Chapter 4
Scaling Up South-South and Triangular Cooperation

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1. Introduction[1]

As suggested in the Introduction of this volume, the challenges that the global community face in the 21st century will call for a new architecture of development cooperation that is no longer based on the dichotomy of north-south or south-south. Tomorrow's international cooperation will increasingly become a process of horizontal "mutual learning" and "joint solution discovery" rather than that of vertical and uni-directional resource transfer from the provider's side to the recipient's side.

South-south cooperation (SSC) as we know it today is already leading us in that direction; it is indeed promoting active interactions for mutual learning in a horizontal and multi-lateral manner and involving an increasing number of heterogeneous players. The remaining challenge is how to scale up SSC, in such a way that it will evolve into a system that we aspire to have.

Scaling up of SSC, however, is not an easy challenge; indeed there seems to be a number of challenges involved in SSC. We are aware that many of SSC projects are not completely immune from the problems that have often been associated with traditional north-south cooperation: oft-cited are such problems as the lack of institutional mechanisms, high transaction costs, and their tendency to be fragmented and short-lived. Rhee (2011) pointed out financial constraints and the high transaction costs associated with the process of matching the supply and demand before starting SSCs. Our task, then, must be to seek ways to overcome these possible problems for effective scaling up of SSC.

[1] The arguments developed in this chapter rely to a considerable degree on the case analyses presented in this volume. However, the views expressed herein are solely those of the author of this chapter and do not necessarily represent the views of case authors or those who contributed to the case analyses.

In addressing this issue, this chapter will explore possible factors to increase the likelihood of successful scaling up of SSC. The term "scale up" here is defined as the process of "expanding, adapting, and sustaining successful policies, programs, or projects in different places and over time to reach a greater number of people.[2] By using the term scaling up I do not necessarily imply that the activity must always be large in input, significant in impact, or wide in coverage; rather, we define the project scalable or scaled up if it has some expansionary positive feedback cycle built in it providing energy for continued growth.

We will look at the scaling up issue from three angles. *First*, we would like to pay particular attention to what kind of ***knowledge*** is being created through successful SSC projects. We pay special attention to the issue of knowledge based on the shared assumption in the international development community that knowledge - knowledge sharing and knowledge creation - is the key for successful development.[3] *Second*, we will pay close attention to the issue of ***institutional arrangements*** to make such knowledge creation through SSC sustainable. Lastly, we will look at the ***process of capacity development*** at the national level - and the ways to assist such processes from outside – in building up such institutions. Building-up such SSC-supporting institutions takes years and persistent effort, but there are good examples offering rich experiences to draw lessons from.

With these definitions and viewpoints, in the following section, this paper attempts to explore what factors in terms of knowledge, institutions, and capacity building increase the likelihood of SSC's scaling up. It will look at the issue both from the short-and medium term perspectives at the project level as well as from the longer-term perspective at the national level.

We base our discussions on cases of triangular cooperation (TrC) projects in which Japan was involved, for being a "traditional" donor, Japan's SSC-related activities are by definition TrC projects.

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[2] Hartmann and Linn (2008), and Linn (2011).

[3] The recently held High-Level Meeting "Towards Country-led Knowledge Hubs" (10-12 July, Bali, Indonesia) organized by the Government of Indonesia, the World Bank, UNDP, and JICA represents such interest.

2. SSC as a Knowledge Creation Process

SSC is likely to succeed and to be scaled up when it deals with types of knowledge particularly relevant to the context of developing countries. Hosono (forthcoming) argues there are certain knowledge areas in which SSC can be particularly effective. These kinds of knowledge are usually not readily available from the north, and they have to be discovered, created, and internalized through SSC. They are: (1) knowledge pertaining to possible solutions adapted to the needs of a certain southern country (e.g., solutions to problems faced by landlocked LICs), (2) knowledge pertaining to possible solutions related to the challenges of the global-south (e.g., developing effective BOP business model in a specific context) and, (3) knowledge pertaining to possible solutions that must be shared among north and south countries for global challenges (e.g., on climate change and disaster management).

