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국제학석사학위논문

**Strategizing Triangular Cooperation:
In the case of Japan International
Cooperation Agency**

일본국제협력기구의 사례를 통한 삼각협력 전략화
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Master's Thesis

**Strategizing Triangular Cooperation:
In the case of Japan International
Cooperation Agency**

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Abstract

Strategizing Triangular Cooperation: In the case of Japan International Cooperation Agency

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Triangular cooperation programs are considered as effective mechanism to enhance south-south cooperation and aid effectiveness. While providers, pivotal states and beneficiary states continue to pursue this emerging development cooperation practices, there are still many questions that needs to be answered, in order to recognize significance and values of triangular cooperation. To provide further explanation of this development cooperation practices, the theoretical background is laid out with focus on realism to explain the rationale behind triangular cooperation. Through the literature review, the rationale of triangular cooperation is examined according to the perspectives of the donor, pivotal state and the beneficiary state to explain actors' motivations.

This paper focuses in uncovering motivations of how leading triangular cooperation donor country Japan, engages in triangular cooperation practices. The study examines Japan's triangular cooperation practices under OECD's triangular cooperation typology to uncover in which context Japan is utilizing each types of triangular cooperation to achieve its development

cooperation objectives. After the categorization of triangular cooperation cases are completed, the paper provides analysis on general patterns of JICA's development cooperation regarding each category. The paper also provides case analysis to illustrate cases that represent each triangular cooperation types to provide detailed explanation on Japan's rationale behind conducting triangular cooperation. By strategizing Japan's triangular cooperation practices, paper explains characteristics of JICA's triangular cooperation programs and provides implications for donor countries to consider when implementing triangular cooperation

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Keywords: Japan's Triangular cooperation, Triangular cooperation type, Triangular cooperation objectives, Realism

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Background

In the development cooperation field, the North-South cooperation has been the main channel for providing aid to the recipient state. While North-South development cooperation is still maintaining its status as a mainstream channel for aid delivery, new actors are increasing their influence on providing official development assistance (ODA), which was dominated by traditional actors such as northern donor countries and international organizations such as the United Nations (UN), Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and Bretton woods institutions. Newly industrializing countries (NICs) which are non-OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) donors are increasing their volume of development aid which was enabled by their economic growth. Brazil, Russia, India and China are pioneer countries in this re-emerging type of development cooperation known as South-South cooperation (SSC).

Scale of South-South cooperation shows an increasing trend. During the 1990s, less than 5% of total development assistance were disbursed from non-DAC donors, while in 2006, estimated volume of South-South ODA rose to around 9.5 billion-12.1 billion USD (about 7.8% to 9.8% of total international development assistance).¹⁾ In 2008, projection of south-south ODA was estimated to be at least 12.1–13.9 billion USD.²⁾ As the SSC is increasing its influence in the development cooperation landscape, traditional donors gradually began to recognize non-DAC donors and SSC as an

1) ECOSOC, UN. 2008. "Trends in South-South and triangular development cooperation: background study for the Development Cooperation Forum." *New York: United Nations*: 9-10

2) Reality of Aid Management Committee. 2010. "South-South Cooperation: A Challenge to the Aid System." *South-South Cooperation: A Challenge to the Aid System*: 5.

important development cooperation mechanism that can overcome donor fatigue and enhance aid effectiveness. Traditional donors began to engage in triangular cooperation (TrC) which provides financial and technical support to aid south-south cooperation.

Triangular cooperation started as early as the 1978 when the Buenos Aires Plan of Action was adopted. This was the first international agreement which suggested traditional donors to assist technical cooperation implemented among developing countries.³⁾ There is no exact calculation of TrC scales or aggregated number of projects yet, and more extensive research is required to understand the full-scale of triangular cooperation practices. But even with the absence of exact triangular cooperation data, development cooperation agencies are considering TrC as an important type of cooperation and are seeking to increase TrC activities. Donor countries began to show interest in the TrC as the several middle-income countries achieved economic growth, and began to acknowledge that sharing those countries' development experience/knowledge could provide powerful engine for development.⁴⁾ Triangular cooperation received more spotlight in the development cooperation field as the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were introduced as international development cooperation standards. Notable distinction between Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and SDG is that it emphasized a means of implementation when achieving development objectives. Even though the MDGs emphasized the importance of global partnerships in its goal 8, its scope of global partnership was still centered on the conventional North-South development cooperation. However, in the case of SDG 17, United Nations clearly stated

3) OECD. 2013. "TRIANGULAR CO-OPERATION: What's the Literature Telling Us?" Literature review prepared by the OECD Development Co-operation Directorate: 13

4) OECD. 2013. "TRIANGULAR CO-OPERATION: What's the Literature Telling Us?" Literature review prepared by the OECD Development Co-operation Directorate: 11

that triangular cooperation is also an important development cooperation mechanism that can enhance capacity building. With SDGs being considered as a global standard and guideline for conducting development cooperation practices, donors will give more consideration on implementing TrC in delivering aid to the recipient countries.

Triangular cooperation involves three actors which are provider, pivotal country and beneficiary country. Provider is a traditional northern donor such as OECD-DAC country or international organization that supports SSC. Pivotal state is a middle-income country that functions as a donor in SSC, and the beneficiary country is a recipient country of TrC. Each actor has their own perspectives and incentives to participate in triangular development cooperation programs. The rationale for provider, pivotal country, and beneficiary country to participate in triangular cooperation will be further discussed in literature review section with a detailed analysis of each actor's motivations for engaging in TrC. The thesis will categorize Japan's triangular cooperation programs under OECD's TrC typology to derive Japan's intentions for engaging in TrC practices, and how each types of triangular cooperation are implemented to achieve specific national interests.

2. Significance of the Japan study

Before going into the detailed case analysis of Japan's triangular cooperation, the paper will provide explanations to justify why Japan is an appropriate country for conducting TrC research. There are several reasons why Japan is a suitable country in terms of understanding provider's perspective of triangular cooperation. These reasons make Japanese case an exemplary case that can provide answers for the research question, how providers engage in triangular cooperation.

First of all, Japan shows regional preferences in implementing triangular cooperation. Many donor countries and international organisations are

implementing TrC in almost every corner of the globe where SSC is taking place: Africa, Middle East, Latin America, and Asia. But while most providers do not show priority regions in providing triangular cooperation, Japan shows a tendency to focus TrC activities on Asia, Latin America and Africa.⁵⁾ With Japan showing specific preference in its TrC region, Japanese case will better reflect provider's interests for engaging in TrC, why developed states engages in triangular cooperation rather than conventional bilateral development cooperation programs.

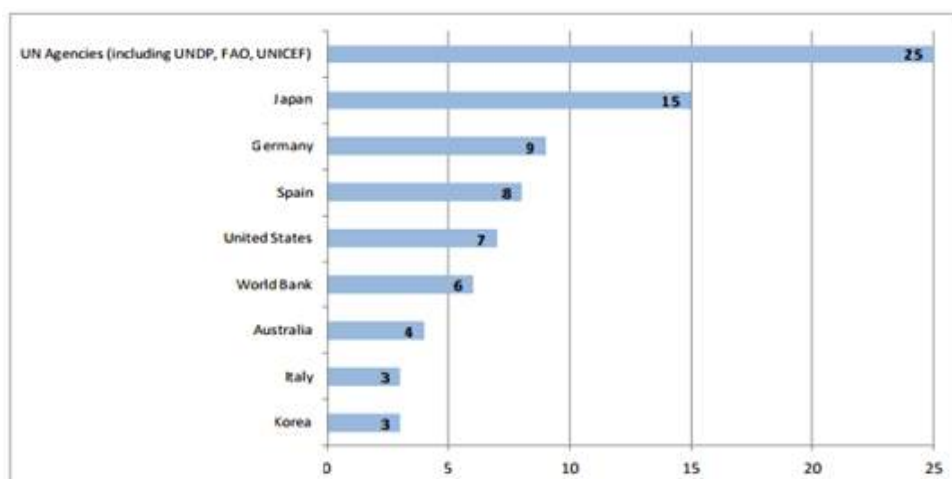
Secondly, Japan is a leading provider in terms of TrC with the largest number of TrC cases implemented on the country level. Japan is a unique player in TrC that it has long history and experiences of engaging in both SSC and TrC. Japan's SSC began as early as in 1954, when it participated in the Colombo Plan while it was considered as a developing country.⁶⁾ With its previous experience in SSC, Japan shows a better understanding in the importance of SSC. In 1975, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) officially declared that it would promote South-South cooperation, and in 1985, Japan's first triangular cooperation took place under the Japan-Brazil third country training programme (TCTP).⁷⁾ After Japan-Brazil triangular cooperation was launched, Japan has been conducting vast number of TrC cases, and many developing countries are viewing Japan as their TrC partners. Following figure mentioned below is the number of respondents that are mentioned as a triangular cooperation partner.

