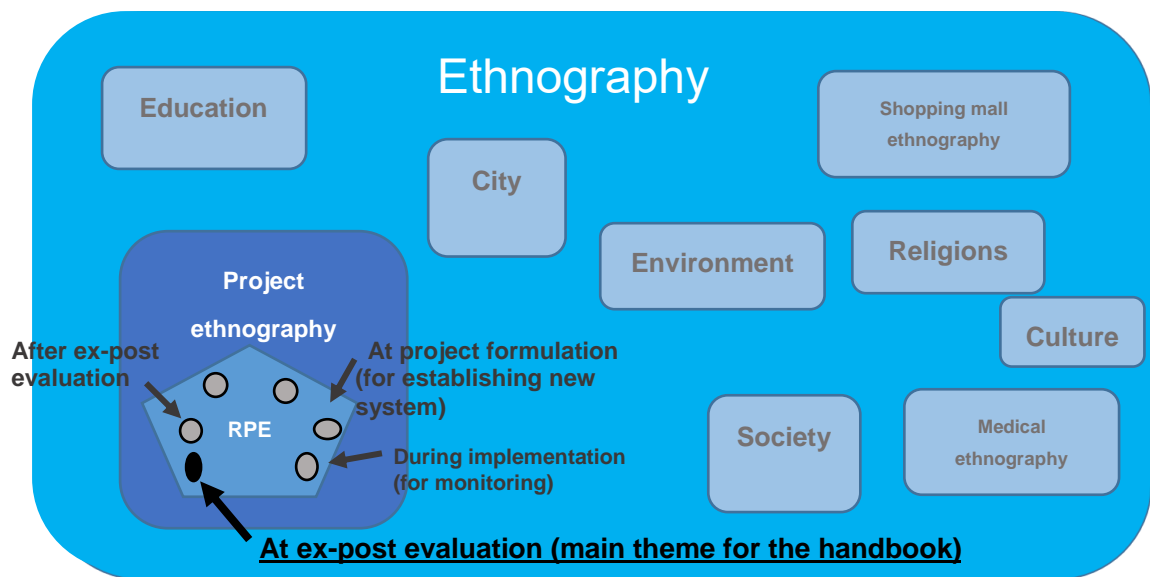
First characteristic is to “stand by the people”- to synchronize researcher’s perspective with the view of the people concerned-. As seen in the approach of participatory fieldwork, the ethnographer stands in the same position as the people concerned and attempts to understand what people are “feeling and thinking” as much as possible rather than what is “happening” by observing the events. Therefore, it differs from the reportage and traffic volume survey that are conducted from the third-person’s perspective.

Second characteristic is “not to exclude the ethnographer’s subjectivity (including his/her emotions)”. In other words, it can be “free from myth of objectivity.” In the first half of the twentieth century when anthropology was founded, “participatory fieldwork” was conducted in such a manner that the ethnographer, who was an outsider, puts him/herself in the field, and from a third person’s point of view, observed and interpreted the behaviors of

“uncivilized” people, as if he/she was a “hidden camera.” However, towards the end of the twentieth century, some anthropologists and sociologists began to question such deception pretended to be “scientific objectivity.” So long as the ethnographer is in the field, he/she becomes the part of the people concerned, and it is not possible to stop his/her behavior from having influence on the reaction of people in the particular society. If that is the case, there is possibility that more meaningful ethnography would be created when things are understood on the ethnographer’s sense and judgement without clinging to the objectivity myths (people who use statistics insisting on evidences, as if a golden rule, is a part of it); although a risk to fall into self-satisfaction may increase.

Now, when the ethnographic approach is used for understanding “development project,” a work called “project ethnography” takes birth. Abbreviation for project ethnography “Pro-Eth” is a term coined by JICA. It would not be understood to ordinary anthropologists. What’s more, this handbook advocates to take up project ethnography in “Rapid Project Ethnography (RPE). Writing an ethnographic work rapidly may be considered a blasphemy against academics and anger ordinary anthropologists. In making ethnography rapidly, we inevitably sacrifice the quality of ethnography from academic perspective. That said, if it is a meaningful approach for supporting development work, let’s use it – this is the stance of this handbook.

Position of RPE in ethnographic genre would be like the following figure. Project ethnography is part of ethnography, and “to stand by the people concerned” and “not to exclude subjectivity” are common to both. Keep in mind that if you forget these two principles, the approach becomes meaningless.



II. Uniqueness of project ethnography and the RPE

A major difference between RPE and other ethnography is that it is written “to improve projects’ intervention.” There are many anthropologists and sociologists who are critical of development intervention. Such people may write ethnographies that criticize development assistance. There are ethnographies written based on specific projects. Such works can be widely considered as project ethnography and criticisms can be “helpful” since they draw lessons for improvement of the project.

However, the main objective of the RPE in this handbook is to make an ethnography that directly focus on the project and studying various actors related to the project in much shorter time than standard anthropologic The RPE can be used at any stage of project cycle (See Annexures: Annex 1. Variations in project ethnography (examples of project ethnography other than at the time of ex-post evaluation). However, when development practitioners read project ethnography, they may have tendency to read it by evaluative scope.” Assuming this tendency, subsequent section of the handbook specifically focuses on “project ethnography” for supplementing qualitative evaluation and positions the RPE as a rapid version of project ethnography.

Although project ethnography may be useful for evaluation, it is not a tool to judge “success/failure.” When ethnography is written, judgement of

“good/bad” on the subject by the ethnographer is seldom expressed. Similarly, project ethnography and its rapid version, RPE, do not require such explicit judgement. In standard evaluation work, one cannot start unless criteria for “success/failure” are defined; but it is a charm of project ethnography to begin working without having to establish the criteria beforehand.

Particularly in ex-post evaluation, the most important thing is to check whether the project has been able to achieve the expected outcome (whether the project was implemented in conformity to the Project Design Matrix: PDM); however, the ethnographer does not need to stick to the PDM in case of project ethnography. It is because the project “grows” through the interaction with surrounding environment, unlike in an isolated environment PDM assumes, and to grasp the wider impact of the project, it is necessary to look beyond limited “project scope.” The “freedom to step out” of PDM may be the thrilling thing about project ethnography. In other words, it can be seen as a supplement to standard “DAC 5 principles evaluation.”

III. Deviation, or unexpected events

It is probably appropriate to stress the significance of deviation. In standard evaluation, things that happen outside the trajectory of input-output-outcome (causal relationship in PDM) are kept out of the scope of evaluation. On the contrary, project ethnography picks up such things as well. If we look into such deviations, the process of asking what they meant for the project may follow. By doing so, multifaceted stature of social phenomena – the project, may possibly become visible.

By the way, in development research of primary health care sector, the concept of “positive deviance” (preferred outlier) has been drawing attention in recent years. That is, when a specific intervention is made, there are incidents that brings very good reaction (for instance, health or income level improves unexpectedly) compared to standard reaction. Such incidences bear no statistical representation, but if we study in detail how such a “miracle” has happened, factors required to improve the health conditions (such as social capital, family culture, existence of village infrastructure etc.) become apparent and, perhaps by paying attention to such factors in next intervention, better “average” may be brought out. In project ethnography, quantitative

statistical approaches are not often used, but the ethnographer's sharp eyes, can possibly find such "deviations."

When we look at many successful project, we can find out common tendency that "the project succeeded because", luckily "this person was in the counterpart agency," fortunately "he/she was in the position of dispatched expert," incidentally "at this timing, there was a change in policy in prefer for the project," "at this timing, the officer-in-charge on Japanese side changed" etc. all by chance! We may summarize that "by chance" incidents are the key to success of the project. They are all "special" cases and many people may argue that such cases have no "universality." But, the significance of project ethnography lays in exploring how such "by chance" incident came about. There may be hidden commonality among the projects.

As I pointed out in the beginning, the project ethnography is aiming to extract meaningful story over "objectivity," and there is no point in debating on superiority (or inferiority) in comparison to other methods of case studies. I think what is to be considered is for the concerned officers to have an ability to judge what kind of projects fit to evaluation using RPE and what kind of projects are appropriate for evaluation using numbers.

IV. Bringing a story alive

The project ethnography "brings the story alive." The "story" here does not mean making of a fantasy and not necessarily puts spotlight on a specific "hero." Project ethnography is a work that describes what people felt day to day and how they have accepted the project in the space called "project" (while it exists spatially, it can be social, political and intercultural at the same time). By weaving the "narratives" of those associated with the project, a story emerges. Weaving the story (making of project ethnography) may be meaningful in the field of evaluation; and such thought lays behind the expectation given to the RPE approach.

The last thing to be stressed is anyone, so long as he/she has the willingness, can be an ethnographer even if they have not been trained in anthropology or sociology. In ethnography, since the roles of subjectivity and observation are important, from each standing point of each person surrounding the

project, different ethnographies can be made. For instance, “Tweeting” of a JICA officer in charge of the project can be an important source of information. It would be nice to have more people taking interest in possibility of project ethnography.

1 RPE in JICA's ex-post evaluation

1.1 Significance/purpose of RPE in ex-post evaluation

As described by Dr. Sato in “II. Uniqueness of project ethnography and RPE,” in the handbook, the “RPE” is considered as a concise version (e.g. shorter study duration) of “project ethnography:⁸ which is one of the approaches to enrich especially qualitative evaluation. Therefore, there are differences in terms of time and manpower input in RPE when compared to “detailed” project ethnography. Despite such gaps, the RPE is able to look into issues/problems people have faced in the project and the way in which they have overcome, avoided and mitigated such situations, that are rarely mentioned in the ex-post evaluation reports. Probing into the implementation processes of a particular project for its expected/unexpected effects and achieved/unachieved effects, and analyzing the results as a case study brings tremendous learning to JICA. The reasons are described below and are the purpose of introducing the RPE.

① **Learnings from various stakeholders**

As described in “III. Deviation, or unexpected events,” the RPE intends to locate “out of scopes” and “deviations” as well, and this naturally leads to getting in touch with various individuals connected to the project (stakeholders). For instance, it would lead to casting eyes on those who seemingly had nothing to do with the project, thought to be not so important to the project, supported the project behind the scene, beneficiaries who were not considered but should have been⁹. In JICA's ex-post evaluation based on DAC 5 criteria, main objective rests on studying extent of achieving expected effects against the plan and their sustainability. Thus, people who appear to have direct connection in bringing about the anticipated effects and impacts become main targets for the study. Finding other targets such as those who should have been considered project beneficiaries are not

⁸ In JICA Research Institute, analysis of project's trajectory and outcome are published as “Project History.” Authors and methodologies for Project history are diverse. When studied using ethnographic approach, the output can be a Project ethnography, and at the same time a project history with Project ethnographic approach. Nomenclatures are similar, but they are not the same. Reference: JICA Research Institute HP <https://www.jica.go.jp/jica-ri/ja/publication/projecthistory/index.html> (accessed on 2018/8/8)

⁹ In Delhi Metro story (see “1.2 Advantages and disadvantages of conducting RPE along with ex-post evaluation” (https://www.jica.go.jp/activities/evaluation/ku57pq00001zf034-att/analysis_en_01.pdf)), “the person who played important role behind a charismatic leadership of former managing director” is an example.

emphasized. What's more, it does not bother to pick up the voices of people seemingly unrelated to the project and not regarded as beneficiaries. What differentiates RPE is that it picks up on voices of diverse stakeholders and by doing so, it makes it possible to widen the scope of learning.