Based on this understanding, we will look at two SSC cases to see how knowledge creation takes place.

Case 1: Better Hospital Service Program in Africa[4]

The first case is the "Better Hospital Service Program," a tri-partite joint venture involving fifteen African countries, Sri Lanka, and Japan. The idea of the program is to introduce some management tools such as "5S," "KAIZEN,"[5] and Total Quality Management (TQM) in improving hospital services and health care. The program has been progressing to the satisfaction of the participants since it started in 2007; actions are continuously implemented by participating hospitals to improve the working environments and the services they provide. Such actions have resulted, for example, in tangible outcomes such as shorter waiting times for patients for clinical examinations in pilot hospitals. This movement is spreading both within and across participating countries, with Tanzania functioning as the pivotal center. At the policy level, the 5S-KAIZEN-TQM approach has been mainstreamed in Tanzania and Kenya. Among the participating countries, Tanzania stands out with 56 participating hospitals, whose capacities have been so developed as to have become able to offer training programs to peer African practitioners.

[4] For a detailed description, please see Case 2 of this booklet.

[5] "5S" stands for the five key practical steps for better productivity in the work place, and they are: Sort, Set, Shine, Standardize, and Sustain. KAIZEN is a Japanese word meaning "improvement," or "changing for the better." It is a concept or philosophy that emphasizes the importance of a continuous process of improvement in engineering, manufacturing, and business organizations.

The successful progress of the program thus far has been driven by several forces.

First, there was a strong demand for knowledge on hospital management; before the project started in 2007, medical and health professionals in Africa were feeling the strong need for better-quality care and medical safety at their hospitals, which drove the movement forward. From the project, we observed, little to our surprise, that the stronger the need for knowledge, the more dynamic the knowledge acquisition and creation processes are; Tanzania, which apparently had the strongest need for hospital improvement among the participating countries, has grown into the regional center of excellence through the application of 5S-KAIZEN-TQM.

Second, knowledge cannot be created *ex nihilo*, and there must be a body of knowledge that serves as the base on which further knowledge creation takes place. In this case, luckily, the base knowledge and role model to learn from was available in an Asian island country - Sri Lanka; it had been developed by Dr. Karandagoda, a doctor who was then a hospital director. Adjusting what he had learned about 5S-KAIZEN-TQM from Japanese firms operating in Sri Lanka, Dr. Karandagoda had adopted and improvised various management tools to suit the Sri Lankan local contexts, which were then applied to his hospital. That this system of knowledge was available meant a lot to the African health professionals. Comprising simple, flexible and low cost techniques and skills, Dr. Karandagoda's system has been tested and proven effective in the developing country context of Sri Lanka, a context shared by many African counterpart countries. The application of such knowledge entailed minimal costs, not requiring expensive professional consultants' help for internalization.

Third, it is noteworthy that Dr. Karandagoda had developed the knowledge system himself as a problem solver. This experience of his may have played an important role in making him an excellent mentor to his African counterparts.

And fourth, the triangular cooperation arrangement provided African, Sri Lankan and Japanese experts to actively interact and learn from one another. The interaction opportunities included training sessions in Sri Lanka and Japan, monitoring and field visits to African hospitals by Sri

Lankan and Japanese experts, and additional support to individual African country by JICA.

Case 2: Earthquake-resistant Housing Project in El Salvador[6]

The second case is an earthquake-resistant housing development project in El Salvador, a triangular cooperation project supported by Mexico and Japan.

The project's most notable achievement was the development of an affordable housing model for low income households. There were four types of local housing construction methods in El Salvador, using as main materials, respectively, soil cement, block panels, adobe, and concrete blocks. None of these construction methods, however, had been tested and validated for their earthquake resistance performance. This validation was accomplished by the project, which culminated in the development of a housing model applicable nationwide.