5) OECD. 2013. "TRIANGULAR CO-OPERATION: What's the Literature Telling Us?" Literature review prepared by the OECD Development Co-operation Directorate: 22

6) JICA. 2005. "Thematic Guidelines on South-South Cooperation": 5

7) Chaturvedi, Sachin. 2012. "Characteristics and potential of triangular development cooperation (tdc): emerging trends, impact and future prospects." *Department and Social Affairs, United Nations Secretariat (undesa)*: 5

Figure 1. Providers of Triangular Development Cooperation Referred by Developing Countries⁸⁾



Note: this figure shows the number of developing countries that mentioned each provider of development co-operation or international organisation as their main partners in triangular co-operation. Respondents could elect more than one provider of development co-operation and international organisation as their main partner in triangular co-operation.

As the figure shows, Japan is a country that received the most response as a triangular cooperation partner, next to UN agencies which includes all the UN agencies that participated in the TrC. Also in terms of triangular cooperation project numbers, Japan is the largest provider of triangular cooperation. With Japan as a country that provided the most number of triangular cooperation programs, the paper was able to derive more general patterns of TrC cases.

Lastly, significance of Japanese case study also comes from its abundant number of triangular cooperation policy papers. Japan has published official documents emphasizing TrC in various types of policy papers including ODA Charter 2003, Japan’s Mid-term ODA plan of 2005, JICA’s Strategy: Mid-term Plan (2012-2016), MOFA ODA White Paper (2012) and Thematic Guidelines on South-South Cooperation. Japan’s emphasis in triangular

8) OECD. 2013. “Triangular co-operation: What can we learn from a survey of actors involved? 2012 report”, *OECD Publishing, Paris*.16.

cooperation is reflected in the Official Development Assistance (ODA) charter, which is the highest level of development cooperation document which states Japan's policy framework for South-South cooperation and triangular cooperation.⁹⁾ In 2003, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) of Japan published MOFA's Strategy: The ODA Charter 2003, which provided a foundation for Japan's TrC initiatives. In 2005, MOFA also published Japan's Mid-term ODA plan of 2005 to update Japan's triangular cooperation strategies. In 2012, JICA's Strategy: Mid-term Plan (2012-2016) and MOFA's ODA White Paper (2012) were drafted to highlight importance of TrC in Japan's development cooperation policy. Japan also drafted Thematic Guidelines on South-South Cooperation, which provides operational guidelines and key strategies of how Japan will support SSC. With various government documents that provide explanations on Japan's triangular cooperation frameworks and TrC objectives, the paper was able to analyze how Japan implements TrC in a systematic manner which would have been difficult in other provider country cases.

With Japan's large number of TrC cases and government documents designed to create sophisticated triangular cooperation framework, the paper was able to strategize Japan's triangular cooperation mechanisms in analytical manner. The aim of this thesis is to categorize Japan's triangular cooperation under OECD's TrC typology to better understand Japan's objectives laid in TrC. By analyzing how Japan engages in triangular cooperation practices, the paper seeks to "strategize" Japan's TrC by analyzing Japan's intentions for implementing various types of triangular cooperation programs. With the categorization of TrC activities, the paper analyzes how TrC activities can be related to Japan's country/regional

9) Sakurai, Mami Yamada. 2015 "The post-2015 development agenda and South-South and triangular cooperation-How the partnership model should be?." *lobal social policy* 15.3: 337.

specific development cooperation objectives that may present implications and lessons for other donor countries to consider when engaging in future triangular cooperation programs.

3. Definition of terms

The international community has not yet been able to reach consensus on the definition of triangular cooperation or even how to coin the term in the first place. The term “triangular cooperation” is widely used in the international stage where UN and OECD and World Bank are using this term to explain development cooperation involving three actors. China and the United States use the term “trilateral cooperation”, while Ibero-American General Secretariat (SEGIB) use “triangular South-South cooperation”.¹⁰⁾ In some occasions, “tripartite cooperation” or ‘triangular development cooperation’ is also used to describe TrC. Moreover, there is an ongoing discussion among international institutions on defining triangular cooperation. The table below shows different definitions of TrC based on different institutions.

Table 1. Various Definitions of Triangular Cooperation¹¹⁾

Institution / Author	Definition
UN – ECOSOC (2008)	Actors (OECD/DAC donors or multilateral institutions) supporting southern donors in assisting other developing countries
UN-DESA (2009)	Actors (Northern donors, multilateral institutions or Southern partners) supporting

10) OECD. 2013. “TRIANGULAR CO-OPERATION: What’s the Literature Telling Us?” Literature review prepared by the OECD Development Co-operation Directorate: 14

11) OECD. 2013. “TRIANGULAR CO-OPERATION: What’s the Literature Telling Us?” Literature review prepared by the OECD Development Co-operation Directorate:31

	southern country seeking to assist another developing country
Nairobi Outcome Document on South-South Co-operation (UN, 2009)	Actors (developed countries, international organisations and civil society to developing countries) sharing their expertise and development capacities to assist other developing countries under triangular cooperation mechanisms
Special Unit for South-South Co-operation, UNDP (n.d.)	Southern donors receiving assistance from Northern donors as the third partner when providing assistance to developing country.

Regardless of different definitions of triangular cooperation, there is a similarity in various TrC definitions where each definition views cooperation among Northern donor and developing states as a condition for triangular cooperation. Since this paper is analyzing Japan's triangular cooperation, it will use the term "triangular cooperation" as it is used in UN, OECD and JICA. However the thesis will relax the term triangular cooperation so it can be interchangeably used with the concepts mentioned above to describe development assistance among donor, pivotal and beneficiary country. In the case of defining triangular cooperation actors, the paper will use the term provider, pivotal country and beneficiary country which are used in JICA's official documents. The term provider will be defined as a Northern donor country which is Japan in this paper. Pivotal country will be used to describe middle country which plays a donor's role in SSC, and beneficiary country will be used to illustrate an entity that receives assistance in TrC programs.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Triangular cooperation is widely researched among northern donors, including international institutions such as UN, OECD and World Bank. However, with TrC as a relatively new development cooperation trend compared to North-South development cooperation, literatures on TrC is at the beginning stage where researchers are mostly researching development processes of triangular cooperation or collecting triangular cooperation cases. The paper's literature review consists of two sections: triangular cooperation research, and different perspectives of triangular cooperation. In the first section, the paper will summarize previous literatures explanation on the emergence of triangular cooperation to highlight in what development cooperation context triangular cooperation began to gain focus in the development field. Then the paper will introduce TrC case studies which are conducted to understand to what extent triangular cooperation cases are being gathered and analyzed. In the case of different perspectives of triangular cooperation section, the paper will summarize how literatures analyze advantages and challenges of triangular cooperation in the perspectives of provider, pivotal country and beneficiary country. With the literature review, the paper will provide more explanation on how Japan is a suitable country case to uncover why provider country may utilize triangular cooperation over bilateral cooperation in achieving its state interest.

1. Triangular cooperation research

This section will briefly summarize two aspects of triangular cooperation researches: Triangular cooperation development process, and different perspectives of triangular cooperation. In the first part of literature review, the paper will summarize researches on the emergence of triangular cooperation, which are mainly covered by UN, and OECD literatures. After

the literature review on the development progress of TrC is completed, the thesis will analyze recent research trends on triangular cooperation that seeks to aggregate TrC cases and conduct comparative studies on TrC activities seeking to better understand how triangular cooperation are implemented. In the next part of the literature review, the paper will provide analysis on the different perspectives of triangular cooperation in terms of provider, pivotal country and beneficiary country to illustrate rationale behind each actor when engaging in TrC. Comparative advantage resulting from triangular cooperation will be outlined to examine why provider, pivotal country and beneficiary country are working together. After the literature review is completed, the paper will provide its analytical framework and methodology to examine Japan's triangular cooperation.

1-1. Emergence of triangular cooperation

Leading researches on analyzing triangular cooperation are mainly pioneered by international institutions such as OECD, UN Task team on SSC, and World Bank. The initial researches on triangular cooperation aimed to explain how it gradually received spotlight in the development cooperation agenda as a means to enhance aid effectiveness.

Triangular cooperation has drawn scholarly interest as South-South cooperation gradually emerged as an important aid mechanism, so the paper will briefly summarize the advent of SSC in development cooperation field. Concept of developing states supporting another aid recipient country first gained international society's attention in the early 1960s. After the 1955 Bandung Conference and the 1961 Non-Alignment Movement (NAM), the developing "South" began to increase its voice in the international society.¹²⁾

12) Reality of Aid Management Committee. 2010. "South-South Cooperation: A Challenge to the Aid System." *South-South Cooperation: A Challenge to the Aid System*: 2.