② Paying attention to societal/cultural background and context of the project and deepening the learnings

One of the reasons the lessons drawn from JICA's DAC 5 based ex-post evaluation is said to be difficult to put into practice is that socio-cultural background and context in which the project is implemented are not sufficiently explained. This issue is not something that can be changed by refining the evaluation guideline, but these contexts are probably something that can be understood or seen by only those who have at least once been part of the country or the society in question. They are not something to be instantly explained by an external evaluator who conducts short-duration study. On the other hand, RPE which emphasizes on the context of the project (history/culture/society), may be the one to solve this dilemma. To collect, organize and analyze the information with sufficient understanding of the project context, it would require an involvement of person who has certain level of experience and capacity (see "4.3 Qualities and background required for the ethnographer" for details). By doing so, drawing lessons that are rooted to the specific context of the project becomes possible.¹⁰ This enables readers to have more concrete image of effectiveness and applicability of the lessons drawn through the RPE by recognizing the similarities and differences in context of the project in which they have been engaged.

③ Learnings from "true feelings and perceptions" and "reflections" of the stakeholders

In regards to interviewing many stakeholders, perhaps there would be a question as to what is the difference between RPE and the qualitative study (and its scaled-up version) conducted as part of DAC 5 based JICA's ex-post evaluation. The differences to be emphasized here are the quality and depth of information that come out through RPE. Many people who conduct ex-post evaluation seem to think that they "go after and get the information," but in

¹⁰ In Delhi Metro story, history/societal condition of Delhi and central issues are described. This makes clear from what preconditions and circumstances the episode came about.

RPE, the information is regarded as “not something to go after and get.” As long as the evaluator is chasing the information, a trustable relationship has not been developed with interviewees, and as a result, only official views or superficial information would come out. As the interviewer goes and meets the interviewee over and over, a feeling of trust and better relationship develops between the two parties to a certain extent, at which stage dialogue (rather than monologue) began to take place. At such moments, stories told by the interviewee could reveal his/her true feeling or perceptions (about the project concerned), and these may act as a trigger for finding unexpected learning or expanding such possibilities. (see “Practical tips for RPE: 1.4. Interview techniques” for approaches of dialogue).

1.2 Advantages and disadvantages of conducting RPE along with ex-post evaluation

“Delhi Mass Rapid Transport System Project (Phase 2) (I)-(V)” is the first case JICA Evaluation Department applied RPE. The RPE was conducted along with ex-post evaluation. First, the ex-post evaluation was conducted, and by the time evaluation result was out, using the information collected in the ex-post evaluation, the RPE was kicked off. Although RPE can be conducted other than the timing of ex-post evaluation, by taking it up along with ex-post evaluation, there are advantages such as initial information collection is easy; and thus, RPE may be conducted at that timing frequently. In this regard, the advantages of conducting RPE at “two to three years after the project completion (at the time of ex-post evaluation)” are explained a little more in detail.

The biggest advantage of RPE being taken up with or almost same time as ex-post evaluation is that RPE can be undertaken after collecting information about the details of the project, particularly that on the effectiveness of the project through the work of ex-post evaluation. In other words, by carrying out the ex-post evaluation survey prior to RPE, certain information on the project are collected and analyzed, and therefore, it is easier to narrow down on the scope and issues to be specifically looked into in the process analysis (study). After systematically analyzing the outcomes of the project in the ex-post evaluation, through RPE, ideas and decision-making processes behind the success/failure of the project can be further investigated.

On the other hand, there are concerns associated to conducting RPE along with the ex-post evaluation. By being conducted together with the ex-post evaluation, the scope of RPE may be restrained within the PDM of the project concerned, and may be (too much) influenced by its result of the ex-post evaluation. When the ethnographer concentrates on the effects revealed by quantitative data in the ex-post evaluation or the processes in relation to the achievements and effects against the plan of the PDM, he/she fails to notice the processes and events happening outside the scope of PDM. The key, here, is for the person who is conducting the ex-post evaluation and RPE to switch between the two study approaches by noticing the things happening within and outside the scope of PDM.

2 Selection criteria for target project

Those suitable for RPE are the projects which have “something,” facts or narratives, that are not told because these are deviated from the project scope and are not looked at in the JICA’s ex-post evaluation based on DAC 5 evaluation criteria. Such projects should have something to be discovered that are “worth to be known widely.” In such cases, “there are stories waiting to be written by someone.”¹¹

Much of the project selection may be dependent on JICA officer who knows the project well and senses and intuition of the other stakeholders; however, keeping in mind that RPE is used to obtain useful suggestion for JICA, the target project should preferably fulfill at least one of the criteria described in following.

(1) Project with notable plan, ideas and/or achievements for JICA

The targets may be the projects with potentials for bringing useful lessons for formulation and implementation of new projects in relevant sectors and countries. More specific selection criteria are:

- Project with remarkable achievement. For instance, one with excellent achievements in terms of project effects and sustainability and

¹¹ Matsumi, Yasuko (2015) “Power of story: Possibilities of project ethnography” (presented at publication seminar of *Will the forest disappear?*) (in Japanese)

increased credibility of JICA and/or Japan

- Project with noteworthy initiatives or creative ideas in the processes of planning and implementation.
- Project that has tried out new ideas and innovations that are rarely seen in ordinary projects, and adds extra value

(2) Long running project

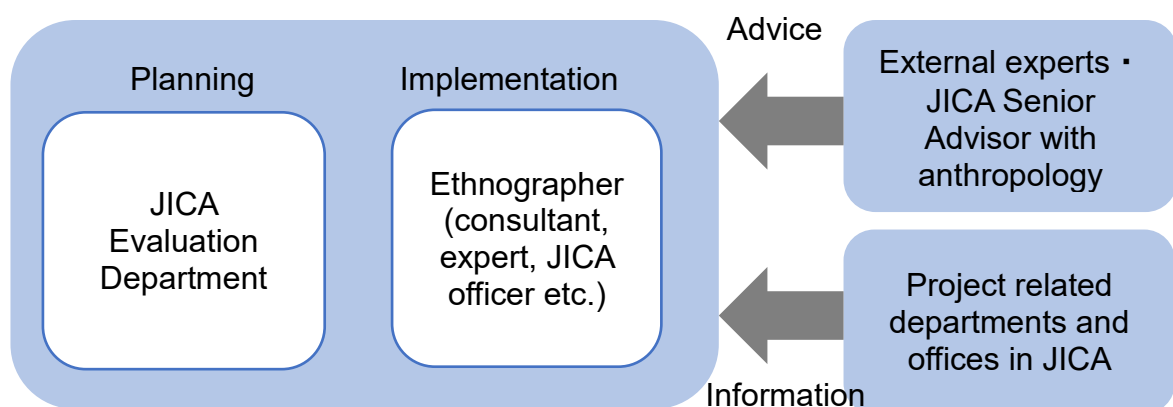
- On-going project/time-slice project with successive project in pipeline or project implemented in multiple phases (particularly the project that are planned for multiple phases at the beginning).

(3) Project with major turning point

- Project that has had a turning point or had major change from the plan or made correction on course of actions during the project implementation, because of factors like change in external environment (e.g. project that has internalized external factors/risk and succeeded in risk management).
- Cases in which there are unexpected ripple effects or derivative activities triggered by project interventions, as results of long implementation.

3 Implementation arrangement

For conducting RPE, following basic structure is envisaged.



Formulation and management of overall planning would be led by JICA Evaluation Department, and based on the plan, the ethnographer holds discussions with people involved in project implementation, selects issues or aspects to be focused, formulates interview strategy, collects and analyzes data. Furthermore, at various stages of RPE study, resource persons such as experts and JICA Senior Advisors provide advices, and the ethnographer integrates such advices into the implementation process and the final product of RPE, which is the output of the study.

When RPE is conducted at the time of ex-post evaluation, there is a concern about the inclination of an ethnographer to limit the scope of study within the framework of PDM focusing too much on project effectiveness. This is not what RPE intends to do and undermines the value of RPE. Furthermore, what is described in “4. Position, roles and qualifications of the ethnographer,” is different from what is expected in ordinary ex-post evaluation, and therefore, it is desirable to check whether the RPE study is being carried out in the expected direction with advice from experts.

Considering above, an arrangement should be made for someone with anthropological background (referred as “expert”) to provide timely advice, and conduct the study through dialogue between the ethnographer and those who are related to the study.

4 Position, roles and qualifications of the ethnographer

4.1 Position of the ethnographer

The researcher who conducts RPE employing the approach of ethnography is, in a way, an ethnographer. Unlike the external evaluator for ex-post evaluation, in case of RPE, there is no need to disqualify the person who has been engaged in project formulation or implementation process as a candidate researcher. The person who conducts RPE can be a stakeholder or an outsider to the target project. Whether the ethnographer is a stakeholder or outsider to the project, following effects on the study are expected.

Table 1: Ethnographer and effects on RPE

Ethnographer	Effects
Stakeholder	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Able to contact other stakeholders relatively easily because of his/her existing network• Good understanding of culture and social environment surrounding the project• Difficult to separate the feeling towards project
Outsider	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Require time to understand the overall picture of the project• Free from preconceived notions and fixed ideas about the project• Able to assess different approaches of the project in a fair manner when the project was implemented in multiple phases and when it had major shifts in strategies.• Able to sense and identify unique features and practices associated with the project which the stakeholders (insiders, i.e. those who were directly involved in the project) take it granted.

Depending on whether he/she is a stakeholder or outsider of the project, the ethnographer's level of interest, knowledge on the project and the way he/she interprets various events surrounding the project would be different. A stakeholder can also come in multitude of different connections to the project – for instance, if he/she has been involved in the project implementation or was involved in other ways, for how long he/she has been involved. Even among the stakeholders, the way in which things are interpreted and the extent of emotional attachment to the project are different from person to person. Unlike the ordinary evaluation work, there is no defined framework for RPE. There would be inevitable variances in focus and depth of the study depending on who would play a role of ethnographer. The ethnographer's perspective varies based on his/her relationship to the project (degree of involvement) and his/her experience in the project target area (how much knowledge he/she has or how familiar he/she is with the society and culture of the area). Such differences arising out of ethnographer's perspectives and

to whom or to what particular events of the project his/her attention is drawn, is perhaps the real charm of project ethnography. Given such condition, it is also important to clearly specify the positioning of the ethnographer including his/her association with the project and experience and knowledge on the project area, when the final output is written up as an ethnographic case study.

