

**GRIPS Development Forum
Policy Minutes**

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GRIPS Development Forum**

May 2005

**GRIPS-ODI Joint Feedback Seminar on
Good Donorship and the Choice of Aid Modalities
—Matching Aid with Country Needs and Ownership—**

By GRIPS Development Forum

—in Tokyo, Japan (March 15, 2005)

[政策議事録 バックナンバー]

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Foreword

The GRIPS (National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies) Development Forum has been engaged in a series of studies related to aid partnership, PRSPs, and development. Through these activities, we have strengthened collaboration with the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), a London-based think tank with extensive experiences in Africa research. In March 2005, we organized a joint seminar with ODI in Tokyo on the topic of aid modalities.

We would like to publish the records of this GRIPS-ODI joint seminar in the GRIPS policy minutes series to share the contents of the seminar discussions, our reflections and the way forward (contributed by both ODI and GRIPS speakers). We would like to invite comments and suggestions from those participated in the seminar, as well as the other aid professionals, policy makers, and researchers who are interested in this topic.

Although this is a modest attempt, we hope that our activity will serve as the first step of the UK-Japan Research Networks Project and contribute to deepening dialogue between UK and Japanese researchers on international aid and development policies.

For more details on this seminar, please visit the website of GRIPS Development Forum:

<http://www.grips.ac.jp/forum/> (Japanese)

<http://www.grips.ac.jp/forum-e/> (English)

For more details on the UK-Japan Research Networks Project, please visit:

http://www.odi.org.uk/RAPID/UK_Japan/index.html

*The UK-Japan Research Networks Project is initiated by ODI and aims to increase interaction between researchers in Japan and the UK, particularly in the areas of the latest thinking and practice in aid policy.

May 2005

GRIPS Development Forum

GRIPS-ODI Joint Feedback Seminar
Good Donorship and the Choice of Aid Modalities
—Matching Aid with Country Needs and Ownership—

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Programme

GRIPS-ODI Joint Feedback Seminar

Good Donorship and the Choice of Aid Modalities —Matching Aid with Country Needs and Ownership—

- **Venue:** JICA Institute for International Cooperation, 2F conference room.
- **Time:** The 15th of March 2005, 14:00-17:00

- **Program**

- 14:00-14:15 Introduction to the Feedback Seminar
(by Izumi Ohno, Professor, GRIPS)
- 14:15-14:55 General Overview (20 min. each):
- Chakugan Taikyoku—Challenges and Dilemmas in the New Aid Agenda
(by Karin Christiansen, Research Fellow, ODI)
 - A Conceptual Framework for the Choice of Aid Modalities—Matching
Aid with Country Needs and Ownership
(by Izumi Ohno, Professor, GRIPS)
- 14:55-15:15 Questions & Answers
- 15:15-15:35 Case Studies (10 min. each):
- Priorities and Equity of Resource Distribution—the Case of Primary
Education Development Program (PEDP) in Tanzania
(by Shoko Yamada, Associate Professor, GRIPS)
 - Sector and Country Context for the Choice of Aid Modalities—Case of
Health Sector, Uganda and Vietnam
(by Yumiko Niiya, Researcher, GRIPS)
- 15:35-16:45 Free Discussions
- 16:45-17:00 Wrap up
(by GRIPS & ODI discussants)
- 17:00 Informal Gathering with Participants

Report on GRIPS-ODI Feedback Seminar

Good Donorship and the Choice of Aid Modalities —Matching Aid with Country Needs and Ownership—

This note provides: (i) the summary of seminar presentations; (ii) the main points discussed; and (iii) reflections and the way forward. The main purpose of this GRIPS-ODI Joint Feedback Seminar was to exchange views with the ODI researchers¹ (Overseas Development Institute, a leading London-based think tank on development and aid policy) on the choice of aid modalities. Additionally, taking opportunities of the publication of GRIPS study reports, *Good Donorship and the Choice of Aid Modalities* (English and Japanese), the seminar aimed at providing feedback to Japanese aid professionals and researchers the findings of the GRIPS research and stimulating discussions on this topic.

The seminar presentations consisted of: (i) the overview of new aid agenda and general framework for considering modality choice—challenges and dilemmas in the new agenda by Ms. Karin Christiansen (ODI); and a conceptual framework for the choice of aid modalities by Izumi Ohno (GRIPS); and (ii) case analyses the case of primary education sector in Tanzania by Shoko Yamada (GRIPS), and the case of the health sector in Vietnam and Uganda by Yumiko Niiya (GRIPS).

[See Annex 1 for background and objectives of the seminar]

Approximately 30 aid professionals participated in the seminar, including policy makers, practitioners, consultants, researchers, and NGOs. The participants appreciated the GRIPS and ODI researchers for sharing their research results, as well as providing an opportunity to discuss the modality issue in an open and objective manner. Active discussions took place over: (i) the perception of aid modality debates in Japan; (ii) the relevance of the proposed framework; (iii) the nature of the process of choosing aid modalities; (iv) alignment and the use of general budget support (GBS); and (v) East Asia's development and aid experiences, and so on.

¹ Ms. Debbie Warrenner (ODI), who was originally to serve as moderator of the seminar, could not attend for health reasons.

Summary of Presentations

(1) Karin Christiansen (ODI)

“Chakugan Taikyoku (着眼大局): Challenges and Dilemmas in the New Aid Agenda”

The speaker first introduced a number of common elements in the “new aid agenda” including country ownership, result orientation, alignment, harmonization, focus on political context and economic analysis. She went on to highlight a series of “tensions” within the agenda: (i) aid modalities vs. donor behavior; (ii) harmonization vs. alignment; (iii) results vs. process; (iv) quality of policy vs. ownership; and (v) rewarding good performance vs. building better performance. Some of these tensions were seen as more difficult to reconcile than others, but the general proposal set out for attempting to respond to these challenges focused on: (i) great clarity by donors around their objectives and the trade offs between them (aid-trade-security etc); (ii) distinguishing means from ends (e.g. GBS and PRS processes as means not ends); (iii) greater realism, honesty around expectations and results and more feasible time frames; (iv) assessing potential benefits associated with different approaches or choices as well as risks.

[See Annex 2-1 for PPT]

(2) Izumi Ohno (GRIPS)

“A Conceptual Framework for the Choice of Aid Modalities: Matching Aid with Country Needs and Ownership”

The speaker stressed the importance of sharing the process for modality choice between partner countries and donors so that the actual needs of partner countries can be better reflected. So far, this process tends to be donor-driven. The speaker first presented the general framework and factors to be considered in deciding aid mix. More specifically, to take account of the country- and sector-specific situations, she introduced two perspectives: (i) “priority country needs” (as shown by Development Priority Matrix); and (ii) “recipient-donor relationship” (as shown by Typologies of Ownership). She also provided the overview of Vietnam, Tanzania, and Cambodia, which have come out with different aid mix. The three countries differ significantly in terms of aid dependency, the degree of core government functions, potentials for private sector development (PSD), aid management capacity, seriousness of transaction costs, and openness to external influence. Finally, she highlighted elements of “good donorship” that should be honored across all aid modalities.

[See Annex 2-2 for PPT and handouts]

(3) Shoko Yamada (GRIPS)

“Priorities and Equity of Resource Distribution: the Case of Primary Education Development Program (PEDP) in Tanzania”

The speaker discussed the meanings of the increased public funds to be allocated to primary education under the PRS framework and the primary education sector program in Tanzania, in light of: (i) aid flow and the trend of education resource allocation at the level of central government; (ii) efficiency and equity of the financial resource distribution from central to the district and school level (using the data from the Public Expenditure Tracing Survey (PETS)); and (iii) effectiveness of the public funds to improve educational outcomes. The speaker pointed out that the mere increase of budget allocation does not guarantee that the money reaches the school fully or that the educational system yields better outcomes. While noting the potential of new aid approaches (including sector programs and PRS) in improving the efficiency and effectiveness of aid, she stressed that such efforts of developing a comprehensive policy and aid framework need to be complemented by the responsive and context-sensitive assistance so that the political and financial prioritization at the central government results in the actual positive changes on the ground. Finally, the speaker suggested the importance of: (i) striking a balance between articulating a comprehensive aid framework and attending urgent needs on the ground; (ii) developing the capacity and negotiation power of the government to balance different donor approaches; and (iii) fostering mutual respect among donors for different aid modalities.

[See Annex 2-3 for PPT and handouts]

(4) Yumiko Niiya (GRIPS)

“Sector and Country Context for the Choice of Aid Modalities: Case of Health Sector, Uganda and Vietnam”

The speaker discussed the health sector in Uganda and Vietnam from a comparative perspective, by using the conceptual framework for “priority country needs” and “recipient-donor relationship.” The speaker first presented typology of sectors by the role of public expenditure and argued that appropriate choice of aid modalities can differ, according to the stages of development of public health services. For example, while priority needs in Uganda are to strengthen public expenditure flow in the system, those in Vietnam are rather to promote private service providers. She then examined “recipient-donor relationship” in light of aid dependency, aid management, openness to external influence at the sector level and suggested: (i) in Uganda which highly depends on aid and needs recurrent financing, SWAp with common fund can be useful to improve harmonization and alignment; but (ii) in Vietnam,

priority should be given to improving the quality of donor intervention within the existing aid modality.

[See Annex 2-4 for PPT and handouts]

Main Points Discussed

Perception of modality debates in Japan

Several participants noted that, in Japan, debates over new modalities tend to become emotional and end up with unhealthy divisions. There is general appreciation to presenters, which attempted to provide frameworks and criteria for deciding aid mix. At the same time, many participants stated that the proposed GRIPS framework could be further improved by accumulating a larger number of case studies at the country and sector levels. (See the next section)

A participant questioned whether and to what extent current modality debates are relevant in light of Japanese aid experiences. For example, Japanese aid emphasizes the use of the existing government structure, avoiding the creation of new Project Management Units (PMU). Thus, Japan and the other donors may have different perception of project aid. This point should be duly recognized when pros and cons of project aid are discussed.

A participant welcomed the approach presented that the choice of aid modality is not the core of development issues in itself and should be viewed as part of overall approach to development assistance. It is important to consider how the sector is organized and how resources for development (both recurrent and capital) are managed. The role of aid modality should be analyzed within this context. This is so particularly in the health sector, which is organized by multiple systems (e.g., PHC, hospital management, medical insurance).

A participant stated that the two presentations (Christiansen and Ohno) were inspiring because these illustrate how aid modalities are perceived by two different cultures—the West and Japan (or Asia). While the ODI presentation highlighted “tensions” over modality choice, the GRIPS presentation stressed “aid mix” implying the co-existence of various modalities.²

The relevance of the proposed conceptual framework for modality choice

A number of participants asked how widely the proposed GRIPS framework could be applied across sectors and countries. The country examples provided by the GRIPS team (i.e., Vietnam and Tanzania) belong to two extremes, in terms of priority needs and ownership. In

² Christiansen later clarified that this is entirely a misinterpretation of UK position on aid modality. For example, the DFID policy paper on Poverty Reduction Budget Support (PRBS) states: “Our choice of types and combination of aid instruments will reflect country circumstances and the evolution of our relationship with the partner country. In most partner countries, the provision of PRBS will generally be complemented with other aid instruments.”(DFID 2000: p.1)

reality, many countries are somewhere between this spectrum. For example, institutional capacity can be analyzed from various dimensions, e.g., managerial, financial, technical. Thus, it would be desirable to consider the choice of aid modality more concretely, according to different dimensions of capacity to be strengthened. Another participant cited an example of some Sub-Saharan African countries, where infrastructure projects appear to be working despite their relatively weak administrative capacity.

Regarding the sector, the GRIPS speaker (Ohno) noted that the role of aid and appropriate modality in supporting PSD merits further investigation. The issues of growth promotion and aid flows are closely related to the “aid exit” strategy, as discussed in the seminar. (See the section of alignment and the use of GBS)

Regarding ownership, the GRIPS speaker (Niiya) highlighted the importance of identifying appropriate “entry points” for donors-government dialogue. In the health sector, the Vietnamese government treats systemic issues as purely internal matters and does not wish donor intervention. Thus, it remains to be answered how the donor community, as outsiders, could and should effectively engage partner countries in addressing upstream, systemic issues.

There was general consensus that the in-depth analyses of sectors, countries with different types of capacity and ownership, etc. will be useful to refine the conceptual framework presented by the GRIPS team and that such research should be encouraged among those interested.

The nature of the process of choosing aid modalities

Several participants commented that the process of choosing aid modalities is political—often driven by donors—and path-dependent. They questioned whether and to what extent there is room for the real “choice” of aid modalities for partner countries and donors. A question was also raised whether it is possible to choose modalities from a “zero base.” Both ODI and GRIPS speakers (Christiansen and Ohno) responded that it is possible to choose aid modalities, while recognizing such limitations. For example, in Tanzania and Vietnam, Japan chose to participate in the General Budget Support (GBS) group in order to enhance the effectiveness of its ongoing assistance (including project aid). Choosing one modality does not necessarily mean excluding the others.

Acknowledging such donor-driven nature associated with modality choice, the GRIPS speakers (Ohno and Niiya) reiterated that this is precisely the reason why they have decided to conduct this research so that common ground be established for both partner countries and

donors to discuss and consider this issue. They stressed the importance of respecting ownership of partner countries in the process. The ODI speaker (Christiansen) suggested that the ultimate responsibility of donors should be to help partner countries manage them (= donors) better. This requires a greater emphasis on supporting aid management capacity as a means of achieving alignment.