Another important event took place in 1964 at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). During the conference, 77 developing states created an alliance which later became known as the Group of 77 (G-77). Under the “Joint Declaration of the Seventy-Seven Developing Countries”, Group of 77 sought two goals: facilitating collective economic interest among developing nations against developed states, and promoting South-South cooperation.¹³⁾ It was only after the economic growth of the South, mainly achieved by newly industrialized countries’ (NICs) when Northern donors began to consider how to utilize this new development cooperation phenomenon. New industrialized countries so called BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India and China) invested a lot of efforts in facilitating cooperation among developing states. After witnessing southern development partner’s presence and impacts, academia, media and policy circles began intense researches on this type of cooperation to enhance aid effectiveness.¹⁴⁾

Triangular cooperation gained scholarly interest under those development cooperation contexts. The term triangular cooperation was first coined in 1980 during the Independent Commission on International Development issues, when the former German Chancellor Willy Brandt suggested the development of triangular cooperation schemes.¹⁵⁾ Triangular cooperation was first referenced in the international agreement in the Buenos Aires Action Plan, which suggested northern donor countries to support technical

13) *WEBSITES*: G77. 2006. “Activities of the Vienna Chapter of the G-77.”

Accessed May 1. <http://www.g77.org/doc/#establish>

14) McEwan, C. and Mawdsley, E. 2012, “Trilateral Development Cooperation: Power and Politics in Emerging Aid Relationships.” *Development and Change* 43: 1189.

15) OECD. 2013. “TRIANGULAR CO-OPERATION: What’s the Literature Telling Us?” Literature review prepared by the OECD Development Co-operation Directorate: 13.

cooperation among developing countries. Triangular cooperation gradually began to receive focus in the global development agenda, mainly at the Bogotá Statement and the 2010 UN Secretary General Report on development cooperation.¹⁶⁾ Table provided below shows key international agreements related to the development of triangular cooperation process.

Table 2. Triangular Cooperation Stated in International Agreements¹⁷⁾

International Agreement	Reference to Triangular Cooperation
Buenos Aires Plan of Action (UN, 1978)	<p>Paragraph 45: UN development system should promote third country development cooperation and act as a catalyst.</p> <p>Paragraph 60: “Recommendation 35: Recommending developed countries to support technical cooperation among developing countries.</p> <p>initiatives by inter alia:</p> <p>(a) Increase contribution to the UN development system and allow larger volume of multilateral technical cooperation funds that can be channeled to TCDC support;</p> <p>(b) Provide financial support to</p>

16) Ashoff, G. 2010. “Triangular Cooperation: Opportunities, Risks and Conditions for Effectiveness”, in *Special Report Development Outreach* : 23

17) OECD. 2013. “TRIANGULAR CO-OPERATION: What’s the Literature Telling Us?” Literature review prepared by the OECD Development Co-operation Directorate: 29

	<p>South-South technical cooperation that have potential;</p> <p>(c) Untie their aid resources to promote TCDC;</p> <p>(d) Provide economic and technical cooperation activities that can enhance TCDC;</p> <p>(e) Make efforts to improve technical cooperation related policy and process to support TCDC upon request of developing countries.</p>
<p>Accra Agenda for Action (OECD, 2008)</p>	<p>Paragraph 19, item b):</p> <p>Acknowledges the importance of middle-income countries that are aid providers and recipients. OECD encourages advancement of triangular cooperation</p>
<p>Nairobi Outcome Document of the United Nations High-Level Conference on South-South Co-operation (UN, 2009)</p>	<p>Paragraph 15: Acknowledged importance of developed countries, international organisations and civil society to developing countries, engaging in triangular cooperation.</p> <p>Paragraph 20, item b): Asked developed countries to implement triangular cooperation to assist South-South cooperation</p> <p>Paragraph 20, item d): “Asked</p>

	developing countries to increase their national capacity to improve triangular cooperation
Bogota Statement Towards Effective and Inclusive Development Partnerships (TT-SSC, 2010a)	Section 2, item c. ii: Promote synergies between partner countries and traditional donors via triangular cooperation. Also suggested reducing transaction cost and improve cooperation modalities to enhance triangular cooperation
Busan Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation (OECD, 2011)	Paragraph 30: Indicated that South-South and triangular cooperation have the potential to contribute to the developing countries by introducing effective solutions under its country contexts Paragraph 31: Viewed triangular cooperation as a means to strengthen knowledge sharing and mutual learning by: a) Utilizing triangular cooperation to scale up development cooperation. b) Recognizing successful triangular cooperation programs d) Supporting efforts to enhance South-South cooperation and triangular cooperation participant's

<p>G20 Progress Report Of The Development Working Group (G20, 2012)</p>	<p>capacities. Paragraph 54: Stated that to provide effective social protection of LICs, coordination of North-South, South-South and Triangular cooperation is crucial Paragraph 65: Emphasized the importance of triangular cooperation in Knowledge Sharing (KS) activities.</p>
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Buenos Aires plan of Action was the first international agreement that provided blueprint for supporting technical cooperation among developing countries (TCDC). This agreement has brought new scope in development cooperation by requesting northern donors to support southern technical cooperation activities.¹⁸⁾ OECD was also in line with UN's approach and drafted Accra agenda for action, which emphasized triangular cooperation as a means to support SSC. Accra Agenda was important international agreement as it discussed triangular cooperation's impact on aid effectiveness, which was previously addressed in Paris Declaration.¹⁹⁾ Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation continued from the Accra Agenda and Bogota statement discussions, seeking to utilize SSC and TrC to supplement conventional North-South development cooperation. Donor's view on triangular cooperation is reflected in the Busan Declaration which

18) *WEBSITES*: Zahran, M. Mounir, Enrique Roman-Morey, and Tadanori Inomata. 2011. "South-South and triangular cooperation in the United Nations system.": 3 Accessed May 19.
<https://www.unju.org/en/reports-notes/archive/South-South%20and%20triangular%20cooperation%20in%20the%20United%20Nations%20system.pdf>

19) 정혁. 2014. “한국개발협력의 삼각협력 추진방안에 관한 연구”, *경제. 인문사회연구회 기획협동연구총서* 14-41-01:43

highlights the need to enhance new development partnership to incorporate developed country, emerging donors, and private sector within SSC and TrC framework.²⁰⁾

As seen from the progress of TrC in international agreement, triangular cooperation research began as the SSC was recognized as a means to supplement North-South development cooperation. Donors began to view emerging southern donors as important development cooperation partners, and considered implementing triangular cooperation as a means to support SSC. As researches on the emergence of triangular cooperation were taking place, scholars also collected TrC practices and conducted comparative studies to better understand how triangular cooperation is implemented, and to clarify which factors contribute in making TrC more effective.

1-2. Triangular cooperation case studies

Case studies conducted by the academia and international institutions began with the mapping of triangular cooperation cases to understand the overall scale of TrC. Current TrC mapping researches suggests that triangular cooperation shows a rather fragmented landscape where large number of small projects are scattered.²¹⁾ According to the OECD triangular cooperation survey report, it faced challenges in estimating triangular cooperation volumes due to the insufficient data gathered from respondents.²²⁾ Another factor that makes measuring TrC scales challenging is that donors do not always allocate specific fund for TrC activities, and mostly use part of their

20) 정혁. 2014 “한국개발협력의 삼각협력 추진방안에 관한 연구”,
경제. 인문사회연구회 기획협동연구총서 14-41-01:44

21) Ashoff, G. 2010. “Triangular Cooperation: Opportunities, Risks and Conditions for Effectiveness”, in *Special Report Development Outreach* 24.

22) OECD. 2013. “Triangular co-operation: What can we learn from a survey of actors involved? 2012 report”, *OECD Publishing, Paris*. 19.

ODA budgets to implement TrC activities. Even with these limitations, the scale of triangular cooperation seems to be on the increasing trend. According to the OECD's 2013 Triangular cooperation Survey, 56 out of 73 respondents (respondents were categorized into provider, international organizations and developing states) reported that they were engaging in the TrC activities which amount to approximately 219 triangular cooperation cases.²³⁾ In the follow-up survey report published in 2015, 53 respondents participated in the survey, and approximately 378 cases were reported. Survey revealed that Japan, Chile, Brazil, Norway, Germany, Mexico, Guatemala and Colombia were active participants of triangular cooperation.²⁴⁾ By comparing 2013 and 2015 survey report, it indicates that the number of TrC has increased. The 2015 survey provided additional information on the triangular cooperation trends that 57% of triangular cooperation project were implemented among two or more middle-income countries (MICs) and northern donors including DAC member countries and international organisations. Next dominant triangular cooperation programs were implemented by one or more northern donors, MICs and least developed countries (LDCs).²⁵⁾ Geopolitics of triangular cooperation revealed that TrC is mainly implemented as a technical cooperation program for capacity building. Study also revealed that southern donor and recipient engaged in the triangular cooperation were situated in the same region.²⁶⁾

23) OECD. 2013. "Triangular co-operation: What can we learn from a survey of actors involved? 2012 report", *OECD Publishing, Paris*. 15.