Earlier, it was explained that the ethnographer of RPE can be either stakeholder or outside of the project; however, that is a situation before the RPE is carried out as a study. Once the actual study begins, (the ethnographer's position changes to play double roles of a stakeholder and an outsider and he/she moves back and forth between the roles). As such, the space between inside and outside of the project is where the ethnographer stands, and it makes possible for him/her to “bridge” inside and outside as a “stranger.” Ager called the ethnographer “professional outsider”.¹² The following figure gives a relationship overview of project stakeholders, the ethnographer and outside world in relation to the project.¹³

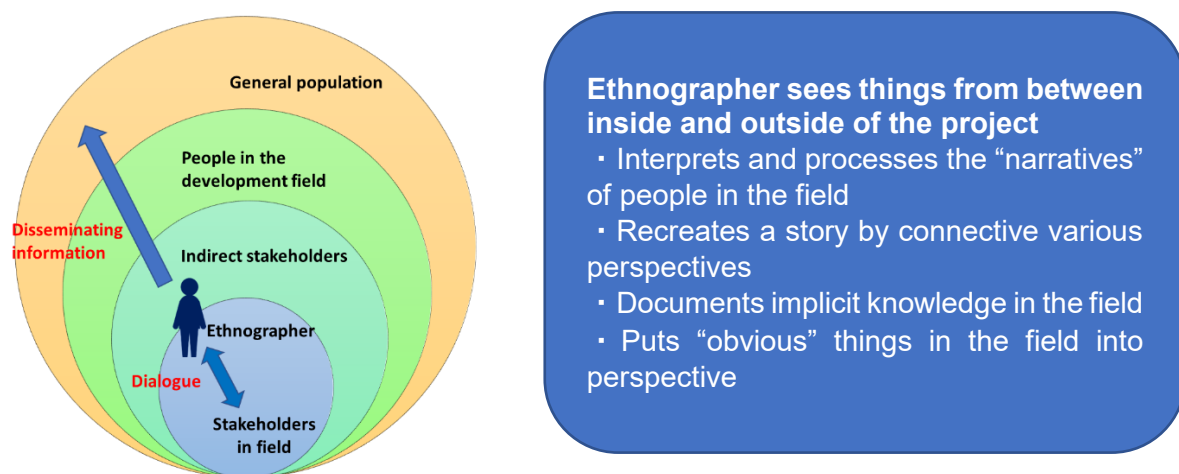


Figure 1: Ethnographer's position¹⁴

Note: In the above figure, while the ethnographer is placed between “Stakeholders in field” and “indirect stakeholders,” the actual placement differs depending on the ethnographer.

¹² Agar, Michael H. (1996) *The Professional Stranger: An Informal Introduction to Ethnography* (Second Edition). Academic Press

¹³ Referred from Oda, Hiroshi (2010) *Introduction to ethnography – Qualitative study of “the field”* (in Japanese)

¹⁴ Revised based on Matsumi, Yasuko (2015) “Power of story: Possibilities of project ethnography” (presented at publication seminar for a project ethnography) (in Japanese)

4.2 Ethnographer's Roles

As seen in previous section, the ethnographer can be a bridge between the inside and outside worlds of the project. To fulfil the role of linking the two, the ethnographer is expected to bring out “narratives” from the experiences and opinions of individuals, to reinterpret the information obtained from field observations with due consideration to the specific social contexts and power dynamics among the stakeholders, and to understand why certain phenomenon took place (or did not take place). Furthermore, by connecting the information (and scattered bits of narratives) to create a sensible story, the ethnographer is expected to disseminate the story to a wider audience in a manner that helps readers relive the various events associated with the project. In the process of the study, the roles of the ethnographer transform from a) inducing “narratives” from the stakeholders and observing the events to b) interpreting the narratives and weaving a story and to c) disseminating the story in a form that can be easily understood by people who have limited or no connection to the project.



Figure 2: Ethnographer's roles

Three main roles expected of the ethnographer of RPE are explained in details below.

a) Inducing “narratives” from the stakeholders and observing events

The first role of the ethnographer is to bring out the “narratives” through interviews with stakeholders after collecting and sorting out the basic information of the project. The “narratives” mentioned here refer to meanings one attaches as regards to his/her relationship to the project, his/her actions, motives, commitment, feelings, social relations, and specific events associated with a project.

Kinds of information compiled on the target project prior to RPE's initiation are probably mostly quantitative data and those intended to be used for publicity. Even if there is qualitative information, it may be gathered with specific and limited perspectives. The ethnographer of RPE should focus even on the options and approaches that were not adopted by the project. He/she should listen to voices of not only those who are in the center-stage, but those of the forgotten in the history of the project, to those shadowed by the existence of some key persons of the project, or even those of the adversely affected by the project. At times, the ethnographer must unearth the information which was intangible and not documented, and must try to represent the voice of the voiceless.

The purpose of inducing the "narratives" is to discover the intellectual assets buried among the stakeholders and to understand the meanings attached to certain events by the stakeholders. There may be or may not be shared understanding among the stakeholders concerning the judgement on success or failure of a project and its underlining factors. Even behind certain events over which there seems to be a common understanding among stakeholders, there are varied personal experiences and perceptions that are rarely shared with outsiders; and thus are not understood well. These personal stories on experience and perceptions may bring us new discoveries and lessons about the project.

Personal stories concerning reasons and motives for certain actions and associated emotions need to be grasped through interviews. The communication between "narrator (the interviewees)" and "listener (the ethnographer)" should be a two-way dialogue instead of conversation dominated by the narrator. Also, to obtain as much valuable information as possible from the narrator and to excavate the "narratives" which the narrator him/herself may have not been aware of so far, the ethnographer must be equipped with interview techniques. The interview techniques are explained in "4.3 Qualities and background required for the ethnographer" as well as in Practical tips for RPE.

As a means of collecting information (understanding what took place in the project), the ethnographer observes the "events" of the project. The events

here, however, are not necessarily the happenings during the project implementation. This includes changes in an individual's thought, new discoveries and changes in social relations.

b) Weaving a story

The second major role of the ethnographer is to create a story by organizing, interpreting and analyzing the “narratives” taken from the stakeholders and observation he/she made in the project field and events. Through the study, the ethnographer comes into contact with vast amount of information, and at times, he/she may encounter “narratives” that seem not making sense. At this point, the ethnographer re-examine and re-interprets the stories told as “facts” with his/her own perspective. When handling the “narratives” told in cultural context different from the ethnographer lives in, it is also important to reinterpret them taking in consideration of their socio-cultural context, instead of taking the meaning of words of the narrator literally. Attention to a glimpse of facial expression and feelings revealed by the narrator should be reflected when the ethnographer re-interprets narratives. In RPE, it is not necessary to cover every single event of the project. It is left to the ethnographer to decide which “episode” of the project should be highlighted and what stories and messages he/she wants to convey to audience.

c) Disseminating the story to wider audience

Output of the RPE becomes meaningful when it is shared with wider audience who are not related to the project. Through the story woven by the ethnographer, others relive the ground realities and such experience provide a means for the audience to deepen the practical understanding on development projects.

When the storyline is decided and the ethnographer begins to write the story, his/her role changes from a listener to a narrator. One thing that must be kept in mind here is that the “narratives” of interviewees (the narrators) can give completely different impression to the readers depending on the ways the ethnographer interprets and recites the story. It is also the responsibility of the ethnographer to give enough consideration to whom, what and how the story should be told and find the most appropriate way to do so.

Once the story is written as a final product, how to find or create the opportunity to disseminate it will be a collaborative work between the ethnographer and JICA.

4.3 Attributes and background required for the ethnographer

To fulfill the roles mentioned in “4.2 Ethnographer’s roles,” some specific attributes and backgrounds are required for the ethnographer. Following elements would be beneficial for the RPE ethnographer to have, but these are not indispensable.

① Good understanding of the target project

To unearth potential intellectual assets held by stakeholders of a project, it is essential to bring out the narratives from the interviewees. To make this possible, the ethnographer should have certain degree of interest in the target project. Before starting the RPE, the ethnographer needs not be a stakeholder to the project, but he/she should preferably be someone who can share the sentiment the stakeholders have towards the project. Trying to understand the project well is a matter of whether the ethnographer has a good will and attitudes to do so rather than his/her quality and background. This is more of a prerequisite. For the ethnographer to gather narratives and information from various perspectives, he/she should have interest in the project. To probe into the process, it is necessary for the ethnographer to have eagerness to know about the project and willingness to understand the sentiments of those who were engaged in the target project.

At the same time, it is not good for the ethnographer to have too much emotional attachment to the project. At times, the ethnographer must see things critically as well.

② Interview techniques

In RPE, gathering of information is mainly done through interviews, and it is important for the ethnographer to be equipped with interview techniques. Some of the examples are as follows; conducting interview in 5W1H while observing the interviewees’ reactions; being conscious of how the interviewees think or react depending on the contents and ways the questions are posed; not forcing to get information; being able to think next

questions and course of conversation while listening to the interviewees. Moreover, listening to interviewee's talks which sound irrelevant to the questions posed is sometimes required as a listener's good manner and technique as well. Attitudes and detail techniques for interviews are discussed in the "Practical tips for RPE" part of this handbook.

③ Good analytical, interpretation and writing skills

As described earlier, the ethnographer's roles include creating a story and disseminating it. To fulfil these roles, the ethnographer is required to have abilities to analyze and interpret the information and "narratives" obtained through the interviews, and to compose and write story to inform readers sweat and tears as well as excitement that various stakeholders experienced on the ground along with project implementation.

④ Not absolutely necessary to have experience in particular sector or country

It is desirable for the ethnographer to have background in project related sector or living/working experience in the area where a project is/was implemented; however, the ethnographer does not always necessarily have such backgrounds. Nevertheless, given time constraint of RPE, it is better to select someone with experience in the sector and the country/area concerned as the ethnographer. More details are described in "4.4 Selection criteria for the ethnographer."

⑤ Able to work collaboratively

Normally in RPE, one ethnographer studies the target project, conducts interviews and produces a final product of ethnographic study. Although it is mainly the ethnographer who needs to tackle the writing part, he/she needs regular communication and frequent discussions with JICA staff and the experts with advisory function during the study. Although the ethnographer is the main person to take up a series of RPE related tasks until production of the final output, there is so much collaborative work with others including a series of discussions, exchange of opinions, proof reading and editing RPE drafts. The ethnographer is required not only to withstand the solitude of working alone, but also to have willingness and ability for working collaboratively with others.

4.4 Selection criteria for the ethnographer

In selecting the ethnographer, the background and experience required in him/her vary depending on what kind of project RPE is going to focus. What constitute the appropriate criteria for selection of an ethnographer should be discussed each time RPE is decided to be carried out for a specific project. Here, however, some selection criteria in case of RPE to be conducted by JICA Evaluation Department is presented. It should be noted that they are only indicative ones.

① Experience in interview and other qualitative surveys

In RPE, major part of the work is related to interviews to individuals and groups. One cannot instantly acquire appropriate attitudes and techniques required for good interview by merely reading reference documents. Accordingly, it would be better to find a person who has some experiences in undertaking qualitative studies using methods discussed in the part of “Practical tips for RPE” of this handbook.

② Writing experience and skills in the areas/styles other than report writing

Writing skill, as mentioned in the roles and qualifications of the ethnographer, is an important element in RPE. Some may reveal magnificent writing ability and skills once they are appointed as ethnographers; however, to ensure the quality of the final product of RPE which sometimes require literary writing, it is recommended to check the candidate's experience and actual work in writing in other genres than report writing.