The success of the project was driven by several driving forces. ***First,*** there was desperate need for and commitment to obtain applicable knowledge on earthquake-resistant housing in El Salvador, a country that was devastated by a horrendous earthquake in 2001, and the hardest-hit victims being the poorer segments of society. Hence, there were fully-committed experts in El Salvador, primarily comprised of government agencies and universities. ***Second,*** just like in the above-mentioned case, there was a body of knowledge based on which new knowledge could be developed. In this case it was the technological support provided by the experts from Mexico[7]. Mexico, a country of frequent earthquakes, was already building up its willingness and capacity to extend cooperation to its neighbor. ***Third,*** an important point in the case is that the Mexican organization that provided technological support (CENAPRED) had not only "owned" anti-seismic housing technologies as mere textbook knowledge, but also had the experience of having recently tackled the same sort of challenge, and developed such technologies on their own, based on the country's experiences in dealing with repeated earthquakes. ***And fourth,*** the triangular cooperation arrangement facilitated interactive knowledge creation by the Salvadoran experts, who also were familiar with the local contexts,

[6] For a detailed description, please see Case 5 of this booklet.

[7] The capacity development in anti-earthquake housing in Mexico was supported by a Japanese cooperation.

Mexican experts, who provided technical expertise, and Japanese experts, who supported and facilitated the collaboration in various ways – financially, technically, and as facilitators.

The Process of Knowledge Creation

So far we have looked at two SSC/TrC cases from the knowledge creation perspective. Our observations include, among others, the following:

- ✓ Strong need for knowledge must be at the very core of successful SSC/TrC projects.
- ✓ For effective knowledge creation there must be a knowledge base to develop from.
- ✓ It helps greatly if those who developed the original knowledge base participate actively in the process of knowledge creation with their partners.
- ✓ Knowledge creation can be most effective when it is realized through the interaction of practioners who own the same or similar problems.

Similar knowledge creation processes can be observed in many other cases.

In a Haiti-Dominican Republic-Japan triangular agricultural technology project,[8] positive learning activities took place among the Haitian practitioners even in extremely difficult working conditions: after their return from training courses in the Dominican Republic, the Haitian participants are starting to organize, voluntarily, activities to share knowledge and information among them, and their enthusiasm has resulted in a proactive organization of an advanced training course. Here factors similar to the African Hospital and Salvadoran housing cases can be observed: the Haitian participants had strong needs for leaning; the Dominican counterparts were quite willing to provide support and had base knowledge to share with the Haitians; and the project created a space for interactive learning among the professionals.

A similar process of knowledge creation has taken place also in a project on livestock hygiene for animal health in South America involving Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay.[9] Since its start in 2005, the

[8] For a detailed description, please see Case 6 of this booklet.

[9] For a detailed description, please see Case 7 of this booklet.

project has created an ample body of knowledge among the participating professionals, making possible clinical and epidemiological examinations of many animal diseases which were previously impossible. The success factors in this project have been threefold: the participants all had strong needs to develop a body of knowledge on dangerous veterinary diseases; the project had the knowledge base developed in Argentina, which had been developed with the support of Japan, and the interaction and mutual learning among scientists.

3. Institutional Support for Scaling Up Knowledge Creation

As shown above, successful SSCs are observed to have strong demand for knowledge acquisition as a innate driving force, as well as a knowledge base to capitalize on and collaborative interaction between the practioners who "own" the same or similar problems.

If SSCs are to be sustained and scaled up over the long term, these favorable conditions must be maintained and reproduced. If not, the initial enthusiasm could be lost, initiatives of visionary leaders undermined, participants' incentives reduced, and allocated resources dried up. To avoid such negative feedback loops from taking place, projects must have institutions. The need for such institutional support is relevant to any developmental effort but is particularly relevant in developing countries.

As effective institutions for support scaling up SSC, Hosono, based on Japan's experiences, suggests three arrangements.[10] They are: centers of excellence or COEs, partnership programs, and regional mechanisms (Hosono, op.cit. See also Chapter 3 of this volume). With this in mind, we will look at how such arrangements and others support effective knowledge creation by (1) having a knowledge base, (2) providing continuous support, (3) creating space or "Ba" for mutual learning, and (4) making individual "encounters" occur.