24) Ashoff, G. 2010. "Triangular Cooperation: Opportunities, Risks and Conditions for Effectiveness", in '*Special Report Development Outreach*: 23.

25) *WEBSITES*: OECD. 2015. "DAC GLOBAL RELATIONS TRIANGULAR CO-OPERATION – Findings from a 2015 Survey": 1 Accessed May 1. <http://www.oecd.org/dac/dac-global-relations/Triangular%20co-operation%20fact%20sheet.pdf>

26) Ashoff, G. 2010. "Triangular Cooperation: Opportunities, Risks and Conditions for Effectiveness", in '*Special Report Development Outreach* 23.

As the triangular cooperation cases are gathered, OECD launched Task Team on South–South Cooperation (TT-SSC) to provide deeper analysis of TrC. OECD’s Task Team is a multi-stakeholder platform which combines donors, middle-income countries, academia, civil society, regional and multilateral agencies to carry out “mapping” of triangular cooperation cases and research how TrC can bring “synergy effect” on enhancing aid effectiveness and promoting South–South cooperation.²⁷⁾ OECD collected 110 cases of South-South cooperation and triangular cooperation to explain how donors, pivotal countries are conducting development cooperation activities in which development cooperation sector. In the current status of triangular cooperation case analysis studies, it is Sachin’s article that incorporated the most number of triangular cooperation projects. In his article, "Characteristics and potential of triangular development cooperation (tdc): emerging trends, impact and future prospects", the author incorporated nearly 260 cases of TDC²⁸⁾ listed across various publications, reports and presentations.²⁹⁾ In the

27) Adriana Erthal Abdenur, João Moura Estevão, Marques Da Fonseca. 2013. “The North’s Growing Role in South–South Cooperation: keeping the foothold” *Third World Quarterly Vol. 34, Iss. 8:1480*

28) The term Triangular Development Cooperation (TDC) and Triangular Cooperation can be different where TDC only involves developed country, pivotal country and beneficiary country, while TrC could involve 2 developing countries as provider and pivotal, and one beneficiary country. But as this thesis is focusing on the Japan’s TrC, it will interchangeably use TDC and TrC as a same type of development cooperation.

29) The author incorporated Sources mentioned below:

1. Muthayan, S. (2011). Regional capacity building project: Innovations for capacity building through S–S partnership. Paper presented at the *Conference on Triangular Cooperation: Towards Horizontal Partnerships, But How?*, Bali, Indonesia, 28 February to 1 March 2011,
2. World Bank (2011). World Bank development knowledge sharing: Local enabler and global connector. Paper presented at the conference on triangular cooperation, Bali, Indonesia, 28 February to 1 March 2011.
3. Haas, J.-W. (2011). New forms of South–South cooperation and triangular cooperation. Paper presented at the regional conference on triangular cooperation,

article, Japan's TrC cases accounted for 94 cases, which is the largest number of triangular cooperation cases conducted by a provider, followed by Germany (45), USA (15), Canada (12) and France (4). With Japan as a country that provided the most triangular cooperation cases, the paper was able to derive more general patterns of TrC cases. As Sachin's paper incorporated the largest number of Japan's triangular cooperation cases at the current status, the paper will use his case study as a reference when analyzing Japan's triangular cooperation.

Japan International Cooperation Agency also produced several TrC related analytical papers to collect triangular cooperation projects. JICA's "An Overview of South-South Cooperation and Triangular Cooperation" illustrated why triangular cooperation is important to Japan, and which actors are involved in this cooperation. In the paper, JICA incorporated pivotal country, donor country and international institution's triangular development cooperation development and introduced several triangular cooperation cases. In the paper, analysis of Japan's triangular cooperation was briefly explained, as Japan was treated as one of the players of triangular

Bali, Indonesia, 28 February to 1 March 2011. Bandoro, A.B. (2011). Triangular cooperation: Towards horizontal partnership, but how? Paper presented at the regional workshop, Bali, Indonesia, 27 Feb to 1 March 2011,

4. UNDP Special Unit for South-South Cooperation (2009) Enhancing South-South and Triangular Cooperation: Study of the Current Situation and Existing Good Practices in Policy, Institutions, and Operation of South-South and Triangular Cooperation, United Nations, New York.,

5. AECID (2010). Triangular cooperation in the context of aid effectiveness: Experiences and views of EU donors, 17 March 2010. Workshop report and concept note. Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation, Madrid, Spain,

6. JICA (2012). *An Overview of South-South Cooperation and Triangular Cooperation*, Japan International Cooperation Agency, and

7. SEGIB (2011). Enhancing South-South and triangular cooperation. Report on South-South cooperation in Ibero-America 2011. Ibero-American General Secretariat (SEGIBI), UNDP, Madrid, Spain.

cooperation. Triangular cooperation researched which focused on Japan was conducted in the “Scaling Up South-South and Triangular Cooperation” paper published in 2012, which sought to explore ways to scale up triangular cooperation, while collecting JICA’s triangular cooperation cases. In the first part of the paper, JICA illustrates how triangular cooperation can be utilized to address thematic development cooperation issues such as climate change/disaster prevention, agricultural and food security.³⁰⁾ In the next section of the article, JICA provided 9 case studies implemented in Africa, East Asia, and Latin America. JICA provided extensive case studies which provided explanations on triangular projects, role of Japan and pivotal states, challenges and implications of development cooperation. But still, due to the lack of adequate data and limited number of case studies, it faced challenges in providing structured case evaluation, or explaining why 9 cases may represent Japan’s triangular cooperation mechanisms.

Current literatures review shows that it is difficult, even for countries such as Japan which is a leading country in TrC to provide concrete comparative case study on TrC, or conduct in-depth case evaluation to find best practices. The difficulty of conducting in-depth triangular case study stems from the lack of available data (only incomplete third-source and ad-hoc information is currently available) and limited exchanges among member states, which makes it difficult to gather information for the case analysis.³¹⁾ Even though 70% of the reported triangular cooperation projects were evaluated, only few joint evaluations were taken place, and data gathered from existing evaluation methodologies were not adequate to capture the

30) JICA. 2012. “*An Overview of South-South Cooperation and Triangular Cooperation*”, Japan International Cooperation Agency. : 9-10

31) AECID. 2010. “Triangular cooperation in the context of aid effectiveness: Experiences and views of EU donors,” *Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation, Madrid, Spain*: 10

specific advantages of triangular cooperation.³²⁾ Recognizing difficulties in conducting triangular cooperation case studies and limitations of accessing JICA's TrC data in evaluating triangular cooperation, the paper instead analyzes Japan's overall triangular cooperation to categorize how Japan's triangular cooperation is implemented. By providing Japan's triangular cooperation patterns, the thesis seeks to provide different perspectives of JICA in utilizing various types of TrC to achieve its development cooperation objectives.

2. Different perspectives of triangular cooperation

Triangular cooperation involves at least three participants: provider, pivotal state and beneficiary state. Benefits and challenges of triangular cooperation vary among actors. Main driver of triangular cooperation stems from comparative advantage. By utilizing TrC, participants can benefit from advantages which would not have been possible in other development cooperation schemes. Each country's development experience, technical capacity is combined in the triangular development cooperation process. Moreover, as pivotal countries and beneficiary countries share similarities in social/cultural aspect and speak same language, these also enhance the effectiveness of development cooperation.³³⁾ This section will review the benefits and challenges of TrC based on perspectives of participants involved in the cooperation process. The table below is the summary of each participant's benefits and challenges of triangular cooperation.

32) *WEBSITES*: OECD. 2015. "DAC GLOBAL RELATIONS TRIANGULAR CO-OPERATION – Findings from a 2015 Survey": 2 Accessed May 1. <http://www.oecd.org/dac/dac-global-relations/Triangular%20co-operation%20fact%20sheet.pdf>

33) Special Unit for South-South Cooperation, UNDP. 2013. "ENHANCING SOUTH-SOUTH AND TRIANGULAR COOPERATION, Study of the Current Situation and Existing Good Practices in Policy, Institutions, and Operation of South-South and Triangular Cooperation" :14

Table 3. Benefits and Challenges of Triangular Cooperation³⁴⁾

Actor	Benefits of Triangular Cooperation	Challenges of Triangular Cooperation
Provider	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promotes mutual learning among partners - Builds on and shares developing countries' experiences and know-how. - Helps to scale up successful cooperation activities - Cost-effective. - Promotes new forms of partnership more adapted to development challenges and more responsive to increasingly complex development contexts. - Strengthens capacities of pivotal countries to provide development cooperation, making relations between "Northern" and "Southern" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Neglecting the alignment with beneficiary countries' needs, priorities, and strategies if triangular cooperation is primarily designed to reflect the experiences and preferences of the traditional and emerging donors - Rising transactions costs since three actors (instead of two as in traditional cooperation) have to adopt a common approach, agree on common standards and procedures, and create the legal, institutional, and budgetary conditions required for successful implementation

34) Following table is a compilation of Ashoff's "Triangular Cooperation: Opportunities, Risks and Conditions for Effectiveness" 23-24 and OECD Development Co-operation Directorate's TRIANGULAR CO-OPERATION: What's the Literature Telling Us? Literature review prepared by the OECD Development Co-operation Directorate Co-operation Directorate 23

	providers more horizontal.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increasing fragmentation of the international aid architecture due to the growing number of actors, further complicating harmonization of approaches, standards, and practices - Lowering quality standards if emerging donors still do not have the experience and capacity to provide high-quality development assistance,
Pivotal countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provides financial support to South-South cooperation. - Strengthens technical capacity for implementing South-South cooperation. - Creates opportunities for networking and knowledge-sharing with providers of development cooperation. 	
Beneficiary countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Facilitates communication and networking with pivotal countries. - Provides additional technical and financial support from providers of development cooperation to South-South cooperation. 	