In selection of the ethnographer, checking samples of candidate's past work such as essays and articles could reveal his/her actual writing ability and skills, and help the JICA staff judge better if the candidate should be appointed as an ethnographer or not.

Moreover, if a particular language skill is foreseen to be required for the production of a RPE case study (Japanese, English or other), the candidate's writing ability in that particular language should be assessed as well.

③ **Certain experience in target country/sector**

As mentioned earlier, it is not always necessary for the ethnographer to have background in the sector or experience in the country where a target project is/was implemented. However, to conduct RPE smoothly within a limited time, it is much better to have someone who has relevant background and experience. Especially, if the ethnographer is familiar with the context surrounding the project such as culture and politics of the country, he/she may be able to produce a quality work with deeper and sensible analysis based on his/her knowledge of the context even when allocated time is somewhat short.

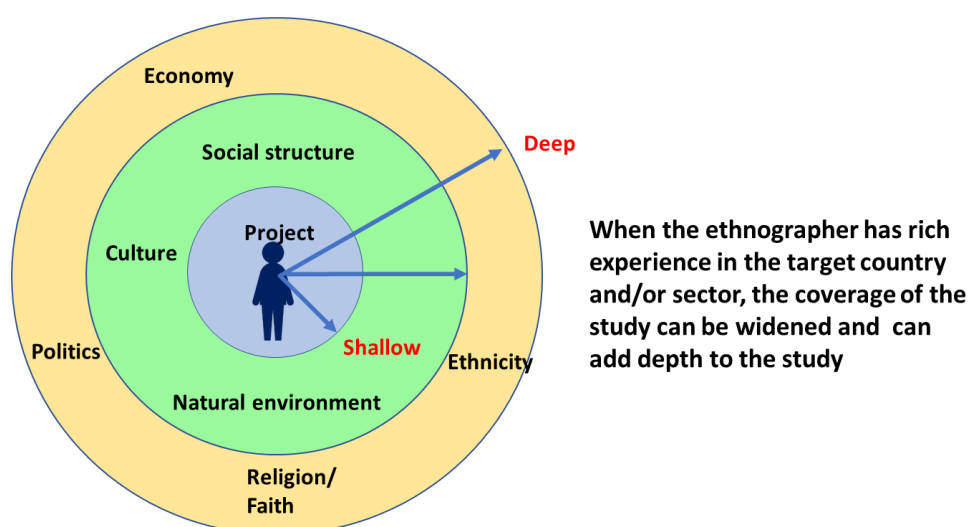


Figure 1 : Ethnographer's experience/background and study coverage

5 Standard study process

5.1 Study process

① Selection of target project

Referring to “2. Selection criteria for target project,” select the project for RPE. It is done internally by JICA.

② Preparation of Terms of Reference (TOR) for RPE study

Prepare TOR for selecting the ethnographer.

③ Selection of ethnographer

Referring to “4.4 Selection criteria for the ethnographer,” determine what kind of ethnographer is suitable for conducting RPE for the selected project and decide the selection criteria. Based on the criteria, select the ethnographer.

④ Preparation of study plan

Once the ethnographer is selected, through discussion between the ethnographer and JICA, prepare a study plan for RPE.

⑤ Establishing advisory structure

With due consideration to target project, sector/country, themes to be addressed in RPE and background of the ethnographer, establish a structure for advising the ethnographer, such as appointing members for advisory committee or an advisor.

⑥ Coordination with the executing/implementing agency

Based on the study plan, inform the executing/implementing agency regarding study outline, purpose, expected people to be covered by the study and study schedule of the RPE.

⑦ Preparation for interviews and observational research

Based on materials provided by JICA and other available documents, the ethnographer grasps the project's overview and current conditions, and prepares a list of people to be interviewed. As and when required, interview strategy may be formulated.

⑧ First round of information gathering/interviews/observational research

Conduct first round of information gathering and interviews/observational research in Japan and target country.

⑨ Organize information, select issues to be looked into and formulate interview strategy

Organize and analyze the information obtained from the first round of information gathering and interviews/observational research. Based on the analysis, narrow down on (potential) episodes to be focused in the second round of information gathering and interviews/observational research. As and when required, reconsider the earlier theme/subject and interview strategies.

⑩ First interim reporting (including discussion with advisor)

Based on the result of ⑨ above, share the progress in interim meeting to JICA. The ethnographer should explain the revised interview strategies and

the episodes to be narrowed down, and considering the comments from the experts, plan for the second round of information gathering and interviews/observational research.

⑪ Second round of information gathering/interviews/observational research

To obtain supplementary information and to study in depth, gather information and conduct the second round of interviews/observational research in Japan and target country.

⑫ Summarize results of analysis and consider style of output

Based on the second round of information gathering and interviews/observational research, summarize the results of analysis and prepare a draft for storyline for the final output (the report) and its style.

⑬ Second interim reporting (including discussion with advisor)

The ethnographer reports the results of ⑫ to JICA and the experts. Based on the study results, discuss and finalize the story and style of the final output (refer to “6.1 Style of final output”).

⑭ Preparation of draft final output

Based on the discussion with JICA and the experts, the ethnographer drafts the final output. If required, several rounds of communication should take place with JICA and the experts. Based on the position and style of the report, consider the ways to utilize it.

⑮ Feedback to draft final output and finalization

Once the draft final output is ready, ask for feedback from the executing/implementing agency, relevant departments in JICA, key interviewees etc. Based on the comments from others, finalize the output.

⑯ Final reporting (discretionary)

After finalizing the output, as and when required, hold a final reporting session with relevant departments of JICA, experts and other stakeholders.

5.2 Points to remember for study process

The process shown in “5.1 Study process” is a standard one for the RPE. Some adjustments need to be made for each study according to the characteristics of the target project, amount of available information at the beginning of the study and condition in the field. Particular points to consider in the study process are; timing for selection of issues to be focused and formulation of interview strategy; frequency of communication between the ethnographer and experts with advisory function; and the number of rounds and timing for information gathering and interviews/observational research in the field.

① Timing for selection of issues to be focused and formulation of interview strategy in early stage

In some cases, specifying the issues to be looked into through RPE and formulation of related interview strategy may be difficult at the beginning of the study because of (limited) availability of existing information and the relationship between the ethnographer and the project. In such cases, after conducting the first round of information gathering and interviews/observational research, selection of the issues and formulation of the interview strategy had better be made.

② Number of communications between the ethnographer and experts

In “5.1 Study process,” two rounds of communication between the ethnographer and experts are suggested at the timing of the interim reporting. However, frequency of discussions between the ethnographer and advisors can be increased, if required. To produce more useful RPE output, arrangements should be made so that the ethnographer and experts can communicate any time to discuss the progress of the study, episodes to be narrowed down and style for the outputs.

③ Number of rounds and timing for information gathering and interviews/observational research in the field

As a standard, two rounds of information gathering and interviews/observational research in Japan and field have been suggested. However, the number of rounds should be increased if it is required, and in

case the ethnographer lives in the target country or close to the field, there is no need to restrict to two rounds. Two rounds are just an indication since limiting frequency of information gathering and interviews within a certain range could increase work efficiency while reducing the cost. What would be most appropriate in terms of the number of rounds and timing for information gathering and interviews should be considered for each RPE according to the circumstances.

5.3 Study duration

The handbook presents RPE that can be dealt with in a relatively short period. Actual time required for each study depends on the scope of the project, the nature of episodes to be highlighted and depth of study anticipated, and thus, it cannot be predetermined as a standard one. Reflecting back the RPE exercise of “Delhi Mass Rapid Transport System Project (Phase 2) (I)-(V)” in which the person who carried out the ex-post evaluation was assigned the RPE task, it took 13 months from her signing of contract with JICA for the RPE to the production of the RPE output. As reference an indicative schedule in accordance with the “5.1 Study process” is shown below.

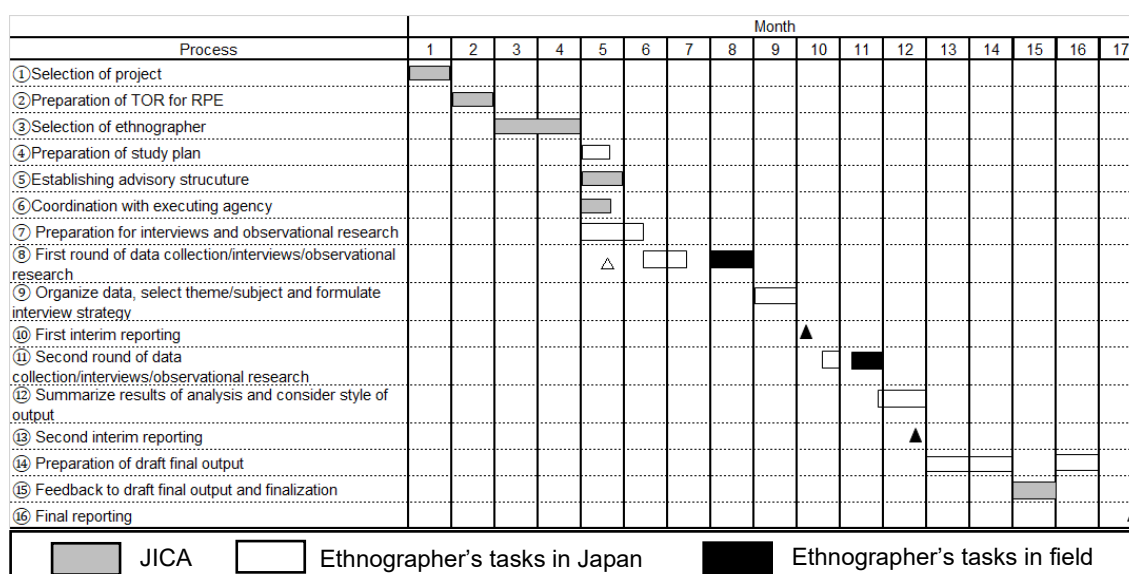


Figure 2: Standard schedule

Note that the above schedule is presented based on the experience of the ethnographer who carried out RPE exercise to produce an output of about 50 pages length in English with a Japanese summary including her view as the

author. When translating English output to Japanese (or Japanese to other languages), time required for translation needs to be added to be reflected into the schedule considering the length of the output. It is recommended to adjust the study duration based on the study scope.

6 Points to remember for formatting and writing of final output

6.1 Style of final output

① Style

The output here refers to the study report of the RPE. The output does not always have to be in the study report format. Since the output will be the means to disseminate the lessons learned and other useful information obtained from the study, appropriate style of the report, language and medium should be chosen based on the target project and the contents of the story.

Following are excerpts from <column in ex-post evaluation report> and <RPE>. Both deal with **ingenious idea for underground works**, but notice the difference in features in writing style. In the example of RPE, it is written like a novel. With such style of output, the report can be easily read by people who are not familiar with the development field, and can be used as a tool for publicity.