Having a Knowledge Base

As stated above, the importance of having a center of excellence (COE) as the core organization in SSC has been emphasized.[11] COE's advantages are manifold, but the most important is the basic body of

[10] Hosono, op. cit.

[11] The recognition of the importance in having Centers of Excellence is not new. The United Nations, for example, highlighted their importance in its 2010 Nairobi Outcome Document, and encouraged its specialized organizations to assist developing countries in enhancing or establishing centers of excellence in their respective areas of competence.

knowledge and skills that they provide to its SSC partners. Landmark examples of COEs, to name a few, are Mexico's Disaster Prevention Center (CENAPRED), Brazilian the Agricultural Research Corp (EMBRAPA), and Singapore's Standards, Productivity and Innovation Board (SPRING).[12] Japan has been involved in the capacity development of all these organizations.

Mexico's CENAPRED is an organization that supported El Salvador in the above mentioned project. Since its foundation in 1988, CENAPRED has developed its technological capabilities, including the knowledge on the seismic behavior of the frames used in local housing. Referring to these technologies, El Salvador was able to develop the earthquake-resistant housing models suited to their local contexts.

Brazil's EMBRAPA, founded in 1973, succeeded in developing new varieties of soybeans for the Brazilian savannah, and that technology along with other technological and institutional innovations is being extended to Mozambique (See Chapter 3 of this volume).

Singapore's SPRING developed various techniques for productivity, and quality management, and these bodies of knowledge are widely shared with interested developing countries, both what they created with Japan and on their own.[13]

Providing Continuous Support

These COEs have one thing in common, and that is they have accumulated and created, through years of effort, a solid knowledge base on issues in their specialized fields. Their very experience of obtaining and creating knowledge constitutes their primary competence, with which they can extend support to southern partners.

Another advantage of having such COEs is that their established organizations and policies, as well as their relatively abundant technical and financial resources enable them to implement long term, consistent and comprehensive support to their partners.

Creating Space or "Ba" for Mutual Learning

In order for an effective creation of knowledge to take place, there must

[12] Part of the following descriptions on the COEs are based on Hosono (forthcoming).

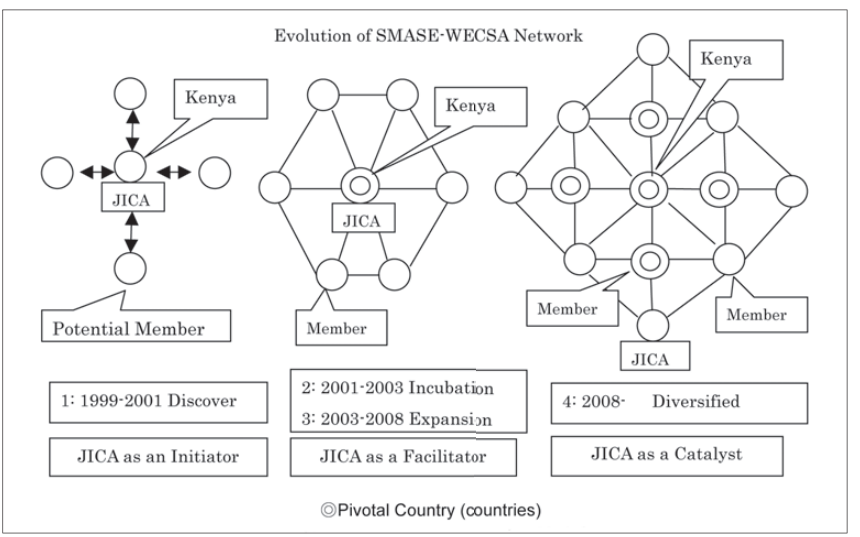
[13] See, for example, Ohno 2010.

be a space where different actors can interact and learn from one another. The Japanese management scientist Ikujiro Nonaka's concept of "Ba" (space) (Nonaka and Konno 1998) explains this experience of ours quite well. According to them, Ba is a context which harbors meaning and can be considered as a shared space that serves as a foundation for knowledge creation. Ba can be physical, virtual, mental, etc. Ba provides a platform for advancing individual and/or collective knowledge. Our experience tells us projects that succeeded in creating such Ba tend to be successful and self-sustaining.