In terms of provider's perspective, providers can benefit from pivotal country's expertise that comes from sharing language and similar development environment with beneficiary country. By benefitting from pivotal country's assets, providers can overcome development challenges which may hinder development effectiveness in provider-beneficiary bilateral development cooperation. Furthermore, by inviting pivotal states in the development process, providers can also utilize pivotal country's financial/technical capacity, which enables scaling up development cooperation programs at a lower cost. Provider can strengthen pivotal country's development cooperation capacities while maintaining horizontal

relationship between the North and the South. In the pivotal country's perspective, they can also scale up SSC practices with the provider's additional financial/technical support. Beneficiary states could also benefit from TrC as the scale of TrC is greater than bilateral SSC. For all participants in TrC, they can benefit from knowledge shared by different actors, and conduct development partnerships that can enhance aid effectiveness at a lower cost.

However, in order to maximize TrC utility, there are certain challenges which need to be addressed. Triangular cooperation has to be aligned with beneficiary countries' needs, priorities, and strategies to recognize ownership of the beneficiary country. While one of benefits coming from triangular cooperation is cost-effectiveness in scaling up development cooperation, increase in the transaction costs hinders implementation of larger scale TrC. In the case of triangular cooperation, three actors have to adopt common approaches, standards and procedures under legal, institutional, and budgetary conditions which usually results in higher transaction cost compared to the bilateral development cooperation.³⁵⁾ It is the high transaction cost which prevents triangular cooperation from scaling up into a bigger development cooperation programs.

Still, scholars and development cooperation institutions acknowledge that triangular cooperation's merits outweigh its drawbacks, and implementation of triangular cooperation can contribute in overcoming development cooperation challenges. To address these issues, several recent international meetings have been held to discuss ways to maximize TrC benefits and overcome challenges within the triangular development cooperation process.³⁶⁾

35) Ashoff, G. 2010. "Triangular Cooperation: Opportunities, Risks and Conditions for Effectiveness", in *Special Report Development Outreach* : 14

36) OECD. 2013. "Triangular co-operation: What can we learn from a survey of actors involved? 2012 report", *OECD Publishing, Paris*. 23.

Literature review indicates that more research needs to be conducted in order to understand the entire scale of triangular cooperation. Recognizing limitations of current triangular cooperation researches, there are researches conducted to better understand the triangular cooperation mechanisms of provider countries including Japan. JICA has drafted “Japan’s triangular cooperation mechanisms with a focus on JICA’s activities” and “Triangular Cooperation Mechanisms, A Comparative Study of Germany, Japan, and the UK” to clarify JICA’s TrC framework and how JICA implements triangular cooperation projects. However, even though Japan has conducted various researches on triangular cooperation, it has not yet been able to categorize all of its TrC activities, and examine how TrC is utilized to achieve state interest. Therefore, the paper aims to provide categorization of Japan’s triangular cooperation projects and analyze what types of triangular cooperation is utilized by JICA to achieve Japan’s state interests. By providing categorization of Japan’s existing triangular cooperation cases and conducting deeper case analysis per each triangular cooperation category, the paper hopes to provide why states engage in triangular cooperation, and how different types of TrC can contribute in maximizing state interests.

III. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

1. Research question / Hypothesis

Research question: How JICA is utilizing triangular cooperation to achieve its state interest?

Limitation of the literature review comes from the fact that triangular cooperation has recently gained focus as a means to promote aid effectiveness, and this makes it difficult to gather reliable data on this topic. Although general literatures are trying to create an analytical framework to

better understand and evaluate triangular cooperation, further research is needed to explain how triangular cooperation projects are implemented. Scholars have provided categorization of triangular cooperation types to examine how Japan is implementing triangular cooperation, but so far, no literatures had matched Japan's entire triangular cooperation projects with TrC typology yet. Country's development policy is related with its national interests, so by analyzing triangular cooperation under triangular cooperation typology, the paper will draw a pattern of triangular cooperation projects and examine in what circumstances Japan prefers which type of triangular cooperation mechanism. By answering the research question, the thesis hopes to provide TrC's role in the grand strategy of Japan's ODA policy. To address the research question, this thesis will set the following hypothesis and sub-hypothesis to better answer the question.

Hypothesis: JICA will show tendency to prefer certain types of triangular cooperation

Under this hypothetical framework, the paper seeks to analyze how Japan is conducting various triangular cooperation projects with pivotal and beneficiary country. The hypothesis recognizes that JICA will prefer specific triangular cooperation type for maximizing its state interest.

By analyzing the relationship between Japan's triangular cooperation cases and TrC types, the paper will verify hypothesis and answer research question. As mentioned in the significance of the Japan study, Japan is a dominant provider in triangular cooperation with various policy papers to support its triangular cooperation projects, while constantly increasing the volume of triangular cooperation. In this sense, Japan is a suitable country to analyze provider's triangular cooperation strategies with its rich number of TrC experiences and documents. In the next section, this paper's theoretical framework and research methodology will be introduced. Within this

analytical framework the thesis seeks to answer research question and verify hypothesis which may provide implications for the future TrC studies.

2. Theoretical framework

Various international relations theories can be applied to examine triangular cooperation. Piefer proposed realism, liberalism, and social constructivism as a theoretical framework for analyzing triangular cooperation.³⁷⁾ In the case of liberalism, the theory assumes that interdependence between states promote cooperation in the international relations. Along with the interdependence, liberalism views international institutions and regimes as an important player that can facilitate cooperation among states as well. As triangular cooperation needs to facilitate cooperation among provider, pivotal and beneficiary state under shared institutional mechanisms, liberalism may provide explanations for analyzing TrC. Social constructivist also provides theoretical framework needed to analyze triangular cooperation. According to the social constructivism, actors follow strategic interests, but the strategic interest is not predefined.³⁸⁾ In the social constructivism's perspective, provider, pivotal and beneficiary country's interest are identified during the development cooperation process. The case of Germany-Turkey TrC cases may be analyzed under social constructivism as Germany was able to benefit from cooperating with Turkey by developing new aid paradigms and regulations.³⁹⁾ Therefore, Social constructivism may help analyze the national

37) *WEBSITES*: Piefer, Nadine. 2014 "Triangular cooperation–Bridging South-South and North-South Cooperation?": 2-4. Accessed May 2.
http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/awi/ssdc_piefer.pdf

38) *WEBSITES*: Piefer, Nadine. 2014 "Triangular cooperation–Bridging South-South and North-South Cooperation?": 4. Accessed May 2.
http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/awi/ssdc_piefer.pdf

39) 정혁. 2014 “한국개발협력의 삼각협력 추진방안에 관한 연구”,
경제. 인문사회연구회 기획협동연구총서 14-41-01 :101

interest of each participant, which are constructed and identified in the triangular cooperation practice.