<Column in ex-post evaluation report¹⁵>

2. "Success of contractor is ours, and failure of contractors is also ours."
Public works project is implemented by private contractors who win bids. After the contracts signed, the completion of the work is usually left to the contractors. For example, railway construction project may require relocation of water and sewage facilities for the construction of tracks, for which permission needs to be issued by the water authority which may become available late, and this may delay the construction. Officials in charge of the project often leave the work completion to the contractors and do not help them. However at DMRC, people say success of contractor is ours, and failure of contractors is also ours. DMRC officials do not leave the work solely to contractors, and make frequent contacts and cooperate with them as necessary in order to complete the project within the schedule. Within DMRC, officials are not left alone, provided with the effective working environment where their supervisors always monitor them, and provide advice as necessary. When the construction for a project requires relocation of existing infrastructure such as electric poles and water supply pipes, other agencies in charge of the project may request the appropriate authority to do the relocation. The procedure and the relocation work may be delayed, and this in turn may delay the project completion. In order to avoid such situations, DMRC takes direct charge of relocation of existing infrastructure by keeping close contacts with the pertinent authority and contracting out the work to the private contractors. In this way, relocated infrastructure by DMRC is usually in the same or better conditions than before.

<RPE>

There were quite a few things that the Delhi Metro project learned to tackle correctly after the agonizing experience in making the Calcutta Metro. Ask any Kolkata resident about those years and they would roll their eyes before describing their ordeal. Take for example, Anisha's mother who grew up with two younger brothers lived in Kolkata until the 1980s. Once the works on the Calcutta Metro started in bits and pieces along the whole stretch, the dug up earth divided the city into half, literally. Her mother would describe it as "Kolkata's open heart surgery." Unfortunately for Kolkata, there was no tunnel boring machine in those days that allowed the contractors to make one big hole in the ground, instead of digging up the entire stretch of the metro corridor, through which a humongous excavation machine would be lowered for boring underground. Technological advancement over the years benefitted the Delhi Metro immensely by reducing public inconvenience.

"We had to walk on wooden planks to cross ditches," said Anisha's mother, remembering the way she had to reach school pulling the hands of her younger siblings. Part of the reason why people were put through such a testing experience was the shifting of underground utilities. To build underground sections of the metro, the ground had to be excavated. Before one could go deeper, there would be a complicated network of water supply and sewerage pipes that needed to be shifted out of the way. Other government agencies in charge of these utilities had to be roped in before Metro Railway Calcutta (the metro project implementing agency, now Kolkata Metro Rail Corporation) could get their hands to it. In some cases, these other agencies were reluctant in such a manner that gaps were left in the ground so as not to actually shift the utilities. Coordination among multiple agencies has never been an easy task in India. While the metro agency had its own timelines, the others worked at their own pace causing inordinate delays.

Engineers at DMRC were well aware of the fallouts from the Calcutta experience. The current managing director, Mangu Singh, had worked on the Calcutta Metro project in the past. It was based on this experience that Sreedharan insisted Mangu Singh to join DMRC. Waiting for someone else who had no stake in the project would not yield fruit. Instead of requesting the utility owning agencies to shift the pipes and wires, DMRC decided to take the responsibility upon themselves. Singh recollects how other

agencies initially resisted this new found idea. Afterall, it is their property, their territory and they had their own traditional way of working things.

After much persuasion a compromise was reached. The fact that DMRC was staffed by Indian Railways engineers helped convince the other agencies. DMRC would be in control of the diversion work, but would involve the other agencies in preparation of detailed drawings and approvals would be sought from them. During the execution, if they so desired, they could supervise the works. Besides, the contractors who were experienced with other agencies would be used. To make things smooth, DMRC at times recruited retired personnel from utility owning agencies who would liaise with their old colleagues. This way, civil contractors of Delhi Metro would not suffer, by having their machines lying idle on the side, waiting for the utility diversion to be implemented.

The benefit of shifting utilities on their own not only advanced the speed of work, this way, DMRC could make sure that the public would be least disturbed. The first few instances, where the utility owning agencies agreed, were used to demonstrate the capability of DMRC. Having directly witnessed DMRC's competence, other agencies too gained confidence in DMRC. In one instance, a 1.2 m water main needed to be diverted. It was supplying water to 500,000 people. Where the water supply agency would normally take 48 hours to complete a similar undertaking, DMRC did it in 12 hours. The motivation behind was fairly simple: on the account of Delhi Metro work, people should not be inconvenienced.



Assembling of a tunnel boring machine

¹⁵ DMRC is Delhi Metro Rail Corporation

② **Target readers**

Deciding on what kind of writing style to use for the final output is related to a question of who would be the target readers. Output style and language should be selected based on whom the values and learnings found through RPE are meant for and whom the story should be shared with.

Appropriate language by group of target readers is presented in the table below. Needless to say, preparing the output in Japanese first, and then translating it into English or writing in multiple languages are also the options. At the same time, language to be used in production of the original output should be decided considering whom the original output intends to reach as main target readers.

Table 1: Target reader and potential language for output

Target readers	Japanese	English (or other major local language)
JICA personnel	○	
Executing agency personnel		○
Beneficiaries		○
Japanese public	○	
General public in target project country		○
International agency/other donors		○

6.2 Format

According to the style and intended use for the future, format for the output and whether to print it in hard copy, and in case of printing, in what size and with what title need to be thought about.

If the final product of RPE is considered a research study, and if it is to be distributed in hard copy format to the JICA personnel and researchers in the relevant field, printing the report in A4 size to which a simple cover page is attached would be one option. On the other hand, if the intention of production

of RPE product is to use it as a PR material to draw attention of the general public, it is better to print and format it in a handy book size with due attention to the catchy-ness of the book title and appealing-ness of the design of the front cover.

6.3 Points to remember for preparation of the output

Through the interviews to the stakeholders, the ethnographer would come across issues he/she is compelled to write such as narratives filled with enthusiasm of person who was engaged in the project and scenes the ethnographer sympathizes with. At the same time, there would be things he/she wants to share with the target readers but will not be able to do so because consent for disclosing related information is not given by the interviewee. Weaving a story by putting together pieces of information (bits of episodes and stories) obtained from RPE can be extremely interesting at times, and can be mentally exhausting as well.

The ethnographer is entrusted with the narratives by those who were involved in the project and shared their experiences with the ethnographer. In passing on the narratives to others in the form of a story to be produced as a RPE outcome, there are some points to be born in mind.

- Make clear the 'positioning' of the ethnographer in conducting a RPE. Although anybody can be an ethnographer for project ethnography, where he/she stands (in relation to the project) and what kind of backgrounds he/she has shapes the perspective of project ethnography and the direction and contents of the study. Therefore, the ethnographer needs to inform readers of his/her 'positioning' including if he/she has been engaged in the project, and if so in what function, and with what particular perspective he/she has conducted RPE.
- Discard topics that cannot be fit into the storyline being prepared even if they are of much interest personally to the ethnographer.
- Decide on with whose point of view the story is going to be written: Although it depends on the number of episodes to be covered in the output, the perspective on each episode should be clear. For a specific episode, there are different opinions and interpretation, and RPE can display multiple perspectives. At the same time, the way one

understands an event and the value one finds in it vary from individual to individual; and thus, the readers would find it difficult to empathize with the episode when it is not clear from whose perspective the episode is written.

- Keep balance in representation of stakeholders in the story: There are many stakeholders associated with a project, and there may be a need to focus on the stories told by many of them in producing a passage about a single episode. Those who have some knowledge on the project may be able to follow the story figuring out the relations among different characters. However, others find it confusing if too many characters appear in the text. To avoid such situations, stakeholders who played similar roles in the project can be represented by one character, or unnecessary characters should not be brought in to the extent, combining/omitting of characters does not interfere with central issues of the episode that are presented to the readers.
- Use of fiction techniques: To enable readers to feel as if they were really there when certain events in the project happened, fiction may be useful at times. This can be done by describing to reconstruct the scene based on the information gathered through interviews. Missing part can be made up by fiction when necessary. When there are several individuals who share similar views, one fictitious figure could be introduced in the RPE to make him/her represent their collective view. (Although it may not be directly related to the story of the project) writing with fiction technique can facilitate readers appreciate more local culture and the setting scene of an event surrounding the project. It should be kept in mind that an explanatory note should be provided to let readers know a particular person in the text is a fictitious figure.
- Use of powerful quotes and dialogue: Sometimes through interviews with those who have been involved in the project enthusiastically, impressive narratives worth quoting into a report may come out. In contrast to normal report in which 'it' as the third person or a project is often used as the subject of a sentence to explain things, in RPE, direct quotes of dialogues (conversations) among stakeholders can be effectively used to convey the ambience on the ground or the message to be disseminated. Conversation among the stakeholders can be introduced in the text of RPE to set the scenes for an episode. With regards to the

reader's psychology, they may be more susceptible to the words of the person who has actually lived in the project than that of the author.

- Minimize the use of technical terms: It depends on the target readers, but considering the output of RPE may be used as a publicity tool, it would be better to avoid usage of jargons specific to ODA or the project concerned. Even when the people in the project country are the target readers and the output is written in English, there are other potential readers, and thus, unfamiliar local terms should be explained in the main text or footnote when they are used.
- Minimize the use of figures/tables, columns and footnotes: When figures/tables, columns and footnotes are heavily used in the output, the report tends to look like a research report. Although it depends on the target readers and style of the output, when some events or phenomena need to be discussed, use of figures/tables should be minimized, and explanation should be provided in main text by using simple language.
- Use of photographs: Matching to the output style, include photographs that provide images project overview, activities and related people. Executing/implementing agency may have official photographs. For obtaining photographs that show the situation of the setting prior to the onset of the project, you may approach those in the executing/implementing agency or those who are not related to the project. Moreover, if some photojournalists have been following the progress of the project, he/she may have some photographs that are rarely found in the executing agency or in the general public.
- No need to always write the "conclusion": As a RPE is carried out with an intention to find new values attached to the project and to draw lessons learned, writing a conclusion based on the result of the ethnographer's analysis seems like a must. Deciding on whether to write conclusion is also subject to the style of the output, but what individual readers take out of a story is infinite depending on his/her relationship or experience with the project. So there are cases "conclusion" part is not required to be included. And at times, the ethnographer may not be able to find the "conclusion."

Appendix

1. Practical tips for RPE

2. Annexures

Annex1. Variations of project ethnography (examples of project ethnography other than in ex-post evaluation)

Annex2. Social relationship mapping (sample)

Annex3. Project chronology (sample)

1 Practical tips for RPE

1.1 Standard scope of the study

The main scope of the RPE includes understanding the outline of the target project conducting detail study focusing on selected episodes and disseminating the universal values and learnings obtained from studying depth to the wider society. A standard scope is outlined below.

① Understanding the outline of the project and identifying study components

Depending on the cooperation scheme of the target project, go through the documents such as project plan documents (i.e. preparatory survey report, appraisal document) and reports that contain project progress (i.e. mid-term evaluation, various studies conducted for the project) and understand project outline. Develop understanding on project objective, planned activities and their achievement, the extent of objective and outcomes being achieved, and circumstance. Make sure to pay attention to the outcomes outside the frame of PDM as well. First thing is to identify the study components based on the available information and what aspects to be studied. Standard components are listed below for RPE. Some of the items are not required and some others need to be added depending on the project. They should be adjusted at the beginning of the study.