The GRIPS speaker (Yamada) noted the importance of paying attention to the political environment where modality issues are discussed in partner countries. Individual professionals may have different perception on the goal of modality debates, subject to their own perspectives. Some professionals may emphasize the macro picture (e.g., consistency of the overall policy and institutional framework), while the others may pay greater attention to the micro-level, field activities and implementation on the ground. To discuss the effectiveness of aid modalities, without realizing the diversity of perception about their goals, would cause an unproductive misunderstanding. She also stressed the importance of fostering the environment where diverse views can be allowed and openly discussed in countries.

There is shared understanding at the seminar of the need to investigate the more diverse dimensions that affect the process of deciding aid mix and donor behaviour. Such dimensions should include the political context of development partnership (as pointed out by Yamada).

Alignment and the use of General Budget Support (GBS)

A participant questioned whether GBS can be effectively used for those countries with extremely weak capacity, although the GRIPS speaker (Ohno) hinted its usefulness in the case of the government with restricted core functions. Ohno responded that the GRIPS research does not cover “fragile states,” since this issue would require separate examination due to its complexity. Thus, the research covers only those countries which have “minimum capacity” to exist as the government, whatever it may be weak.

The ODI speaker (Christiansen) stressed that in general the priority is likely to be alignment to the national budget process. This maybe easier with GBS but can be done across all modalities. She also commented that GBS is unlikely to be appropriate for some types of “fragile states”, for example those where there are serious and far reaching concerns about the ‘willingness’ of government to engage in policy implementation or policy are explicitly aimed at the systematic abuse of their population. In other fragile states, such as those with ‘post conflict transition regimes’ such as Afghanistan, East Timor or Sierra Leone, GBS is likely to be an important component of rebuilding the state systems.

In addition there are two types of possible systems alignment: (i) directly working through government systems alignment; and (ii) shadow systems alignment which particularly for fragile states, could contribute to strengthening or at least not undermining the long term development of government capacity.

In connection with alignment, Christiansen introduced the concept of “Horizontal National Programming,” where many contracts are arranged with service providers, such as NGOs under a common nation wide framework with a national policy and standards across the whole country. This is a way to internalize project-based activities without undermining the integrity or potential development of national policies systems. Many possibilities exist, including arranging contracts by geographical area(s).

A participant noted that in East Asia, project aid, particularly for infrastructure development has been effective in promoting growth-oriented poverty reduction. Infrastructure projects supported dynamic economic network in the region. Nevertheless, he suggested that Japan become more realistic about the use of GBS in Sub-Saharan Africa. Specifically, African countries have more serious capacity constraints and faces pressing social needs including recurrent cost financing. Under this circumstance, GBS can be a useful tool to transfer the funds and promote alignment to the government’s strategy.

Several participants expressed their concern about the lack of the “aid exit” strategy, when GBS is applied to recurrent budgets. It is questionable whether and how fast the reliance on GBS can lead to economic take off of Sub-Saharan African countries. Furthermore, by dealing with the budget, GBS necessarily implies that donor intervention in the government’s sovereign issues. To what extent donors should get involved in the domestic budget process needs to be answered. The ODI speaker acknowledged their concern about the lack of the “aid exit” strategy and the long-term sustainability of GBS, particularly if donors focus their conditions of high recurrent spend activities such as health and education systems.

The ODI speaker (Christiansen) stressed the importance of assessing benefits, not only risks in the decision making around aid modalities. If we only focus on risks we might end up missing potential large benefits to be gained. Benefits can be higher in the weak environment country. This links back to the issue around whether the aim is to “reward good performance” or “build better performance”. The latter tries to change behavior and may bring greater benefits. A participant supported the importance of benefit vs. risk analysis when introducing particular aid modality. He suggested that a possible use of the methodology for portfolio analysis be examined.

A participant noted that each modality has merits and demerits and that it is absolutely right to use respective modalities, according to their comparative advantages. GBS can be viewed as a kind of investment trust, and there is nothing special about it. It is merely one amongst a range of tools that is more appropriate in some settings and less so in others.

East Asia's development and aid experience, its replicability in Africa, and the role of Japan's aid

The ODI speaker (Christiansen) stated that there is a need to deepen the understanding of the entire process of East Asia's development and use of aid, particularly the role of "Developmental States." A key success of East Asia seems to be derived from the existence of governments and leadership that had a relatively comprehensive vision and strategy and capacity for integrating projects and aid under this strategy. Even if there are some imperfections, these states had a strong sense of ownership and consistently implemented their own visions. Thus the fundamental question would seem to be how to encourage the emergence of such "Developmental States" and needs further investigation.

Nevertheless, she considers that some of the East Asian experiences are more difficult to apply directly to Africa. The Green Revolution has not really happened in Africa (in a sharp contrast to Asia). Agriculture-led growth appears to still be the main option for most of Africa, but there are serious questions about how to generate it with the high transportation costs (affecting the costs of fertilizer and goods to market), and the Asian experience (including Green Revolution) must be adapted to the African context.

Christiansen commended that Japan's aid consistent emphasis on the productive sector and the focus on growth strategies. This strong sector concerns are valuable and should be maintained in the future. This is so especially when many donors have prone to fads and have been emphasizing potentially unsustainable levels of investment in the social service sectors.

The GRIPS speaker (Niiya) suggested the need to conduct the evaluation of Japan's past ODA, in order to internalize the modality debates among the Japanese aid professionals and draw implications for Japan's ODA reforms. Some donors conducted the evaluation of their past aid approaches and experiences.

The ODI speaker (Christiansen) suggested that it is important to recognize that not all the Asian countries have succeeded in development and that some countries face the problems similar to Africa. Absolute poverty still exists in Asia, and in fact, Asia has the largest population below the poverty line.

Other issues

A participant stated that it may be prejudiced to conclude “failure of conditionality to induce reform” was one of the factors leading to the emergence of new aid modalities, as explained by the GRIPS speaker (Ohno). The appropriateness of conditionality needs careful examination, and it is not necessarily bad that donors use conditionality to urge policy and institutional reforms in partner countries. Ohno responded that there is general understanding that conditionality was not effective to enhance country ownership. This is why the World Bank decided to shift from SAL to PRSC (from *ex-ante* to *ex-post* conditionalities). There is no doubt about the importance of policy dialogue between donors and partner countries; but the issue is how to conduct such policy dialogue.

The ODI speaker (Christiansen) stressed that from a recipient perspective priority be placed on “optimizing the impact of aid” rather than “aid flow maximization.”

Reflections and the Way Forward (by GRIPS)

The seminar confirmed the importance of respecting ownership of partner countries in the process of choosing aid modalities, as a common starting point. At the same time, the discussions revealed that the topic of the choice of aid modalities remains controversial in Japan and is perceived quite differently, according to respective professional perspectives.

Key issues emerging from the seminar discussions include: (i) to what extent there is room for real “choice” of aid modalities, particularly for partner countries (and implicitly the relevance to discuss this topic), given that this is path-dependent and a political process; and (ii) to what extent the current modality debates are relevant in light of Japan’s aid experiences (particularly in East Asia). On the other hand, it is also true that a large number of participants emphasized the importance of building the coherent government system and held the views that the modality issues be considered to support that process. Thus, the participants have diverse views.

As suggested by a number of participants, there is a scope for refining the analytical framework of the GRIPS research by accumulating a larger number of case studies at the country and sector levels, and also by including the more diverse dimensions that affect the process of deciding aid mix (including the political context of development partnership).

Based on the above, at least, three types of future research/activity agenda can be identified:

- (1) Conducting in-depth case analyses at the sector and country levels, as well as sharing the findings of such analyses widely with policy makers and practitioners. Such analysis should also include the role of aid and use of modality in supporting PSD and growth promotion.
- (2) Deepening the understanding of the process of choosing donor behaviour and aid programming including aid modality, recognizing its political nature. Such analysis should include the political context of development partnership
- (3) Supporting the ongoing ODA reforms in Japan by: (i) compiling and disseminating good practices in the field, in collaboration with practitioners and building on the recommendations in the GRIPS report (as suggested in the Japanese version in particular); and also (ii) sharpening the agenda for longer-term ODA reforms. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that the relevance of modality debates to Japan’s ODA must be examined, based on the evaluation of Japan aid experiences in different regions.

Reflections and the Way Forward (by Karin Christiansen, ODI)

The nature of the debate about new approaches to aid in Japan

The level of interest and quality of engagement are clearly very high in these issues. The debates and discussions I had with the whole range of actors I found extremely interesting and fruitful. A few points that struck me particularly about the debate included:

- The agenda is still very controversial in Japan. There is scepticism in some quarters about relevance of the debate for Japanese aid or the need for change. However, there is also clearly a major increased engagement and interesting across a whole range of actors, even previously highly sceptical ones.
- As it is elsewhere, the issues is often seen in terms of modalities, particularly budget support vs. projects, rather than on donor behaviour with concepts such as harmonisation and alignment applying to all modalities.
- The defensiveness of some part of the Japanese aid community came up in a number of discussions. Explanations set out included a dominant narrative about the success of aid in East Asia- in contrast to the lack of success of others in Africa, the evolution of aid as a form of war reparations, and limited history of evaluation due to a bureaucratic culture that is very uneasy with criticising the past.

Learning from East Asia

There is a need to look much harder at East Asian experience, particularly why did it work? Clearly it didn't work every where as there are still more people under \$1 a day in Asia than Africa, but it was spectacularly successful in some place. Why? And what role did aid and Japanese aid particularly play in this?

A number of particular hypotheses emerged during the range of discussions.

1. Developmental effectiveness of both aid and non-aid financed activities was determined by the existence and coherence of the national agenda. This meant that aid could be sub-served and built into general plans. The project modality therefore did not undermine the coherence of a national vision or policy but be slotted into it.
2. The impact of tying aid contracts to Japanese suppliers was less significant in the Asian context during the 70s and 80s. Japanese technical, financial and human resources probably were some of the most cost effective and appropriate anyway. Africa, now, they are however unlike to be either as cost effective or appropriate.

3. Although less formal than EU accession, there was a ‘club membership’ effect. In addition to demonstration effects, and access to capital, know how etc., there were very real incentives for reform as access to the ‘club did provide significant benefits.’

There was a general sense that these hypotheses could be usefully tested and might shed light on a range of experiences in Asia and beyond.

Contributions of Japan to the new aid agenda

My impression was that Japan has some important potential contributions to make to the debate and evolution of the new aid agenda. These include:

- learning from the experience of East Asia,
- the rebalancing of current social sector over-emphasis by a number of donors to include the productive sectors and growth,
- innovations in relation to alignment of project modalities to recipient government systems and policies,
- an approach that focus on the underlying economic relationships as determining social and political outcomes in a society. A deeper focus on the *causes* of good governance rather than the ‘trappings’ imputed to it.
- a clarity and realism about the long term nature of economic development

セミナー報告

GRIPS-ODI 合同フィードバック・セミナー 「グッド・ドナーシップと援助モダリティの選択」

本報告は、標記セミナーについて、発表および質疑応答の概要、開発フォーラム所感の 3 点を紹介するもの。本セミナーは、GRIPS 開発フォーラムにて取り組んできた「グッド・ドナーシップと援助モダリティの選択」調査の報告書の刊行を受けて、モダリティ議論をリードしてきた英国の援助政策のプレーン的存在である ODI (Overseas Development Institute) との意見交換を通じ、モダリティ選択プロセスにおける双方の考えの類似・相違点を明らかにすること、更に本調査プロセスで助言を頂いた関係者に対し成果をフィードバックすることを目的に開催された。

セミナーでは ODI1 名(Poverty and Public Policy Group/Center for Aid and Public Expenditure 所属³)、GRIPS 開発フォーラム 3 名による発表の後、日本の援助政策・実務担当者や研究者を中心とした 30 名弱の参加のもと、3 時間以上にわたり活発な議論が展開された。

発表では、まず総論として、ODI の Christiansen 氏がモダリティを含む昨今の援助をめぐるアジェンダについて大局的見地より説明するとともに、モダリティの実践をめぐる困難な点を提示した。それを受けて、GRIPS の大野(泉)は、かかるアジェンダをモダリティ選択のプロセスに反映させるための枠組みと具体的方法について示した。ケースでは GRIPS の山田、二井矢が、それぞれ初等教育(タンザニア)、保健(ベトナム、ウガンダ)分野をとりあげ、総論で示されたいくつかの論点を具体的に展開した。

参加者を交えた議論では、モダリティ選択のプロセスをどのように捉えるべきか(選択の裁量余地があるのか、政治的プロセスか)、日本としてどれほど真剣に取り組むべき課題であるか、といった基本的な論点に加え、発表者側より示された国の類型化やアラインメントの具体的方法について更に分析的に掘り下げていく可能性等をめぐって活発な意見交換が行われた。

GRIPS 開発フォーラムとしては、本調査を進める過程で頂いたコメント⁴及び今次セミナーでの議論を踏まえ、今後、モダリティ議論を更に深めていくにあたり、セクター・国毎の事例研究、モダリティ選択プロセスそのものの事例研究、日本の ODA 改革アジェンダとしてのモダリティ論、という 3 つの方向性を示した。

³ 当初予定されていた Warrenner 氏(Research and Policy in Development, 日英研究連携担当)は健康上の理由により不参加

⁴ 特に、国際協力機構(JICA)企画・調整部の協力を得て非公式勉強会を行った他、FASID 国際開発援助動向研究会での意見交換を通じて貴重なコメントを頂戴した。なお、勉強会の詳細については以下の URL (<http://www.grips.ac.jp/forum/gooddonorship.htm>) をご参照頂きたい。