The paper acknowledges that liberalism and social constructivism are persuasive in explaining triangular cooperation. But to uncover donor's intentions in implementing TrC, donor's interests needs to be examined to fully explain why providers engage in triangular cooperation rather than bilateral cooperation. Realism is more suitable theory for this type of explanation as it assumes that donor's main objectives for conducting development cooperation is to maximize national interest. Realists view the world as an arena where nation states strive to maximize its self-interest. In the realist perspective, main actor in international relations is the state, and the reason why they participate in the triangular cooperation to satisfy its state interests. Therefore, realism provides explanation for the hypothesis as it explains the Japan's rationale behind triangular cooperation is to better achieve country's strategic interests. Grieco provided five key assumptions of realism in his article. Grieco's five assumptions are: states are the major actors in international relations, international anarchy shapes how states actions, anarchy influences states to strive for power and security which may hinder cooperation, and international institutions plays marginal role in fostering cooperation.⁴⁰⁾

With these assumptions in play, realist view that the cooperation is difficult to take place since states are more sensitive toward relative gains rather than shared interests, as today's partners may turn into tomorrow's rival. Even if triangular cooperation may promote ownership of beneficiary country compared to bilateral cooperation, donor's state interest still influences the

40) Joseph M. Grieco. 1988. "Anarchy and the limits of cooperation: a realist critique of the newest liberal institutionalism." *International Organization*, 42:488

development cooperation process. Japan-Mexico-El Salvador's triangular cooperation project TAISHIN (earthquake resistant popular housing) is the case where beneficiary country was concerned about donor country's intentions. Even though this project was evaluated as a successful case, El Salvador's Vice-Ministry of Housing and Urban Development expressed lack of interest in sustaining development cooperation with Mexico after Japan's intervention ended.⁴¹⁾ TAISHIN case may be interpreted as a case where El Salvador which was a beneficiary country, viewed the triangular cooperation as a means to satisfy Mexico's interest in increasing its influence in the region. In some cases, beneficiary countries were deeply suspicious of the intentions and impacts of pivotal states, especially when they are regional hegemons.⁴²⁾ These findings indicate how power politics are taking place even in the triangular cooperation. Providers may also seek to utilize triangular cooperation when it is deemed to be a better strategy for meeting state interests. As a result, foreign aid's impact of fostering beneficiary country's economic development and supporting humanitarian needs are weakened.⁴³⁾

Japan's development cooperation policies are established to satisfy state interest, which is in line with the realist perspective. An article by Peter J. Schraedera, Steven W. Hooka, and Bruce Taylora sought to uncover which factor motivates formulation and implementation of foreign aid policies.⁴⁴⁾

41) McEwan, C. and Mawdsley, E. 2012, "Trilateral Development Cooperation: Power and Politics in Emerging Aid Relationships." *Development and Change* 43:1200

42) McEwan, C. and Mawdsley, E. 2012, "Trilateral Development Cooperation: Power and Politics in Emerging Aid Relationships." *Development and Change* 43:1200

43) Peter J. Schraeder, Steven W. Hook and Bruce Taylor. 1998. "Clarifying the Foreign Aid Puzzle: A Comparison of American, Japanese, French, and Swedish Aid Flows." *World Politics*, 50: 296

44) Peter J. Schraeder, Steven W. Hook and Bruce Taylor. 1998. "Clarifying the

The authors' statement on the Japanese foreign aid policies are:

In the case of Japan, economic self-interest was the critical motivating factor of foreign aid policies during the post-World War II period. As a rising economic superpower with the world's second largest gross national product (GNP), Japan clearly sought to use foreign aid in its quest for global economic supremacy.⁴⁵⁾

Therefore, in the case of Japan's foreign aid policy, it shows clear motivations to use development assistance as a means to achieve its economic interests. This economy-driven foreign aid policy may be also embedded in the implementation of triangular cooperation, which implies that characteristics of realisms, how state wishes to maximize national interest can be the hidden intention of Japan's rationale for conducting triangular cooperation. With realism as a theoretical framework, the paper will conduct qualitative research and provide case studies that represent JICA's objectives for implementing triangular cooperation and analyze Japan's intentions in implementing TrC.

3. Methodology

To uncover Japan's objectives in implementing triangular cooperation, this research conducts qualitative case study of Japan and its triangular cooperation framework. As this paper is focusing on a single country case, the thesis was able to provide comprehensive research in explaining overall Japan's triangular cooperation analysis which contributed in covering general

Foreign Aid Puzzle: A Comparison of American, Japanese, French, and Swedish Aid Flows." *World Politics*, 50: 296

45) Peter J. Schraeder, Steven W. Hook and Bruce Taylor. 1998. "Clarifying the Foreign Aid Puzzle: A Comparison of American, Japanese, French, and Swedish Aid Flows." *World Politics*, 50: 297

trend of Japan's TrC on a whole. In order to answer research question and verify hypothesis, analytical framework will categorize Japan's triangular programs under triangular cooperation typology to uncover how Japan is implementing triangular cooperation, instead of traditional North-South bilateral cooperation.

The paper will start its triangular cooperation cases analysis by categorizing JICA's triangular cooperation projects under OECD's triangular cooperation types. Scholars have identified various types of triangular cooperation, but mapping of Japan's triangular cooperation based on TrC types are not conducted yet. Therefore, the thesis will first categorize Japan's triangular cooperation cases to analyze patterns of TrC. The reason for using OECD's triangular cooperation typology comes from the fact that, OECD's typology covers how triangular cooperation is implemented. By categorizing JICA's TrC cases under this category, the paper was able to better explain how JICA has initiated triangular cooperation programs and which actor (pivotal or beneficiary country) was the main focus of Japan's triangular cooperation.

After matching triangular cooperation projects under triangular cooperation typology, the paper will analyze in what circumstances JICA prefers certain types of TrC. Thesis will reflect Japan's policy papers including ODA white paper, Country Assistance Policy with other literatures to illustrate Japan's development cooperation policy. As these documents highlight what kind of objectives Japan wishes to achieve during the development cooperation, using these government papers as a guideline will provide explanations on how Japan's development cooperation objectives are linked with triangular cooperation patterns. For each type of triangular cooperation, the paper will provide case studies that represent how JICA is implementing certain types of triangular cooperation for achieving its objectives.

After the analysis of JICA's intentions behind triangular cooperation

patterns are explained, the paper will expand its scope to cover relationship between JICA's triangular cooperation projects and the region where development cooperation are implemented. The paper will check the regional distribution of JICA's triangular cooperation types to understand how JICA is utilizing triangular cooperation to achieve regional strategic goals. Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs divides Japan's foreign development cooperation regions into "East Asia", "Latin America and the Caribbean", "Middle East and North Africa", and "Sub-Saharan Africa". In chapter five, the paper will analyze whether there are regional characteristics of triangular cooperation objectives, and provide explanations why Japan prefers certain types of triangular cooperation in specific regions. Also, the paper will provide implications of Japan's triangular cooperation case studies for future triangular cooperation researches.

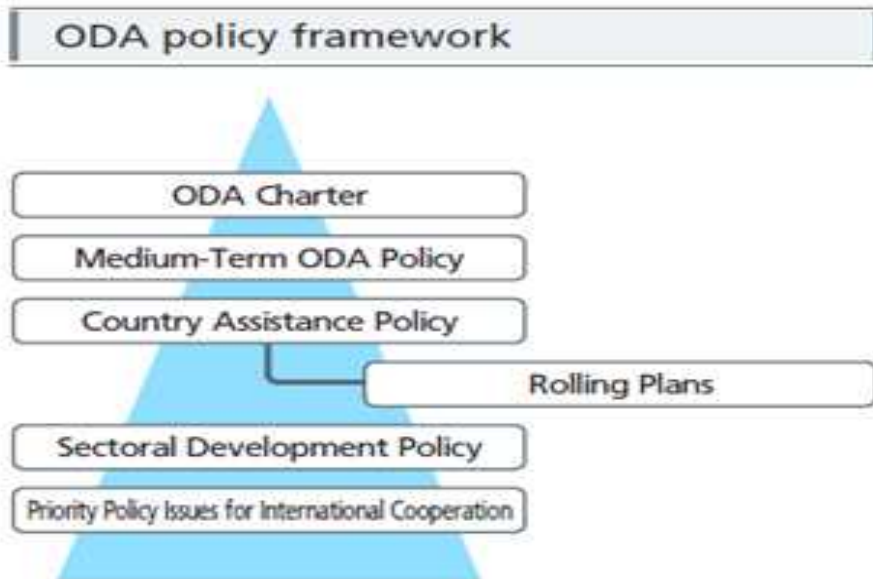
IV. ANALYSIS of JICA's triangular cooperation

1. JICA's triangular cooperation structure analysis

Before analyzing JICA's triangular cooperation structure, the paper will touch upon Japan's ODA policy framework to explain how triangular cooperation mechanism is related to Japan's grand ODA strategy. Japan's overall ODA policies are reflected in various policy papers including The ODA Charter 2003, Japan's Mid-term ODA plan of 2005, JICA's Strategy: Mid-term Plan (2012-2016) and MOFA ODA White Paper (2012). Japan's ODA policy framework is illustrated on the figure below.

Figure 2. Japan's ODA Policy Framework⁴⁶⁾

46) *WEBSITES*: Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2013. "ODA White Paper 2013": 38 Accessed May 5. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/white/2013/pdfs/all.pdf>.