- Project outline (objective, beneficiaries, implementation arrangement, implementation plan, activities and components, cost, expected outcome etc.)
- Achievement of the project (gap from the plan, extent of outcome achieved)
- Important decisions taken during project implementation (or before planning, during planning and after completion) and their background/reasons
- Generally recognized success and/or failure of the project
- Background of success/failure and the process reaching up to them
- Stakeholders (people directly/indirectly involved, their relationships) and roles they played
- Institutional arrangement and management policy of the executing agency

- Ripple effect of the project
- Maintenance condition of the facilities constructed and equipment procured in the project
- Status of beneficiary groups and organizations formed in the project
- Oppositions and criticisms against the project

② Selecting themes/subjects and formulating/reformulating interview strategy

Once successes (or failures) of the target project, their factors and processes are assessed to a certain extent, select the themes or aspects to be further studied and consider study plan and methodologies.

③ Preparation of interviewees list

Prepare a list of “interviewees” at the beginning of the study. Keep in mind that the initial list is prepared based on limited information; therefore, the list should be updated in the course of the study whenever new persons appear who is essential but not on the list. See Appendix “1.3 Interviewees” for potential interviewees.

④ Information gathering and interviews/observational research in and out of Japan

Based on the interviewees list, collect supplemental information and conduct interviews and observational research in Japan and in the target country. Interviews would be conducted based on the list, but if new candidates appear, the list should be updated and appointment for an interview should be made. Interviews and observational research should be conducted at least two rounds in Japan and in the target country.

⑤ Process analysis and narrowing down on episodes

Based on the information obtained from interviews/observational research, analyze the process of project’s success/failure. Moreover, narrow down on episodes to be studied in depth.

⑥ Extract value/learnings

Study in depth the selected episodes and extract universal values and learnings by interpreting narratives of the episodes.

⑦ Preparation of report/output

After the discussions with JICA and experts, prepare interim report and/or output (final report). Timing and contents of interim report should be determined considering the characteristics of the target project and amount of information collected from the first round of interviews/observational research. In the output, story should be prepared based on the selected episodes and values/learnings extracted from the narratives. Style and length of the output should also be determined through the discussion with JICA/expert. As explained in Chapter 6 of the handbook, consider carefully to whom the story should be shared and in what style it should be told. It is also important to note that the ethnographer is required to get consent from interviewees to use the interview content in the final report.

1.2 Study methodologies

The RPE has an essence a lot like action research. The ethnographer becomes part of the project in one form or another, and the study is carried out through field observations and dialogues with stakeholders. Considering that thorough understanding of inside of the project is needed as well as multiple perspectives to see the project, combining different study methodologies would be desirable. Methodologies that can be used in RPE are listed below.

① Literature reviews

The first thing is to check the planning documents such as preparatory survey report and appraisal document, as well as mid-term evaluation report and reports of various studies that may have been conducted during the project. If the ethnographer has access to documents exchanged between JICA and the executing/implementing agency, which provide information on progress and important decisions, have a look at them as well.

Project newsletters can also provide useful information for RPE. Many progressive processes of activities such as things happened on daily basis, hardship, personal opinion of people in the project etc., that are normally not written in official documents may be found in these documents.

In addition, local newspaper may be writing about the target project; and people who are not part of the project may have written research papers in university or academic journal. Check the existence of various documents to obtain useful information on the project.

② Interviews

Interviews are very useful and important method for RPE. There are various ways of conducting interviews – they can be done with individuals or with groups. There are advantages and disadvantages for each format of interview, and they are indicated in the table below.

Table A-1: Comparison of individual and group interviews

Interview format	Advantages	Disadvantages
Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Don't need to worry about what others think. Have better chances of getting frank opinions of the interviewee ● Better chances of interviewee sharing personal stories 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Information may be biased since they are based on memories and perspectives of specific person
Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Through discussions of the participants, common understanding can be established and consensus can be built on past events ● New perspective may arise through new learning and recollecting memories among the participants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Not suitable for getting into depth for individual information ● Depending on the relationship among the participants, some people may not express their opinion*

*Relationship among the participants may be having effect on the project. To understand the power dynamics among the stakeholders, intentionally holding group interviews are necessary at times.

Each method should be used effectively considering the kind of information the ethnographer is looking for and aspects of the study. By setting an open group discussion at an early stage of the study, core interest of the people in the project, important issues and candidate episodes for further study may come out.

Points to be remembered for interview survey are summarized in “1.5 Points to remember for interview.”

③ **Observational research**

In RPE, observational research can be used in various scenes; by participating in the project activities, observing the ways the executing/implementing agency is managed and so on. Observational methods in social survey can be largely divided into participant observation and non-participant observation. According to the characteristics of the target project and purpose of the study, one or both methods can be employed. In any case, there would be differences in depth of observations depending on the ethnographer's relationship with (or absence of it with) the project and parts of the project being focused (i.e. component, institutions and stakeholders).

In the following context, observation research may be helpful:

- To understand corporate culture of the executing/implementing agency, the ethnographer commutes to the executing/implementing agency office and observes employees' behavior and meetings
- To grasp the changes in behavior of beneficiaries, the ethnographer participates in the beneficiary activities.
- Watch how the facilities and services established by the project are being used by the beneficiaries.

Making observations inside the executing/implementing agency may require more than one day to grasp a real essence of things. Sufficient time needs to be allocated for such observation.

④ **Quantitative survey**

Quantitative survey is used to draw conclusions on quantified facts by

measuring the relationship between the project interventions and their effects while emphasizing on objectivity and neutrality. To this end, such methods appear to be misfit for project ethnography whose focus is on process that cannot be quantified and give emphasis on subjectivity. However, if the changes brought by the project exist as quantitative information (such as outcome and impact), they undoubtedly can be a hint for narrowing down on themes/subjects at the beginning of RPE. If there are no existing quantified data of outcome and impact of the target project, using the quantitative survey method in RPE can be also considered.

⑤ **Other useful tools**

In addition to the methods already mentioned, there are some more useful tools for RPE. First one is **social relationship mapping**. It illustrates how each individual is connected to each other. The ethnographer may find it handy. For instance, there are many people in an institution, and by schematizing them in a social relationship mapping, it helps to understand those with authority, power relationship and horizontal connection among people. The mapping can help putting certain opinions coming out of interviews into perspective – why an interviewee has said specific things and how some opinions are influenced by human relationship.

Another useful tool is **project chronology** that shows various events in the project in chronological order. This enables the ethnographer to understand the order and chain reaction of events at one glance. When making a project chronology, keep a column to include events happening outside the project. For instance, political/economic/cultural events and similar projects and their ripple effects. Their impacts on project and vice versa can be indicated by arrows pointing between them. Understanding the connection among project, its impacts and phenomenon outside the project become easier. Because project officers (i.e. executing/implementing agency, JICA, experts, consultants) often get transferred in a few years, it would be helpful to show who was involved in the project at what point in time. Details of past events given by individuals can be sometimes wrong. Project chronology can be used to have others check the timeline, recall memories and help in putting meanings. Samples are enclosed in “Annexure: Annex 2. Social relationship mapping (sample)” and “Annexure: Annex3. Project chronology (sample).”

1.3 Interviewees

Project is made possible by many people. Obviously, there are many people who are behind the success story of the project. For selection of interviewees, consider his/her involvement in the project, positioning and when he/she was involved.

Make a list of interviewees for RPE at the beginning of the study. Through the interviews and other information gathering, if new people who are not on the list crop up, expand the targets. If an interesting episode comes up during an interview, request the interviewee to introduce someone who are familiar with the episode. Expanding the coverage of the study like chain reaction can also help in giving more depth to the study.

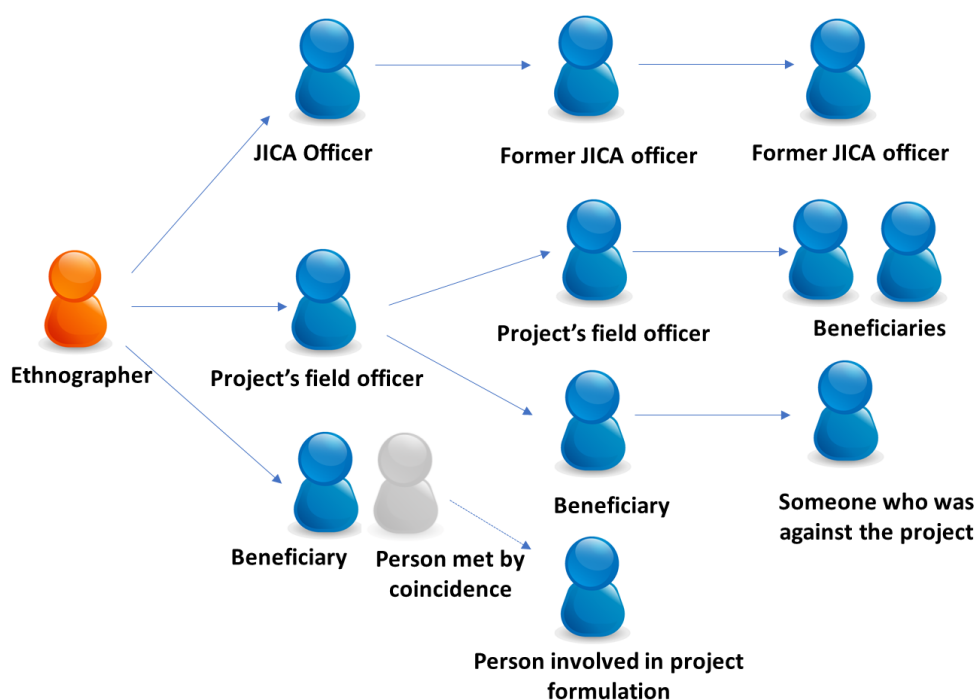


Figure A-1: Example of chain reaction interviews

Despite knowing the name of potential interviewee, there may be cases, his/her whereabouts is unknown or because he/she was not in good relationship with others and cannot be introduced. In such cases, search for contacts in internet or try contacting through someone in the executing/implementing agency with whom you have previous contact. Way to approach potential interviewees also require some thoughts.

Potential interviewees are listed below. They don't necessarily have to be all covered. According to the project characteristics, past history and core themes for the study, consider who should be interviewed and from whom the interview should begin with.

During the study, the ethnographer needs to be always attentive, because at times, an important piece of information comes out of unexpected persons.

① People who implemented the project

The first interviewee is, by default, someone who implemented the project. It can be executing/implementing agency personnel, contractual officers recruited for the project implementation, NGO staff etc. Apart from those directly involved in the project, do not forget the potential existence of supporting actors and mastermind (such as support staff) behind the scene. Depending on whether the individual was "main" or "supporting" character in the project, his/her understanding of an event can be different. Even if the person is not in an important position of the project, such as a project director if the ethnographer recognizes the presence of someone who has been involved in the project for long or has been supporting behind the scene, include them in the study.