発表概要

(1) Karin Christiansen (ODI)

“Chakugan Taikyoku(着眼大局): Challenges and Dilemmas in the “New Aid Agenda”

冒頭で昨今の援助をめぐる5つの代表的アジェンダを紹介した後(オーナーシップ、成果主義、政府の政策及びシステムへのアラインメント、ドナー間の調和化、政治的・経済的分析への着目)、個々のアジェンダ実践をめぐる困難な点を示した。例えば(ドナー間の調和化とアラインメント、結果とプロセス、あるいは政策的の質とオーナーシップ尊重の間に生じうる緊張関係(“tensions”)等。更に検討すべき課題として特定モダリティの画一的適用、不適切な方向に対するドナー間の調和化や政府能力が低い場合のアラインメントの対象などを指摘した。モダリティ選択自身よりもドナーの行動が重要となる場合があること、(リスクはあっても)途上国政府のより良いパフォーマンスを引き出すことで得られる潜在的な便益の大きさについても言及された。最後に、こういった現実を生じうる問題を直視した上で、ドナー側のとるべき姿勢の原則として次の5点を示した。目的及び目的相互の間のトレードオフについて明確に認識すること、手段の目的化の回避(モダリティは手段であることへの明確な意識)、現実性、誠実さ、現実的な時間軸の設定、様々なアプローチに関し、(リスクと費用に対する)潜在的な便益の考慮。

(2) 大野泉(GRIPS)

“A Conceptual Framework for the Choice of Aid Modalities: Matching Aid with Country Needs and Ownership”

同発表は、ドナー主導に陥りがちな援助モダリティ選択のプロセスに対し、途上国の現状に沿ったプロセスを経る重要性を主張した。その上でモダリティ選択に関連する途上国の現状理解に必要な視点を提案した。具体的には、途上国の現状を分析する枠組みを優先的に取り組むべき開発課題、援助授受をめぐる関係性の向上という2つの論点から整理した上で、それぞれにおける現状分析のためのツール(に関しては Development Priority Matrix、 は Typologies of Ownership)を試論的に示した。また、ベトナム、タンザニア、カンボジアについて援助依存度に加えて、政府の中核システムの機能度、民間活力のポテンシャル(これらは に関連)及び援助マネージメント能力、取引費用、対外的な開放度等(これらは に関連)の観点から概観し、援助モダリティ選択プロセスを比較した。更にかかるプロセスを経て選択されるモダリティの実践にあたり、ドナー側で心がけるべき点(Good Donorship)を例示した。

(3) 山田肖子(GRIPS)

“Priorities and Equity of Resource Distribution: the Case of Primary Education Development Program (PEDP) in Tanzania”

タンザニアにおける初等教育分野をケースとし、セクタープログラム導入が及ぼした影響について、教育セクター及びそのサブセクター間の予算配分、最終受益者である生徒に届くまでの資金フロー、教育指標の向上や貧困削減へのインパクトの3つのレベルで検討した。その結果として、セクタープログラムや、PRSPを枠組みとする新しい援助モダリティは、適切に行われれば、援助の効率性、効果を高めるのに有効と思われるが、そうしたマクロの手続きの調和化だけでは、ミクロレベルでの状況やニーズの多様性に対応しきれず、状況に柔軟に、スピーディに対応するフィールドベースの支援や技術支援のニーズが存在することが具体的に明らかにされた。よってモダリティは財政支援とプロジェクトの二律背反ではなく、最終的な成果を上げるためにいかにそれらの長所を生かして組み合わせるかが重要であり、また、そのような現状における需要に合った補完のための課題として、マクロの枠組み作りと末端の受益者の緊急かつ多様なニーズへの対応をどのようにバランスよく行うか、政府のキャパシティが育っているか、ドナー間で異なる援助モダリティを採用することへの理解、受容をどのように育てるか、という点を指摘した。

(4) 二井矢由美子(GRIPS)

“Sector and Country Context for the Choice of Aid Modalities: Case of Health Sector, Uganda and Vietnam”

ウガンダ、ベトナムの保健セクターにおけるモダリティの検討を通じ、モダリティ選択における「優先的な開発課題」及び「援助授受の関係性向上」という2つの論点をめぐるセクター及び国毎の相違を具体的に論じた。公共支出の役割に基づくセクターの分類法を提示した後に、保健セクターについては、公的な保健サービスの発展度合いに応じ、公共支出強化が主要課題となる国(ウガンダ)、あるいは民間サービス振興が課題となってくる国(ベトナム)において適切なモダリティが異なる可能性を指摘した。さらに両国の援助授受をめぐる関係性の相違についてもセクターの援助依存度、援助マネージメントのあり方、対外的な開放度の観点より比較を行った。その結果、援助依存が高く、經常予算も含む公共支出強化が喫急の課題とされるウガンダではセクタープログラムの枠組みの下で、財政支援などドナーの資金を途上国政府に一体化するモダリティが有効であるのに対し、援助依存が低く、既存の公共支出のシステムが既に確立されているベトナムでは、新たなモダリティの導入により改善できる点は多くなく、むしろ既存のモダリティの中で援助の質を向上させていくことが必要である点を指摘した。

質疑応答の概要

モダリティ選択のプロセスをめぐる解釈

発表者側がモダリティ選択のプロセスを援助の効率性をめぐる主要な一要素として位置づけ、途上国を主体としたプロセスを促していくことが重要である点を議論の出発点としたのに対し、参加者からは、モダリティ選択の実態はドナー主導の政治的プロセスであり、実際には「選択」の余地は限られているとの指摘、援助の効率性の論点自体が(東アジアを中心とする日本の援助経験に照らし合わせて)妥当でない点もあり、そういった観点から日本としての対応を検討すべきという問題意識が提示された。

発表者からは、モダリティ選択プロセスの恣意性、政治性の指摘については現状をそれに近いものと認識しつつも、より途上国側の主体性を重んじたプロセスに近づけていく努力が重要であるとの見解が再度示された。その努力の一環として、参加者から指摘のあったモダリティ選択をめぐるより多面的な要素を明らかにしていくためのケース分析、国毎の具体的な研究が必要であること、それらの要素は今次発表で示された優先的な開発課題、援助授受の関係性の向上といった論点にとどまらず、例えば政治的なプロセスにおいて多様な立場を尊重する雰囲気醸成といった論点も含まれる点が示された。併せて、発表者から、1つのモダリティを「選択」することは他を排除するものではないこと、タンザニアやベトナムでの一般財政支援への参画は日本としてモダリティを選択し、かつプロジェクトに軸をおきつつ複数モダリティを使い分けている事例である点が補足された。

の日本の援助経験に基づく援助効率化及びモダリティ選択における論点については、ODI 発表者は、日本の関係者が自らの援助経験に基づき、そういった独自の視点を持っていることを初めて認識するに至り、東アジアの開発プロセスについて今後理解を深める必要がある旨を述べた(例えば「開発主義国家」のもとでの援助マネージメント、同国家を可能ならしめた要因)。但し、東アジアの経験のアフリカへの直接的な適用可能性については慎重な検討を要すること、及びアジアの中のアフリカ的問題(アジアにもアフリカ諸国と類似した課題に直面する国が存在)への取組みについて十分留意する必要がある点もあわせて指摘した。GRIPS 側は、こういった論点を共有できる形で整理するためには日本の東アジアに対する援助の経験の整理が必要であると指摘した。

多様なモダリティの使い分け

途上国の政策や制度へのアラインメントという観点から途上国の政府機能を1つのシステムとして捉え、過去の援助が如何にそれを歪めてきたかという反省に基づき、その強化のためにあるべき方法という観点からモダリティ論を展開すべきという主張、更には開発を考えれば財政支援など新しいモダリティを含む様々な方法が必要なのは自明のことであり、それぞれの存在意義をめぐっての議論は不必要との指摘があった。

GRIPS 発表者は、モダリティ選択にあたっては、「何を」支援するかと同時に「どのように」支援するかという点で適切なエントリーポイントの設定に対する配慮も重要な要素であ

る旨指摘した。

GRIPS モダリティ・ペーパーにおける分析枠組みの妥当性

開発課題、オーナーシップの類型化はいずれも極端なケース（特にベトナム、タンザニア）であるため、現状理解の助けとするためには、より多くの事例をふまえた多角的な分析が必要との指摘があった。例えば、セクター別の分析を深めること、制度能力という観点から経営や財務面なども援用したきめ細かな分類の必要性などの指摘があった。GRIPS 発表側も、きめ細かに事例研究を重ねていく必要性について同意した。

特定モダリティをめぐる 이슈

財政支援はアフリカのように政府システム構築が優先課題である国については有効な方法たりえ、日本としても取組み可能性を検討する意義はあるとの指摘があった。同時に、財政支援は援助依存を益々強めることにつながる可能性もあり、「援助からの卒業」戦略という観点も検討されるべきとの指摘もあった。これに関しては、重要な論点ではあるが対アフリカ援助が過去 50 年にわたり失敗してきたことを踏まえれば、その卒業戦略も長期的に考えられるべきものという意見もあった。

財政支援をめぐり、政府機能が脆弱な国においてはその機能強化に有効との解釈に対し、逆に脆弱な国ほどやりにくいのではないかと、という問題提起があった。この点については発表者より、制度能力が極端に脆弱な国（fragile states）においては、途上国の予算システムへの完全な資金投入が目的というよりはアラインメントの観点が重要であること、その場合には shadow alignment という方法も可能である点が示された。

GRIPS 開発フォーラムによる所感

今次セミナーの主目的は、英国の援助政策のプレーン的存在である ODI との意見交換を通じて、モダリティ選択のプロセスにおける考えの類似・相違点を明らかにすることであった。この点については既に国際援助コミュニティにおける議論が、新しいモダリティの有効性のみを主張する段階から、多様な援助モダリティを使い分けていくことの重要性へと移行していることも受け、発表者の間で顕著な対立点は見られなかった。むしろ、モダリティ選択のプロセスにおいて途上国の主体性を重視する姿勢が共通の出発点として再確認された。

セミナーを通じて、参加者の多くから、途上国のニーズやオーナーシップの多様性を踏まえた上で、援助モダリティの適切な組合せや選択を考える視点を提供しようという GRIPS 側の試みを評価する意見が寄せられた。しかし、同時に参加者からはモダリティの選択・決定にはより複雑な要因が絡まっており、GRIPS 調査の視点を引続き改善していく余地があるとの指摘もあった。第 1 に開発の現場でのプロセスが実際には恣意性、政治性に満ちたものであり、途上国側に優先的な開発課題や援助授受の関係性の向上といった点から途上国側にモダリティ選択の裁量権があるという前提自体が現実から遊離しているのではないかと、との指摘。第 2 に日本の援助の経験(特に対東アジア)は援助効率化、モダリティ選択をめぐる現行議論に必ずしも十分に反映されておらず、従って、国際援助コミュニティで活発なモダリティ論議が日本の援助の改革アジェンダとしてどの程度の重みを持つのか不明である、との指摘である。他方、途上国における整合性ある政府システムの構築が最も重要でモダリティの議論もその観点に収斂すべきとの主張もあり、参加者の間での立場の相違の大きさが浮き彫りになった。こういった多様な見方の存在自体、モダリティのプロセスの複雑な側面を顕著に示すものとして真摯に受け止めたい。

更に分析枠組みにかかるコメントとして、国の類型化に関する分析をより多角的な観点から深めることや、国の能力に応じたアラインメントの方法のあり方について具体的な検討を行っていくこと等に対する要望が示された。

以上を踏まえ、今後、モダリティ議論において取り組むべき課題として以下の 3 点を指摘したい。

今次発表で示された途上国を主体としたモダリティ選択の重要性を前提としつつ、現状理解のためのツールを洗練し提供していく観点から、より具体的かつ多くのセクターや国ごとの事例の集積、及びかかる情報の実務従事者との共有化。「何に対してどのように支援するか」が援助の効果を左右するのに対し、モダリティは「どのように」の部分を中心とした議論であるが、個別のセクター、国ごとの事例では「何を」の開発戦略の中身に当たる部分に焦点がおかれる場合もある。

モダリティ選択が恣意的、政治的プロセスであることにも配慮した上で、事例を通じてプロセスそのものに対する理解を深め、同プロセスにおける相互理解の促進に必要な要素等を解明する。

日本の援助政策に関しては、既に和文のモダリティ・ペーパーの最終章で明示した短期的な課題への取組みに対し、実務者によるグッド・プラクティスの発信等を通じて、その進展を側面支援する。また、それらの積み重ねの中で明らかにされる長期的な制度改革のアジェンダについても議論の喚起、問題提起を行っていく。但し、日本のODA 改革アジェンダとしてモダリティ議論がどの程度有効であるか、という指摘については真摯に受け止めたい。これは、日本の過去の援助の地域別の評価等を通じて慎重に特定されるべき課題である。

ANNEXES

GRIPS-ODI Joint Feedback Seminar

Good Donorship and the Choice of Aid Modalities —Matching Aid with Country Needs and Ownership—

1. Background and Objectives

The main purpose of this joint seminar between the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS) and the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) is to present the findings of recent studies on aid modalities, undertaken respectively by GRIPS and ODI researchers, and to facilitate debate including the implications for global aid policy and practice. In particular, the seminar intends to promote understanding of features of different aid modalities and how to choose appropriate aid modalities, with due consideration of the country- and sector-specific context.