Japan's policy papers show a hierarchical structure of Japan's ODA framework, where ODA charter and Medium-term ODA policy provides Japan's macro-level ODA policies. ODA charter is a document which serves as a foundation of Japan's ODA policy, containing Japan's ODA philosophy and ODA implementation principles.⁴⁷⁾ Japan's ODA objectives stated in the ODA charter are to support peace and international community building which contribute to Japan's own security and prosperity.⁴⁸⁾ ODA implementation principle insists that ODA needs to be provided in a manner that can balance the environment and development, prevent any use of ODA for military purposes, and promote the democratization of developing countries.⁴⁹⁾ The Medium-Term ODA Policy paper is drafted to provide

47) *WEBSITES*: Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2013. "ODA White Paper 2013": 37. Accessed May 5. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/white/2013/pdfs/all.pdf>

48) *WEBSITES*: Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2013. "ODA White Paper 2013": 37. Accessed May 5. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/white/2013/pdfs/all.pdf>

49) *WEBSITES*: Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2013. "ODA White Paper 2013": 37. Accessed May 5. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/white/2013/pdfs/all.pdf>

more detailed information on Japan's foreign aid policy position, approaches, and specific actions to achieve policy objectives of ODA Charter. Medium-Term ODA policy paper highlights poverty reduction, sustainable growth, addressing global issues, and peacebuilding as priority issue areas for Japan's ODA.⁵⁰⁾ Japan's Sectoral Development Policy paper illustrates how Japanese ODA is disbursed by sectors and what kind of initiatives were implemented to provide aid in a sustainable manner. Priority Policy for International Cooperation paper highlights specific priority areas for Japan's general ODA policy. But unlike ODA Charter or Medium-Term ODA policy which mentions triangular cooperation, Sectoral Development Policy and Priority Policy for International Cooperation does not state triangular cooperation in the document.

ODA charter and Mid-Term ODA Policy formulate Japan's ODA policies at both global and regional level. But in the case of Japan's triangular cooperation projects which are mainly implemented on the country level, Country Assistance Policy (CAP) document is utilized as a central policy framework regarding country specific development cooperation policies.⁵¹⁾ Country Assistance Policy (which was previously titled, Country Assistance Program) lays down Japan's country-specific aid policy aimed to enhance strategic value, efficiency, transparency and accountability of Japanese ODA.⁵²⁾ Japan's cabinet revised the ODA Charter in 2003, emphasizing Country Assistance Programs as a means to provide ODA on major recipient countries in a unified and coherent manner.⁵³⁾ Ministry of Foreign

50) *WEBSITES*: Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2013. "ODA White Paper 2013": 37. Accessed May 5. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/white/2013/pdfs/all.pdf>

51) JICA. 2014. "Japan's triangular cooperation mechanisms with a focus on JICA's activities": 6.

52) *WEBSITES*: Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "Country Assistance Programs" Accessed May 10. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/assistance/program.html>

affairs in Japan states how Japan selects major recipient countries where CAP needs to be drafted:

1. Amount of aid disbursed to the country.
2. Country's strategic importance: cooperation with Japan in the international arena, investment and trade relations; political and economic role of the recipient country in the region.
3. Relationship with global development issues: assistance needs related to such issues as poverty, HIV/AIDS, peace building, reconstruction, and governance.
4. Regional balance: regional balance to be considered while putting priority on Asia⁵⁴⁾

Country Assistance Policy provides significance of beneficiary country, Japan's general development cooperation strategy, and development cooperation priority areas with factors to consider in development cooperation. Therefore, in analyzing Japan's triangular cooperation cases, CAP will be referred as a guideline to clarify Japan's development cooperation objectives. As the Country Assistance Policy is drafted to provide guidelines for Japan's development cooperation policies within the country, the paper will refer to CAP if it can provide more explanation on explaining JICA's intentions for implementing triangular cooperation.

1-1 Japan's TrC implementation mechanisms

Japan's triangular cooperation mechanisms are positioned within the ODA policy framework explained above. Table below presents Japan's triangular cooperation mechanisms.

53) *WEBSITES*: Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "Country Assistance Programs" Accessed May 10. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/assistance/program.html>

54) *WEBSITES*: Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "Country Assistance Programs" Accessed May 10. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/assistance/program.html>

Table 4. Japan's Triangular Cooperation Mechanisms⁵⁵⁾

Categories	Japan
Overall development policies mentioning TrC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - MOFA's Strategy: The ODA Charter 2003, Japan's Mid-term ODA plan of 2005. - JICA's Strategy: Mid-term Plan (2012-2016) - MOFA ODA White Paper (2012) <p>Indicates a broad direction of priority areas of intervention according to the region.</p>
Country-level policies which indicate the direction for formulating TrC projects (inc. main areas of interventions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The priority of areas of TrC projects reflects country-level strategies (pivotal and beneficiary country) - In some countries' cases (e.g., LA countries) country development policy specifically mentions TrC as one of its objectives
Operational guidelines specific for TrC activities (apart from normal bilateral cooperation guidelines)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Thematic Guidelines on South-South Cooperation (Support to SSC)(2005)
Partner pivotal countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not fixed - Japan cooperates with probably the widest range of countries as pivotal countries (partner countries are not limited) - 12 countries have a systematized partnership agreement on TrC
Initiator of TrC activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Any partner countries
Ways of matching needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Individual meetings between Japan and

55) The following table is from JICA. 2014, "Triangular Cooperation Mechanisms, A Comparative Study of Germany, Japan, and the UK": 4.

and initial formulation of TrC activities	partners - Ongoing projects - International workshops for specific regions
Approval process	- HQ (country teams play essential roles)
TrC funds	- Do not exist - Formulate projects within normal bilateral cooperation budget - Not dedicated budget for TrC
Size of each TrC activity	- Relatively small
Official procedures for requests before MOU for implementation	- Requires official request documents from either or both pivotal/beneficiary country - Requires at least a full commitment from all partner countries in written form
Roles for proportion of contribution from pivotal and beneficiary country	- Case-by-case, but sometimes there are rules (e.g., Chile and Mexico) - In-kind contribution is accepted

Japan's ODA Charter and Mid-term plan reflects Japan's efforts to support triangular cooperation. In 2003, Japan revised its Charter and stated that Japan will continue to provide support for South-South and triangular cooperation.⁵⁶⁾ In the case of implementing country specific TrC, Country Assistance Policy provides policy directions for TrC programs to follow. Thematic Guidelines on South-South Cooperation also provides additional operational guidelines for implementing triangular cooperation.

While above documents are focusing on establishing Japan's triangular cooperation framework, JICA also established development cooperation platform with its pivotal countries. Japan selected key pivotal states and

56) JICA. 2014, "Triangular Cooperation Mechanisms, A Comparative Study of Germany, Japan, and the UK":13

signed the Partnership Program (PP), which is a strategic and comprehensive framework to implement TrC. Under PP framework, Japan and partner pivotal country development cooperation agency coordinates joint technical cooperation to assist beneficiary countries.⁵⁷⁾

For the implementation of triangular cooperation, JICA utilizes multiple aid instruments to engage in various patterns of TrC. Japan has been providing active support for SSC using Third Country Training Programme (TCTP), and Third Country Expert Dispatch (TCED).⁵⁸⁾ While TCTP and TCED were the dominant types of JICA's Triangular Cooperation activities, JICA is combining various aid instruments to implement more complex types of Triangular cooperation projects and programs.⁵⁹⁾

With Japan's triangular cooperation structure identified, the paper will now explain how triangular cooperation projects are categorized and match JICA's triangular cooperation under each category to provide explanation on how JICA is utilizing each TrC types for meeting its development cooperation objectives.

1-2. Types of Japanese triangular cooperation

OECD and JICA have provided their typology of triangular cooperation. The paper will analyze existing triangular cooperation types explained by OECD and JICA. Both OECD and JICA categorize triangular cooperation into 4 types and there are similarities and differences between OECD and

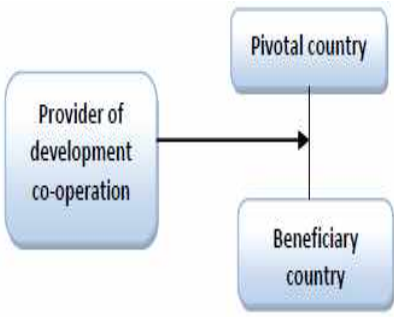
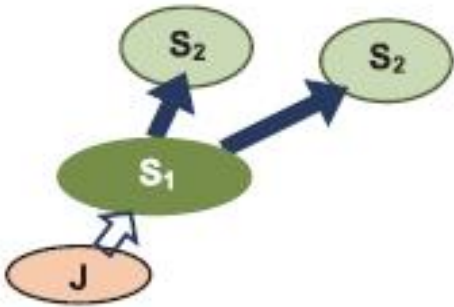
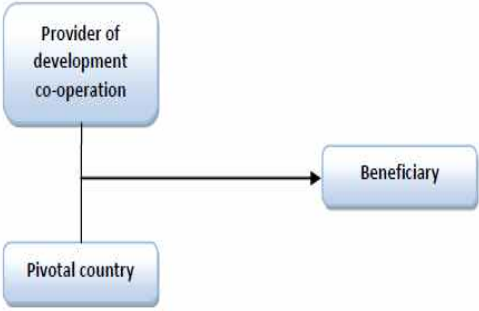
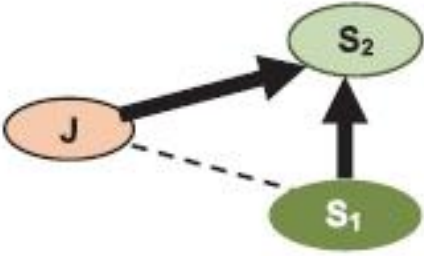
57) *WEBSITES*: JICA. "Partnership Program Challenge to Inclusive and Dynamic Development through Triangular Cooperation with New Partners" Accessed May 15. [http://gwweb.jica.go.jp/km/FSubject2101.nsf/03a114c1448e2ca449256f2b003e6f57/d1d2bce70d395f4f4925768e0027fce8/\\$FILE/PartnershipProgram_SSC.pdf](http://gwweb.jica.go.jp/km/FSubject2101.nsf/03a114c1448e2ca449256f2b003e6f57/d1d2bce70d395f4f4925768e0027fce8/$FILE/PartnershipProgram_SSC.pdf)