② JICA officers and experts

JICA officers and experts can be an important source of information, just like the personnel from executing/implementing agency. There are people of various positions in JICA itself. JICA expert, officer in charge at headquarters, officer in charge at overseas office (representative, project formulation advisor, national staff), former officer, their managers and those who left the job. Those from JICA may have different experiences and perspectives depending on when they were involved (before planning, during planning, during implementation, towards the end of the project). If there are number of different officers, interviews are recommended with officers from different timeline of the project. Japanese government officials can also be included, if required.

③ **Consultants and contractors**

Consultants and contractors are involved at different points of project such as preparatory survey, implementation (project management consultants, contractors, consultants for technical cooperation etc.), and evaluation. There is no need to include all the consultants and contractors who have ever been involved, but according to the project and the kind of information the ethnographer is collecting, keep them in mind as interviewees.

④ **Beneficiaries**

There are various kinds of beneficiaries – direct and indirect. The following table shows examples of direct and indirect beneficiaries. Beneficiaries exist in places the project was not expecting. If the beneficiaries are people from a particular community, the ethnographer should know that interviews to the community leader such as village head and people's representative, or to ordinary members of the community may result in different information.

Table A-2: Direct and Indirect Beneficiaries (Sample)

Project	Direct (expected) beneficiaries	Indirect beneficiaries
Road construction	Road users	Residents along the road and resettled people
Afforestation	People who are depended on forest resources	Visitors of ecotourism

⑤ **Government officials of target country**

Government officials of the target country may also be playing important role or holding valuable information as regards to the process up till the project is approved or when there were policy level decisions made related to the project. In addition to office in charge of foreign aid (i.e. the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or Ministry of Finance), officials from the state government and municipality may be included, if they are related to the project.

⑥ **People who were part of project planning**

Those who were involved in the planning of the project are, in one sense, stakeholder to the project. Some projects take long years from the planning until they get approved by the government, and because

executing/implementing agency is newly set up and different from the government institution that planned the project, the planners may not be involved in implementation.

Along the way of an idea becoming a project, many difficulties and events must have taken place. There may be some discoveries and lessons in such process as well.

⑦ People outside the project (i.e. non-participant, opponent, journalist, academic)

Although they do not have direct connection to the project, some people may be an important source of information. Especially, when the interviews begin with the executing/implementing agency and move on in chain reaction, individuals who are favorable to the project or those with specific perspective tend to be in line. As the case may be, people who oppose the project or adversely affected should be included in the interviews.

Although it may not be specific to the target project, researchers in the sector may cast different opinions and new perspectives also.

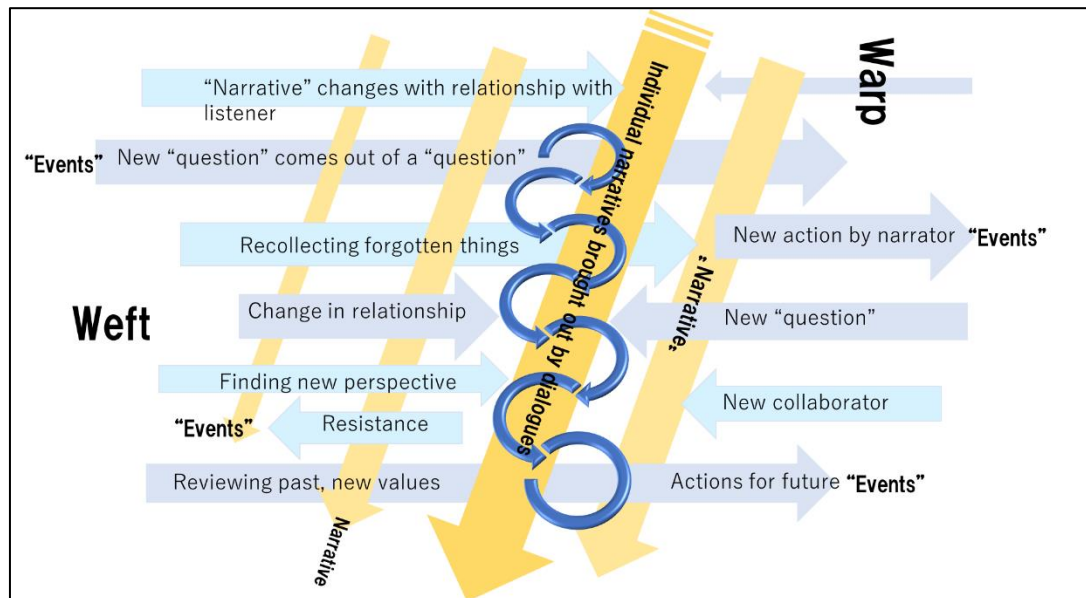
Moreover, large infrastructure projects or those with some issues, which have been covered by media, may have journalists who have been following them over a period of time. Journalists are supposed to provide information to larger public from objective point of view. They may provide information the people in the project do not give or may have different source of information. International agencies and other donors in the same sector can also be sources of information.

1.4 Interview techniques

Interview is the main source of information in RPE. It is not an exaggeration to say that quality of RPE depends on the ethnographer's interview skills. Nevertheless, the interviews here do not mean simply the ethnographer asking question, and the interviewees answering it. Ethnographic study becomes complete with conversation between the two; in other words, dialogue is needed (see FigureA-3: Image of dialogue in ethnography). This applies in RPE also. How much dialogues take place determines the quality

of information in the study. Specific interview techniques are explained in the following section.

In the process of ethnographic interview, many things are happening and moving by influencing each other



"Narrative" is not a monologue but comes out of "dialogue" and changes according to the questions posed and the relationship between the narrator and listener. Ethnographer takes others' "narrative" as warp and by using observed "events" as weft, he/she weaves a story. It is a collaborative work of listener and narrator.

Figure A-3: Image of dialogue in ethnography

① **Bring out stories (information) from the interviewees**

As described earlier, the ethnographer needs to bring out stories from the interviewees. To do so, the ethnographer must be better at listening over talking. However, he/she does not necessarily have to be a good listener in his/her everyday life. Interviews to the stakeholders require extracting as much or useful stories within a limited time. As the conversation hovering the project gets lively, the ethnographer's talks may unintentionally increase and he/she may share his/her opinions. While dialogue between the ethnographer and interviewee is important, the focus of the interview in the project ethnography is a narrator. If the narrator is stuck with a story, the ethnographer must be able to pop a topic to get the conversation moving. Things the ethnographer says in the interview are meant to make the conversation lively

and to create an atmosphere where the narrator feels comfortable to talk. From time to time, the interviewee may eagerly explain things the ethnographer has not asked. Keeping the dialogue on track, in order to cover the topics the ethnographer planned for, is important, but at times, listening to seemingly unnecessary talk is equally important.

② Establishing trust

Trust between the ethnographer and the narrator is the key to making the dialogue. Unlike the other studies, the RPE looks for information from interviewee's mind such as personal stories and what he/she thought when certain events took place in the project. People are generally not used to being asked their feelings and thoughts, especially related to the project. Without sufficient knowledge of RPE such as purpose and study method and if he/she is not acquainted with the ethnographer previously, he/she may not share the information openly. In such cases, if relationship beyond the boundary of ethnographer and interviewee can be built, the interviewee would slowly open up. Some interviewees can be met only once. Such times, friendly atmosphere should be made so the interviewee can feel comfortable to talk.

③ Observe narrator's expression and action

The ethnographer needs to understand the narrator's mind from observing the facial expressions, attitudes and actions. Spoken words are not the only source of information, but facial expressions and gestures can give hint. Pay attention to quick change of expression and subconscious body movement.

④ Ethnographer's expression and gesture

As in the case of interviewees, ethnographer's facial expression and gesture can influence the interview atmosphere. The ethnographer must put an effort to create a scene comfortable for the narrator. Nodding, laughing and frowning are indications that he/she is listening and also convey to the narrator how he/she has accepted the story. The ethnographer does not need to always have friendly expression; however, his/her expressions and gestures can influence the contents and amount of talk from the interviewees. He/she must be conscious of particular expression in particular scene.

⑤ Flexible thinking

At times, issues selected or interview strategy made at the beginning of the study has to be discarded and reconstructed. By thinking creatively without tangled up in assumptions, something never thought of may come up. The ethnographer is required to see things from various angles. To do so, keep an open mind.

⑥ Do not cling on questions prepared

Necessity to prepare a list of questions before the interviews is explained in Appendix “1.5 Points to remember for interview.” At the same time, conversations in an interview change depending on the chemistry between the ethnographer and the narrator and circumstances. Thus, considering the way interview is going, the ethnographer should not cling to covering the questions prepared. Questions not perceived before or pop up in mind during the interview should also be asked.

⑦ Remember the differences in recognition structures between the ethnographer and the narrator

The ethnographer and the narrator often have different recognition structures arising out of sociocultural background, language spoken and economic class they grow up in. In RPE, the ethnographer needs to understand the interviewee’s mind and meaning behind the spoken words. The ethnographer must be aware of the differences in thinking process. When things are put into perspective considering the sociocultural background and position in which the narrator is placed, new interpretation different from that of the ethnographer may appear.

⑧ Recording and transcribing the interviews

Interview provides large amount of data. Noting down the contents of interview is important. However, if the ethnographer is busy taking notes, he/she may miss some of what the interviewee says. It may look as though he/she is not listening seriously to the narrator and the conversation may not progress. The ethnographer is tasked to think next questions while listening as well. This poses a challenge.

If the situation permits, audio recording of interview is strongly recommended in RPE. While recording the interview, the ethnographer can concentrate on the conversation instead of taking notes. After the interview, transcribing should be done by him/her or outsourcing. Transcription can be used not only as interview record later, but can be used to check the exact words the interviewee said. By listening to the voice, the ethnographer can recollect the expression and gesture of the narrator and feelings the narrator has entrusted to particular words. It can help the ethnographer in remembering as well. Furthermore, by going back to the transcripts after other interviews, there may be new discoveries which the ethnographer did not realize earlier. The transcripts can be shared with the interviewee to check if there is any discrepancy in the information provided.

In addition, the ethnographer can use the recording to reflect on his/her interview skills and manners for future improvement. By listening to the interview audio, the ethnographer can check if he/she has interrupted the interviewee, or has concluded before the interviewee gave answer.

Although a number of advantages of recording the interview have been mentioned, there are some disadvantages as well. Despite agreement by the interviewee to recording, there is always a risk of some individuals being conscious of it and may not share real or personal opinions.

Consent has to be given by the interviewee before recording. Recording the conversation is a privacy issue and thus, cannot be forced. Purpose of recording should be explained, and if the interviewee does not agree, it needs to be dropped. Asking for consent may adversely affect the proceeding conversation, sometimes due to the relationship between the ethnographer and the interviewee or circumstance. If the ethnographer senses unfavorable air, act accordingly and do not ask for recording.

Once the conversation is recorded, care should be taken for the audio and transcripts. Even if the interviewee has given consent to recording, any contents he/she mentioned “off the record” should not be given to others without prior permission. If a third party is transcribing, explain to the

transcriber that the contents belong to the ethnographer and should not be given to anyone. The ethnographer must supervise the transcribing.

1.5 Points to remember for interview

In addition to interview techniques, preparation and mindset helpful for interviews are summarized below.