The topic of aid modalities is a growing area of interest in Japan. The 1990s saw the emergence of new aid approaches—especially general budget support, sector budget support and pooling fund arrangements under the Sector-Wide Approach. However, a perception "gap" over aid approaches appears to exist between the UK (and the Like-Minded Donor Group) and Japan. This is partly because project aid is traditionally dominant in Japan and also because the UK and Japan have different development and aid experiences in Sub-Saharan Africa and East Asia respectively. Now that experiences with the new aid approaches have been accumulated in Sub-Sahara Africa and there has been increased interest in its applicability among Asian countries, it is highly relevant to examine how and under which conditions specific aid modalities and/or their optimal combination work, in order to understand the relative usefulness of respective aid modalities. At the same time, there is a set of issues, or “good donorship” principles that should be honoured by all donors, regardless of their choice of aid modalities, in order to realize effective aid. For this reason, therefore, it is important to build common understanding regarding donor practice as well.

Against this background, throughout 2004 GRIPS has been engaged in a research project on “Good Donorship and the Choice of Aid Modalities”. The GRIPS team has greatly benefited from ODI’s extensive knowledge and analyses, particularly in Africa, including an initial brainstorming meeting with ODI researchers. The GRIPS team has also benefited from advice provided by Japanese aid professionals and researchers, built on their field experiences. Through the proposed seminar, the GRIPS team would like to provide feedback from this research and stimulate discussion concerning the issues that need further investigation.

Two researchers from the ODI will be invited to the seminar (Ms Karin Christiansen as speaker, and Ms Debbie Warrener as moderator). They will present recent ODI research on this topic, comment on the GRIPS studies, and facilitate seminar discussions; for example, by providing a UK-Japan comparative perspective. It is hoped that this opportunity for two-way dialogue will contribute to broadening the spectrum of the research agenda and policy debates.

2. Seminar Program

A feedback seminar, jointly organized by GRIPS and ODI, is scheduled for the 15th of March 2005 at 14:00-17:00 at the JICA Institute for International Cooperation.

The target audience will be researchers and aid professionals interested in issues of development effectiveness and aid modalities, who ideally have different regional, country, and sector expertise (e.g., universities, think-tanks, consultants, government officials, JICA and JBIC). The seminar will be kept relatively small in size (approximately 30-40 participants) to promote active and in-depth discussions among those familiar with the topic.

Although the seminar does not intend to lead to pre-determined conclusions, it would be useful if some of the following issues can be concretely discussed.

- What are the key factors that affect the choice of aid modalities?
- What are the lessons learned from the latest experiences with new aid approaches?
- What are the specific features of respective aid modalities? How can country and sector-specific issues be incorporated so that the merits of respective modalities can be fully exploited? Are there any overall differences in country contexts in Africa and Asia to be borne in mind when considering the choice of aid modalities?
- How the program approach is applied to support growth promotion and the productive sectors?
- Whether and to what extent can the choice of aid modalities make a difference in improving development impacts? What are the limits of debates on modality?
- What are the elements of “good donorship” so that donors can practice aid to effectively assist in achieving sustainable growth and poverty reduction?

[About the Speakers]

Karin Christiansen:

Research Fellow (Center for Aid and Public Expenditure) / ODI

Specialised in PRSPs and linkages to public expenditure management; participatory and decentralised approaches to public expenditure and implementation.

Debbie Warrener:

Research Officer (Research and Policy in Development) / ODI

Specialized in Japan-UK dialogue on aid policy; role of civil society in the policy process; bridging research and policy.

Izumi Ohno:

Professor / GRIPS

Specialized in PRSPs and development partnership; ODA policies and reform.

Shoko Yamada:

Associate Professor / GRIPS

Specialized in policy studies in education, comparative and international education; African studies.

Yumiko Niiya:

Researcher / GRIPS

Specialized in ODA policies and reform, particularly in the area of social development, as aid practitioner in the fields and head quarter offices.

Slide 1



**Chakugan Taikyoku:
Challenges & dilemmas in the
'new aid agenda'**

Karin Christiansen
Centre for Aid & Public Expenditure

GRIPS/ODI seminar
15th March 2005

odi

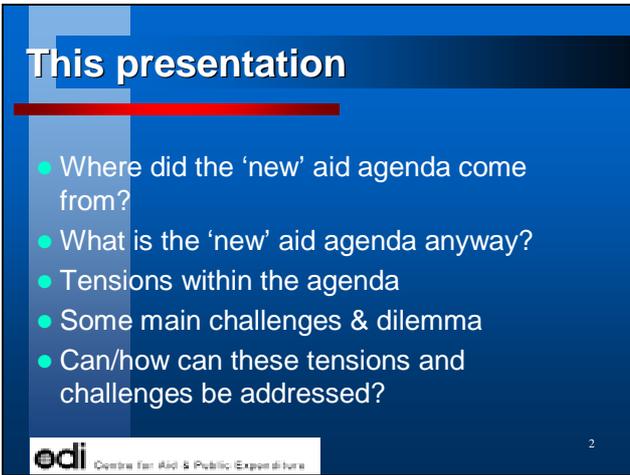
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ODI- Independent research institute/think tank on international development issues, based in London, but do research, advisory and consultancy work all over world.

Me- CAPE in the Poverty and Public Policy Group (PPPG) in ODI.

Worked in humanitarian and development area, long term work in Kenya, Rwanda and Balkans, for NGOs, UN and recipient government, now applied policy research with a focus on recipient government perspective, PFM, aid and fragile states. MAs in economics and political & social thought.

Slide 2



This presentation

- Where did the 'new' aid agenda come from?
- What is the 'new' aid agenda anyway?
- Tensions within the agenda
- Some main challenges & dilemma
- Can/how can these tensions and challenges be addressed?

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2

Slide 3

Where did 'new' agenda come from?

Substantial evidence-base emerging that:

- aid effectiveness undermined by lack of ownership, conditionalities not resulting implementation
- highly projectised aid (due to donor accountability fears) not delivering less corruption, but expensive & causing institutional damage

Thus, aid might be part of the problem: unintended consequences of fragmentation, lack of coherence & state avoidance → undermining governance in long term...

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From conditionality to ownership

- History of lack of growth in sub-Saharan Africa, mounting critiques of SAPs, economic research literature develops on aid effectiveness (Boone, Burnside, Dollar etc). Policy environment emerges as determinant of what work (e.g. East Asian successes) and conditionality had not improved that in SSA.

- Ownership identified as the solution: a both getting policy implemented and making the policy 'more appropriate'

From projects to programmes & public expenditure management

Critiques of project financing were emerging over the 1980s & 1990s. (e.g. 'Wappenhas Report' & 'Assessing Aid') The main critical conclusions of evaluations of project aid can be summarised as follows:

- High transactions costs from the multiplicity of different reporting & accounting requirements, including tied aid
- Inefficient spending dictated by donor priorities & procurement arrangements
- Extremely unpredictable funding levels
- Undermining of state systems through the special staffing arrangements & parallel structures
- Corrosion of democratic accountability as mechanisms are designed to satisfy donor rather than domestic constituencies
- Hard to sustain positive impact beyond the short term, with high level of reliance on donor fund which undermined sustainability
- Corruption, fraud and rent-seeking were also a feature of the management of projects which were not overcome by their independence from government

Slide 4

What's the 'new' aid agenda anyway?

Different things to different people, but includes:

- Focus on government ownership
- Results orientation
- Alignment of donors with government policies & systems
- Donor harmonisation of programmes approaches, funds
- Focus on political context/economy analysis?

Embodied in moves to PRSPs, modalities such as SWAP, GBS...

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PRSP principles

Slide 5

Tensions within the agenda

- Aid modalities vs donor behaviour principles
- Harmonisation vs alignment
- Results vs process
- Quality of policy vs ownership
- Rewarding good performance vs building better performance

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Good donorship principles

(<http://www.odi.org.uk/PPPG/cape/stream1/proposal.pdf>)

1. Country leadership and ownership

This is the overriding and ultimate goal. It requires the subordination of donor processes, procedures and eventually objectives to those of the recipient country;

2. Capacity building for the long-term

Donors need to work in a way that builds the capacity of government sustainably, neither simply filling short-term gaps nor over-using/diverting limited existing capacity;

3. Harmonization and simplification

This involves reducing the transactions costs facing government by limiting duplications and contradictions, and coordinating and simplifying the demands made by donors;

4. Transparency and information sharing

This implies the full disclosure by donors of their resource flows and practices, in formats accessible and compatible with government cycles and systems;

5. Predictability of resources and conditionality

Without predictability of resources and the simplification of conditions, implementing policies and delivering services becomes extremely difficult;

6. Subsidiarity

Decisions within and between donor organisations need to be delegated to the level that is best for aligning aid with country systems

Slide 6

Challenges & Dilemma

- Mechanistic approach to aid instruments whether GBS, PRS or projects
- Harmonisation → ganging up or harmonising the wrong direction
- Reinforces upward accountability to donors
- Alignment to what? Multiple, weak, bad or non-existent systems or policies

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Slide 7

continued...

- Concerns about legitimising abusive regimes
- Results monitoring how far down the causality chain?
- Eligibility criteria- minimum standards or direction of change
- Aid as minor player – neither in growth, nor intervention/\$: trade, security, drugs, national profile...

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Slide 8

Can these tensions be addressed?

Yes to some... no to others. But how?

- By clarity around objectives & trade-offs
- By distinguishing means from ends e.g. GBS, PRS, or projects as means only
- By using 'do no harm' approaches e.g. shadow systems alignment
- By greater realism, honesty & timeframes
- By programming base on potential development benefits as well as risks/cost

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8

Shadow systems alignment

(http://www.odi.org.uk/PPPG/publications/papers_reports/HA%20in%20fragile%20states%20.pdf)

Such an approach might be useful in situations where there is a:

- Lack of, competing or multiple systems
- Concerns about legitimising a particular government or authority
- Serious concerns about the intentions of the authorities towards their own population
- A significant & prolonged humanitarian presence

If there is nothing to 'align to', interventions need to be 'shadow' aligned. This approach needs to start with assessing the available formal and informal policies and systems. (There is invariably more available than is first assumed). These can then be built on, adapted and reformed, which is more effective than designing and introducing entirely new policies and systems, particularly in low capacity environments.

Shadow systems alignment is a state-avoiding approach but one that is 'future-proof'.

It does not give an authority or government control over resources, but does use structures, institutions or systems which are parallel but compatible with existing or potential organisation of the state. It aims to avoid creating a diversionary institutional legacy that can undermine or impede the development of a more accountable and legitimate future relationship between the people and their governments.

The key to shadow 'systems' alignment is to ensure system compatibility. The design of external interventions is made based on the parallel but consistent or compatible organisational structures and operational procedures. A central element of this is about providing information in a compatible format (e.g. budget years and classifications). Additional operational practice may include using the same or at least compatible:

- Administrative layers or boundaries
- Planning and budgeting cycles
- Budget classifications
- Accounting, procurement and audit systems
- Monitoring and evaluation systems
- Staffing structures and hierarchies

In practice alignment is a question of degree. Shadow systems alignment is a way of overcoming the negative effects of 'non-alignment' but is not dependent of policy alignment or handing control over resources to the authorities.

Slide 9

Comments & questions?

Thank you

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Reference:
 PRSPs
 Fragile states paper

Slide 10

Handout

Defining H&A:

1. Ownership (Partner countries)	National Governmental		
2. Alignment (Donor-Partner)	Alignment on partners' priorities	Use of country systems	
3. Harmonisation (Donor-Donor)	Common arrangements	Rationalise procedures	Information sharing

Plus coherence: aid-trade-security-drugs etc
 • This cuts across aid instruments/modalities

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The five stated **core principles** that underlie **PRS** development and that *should be* embodied in their implementation:

- country-driven: involving broad-based participation by civil society and the private sector in all operational steps;
- results-oriented: focusing on outcomes that would benefit the poor;
- comprehensive: recognising the multidimensional nature of poverty;
- partnership-oriented: involving coordinated participation of development partners (bilateral, multilateral, and non-governmental);
- based on a long-term perspective for poverty reduction.

Distinction between 'off', 'on' and 'through' budget

Slide 1

A Conceptual Framework for the Choice of Aid Modalities

Matching Aid with Country Needs and Ownership

Izumi Ohno
GRIPS Development Forum
March 15, 2005

1

Slide 2

About Aid Modality

- Why does aid modality matter? (also, just aid modality?)
- OECD-DAC:
 - *Rome Declaration on Harmonization (2003)*
 - Country-based approach
 - Country ownership and leadership, and
 - Diversity in aid modalities
 - *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005)*
 - Elements of "Good Donorship" and agreed monitoring indicators: ownership, alignment, harmonization, capacity development, etc.