Such space or "Ba" in SSCs can be developed and scaled up through a variety of paths; SSC can start small and expand gradually, or alternatively, start with a fairly solid institution from its initial stage.

Case 3: Mathematics and Science Education in Africa

Our project on mathematics and science education projects in Africa provides an interesting case of network development. Entitled SMASE-WECSA (Strengthening of Mathematics and Science Education – Western, Easter, Central, and Southern Africa), it is a network project serving as a platform under which "mathematics and science educators across Africa can gain practical wisdom via the exchange of each country's experiences and knowledge in the field."[14] The network



Source:Ishihara (2012)

[14] For a detailed description, please see Case 1 of this booklet.

started in 2001 having Kenya as the pivotal country, in which a cooperation project on math and science education with Japan had continued since 1995. Since its establishment and going through the "discovery," "incubation," "Expansion," and "diversified" stages, the project "has been gradually moving towards more diversified relations among the member countries." (Ishihara, op.cit.)

Case 4: "School for All" Project

A similar pattern of gradual evolution of networks can be observed in West Africa's primary education development. A primary education development project based on the "school based management" has been conducted in Niger since 2004 supported by Japan.[15] The project, commonly called the "School for All" project, has turned out to be quite successful: the country established a network of school management committees, contributing to the improvement of primary school education in the country, one of the world's poorest. This positive outcome encouraged decision makers in three neighboring west-African francophone countries - Senegal, Burkina Faso, and Mali to do likewise and currently, primary education projects employing the same concepts exist. Officers and project members of the four countries hold regular meetings – once a year – to exchange information, and learn from one another, thus **developing** a network of mutual learning.

Case 5: Coalition for African Rice Development

Another possibility is to start from the beginning, networking with careful planning and negotiations/coordination among interested parties. One such example is a process through which an initiative called the "Coalition for African Rice Development," or CARD, was initiated and developed. Launched on the occasion of the 2008 Fourth Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD IV), CARD is an initiative "to support the efforts of African countries to increase rice production."[16] It also forms a consultative group of donors, research institutions and other relevant organizations to work with rice producing African countries. Unlike the previous two examples, this initiative has had strong administrative institutions from its early stages, comprised of the General Meeting, the Steering Committee, and the Secretariat, with the participation of major organizations such as AGRA, NEPAD, FAO, IFAD,

[15] For more details, see, for example, http://www.jica.go.jp/english/our_work/thematic_issues/education/study.html.

[16] This part relies on JICA 2009.

CGIAR, WFP, WARDA, IRRI, JIRCAS, as well as JICA.

Making Fortuitous "Encounters" Intentionally

Matching the demand and supply of required knowledge and skills is an age-old challenge for any form of international cooperation, not unique to SSC. However, given the large and increasing number of cooperation providers in the south, this challenge is likely to become more serious over time.

One oft-mentioned approach for effective matching is to take advantage of regional mechanisms (See, for example, Hosono, op. cit.), whose significance has been proven. Our experience' tells us that having schemes like Japan's partnership programs (as discussed in Chapter 3 of this booklet) is also useful. In addition to these, there seems to be several ways to reduce such transaction costs.

First, transaction costs for supply-demand matching can perhaps be reduced if the demand for a certain body of knowledge leads to a natural selection of potential partners of knowledge creation. For example, in our case of El Salvador-Mexico-Japan collaboration, the choice of Mexico as a partner was a natural selection for El Salvador, given the former's abundant and advanced knowledge on anti-earthquake housing technologies, not to mention its geographical proximity and linguistic commonality. Another example is the choice of Brazil as a partner in an agricultural development project in Mozambique, given Brazil's comparative advantage in tropical agriculture along with the two countries' closeness as Lusophone countries.