① Have curiosity

In RPE, it is left to the ethnographer to determine what part of the project to focus and study in depth and how wide the study scope should cover. Differences arising out of individuals are not an issue; however, in the process of deciding the study coverage and themes to focus, the ethnographer is expected to see things from various angles and actively seek information without clinging to the project's framework. To do so, ethnographer should have curiosity.

② Whom to interview

Choosing interviewees amounts to selecting themes for the study. For a single event, individual's experience, meaning it has and the values each person finds in it vary. Potential interviewees are indicated in Appendix "1.3 Interviewees." From the list, due consideration has to be given to decide whom to interview and if it is really acceptable to exclude certain people. When choosing interviewees, make sure they are not comprised only of people with specific opinions and think about what other information may come from people in different positions.

③ Attendees in the interview

Interviews can be conducted with several people together in a group discussion format, and someone could be accompanying the ethnographer. Be conscious of relationship between the interviewee and others when there are several people at the scene. For instance, some people hesitate to speak or say frank opinions in front of people in authority. For interviewing an individual, if the ethnographer brings with him/her other members of the study, the interviewee may feel overwhelmed. Attention should be paid to who would be at the interview, how many people should be there etc. Pay attention to the differences in setting such as in office meeting room, in a café or during the family time.

④ Prepare for the interviews

Once the interviewees are decided, make appointment for interviews by phone or e-mail explaining the purpose and main points to be asked in the interview. The ethnographer needs to compile questions and things to be checked in the interview prior to it. Some of the interviewees may be too busy to give sufficient time for the interview and can be met only once. To use the given time effectively, prioritize the questions. Any background information, such as interviewee's career so far and roles he/she played in the project, which are readily available should be checked beforehand. This way, time for introductory information can be reduced and more time can be spent on main topics in the interview. If there are biography and essays written on the interviewee, make sure to go through such readings. By studying about the interviewee and topics asked in the interview, he/she can feel how serious the ethnographer is.

⑤ Interview is not only once

Whenever possible and required, interview should be conducted more than once for the same interviewee. To make future meeting possible, care should be taken to establish trust with the interviewee first time. Once there is a good relationship between the ethnographer and the interviewee, conversation can take place over the phone or skype. Interview does not always have to be in person.

⑥ Have ethics

In the interview, the interviewee may come across issues he/she prefers not to be touched. If the ethnographer senses such situation, avoid the topic. Some of the stories the interviewee share may contain information he/she does not wish to be written in the report. The ethnographer must omit such information from writing. Be sure to tell the interviewee confidentiality will be protected.

⑦ Interval between the interviews

Interviews in RPE are much more intense than normal interview surveys. The ethnographer requires time to let the information sink in. Thus, sufficient time should be given between two interviews and number of interviews to be conducted in one round of information gathering should not be too much.

Because of survey schedule, interviews may have to be conducted one after another; however, at the most, three interviews in a day should be maximum.

When going back to the same interviewee for second or third time, a certain number of days should be waited so the ethnographer has sufficient time to comprehend what the interviewee meant in the previous interview.

1.6 Narrowing down episodes and depth of study

In RPE analysis and output, the entire history of project does not have to be covered. Instead, symbolic episodes should be selected and more detailed information and analysis should be presented. Episodes to be studied would have success or failure incidents at its core, and made up with motivations of the people and institution, reasons for taking specific action, decision making process, way of thinking etc., which exist around the incidents. Values and learnings one episode bring out have different meaning according to the narratives of the interviewee, and thus, enough thought should be given what to ask whom.

Depending on the target project, specific theme can be decided before starting the study. However, as more and more interviews are conducted and new information started to flow, the ethnographer may discover unexpected episodes or find that original assumption is no longer appropriate. For narrowing down on episode, see various episodes against the backdrop of project timeline after collecting certain amount of information, and decide where the focus should be placed. More than one episode can be selected.

After selecting episode, it is time to go into depth of it. How far to look into and how far the ethnographer is able to go into depth depend on various factors; the ethnographer's discretion, limitation in the study (time, budget) and relationship with and cooperation from the stakeholders. The extent of study depth has to be decided in each study.

Although an episode is selected, if appropriate information cannot be obtained from the stakeholders when commencing the interviews, the ethnographer may have to switch the episode.

2. Annexures

Annex1. Variations in project ethnography (examples of project ethnography other than at the time of ex-post evaluation)

This handbook focuses on RPE conducted along with the ex-post evaluation. However, project ethnography is actually a flexible approach and output, which is detached from ex-post evaluation, that can be used in multitude of ways and at different points in a project cycle. Such variations of RPE are expected to be included in the handbook, when it is refined and expanded as the examples increase in the future.

Followings are examples of previous project ethnography works that triggered the Evaluation Department to try out RPE in ex-post evaluation (see the table). All the works were conducted independently from the evaluation studies and do not explicitly indicate the evaluation judgement (success/failure). Particularly, Case 2 was conducted under JICA's "project research" scheme at the same time as terminal evaluation by a different external evaluator, but the data collected from the evaluation study have not been referred to so much. It rather suggests the possibility of overlooking or undervaluing qualitative effects which are sometimes traded off with "success" that are often determined by quantitative indicators predetermined in the PDM.

Value judgment, per se, is relative and can differ according to perspectives (whose success), project scope, indicators, historical background, scientific knowledge and changes in development paradigm. Case 3 may be regarded achieving target (success) within a given project framework. However, in long-term perspective, it is not necessarily successful if follow-up surveys would be continued beyond the project life, suggesting the judgement on success/failure can be challenged at different points of time. It shows the project ethnography approach could reveal the existence of alternative perspectives and values, which is not the case in ordinary evaluation.

Case 1 has regarded multiple training programs related to one another, which were conducted over a long period of time, as one human resource development project. These training programs were reviewed retrospectively through ethnographic approach. In this type of basic human resource development cooperation, each project's outcome and impact seldom

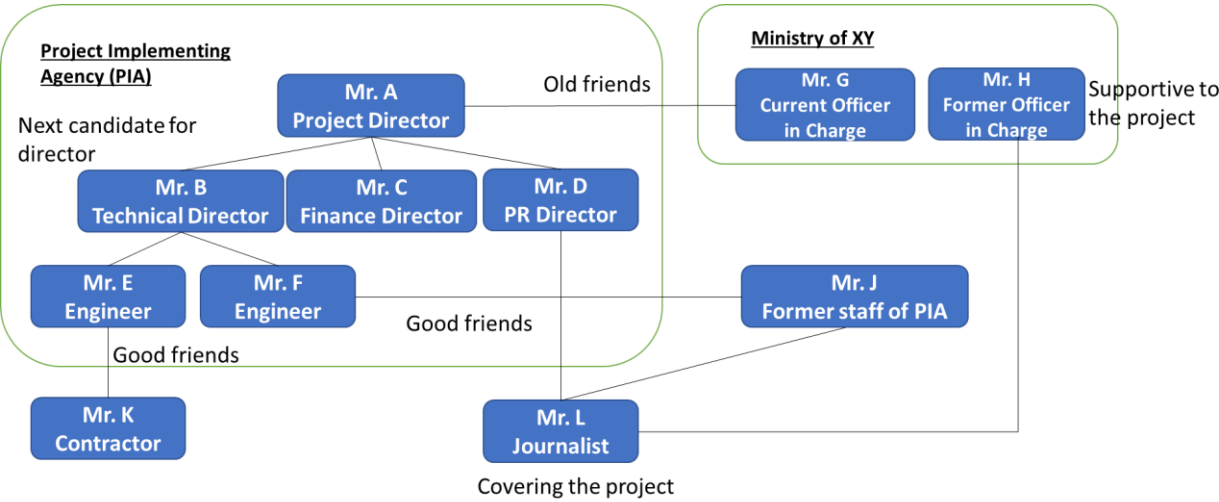
become visible and a considerable time is needed before the effects are materialized in (10-20 years based on former trainee's career, sometimes even 30 years). Because it highly depends on the individuals' capacity and commitment, the evaluation rather tends to rely on simple quantitative data such as number of trainings conducted. Yet, outcome of such cooperation can be immense, backed by coincidence such as presence of a strong leadership, meeting of passionate individuals. There is a high possibility that certain universal lessons from a program with such "outlier" could be extracted through ethnographic survey method.

Title*	① <i>Reading through ethnography – a case of international medical cooperation supported by people with strong will</i> (August 2001-February 2012)	② <i>Participatory natural forest conservation – from the experience of Belete-Gera</i> (2012)	③ <i>Will the forest disappear? - An ethnographic record of people's challenges in natural forest conservation in Ethiopia</i> (2015)
Project	Multiple JICA training programs (theme-based, third country etc)	Belete-Gera Participatory Forest Management Project (Phase 1, 2 extended phase) (Technical cooperation)	
Output medium	Series of articles in specialized magazine (International Development Journal)	Project research report (JICA internal reference)	Commercial publication (JICA Project History series)
Target readers	Development workers	JICA officers	Development workers/general public
Study timing	From implementation to after completion	During implementation (before completion)	From implementation to completion
Study duration (inclusive of output preparation)	Four years of non-intensive study (Three years of participant observation and interview as project officer and additional one year for supplementary study)	Four months of intensive study (30 days of field survey)	Two years of non-intensive study (One year of field survey/additional study and one year in writing)

Ethnographer	JICA project officer (project formulation advisor)	External Consultant	External Consultant
Contents/scope of project ethnography	Target was human network created through a thematic training and trainings/project implemented as a result of it, instead of a single project. Attempted to grasp the overview of long-term impact of human resource development project by going back to the past, which cannot be visible from studying individual projects.	Followed history of trial and error and strategy change of a project which had many issues despite PDM indicators achieved its target. Presented conditions for success and “thinking’ and lessons on how trade-offs for implementation strategy were dealt with.	Basic scope is same as②. Published book by adding information to a project research. Presented in easy to read story format for ordinary readers. Pointed out the possibility of project intervention adversely affecting forest diversity in long run, although the objective was achieved within the project timeline. Indicated judgement on success/failure changes with time.

*All the works are in Japanese

Annex2. Social relationship mapping (sample)



Annex3. Project chronology (sample)

Chronology of Country E participatory forest management project (sample)					
Year	Events in the project	Socioeconomic situation in the country	Notable events in the country	Socioeconomic situation and ODA policy in Japan	Global socioeconomic situations and aid trends
1980s		• Warning on declining forest to Country E (FAO)			• Birth of participatory forest management concept
1990s	• Forest conservation master plan study by JICA	• First participatory forest management project starts in Country E	• JICA's first social forestry project starts in Country F	↔	• Earth Summit • Boom for environment
• • •					
2003	Phase 1 implementation begins				
2004		• Restructuring of Forest Corporation	• JICA's social forestry project starts in Country K	• Advancement of overseas office supervision	
2005	Reconsidering project implementation strategy				• Crash in international price of coffee
2006		• Pesticide residues found in export coffee			
2007	Phase 2 implementation begins			• Import restriction on coffee from country E	
2008	• Forest coffee certification strategy • Establishment of coffee cooperatives				
2009					