2

Slide 3

About Aid Modality

(para.5)

- Enhancing the effectiveness of aid across all aid modalities
- Choose and design appropriate and complementary modalities so as to maximize their combined effectiveness
- *How can we put the above principles into practice, in respective partner countries?*

3

Slide 4

Discussion Topics

1. Review of aid modality debates
2. A proposed framework for deciding the choice of aid modalities
3. Case analyses
 - Aid mix and coordination mechanisms: Vietnam, Cambodia, Tanzania, Ghana
 - Examples of practicing "good donorship"
4. Conclusions and unresolved agenda

4

Slide 5

1. Aid Modality Debates (esp. mid-1990s ~)

- New aid modalities: Budget Support (BS), pool funds under SWAp, etc.
- Emerging priorities:
 - Good policies & institutions, fungibility, core govt. functions, recurrent financing, etc.
- Criticism of the existing modalities:
 - Esp. aid relationship & ownership
- Modality shift becoming integral part of supporting the PRSP framework

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Slide 6

Emerging Priorities and Aid Modalities

Development Priorities	Aid Modalities
1950s- : ■ Capital shortages (domestic & foreign exchanges) ■ Knowledge & technology gaps.	- Projects (infrastructure) & program aid (typically, balance of payments (BoP) support through commodity loans, aimed at financial transfer. - Technical assistance (TA) projects.
1970s: ■ Basic human needs	- Project aid to support social services & rural development
1980s: ■ Macroeconomic stability ■ Structural reforms	- Structural Adjustment Lending (SAL) & Sector Adjustment Lending (SECAL), in the form of program aid, adding policy conditionality to BoP support.
1990s: ■ External debt problems	- Later, program aid became linked to debt relief (e.g., Enhanced HIPC Initiative)
Mid-1990s- : Poverty reduction as the ultimate goal of development ■ Policy & institutional coherency. ■ Addressing fungibility issues. ■ Building of the core govt. systems. ■ Recurrent financing	- New types of program aid, including budget support (general & sector BS), pool funds under SWAp arrangement, as well as pooled TA.

Slide 7

Criticism of the Existing Modalities

- ❑ 'Stand-alone' projects (e.g., aid fragmentation, transaction costs, parallel systems)
 - ➔ *Sector-Wide Approach (SWAp)*
 - ➔ *SWAp to (general) BS?*
- ❑ Structural adjustment operations (e.g., failure of conditionality to induce reforms)
 - ➔ *BS, based on nationally-owned PRSP.*

Slide 8

Issues for Consideration

- ❑ Assessment of new modalities
 - Too early to be conclusive
 - Countries eligible for BS limited
- ❑ Country diversity
 - Development priorities, ownership & capacity, etc.
- ❑ Institutional challenges of the functioning of the PRSP framework
 - PRSP-MTEF-PAF link?, issues on patrimonial states, etc.

Slide 9

Issues for Consideration

- Multi-dimensionality of capacities: not only fiduciary risk mgt., but also field implementation
- ❑ Treatment of the private sector
 - Role of aid in PSD & growth promotion?
 - ➔ *Need for a broader framework, based on the reality of partner countries*
- ❑ Case of fragile states? (not analyzed in our study)

Slide 10

2. Proposed Framework: Choice of Aid Modalities

Origin of Aid Modality Debates: Two Streams of Thinking

Aid mix should be decided, based on country-specific assessment on:

- ❑ Priority needs
- ❑ Ownership & capacity
- ❑ Aid dependency

Slide 11

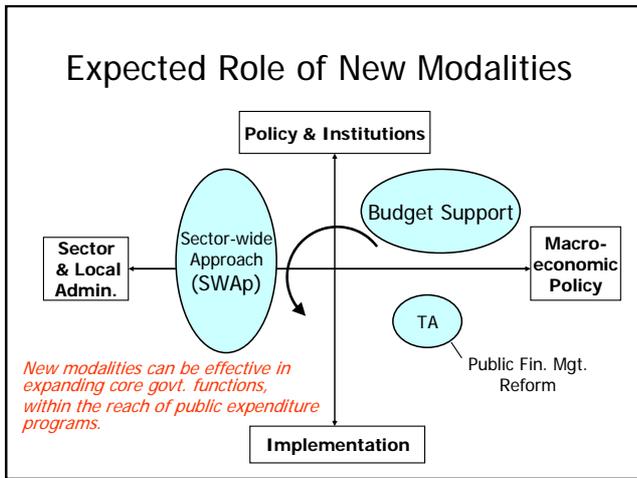
2-1. Priority Country Needs

- ❑ The extent of govt. functions
 - Need to build core govt. functions (e.g., expanding the coverage of service delivery)?
 - Need to strengthen specific functions?
- ❑ Relative importance of PSD (outside DPM), as compared to building of core govt. functions
- ❑ Features of priority sectors and activities
 - ➔ *Development Priority Matrix (DPM):* To assess priority needs in the public sector [handout#1]

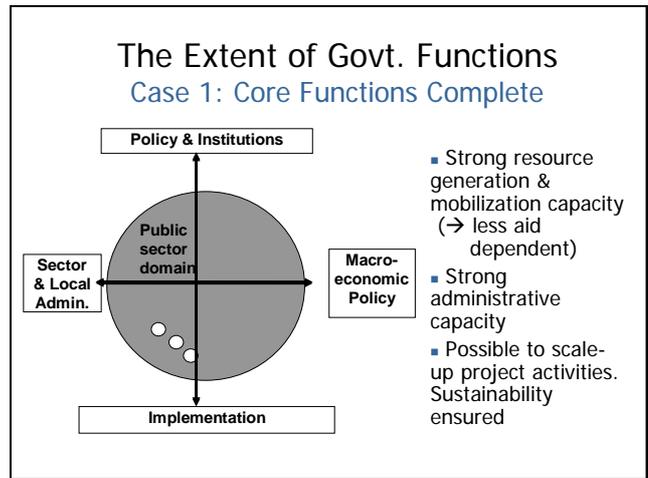
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Development Priority Matrix (DPM)

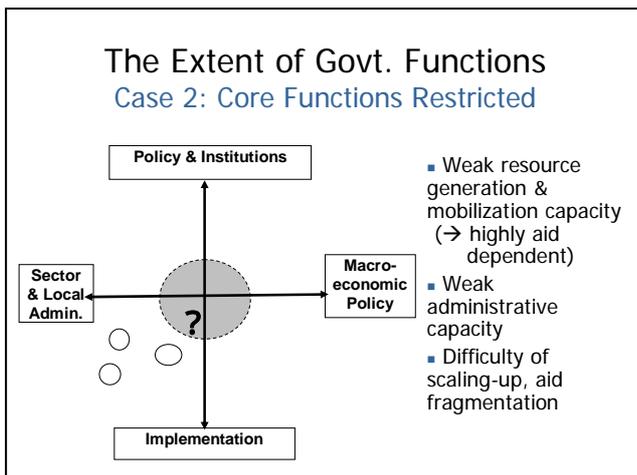
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Slide 14



Slide 15



Slide 16

- ### Features & of Priority Sectors and Activities
- Intensity of public-goods components and the role of recurrent expenditure
 - High (primary education), low (PSD), intermediate (agriculture - research & extension; infrastructure - construction vs. O&M)
 - System-wide applicability of standardized, homogeneous approaches
 - High (school construction), low (classroom teaching, curative care)
 - Role of NGOs & civil society

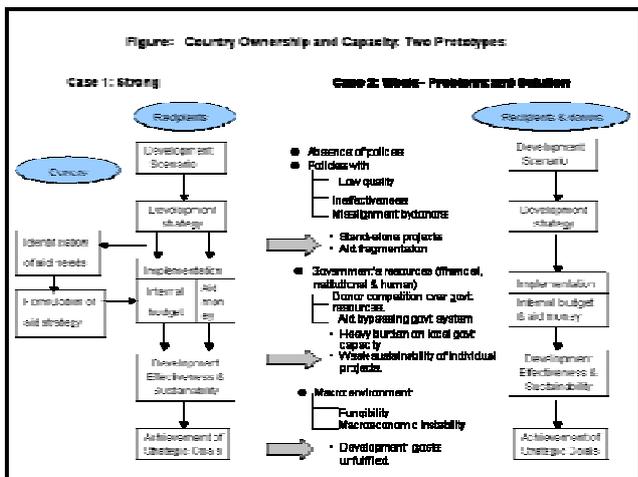
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- ### 2-2. Assessing Real Ownership
- Capacity for:
 - Aid management
 - Design and implementation of development programs
 - Recipients' perception of ownership
 - Openness to external influence
 - Bargaining power vs. donors
 - Aid dependency
 - *Typologies of Ownership & Capacity* [handout#2]

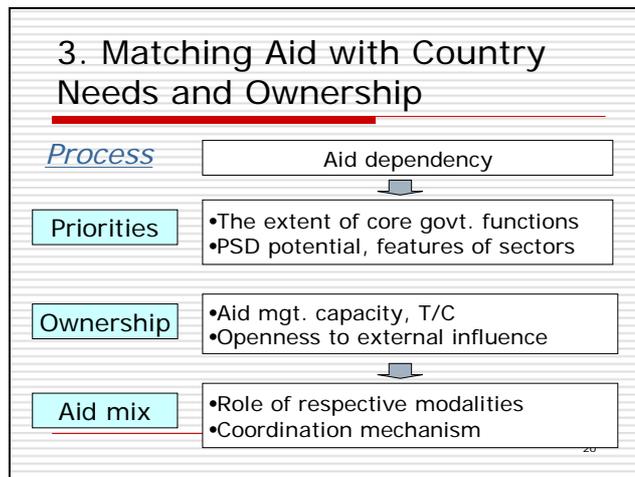
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- ### Assessing Real Ownership (esp. Capacity)
- Case 1: Strong ownership
 - Capable of identifying specific aid needs
 - Low aid dependency, donor leverage limited?
 - *Collective donor action on policy & institutional agenda can be costly, creating "dual system"*
 - Case 2: Weak ownership
 - Problems of aid fragmentation, transaction costs, weak sustainability, etc.
 - Often, high aid dependency: aid mgt. essential part of managing development programs
 - *Joint solution with donors may be necessary*

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Slide 20



Slide 21

- ### Referential Indicators for Assessment
- Aid dependency [handout #3]
 - Ratio of ODA to GDP, govt. expenditure, etc.
 - The extent of core govt. functions
 - Ratio of govt. revenues to GDP
 - Access to essential social services
 - PSD potential
 - Ratio of ODA to investment, forex earnings, etc.
 - Aid mgt. capacity
 - Centralized vs. fragmented aid mgt.
 - Transaction costs (T/C), associated with aid volume, number of projects & donors

Slide 22

Matching Aid with Country Needs and Ownership (Examples)

	Aid dependency	Priority needs	Ownership	Aid mix & coordination
Vietnam	Low	-PSD & industrial competitive ness -Service quality	-Closed, centralized aid mgt. -T/C manageable	-Projects as main modality. BS to address specific reforms -Policy alignment -Harmonization by donor groups with similar procedures.
Tanzania	High	-Building core functions -Service expansion	-Open partnership -High T/C	-BS & pool funds (under SWAp) as main modality. -Projects to be fully aligned (policy & budget process).
Cambodia	High	-Building core functions -Service expansion	-Fragmented aid mgt. -Open partnership -High T/C	-Sector level, policy alignment. -Coordinated efforts to reduce T/C beginning.

Slide 23

- ### Country Examples: Role of Budget Support (BS)
- Vietnam:
 - PRSC serving as an entry point for policy reforms, with projects supporting implementation & providing policy inputs
 - Possibility of "targeted" BS being explored
 - Tanzania:
 - PRBS/PRSC serving as resource transfer & priority sector support, supplemented by SWAp (mostly, sector BS & pool funds)
 - Cambodia:
 - General BS yet to be introduced
 - Innovative, flexible SWAp (e.g., project-based, health SWIM, education SWAp with sector BS, pool funds & projects)

Slide 24

- ### Country Examples: Role of Project Aid
- Vietnam ("without" SWAp)
 - The existence of PHC network (province-district-commune)
 - Project aid for "context-specific" & "transaction-intensive" activities: strengthening field implementation to improve the existing functions (e.g., Reproductive Health Project)
 - Ghana ("with" SWAp)
 - Project aid for "pilot innovation": scaled up within SWAp, contributing to the establishment of its institutional framework (e.g., Health In-Service Training Project)

Slide 25

Country Examples: Practicing Good Donorship

Donor behavior also matters

- ❑ Sharing the process of deciding aid mix & coordination mechanisms: *Tanzania, Vietnam*
- ❑ Promoting alignment & harmonization to reduce transaction costs: *Ghana (PRSC/MDBS), Vietnam (projects)*
- ❑ Designing SWAp, with realistic assessment of local capacity & needs: *Cambodia, Bangladesh*
- ❑ Integrating aid flows into recipient's budget process: *Tanzania (BS & projects)*

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Slide 26

4. Conclusions

- ❑ Need for country-specific assessment of: priority needs, ownership & aid dependency
- ❑ Need for sharing views, among partners, on the role of respective aid modalities and desirable coordination mechanisms
- ❑ Efforts to pursue "good donorship" across all aid modalities
- ❑ Mutual learning among donors (e.g., UK & Japan) for their complementarities

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Slide 27

Conclusions: Implications for Japan's ODA

- ❑ Enhancing the effectiveness of projects
→ *Alignment & harmonization*
- ❑ Contributing to the content of policy & institutional framework, building on the field-based experiences
→ *Participating in policy dialogue*
→ *Use of PHRD funds, as well as BS & pool funds where appropriate*
- ❑ Strengthening country programming across all schemes (TA, grants, loans)
→ *Key role of field-based, ODA Task Force*