And ***second,*** external players, both multilateral and bilateral, can act as an intermediary or a broker in matching the demand and supply of required knowledge. This function can be of vital importance, for oftentimes potential partners are not led automatically by an invisible hand to encounter their ideal partners. Here the roles of multilateral organizations with their vast network and convening power cannot be over emphasized. However, bilateral donors, too, can play a role. For example, in the above two cases, Japan facilitated the inception of the projects by acting as an intermediary, connecting the pivotal and beneficiary countries – Mexico and El Salvador, and Brazil and Mozambique. In both cases Japan facilitated the initial project formation process – which usually requires much coordination - by participating in

the joint preparatory study missions. There are other cases where a Japanese expert working in Cambodia worked as an intermediary to link with Brazil to stimulate knowledge exchange, though at a smaller scale. It enabled the meeting of professionals in maternal and child health of the two countries, which otherwise would not have been possible. This interaction between the professionals of the two countries resulted in positive learning experiences.

4. National Level Capacity Development for Scaling Up SSC

So far, we have considered *project level* factors that increase the probability of effective scaling up of SSC. Turning our attention now to the national level, we will have a look at the issue of medium- and long-term capacity development of countries as providers of cooperation. Of late, a lot of attention is being given to the SSCs, but most of the attention seems to have been paid by a handful of dynamically emerging economies, like Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and South-Africa. However, SSC is not to be monopolized by several countries but must and can in principle be provided by any country. Such capacity development is a complex process, requiring a long time as well as a careful and strategic approach. Let us first have a look at the case of Indonesia, and see how this country with an outstanding history of SSC is now trying to streamline its SSC activities.

Case 6: Systematic Capacity Development for SSC in Indonesia

Indonesia prides itself in having a long history of SSC, starting from the days of the well-known Asian-African Conference held in 1955, to promote Asia-African cooperation. Ever since then, Indonesia has conducted a number of SSC activities, accumulating a huge body of expertise. Even with such a long history and abundant experience, however, putting the international cooperation policy in the mainstream policy framework was not an easy task. Quite wisely, Indonesia has been taking a step-by-step approach in developing its capacity as an international cooperation provider, clarifying the specific tasks that have to be tackled in a carefully planned sequence.

Since 1981, in line with the Buenos Aires Plan of Action (BAPA) which underpinned the importance of technical cooperation among developing countries, the Government of Indonesia (GOI) has been implementing various technical cooperation activities in the Indonesian Technical Cooperation Program. However, the successive structural

changes of the government over time have made the GOI mechanism for SSC complicated, which came to be viewed as hampering effective coordination in implementing SSC. This recognition prompted GOI to formulate policy frameworks and restructure their complex implementation and funding mechanisms toward more effective SSC. This imperative was furthered by the international environment and national factors such as international initiatives on aid effectiveness (the Paris Declaration and the Accra Action Agenda), the inclusion of Indonesia in the Group 20, and the signing of the Jakarta Commitment and the inclusion of SSC into the National Medium Term Development Plan.

Since the late 2000s, GOI has been conducting a series of dialogues on the future direction of their SSC with various national and international stakeholders and supporters on various occasions. These dialogues culminated in the Grand Design 2011-2025 and the Blue Print 2011-2014, a policy framework of Indonesia's SSC and triangular cooperation. In preparing these documents, several donors including the UNDP, the World Bank and JICA provided support. These documents are now in the process of receiving approval.

Within the framework of the national Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) 2005-2025, the targets and time frame of the Grand Design are phased into three periods: Period I (2011-2014) is for the consolidation of Indonesia's SSC, mainly by legal framework development and institutional coordination strengthening; Period II (2015-2019) is for enhancing the involvement of all stakeholders, including the private sector, NGOs and universities; and Period III (2020-2025) is for furthering the SSC.