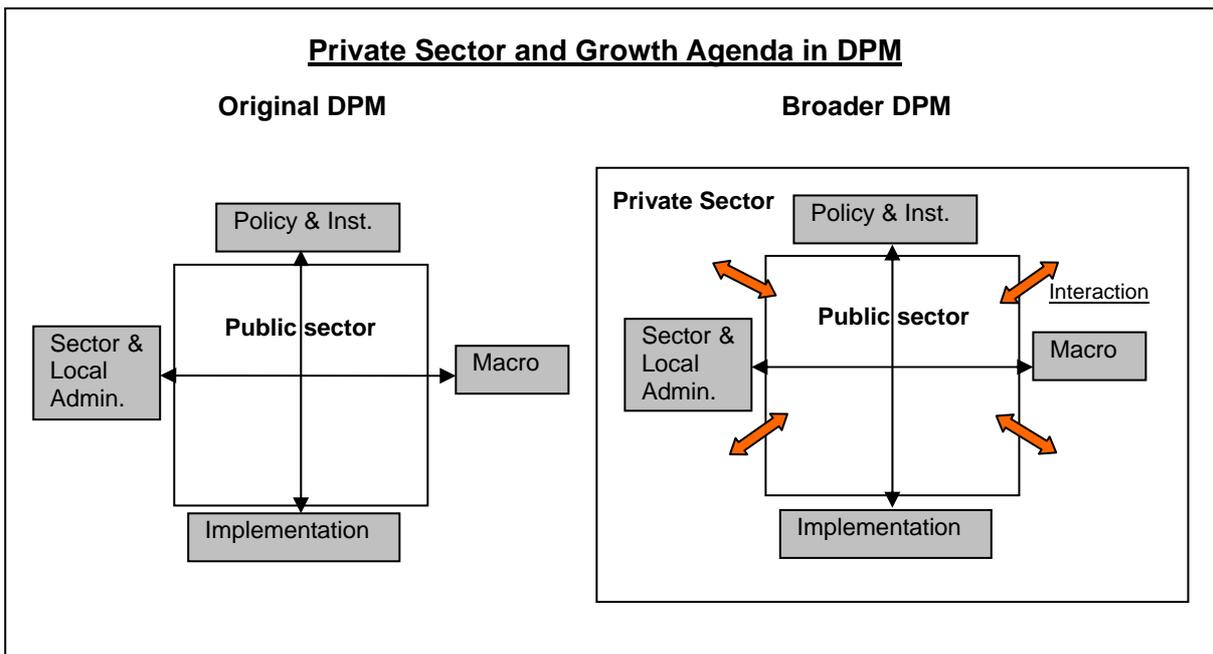
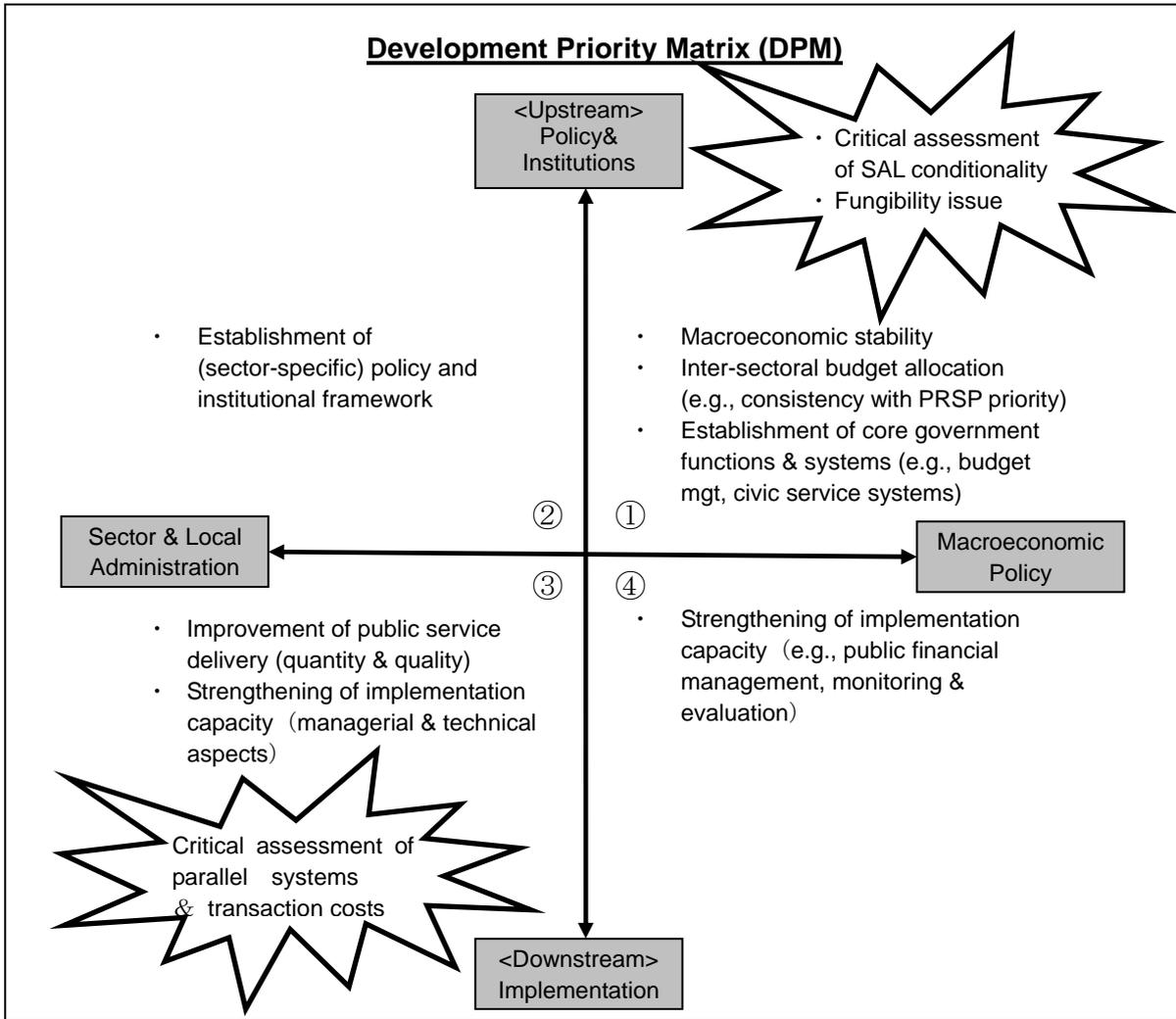
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Slide 28

Topics for Further Discussions and Studies

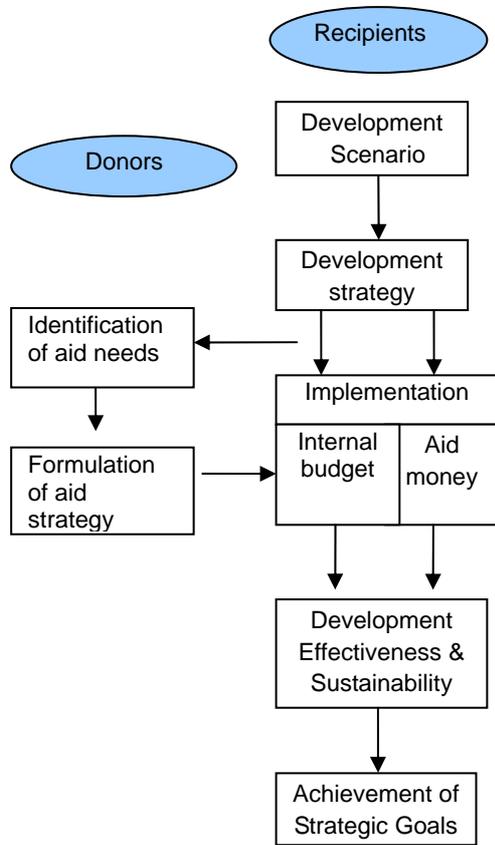
- ❑ Is our framework appropriate to consider different country context? (e.g., Asia vs. Sub-Saharan Africa)
- ❑ Need for more analyses at the sector level (e.g., PSD & growth agenda)
- ❑ Need for deeper understanding of ownership and capacity development (incl. diverse country experiences with aid mgt.)

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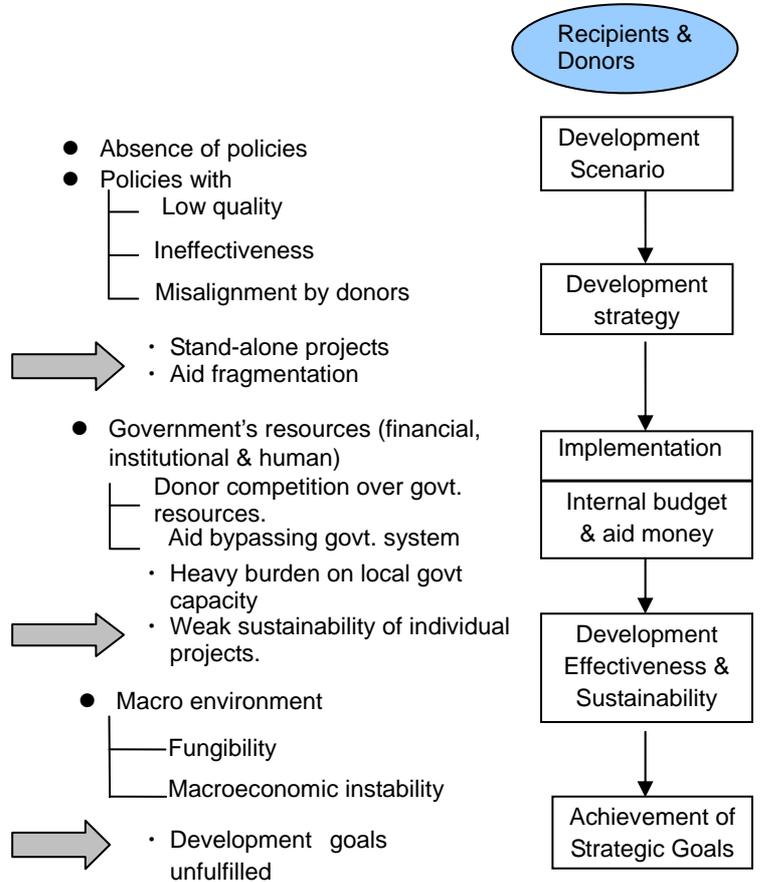


Typologies of Country Ownership and Capacity

Case 1: Strong



Case 2: Weak-- Problems and Solution



Aid as a percent of Macroeconomic Aggregates (2001)

Unit: %

	GDP	Gov't Exp.	Investment	Forex. Revenue	Imports
Vietnam	4.6	17.9	14.8	7.0	9.4
Cambodia	12.4	64.4	69.1	19.0	24.4
Tanzania	14.3	75.0	83.8	41.8	89.2

Note: From International Monetary Fund. (2003). *IMF statistical appendix*.
From OECD/DAC.

The aid data (gross disbursement) are based on donor report to OECD/DAC, which may not coincide with those reported by the government.

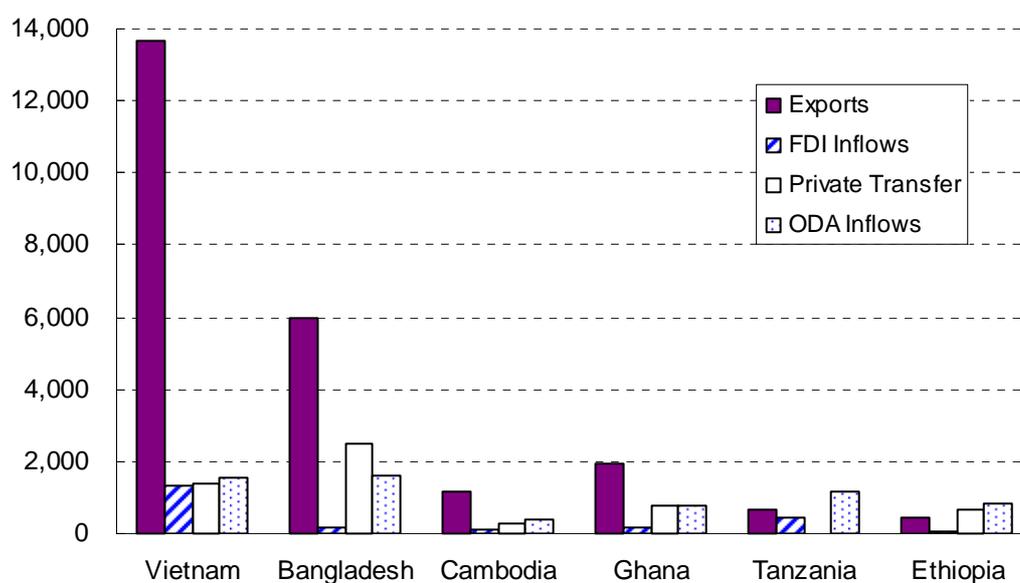
Access to Essential Social Services

	GNI per capita (2002)	Child Immunization Rate (% of children under age one, 2001)	Primary School Completion Rate (2001)	Access to Improved Water (% of pop., 2000)
Vietnam	\$430	98%	101%	77%
Cambodia	\$280	60%	43%	30%
Tanzania	\$280	85%	60%	68%

Note: From World Bank. (2003). *World development report 2004*.

Selected Sources of Foreign Exchange Inflows (Average of 1999-2001)

Unit: \$mn



Note: From International Monetary Fund. (2003). *IMF statistical appendix*.
From OECD/DAC.

Slide 1

Priorities and equity of resource distribution: the case of Primary Education Development Program (PEDP) in Tanzania

Shoko Yamada, GRIPS

1

Slide 2

Case: PEDP, Tanzania (1)

Aid inflow and the trend of educational resource allocation

Trend after 2000/2001 (handout)

- Increased aid dependency (reliance on foreign grant to cover the budget deficit)
- Increased allocation of public funds to education (both as % of public expenditure and of GDP)
- Bigger share of primary education at the expense of secondary

2

Slide 3

Case: PEDP, Tanzania (2)

Efficiency of the financial flow

- PETS findings -

- Reducing leakage (50% of capitation grants reached school in 2002 68% in 2003)

Issues

- Execution rate is lower for the donor funded part than for the government funded part (efficiency problem at the macro-level).
- Multiple channels of disbursement (cause of misappropriation and mis-recording) (handout)
- 20% of registered teachers are ghost
- Degree of resource leakage varies across districts and schools (income level and accessibility of info. matters) – disadvantage for rural small schools in low income communities

3

Slide 4

Case: PEDP, Tanzania (3)

Educational outcomes

(Handout)

- Gross enrolment rate (improvement of access)
- Pupil-teacher ratio (less internal efficiency, but not a dramatic change)
- Repetition rate

No clear pattern in the educational outcomes before and after PEDP

4

Slide 5

Effects of increased financial resources to primary education

- Weak co-relation between educational expenditure and educational outcome
 - John Roberts, 2003 (ODI); Yaqub, 1999 (WB)
- Resource allocation to the pro-poor sector at the central level does not automatically guarantee the benefit of the poor
 - "Joint Evaluation of General Budget Support: Tanzania 1995-2004", ODI
 - Benefit incidence analysis shows Tanzanian poor population benefit less from the public educational expenditure than many African countries

5

Slide 6

Advantages of coordinated financial assistance (ideal scenario)

- Reduced duplication and contradiction among interventions by different development partners (DPs)
- Reduced transaction cost by harmonizing the procedures of different DPs
- More room for the government's discretion in planning, financing, and implementation

6

Slide 7



Needs for responsive and context-sensitive assistance

- Focused assistance for the disadvantaged (the poor, girls, remote areas, etc.)
- Capacity building of local educational offices and school committees
- Planning and service delivery based on the deep understanding of local contexts

persistent needs of field-based operation and technical assistance (provided that it is aligned to the sector policy)

7

Slide 8



The way forward: bridging aid modalities

- Balance btw/ articulating a comprehensive aid framework and attending urgent needs on the ground
- Capacity and negotiation power of the government to balance different modalities of DPs
- Mutual respect among DPs for different mode of assistance
 - Factors conditioning the relationships among DPs – power politics; history of commitment to the country assisted, etc.

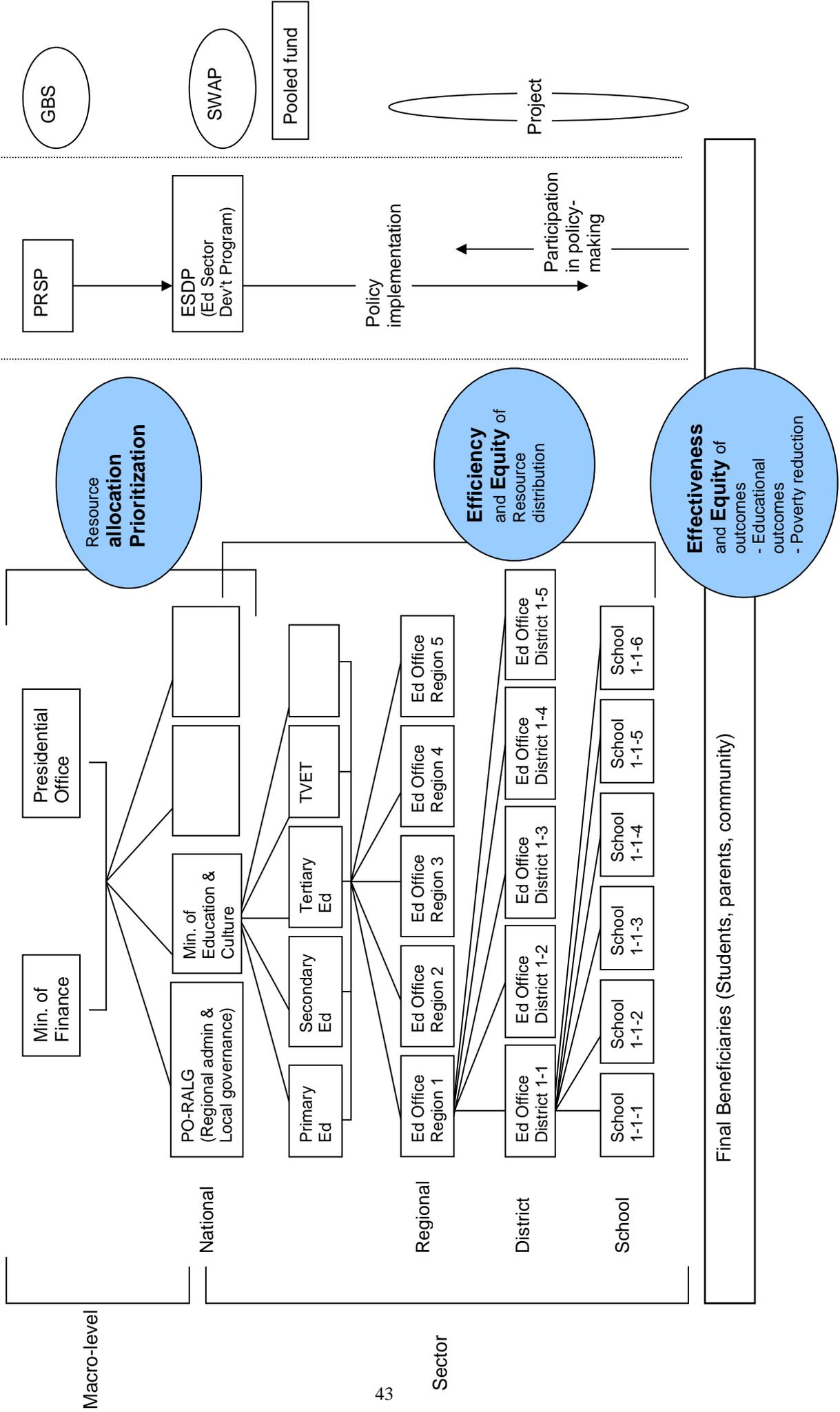
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Policy, finance, and aid modalities from macro to micro level – The case of Tanzania

Financial flow

Policy

Aid modality

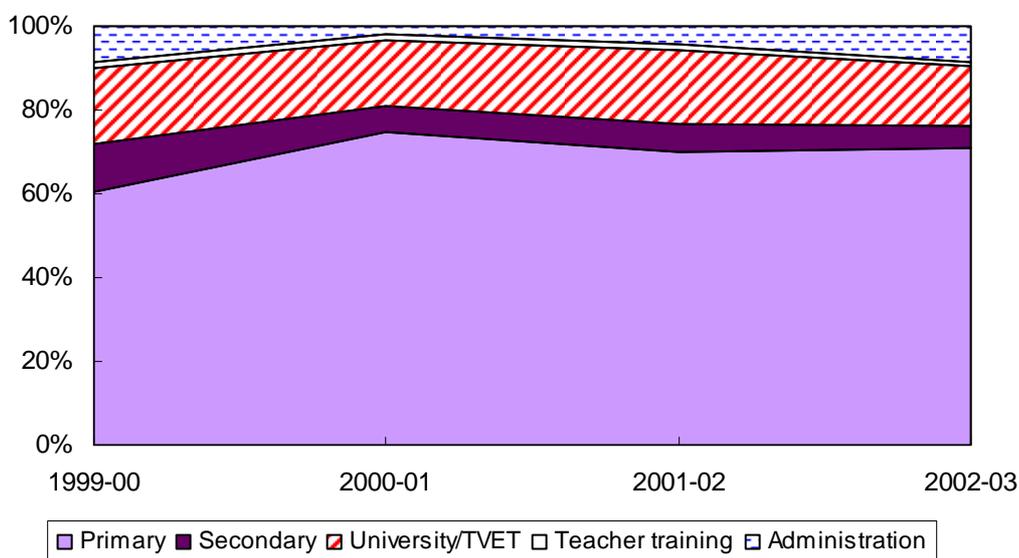


Foreign assistance and public expenditure on education in Tanzania

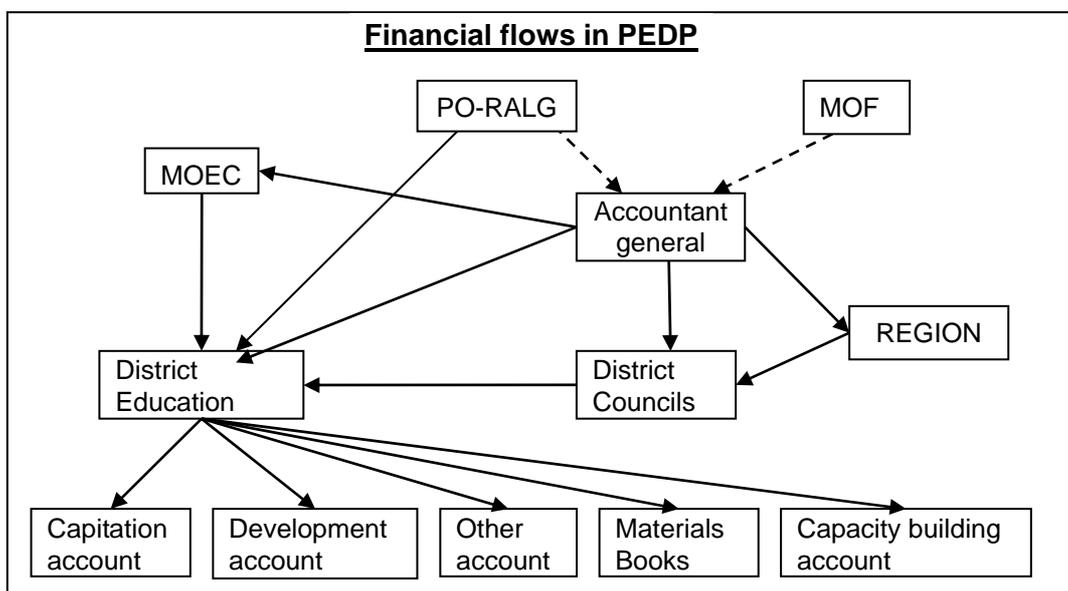
	Educational expenditure (as % of public expenditure)	Ed expenditure (as % of GDP)	Budget deficit covered by grant (as % of GDP)	GDP real growth rate
1997			2.7	3.3
1998			2.6	4
1999	26.40	3.1	2.2	4.7
2000	21.60	3.3	4.2	4.9
2001	27.02	3.4	3.5	5.7
2002	28.34	4.4	4.5	6.2

Note: From World Bank. (2003). *Tanzania public expenditure review FY03*.
 From United Republic of Tanzania. (2003). *Joint review of the primary education development plan: Final report*.

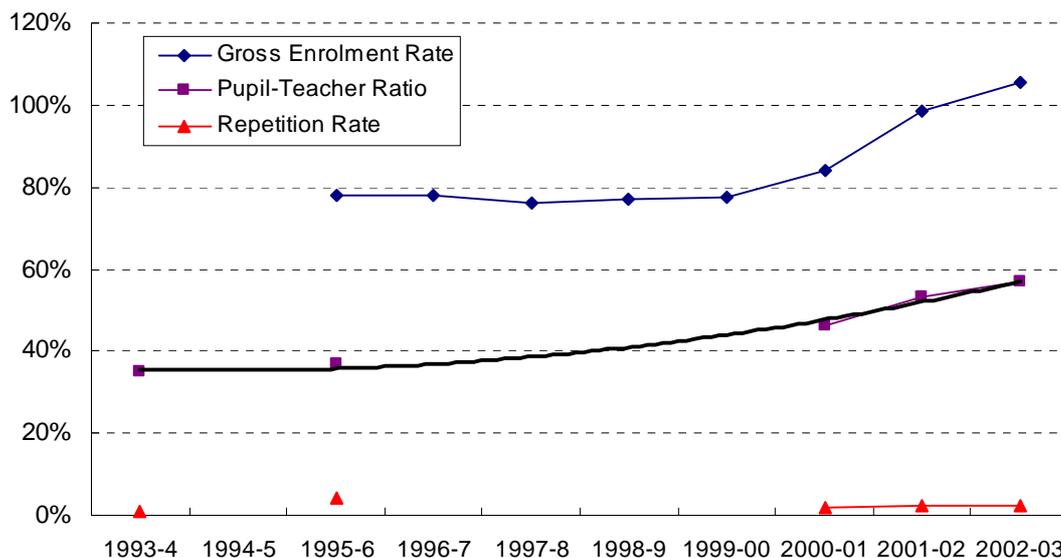
Share of recurrent expenditure of education in Tanzania by sub-sector



Note: From World Bank. (2003). *Tanzania public expenditure review FY03*.

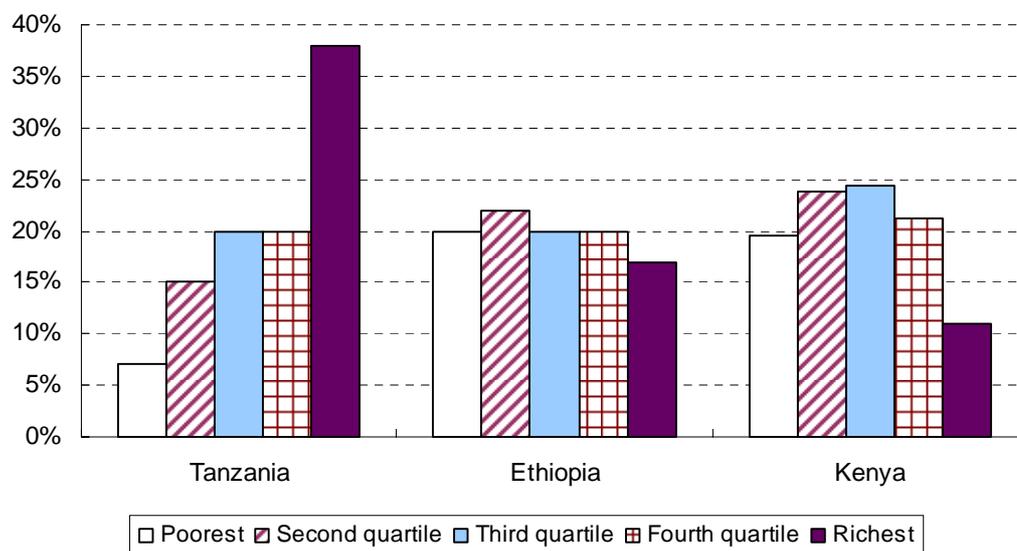


Access to and quality of education in Tanzania



Note: From United Republic of Tanzania. (2005). *Basic statistics in education 1993-2003*.