Simultaneously, they worked to revitalize the implementing mechanism of Indonesia's SSC. An important event in this context was the organization of a national seminar in 2010, at which the draft of the Grand Design and the Blue Print were widely shared among diverse interested parties, from line ministries to international donors and to NGOs. This seminar resulted in the establishment of the Coordination Team on South-South and Triangular Cooperation in 2010, mandated, as a coordinating body across line ministries, to promote and develop Indonesia's strategic SSC cooperation. Through these steps, GOI's governance structure of SSC has come to be consolidated and streamlined.

The GOI's on-going efforts and the progress of SSC capacity development have demonstrated the importance of fostering a common vision for the strategic national direction toward effective SSC and triangular cooperation among a broad range of stakeholders. This policy framework also served as a guide for external supporters including JICA in extending support to GOI in their efforts for effective SSC.

What is notable in GOI's efforts in strengthening capabilities for SSC is their approach to emphasize a balance between policy/institutional framework and its operationalization. For instance, under its policy framework, the GOI is now supporting the development of the road sector in Timor-Leste by providing training and workshops in collaboration with external supporters including JICA. The outcome of the project, in turn, is immediately provided as feedback to the policy framework for its further refinement. This integration of policy and operation has provided a process and space for learning, and has been the key in building up the GOI's capacity for SSC.

Start Small

The above mentioned Indonesian case is an example of capacity development of a large-scale country, and is not easily replicable by other, especially smaller, countries. There are ways, however, that smaller countries or small organizations with fewer resources can, just as well, participate in the mutual learning and joint solution search exercises. In the case of the Better Hospital Service Program, one of the initial pilot hospitals that introduced 5S-KAIZEN-TQM in Tanzania – namely Mbeya Referral Hospital - developed its capacity so that it could organize a training course geared to the peer practitioners from other African countries. In case of the El Salvador seismic-resistant housing project, experts on adobe housing were invited from Peru to provide assistance. Toward the later years of the project, Salvadoran participating universities developed their capacity and motivation to such an extent that they started exchange programs with some universities in Central American countries.

Capacity Development of COEs

The preceding discussion reminds us that actually every one of today's powerful cooperation providers started small. Some of the organizations we mentioned earlier as "centers of excellence such as EMBRAPA, CENAPRED, SPRING, too, all started small, often by organizing small

training programs. By steadily repeating such activities and accumulating experiences, they gradually developed their capabilities. Japan, too, started small, in 1954, with very modest training programs and dispatches of small numbers of experts.

Another point worthy of our attention is that COE's usually don't simply grow on their own; these COEs are usually established to serve their own countries and are not for the purpose of international cooperation. With such organizational mandates, their drive toward international cooperation might wither if not warranted by clear organizational visions and government orientations. It is partly in this context that Hosono (op. cit.) emphasizes the significance of "partnership programs," a framework that Japan has been developing with 12 partner countries since 1994. The partnership programs' regular planning and coordination processes enable the partnering countries to work out their cooperation program and accordingly mobilize resources effectively. Such arrangements have made it possible for the governments to pronounce clear messages and predictable plans concerning their SSC, thereby enabling systematic resource mobilization on the part of collaborating agencies.[17]

5. Summary and Concluding Remarks

This chapter started with the discussion of international development cooperation inevitably concerning itself more with mutual learning and joint solution discovery, and to that end, current SSC and TrC must be scaled up. Viewing SSC essentially as a process of joint knowledge creation, and paying particular attention to institutional arrangements and capacity development aspects, we have looked at some factors that can contribute to scaling up of SSC.

We argued that SSCs can particularly be effective when they deal with the right kind of knowledge that is unavailable elsewhere and strongly needed by the beneficiaries. We then argued the importance of having a knowledge base and continuous support, for both of which, we argued, having COEs could be instrumental. We emphasized the importance of encouraging an interactive knowledge creation process, for which, we argued, there are a variety of possible approaches. Finally, we looked into the process of capacity development to become cooperation providers. Since the process will inevitably be a time-consuming

[17] The partnership also alleviates the financial burdens of partners, with its cost-sharing arrangements with Japan.

exercise, consistent and continuous support from the international community is called for.

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