Benefit incidences of public expenditure on primary education in Tanzania, compared to two other East African countries



Note: From Lambert, S., and Sahn, D. (1999). Incidence of public spending in the health and education sectors in Tanzania. In M. Christian (Ed.), *Education and health expenditure and poverty reduction in East Africa* (pp. 130).
 From World Bank. (2002). *Kenya: Strengthening the foundation of education and training in Kenya* (pp. 61).
 From World Bank. (2004). *Education in Ethiopia: Strengthening the foundation for sustainable progress* (pp. 104).

Slide 1

Sector and Country Context for the Choice of Aid Modalities: Case of Health Sector, Uganda and Vietnam

Roadmap

1. Why Health, Uganda and Vietnam
2. Comparison in priority of country needs
3. Comparison in recipient-donor relationship
4. Case of Vietnam

Discussion

15/03/2005
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Slide 2

Selection process of aid modality has two stages...

Ohno's presentation: Proposal of conceptual frameworks for capturing different sector and country context in each step.

This presentation: Through the case of health sector in Uganda and Vietnam, the presentation will demonstrate

- 1) sector and country differences more specifically
- 2) how they affect the selection of aid modalities.

- Why Health, Uganda and Vietnam
Typology of sectors by the role of public expenditure
- Comparison in priority of country needs
Uganda and Vietnam
- Comparison in recipient-donor relationship
Uganda and Vietnam
- Vietnam case Study
Complex development priorities & limited openness to external influence
- Discussion
Tensions within the agenda in countries like Vietnam

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Slide 3

Typology of Government-role and Public Expenditure's role Why examine the Health sector ?

	Role of government	Role of public expenditure	Typical example
Type A	Service provider	Major	Primary education, [Primary Health]
Type B	Regulator/promoter of private activities	Minor	Private sector development
Type C	Mixture of A and B	Hybrid	Agriculture, [Primary Health]

- Why this typology? Modality choice is deeply related to the public expenditure's flow (Ohno's presentation).
- Some sectors can be categorized in different type depending on country situation. Examining such sector can make an appropriate case for contrasting country difference.
- The primary health care (PHC), can be categorized either in Type A (Uganda) or Type C (Vietnam).

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Slide 4

Comparison of 2 types of Health development environment: Uganda and Vietnam

Country	Uganda	Vietnam
Health Status	Low health status with disease patterns concentrating on communicable disease	Relatively higher health status with shifting disease patterns from communicable to non-communicable Diseases
Primary Health Care network	Public PHC network is yet to be established and function properly	Well-developed public PHC network with an increase in private health care providers
Aid Dependency	High	Low

Two low income countries, two very different situations...

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Slide 5

Comparison in Development Priorities and Needs Uganda and Vietnam

Priority Needs / Country	Supply side	Demand side	Role and flow of public expenditure (PE)	Aid modality
Uganda	Establishment of public PHC network	Stimulating health demand by introducing free service	Both development and recurrent expenditure can be streamlined into public PHC network	-SWAP as a framework -Common fund as a financial instrument
Vietnam	Quality improvement in both i) existing public PHC network and ii) emerging private providers	Establishing financial mechanism to cover high out of pocket expenditure (80%).	Three tiers: -Quality improvement of public PHC -Regulatory role for private providers -Demand side Financing [Handout Figure 1]	??

Uganda: SWAP with common fund functioning as a tool to strengthen the unified flow of PE.
Vietnam: Complex PE, what is suitable aid modality?

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Slide 6

Comparison in Aid Relationship Uganda and Vietnam

Uganda:

- Aid provides 60-70% of total funding to the health sector, including budget support, projects and NGO support (2002/03)
- Before introducing SWAP, "aid projects are fragmented and proved relatively ineffective and inefficient."
- Open to external influence with strong ownership of the Uganda Gov. at the macro (PRSP/PEAP) and sector levels.

➔ **SWAP with common fund functioning as a tool to improve Harmonization (among donors) and alignment (to gov. strategy and system).**

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Slide 7

*Comparison in Aid Relationship
Uganda and Vietnam (findings from fieldwork in Vietnam, Feb. 2005)*

Efficiency Level	Aid money: Large No. of projects and donors (Handout Table 3) with manageable level (only 13% of total public funding to health care)
Project	Vietnamese side questioned: • Transaction cost • Design of projects
Program	Demarcation among donors at two levels: • Vertical programs (total 10) • Referral levels
Strategy	• Strong ownership of the Gov. • Integration into gov. systems (both planning and budget) with limited role of the Ministry of Health.

⇒ Aid relationship under control, no need for alternative aid modalities and/or coordination mechanism?

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Slide 8

*Vietnam's Case Show
Complex Development Priorities & Limited Openness to External Influence
(findings from fieldwork in Vietnam, Feb. 2005)*

Efficiency Level	Overall gov. expenditure: seriously questioned by both Vietnamese researchers and donors.
Project	Behavior problems in bureaucracy system
Program	• Burdens of managing different programs at local level? • Appropriateness resource allocation between referral (geographical) levels?
Strategy	The strategies exist but • Difficulty in interpreting strategies into prioritized action (what to do?). • Inflexibility in resource re-allocation towards new priorities (how to do?).

⇒ How donors can address these issues with small leverage by low aid dependency & being separately managed from the overall public expenditure cycles?

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Slide 9

*Learning's from the Vietnam Case
Possible Entry Points for Countries Like Vietnam*

- ⇒ **Strategy Level:** Establishing common platform for discussing concrete methods of what to do and how to do for implementing existing strategies.
Creating mutual understanding and trust is more important than the transfer of aid money as incentives and/or rewards for the reform.
- ⇒ **Program level:** Strengthening programmatic approach within vertical programs and referral level.
Including procedural harmonization and resource sharing, depending on thorough assessment of readiness by both donor and Vietnamese sides.
- ⇒ **Project level:** Donors' effort to improve quality of their intervention.
Appropriate design respecting the local needs / existing local standards, as well as simplification of procedures.

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Slide 10

*Discussion:
Tensions within the Agenda in Countries like Vietnam*

Priority of Country Needs:

Recipient-Donor Relationship:

↓

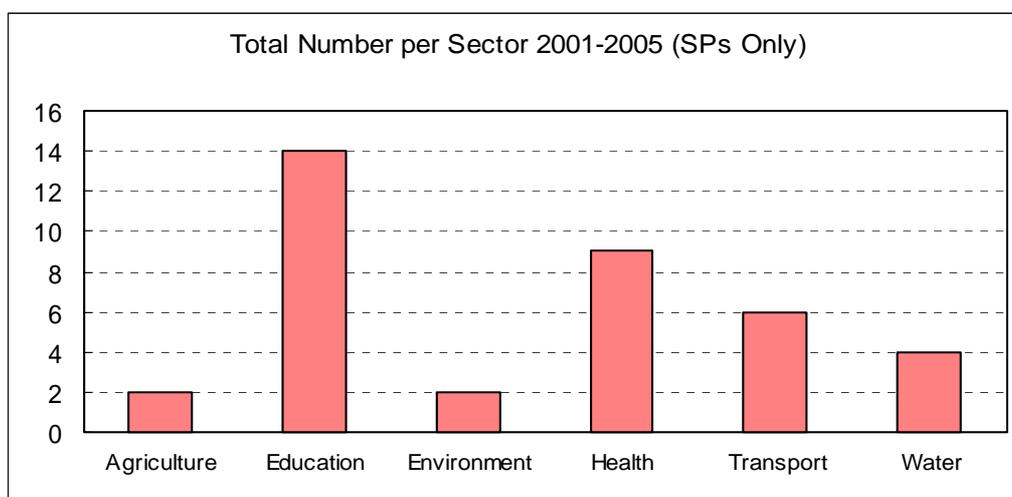
• Optimal mix of different modalities
 • With concrete coordination mechanism

- ⇒ Factors to be considered in each steps:
 - Complexity of issues and flows of public expenditure
 - Aid and public expenditure in different management systems. Small leverage of donors to address the latter, which is critical for the efficiency of aid...
- ⇒ Tensions within the agenda:
 - Donor behavior improvement > drastic change of aid modality
 - Harmonization (among donors) > Alignment, while contributing quality improvement of gov's strategies
 - Building better performance (by offering concrete ideas) > Rewarding good performance (by policy conditionalities with aid money incentive)

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Experience of sector program by sector in Africa region



Note: From SPA Secretariat in collaboration with the SSWG. (2004). *SPA- 2003 sector program tracking report*. Retrieved in March 2005, from http://www.spa-psa.org/resources/pdf/secprog/2003_sp/draft_2003_SP_tracking.pdf

Difference in health status, service and role of aid—Vietnam and Uganda

	Vietnam	Uganda
Life expectancy at birth, years (2002) ^{*1}	69.6	49.3
Under 5 mortality rate per 1,000 (2003) ^{*2}	26	141
Population per bed (2002)	588 ^{*3}	870 ^{*4}
Coverage of staff salary at public PHC	Covered and disbursed timely by the government from 1995 ^{*5}	The shortage of personnel and the delay in the payment was prominent before introducing SWAP (2000) and solved by 2003 ^{*6}
Gov. expenditure/total expenditure on health (2001) ^{*1}	28.5%	57.5%
External resource/total expenditure on health (2001) ^{*1}	2.6%	24.8%

Note: *1 From World Health Organization. *WHO statistical information system (WHOSIS)*. Retrieved in March 2005, from <http://www3.who.int/whosis/menu.cfm>

*2 From World Bank. (2004). *World development indicators 04*.

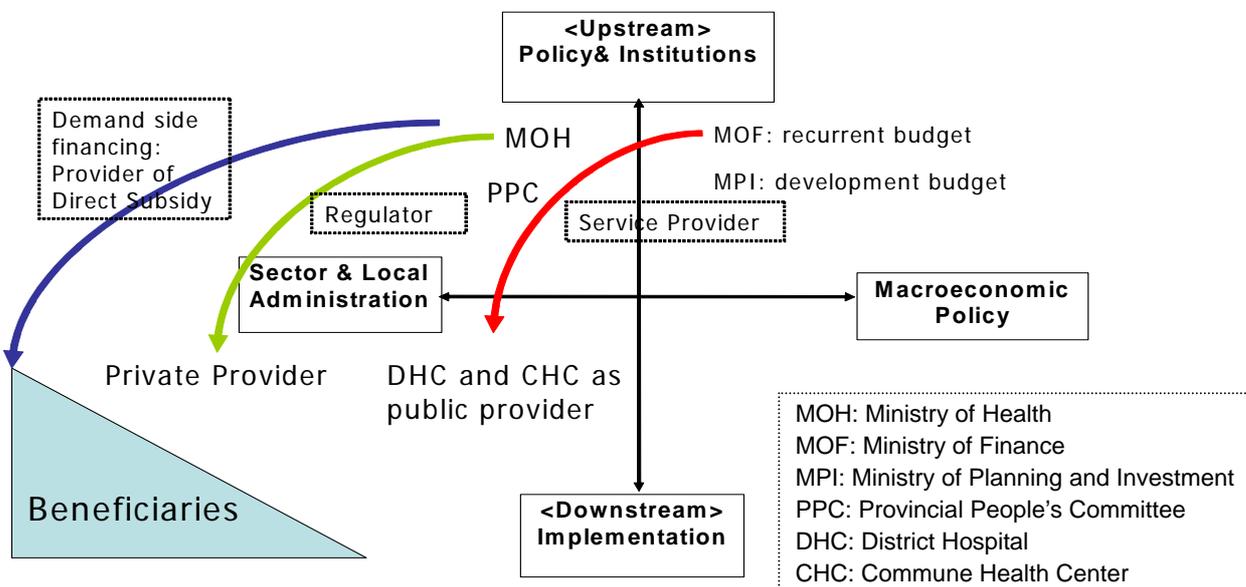
*3 From Ministry of Health, Vietnam. (2003). *Health statistical profile 2002*.

*4 From Ministry of Health, Uganda. *Health statistics*. Retrieved in March 2005, from http://www.health.go.ug/health_stat.htm

*5 From World Bank. (2001). *Growing healthy: A review of Vietnam's health sector*.

*6 From Ministry of Health, Uganda. *Ugandan health units are reporting a doubling in patient visits. What lessons can be learnt by other sectors and by DFID?*

Role of government and public expenditure in primary health care --Vietnam



Vietnam health sector, ODA projects in top 5 programs

	Commitment budget (US\$ million)	No. of Project	No. of Donors
Mother and child health	364	69	16
Hospital services	184	18	11
Primary health care services	179	36	20
Communicable diseases prevention and control	155	72	19
Health policy, planning, management and evaluation	64	27	10

Note: From Project Coordination Department, Ministry of Health, Vietnam. (2003). *Compendium of aid projects.*

[政策議事録 バックナンバー]

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