58) JICA. 2005. "Thematic Guidelines on South-South Cooperation": 5

59) JICA. 2014. "Japan's triangular cooperation mechanisms with a focus on JICA's activities": 19

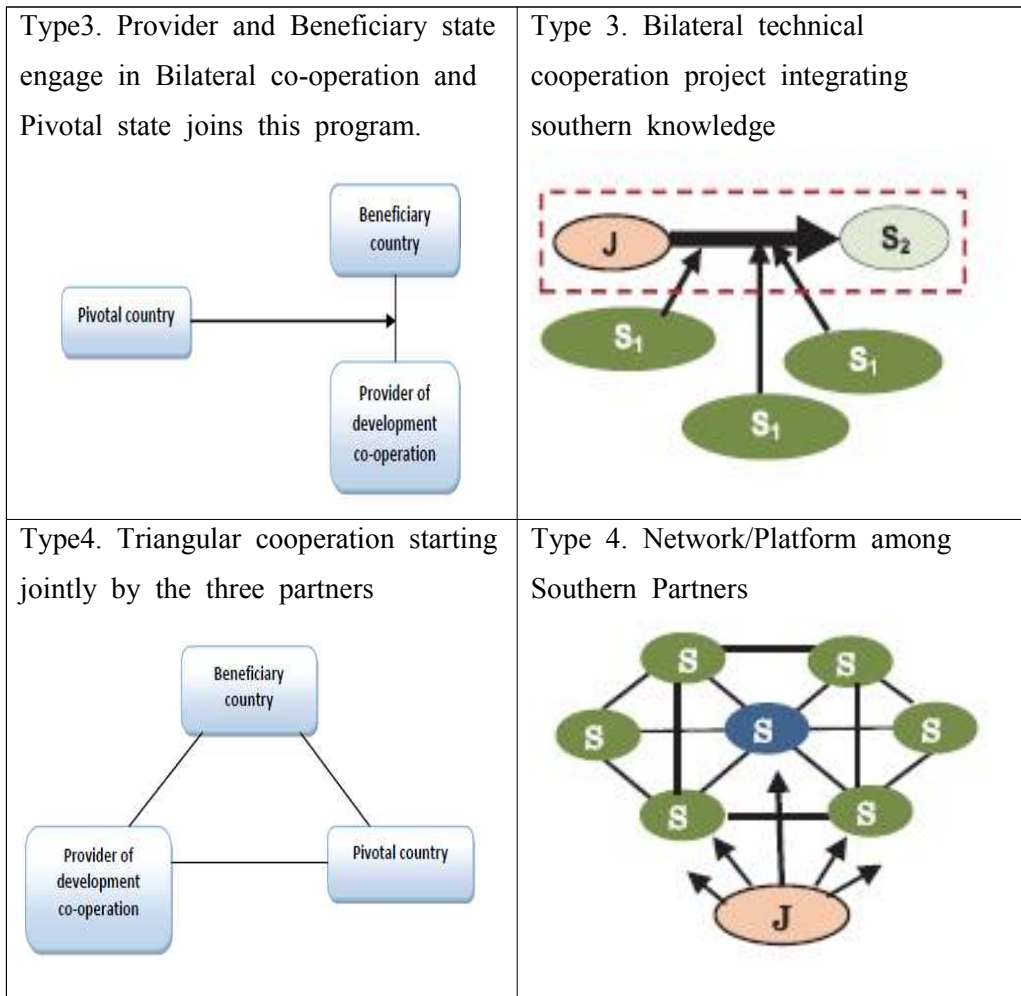
JICA. Table below is the compilation of OECD and JICA TrC typologies.

Table 5. OECD and JICA’s Categorization of Triangular Cooperation⁶⁰⁾

OECD Categorization of triangular cooperation	JICA categorization of triangular cooperation
<p>Type1. Provider supporting existing South-South co-operation</p> 	<p>Type 1. Dissemination of excellent practices</p> 
<p>Type2. Provider and Pivotal state engage in Bilateral co-operation and implement TrC with a third, beneficiary country.</p> 	<p>Type2. Collaborative support among Japan and Southern development partners</p> 

60) JICA. 2014. “Japan’s triangular cooperation mechanisms with a focus on JICA’s activities”: 10.

OECD. 2013. “TRIANGULAR CO-OPERATION: What’s the Literature Telling Us?” Literature review prepared by the OECD Development Co-operation Directorate: 14-15



In the case of OECD’s triangular cooperation typology, it shows ideal type of how triangular cooperation may take place. The first three types of cooperation illustrate how TrC evolves from North-South bilateral cooperation (provider-pivotal state and provider-beneficiary state) or SSC cooperation between pivotal and beneficiary state. Forth type is different from previous types in that it explains cases where provider, pivotal and beneficiary state engage in the triangular cooperation from the starting point. Whatever the case is, OECD is basically categorizing the possibilities of

how TrC takes place in the development cooperation settings.

JICA's typology is more Japan-centered, defining triangular cooperation based on how JICA engages in TrC, which is different from OECD's typology. While JICA has implemented many triangular cooperation programs utilizing the existing SSC, Japan's triangular cooperation mostly begins by establishing direct cooperation with pivotal country or beneficiary country first, and then expanding the cooperation into TrC. Forth type of JICA's TrC is also different from OECD's categorization in that Japan tries to establish, or cooperate with the network of southern countries, which is not captured in the OECD's paper. As this paper's scope of analysis is on Japan's triangular cooperation programs, the thesis will explain more on the JICA's category of TrC.

The first type of TrC is a dissemination of excellent practice, which is a typical version of Japan's triangular cooperation.⁶¹⁾ JICA utilizes its previous technical cooperation experiences gained from development cooperation programs with the pivotal state, and apply similar technical cooperation program to beneficiary country. JICA can apply the knowledge gathered from previous bilateral cooperation with the pivotal state, which may also be effective in the beneficiary state as it shares similar cultural, social context with the pivotal country.⁶²⁾

Second type of triangular cooperation is providing collaborative support among Japan and Southern development partner. JICA and pivotal state collaborate as equal partners and conduct joint development cooperation. In this type of cooperation, JICA can benefit from pivotal country's unique

61) JICA. 2014. "Japan's triangular cooperation mechanisms with a focus on JICA's activities": 10

62) JICA. 2014. "Japan's triangular cooperation mechanisms with a focus on JICA's activities": 10

technological and managerial strengths, which is an asset Japan does not possess.⁶³⁾ Thus JICA can utilize pivotal country's development capacities into their own development cooperation scheme.

Third type of JICA's triangular cooperation is bilateral technical cooperation project integrating southern knowledge. JICA conducts Third Country Training Program (TCTP) or Third Country Expert Dispatch (TCED) as a means to perform development cooperation in sector where Japan does not hold comparative advantage.⁶⁴⁾ In this type of TrC, Japan cooperates with number of pivotal countries that may share similarities with the beneficiary country.

Forth and last type of triangular cooperation is network/platform among southern partners, which is becoming the standard patterns of larger scale TrC projects.⁶⁵⁾ In this type of cooperation, Japan sometimes does not select specific pivotal or beneficiary country to implement triangular cooperation. Instead, JICA engages with regional network of platforms with Southern countries that interact with each other to bring their own strengths and unique experiences. JICA may join the existing network, or try to connect established practices in similar fields within the country.⁶⁶⁾

Although JICA's triangular cooperation category provides a useful framework in analyzing TrC programs, OECD's triangular cooperation

63) JICA. 2014. "Japan's triangular cooperation mechanisms with a focus on JICA's activities": 10

64) JICA. 2014. "Japan's triangular cooperation mechanisms with a focus on JICA's activities": 11

65) JICA. 2014. "Japan's triangular cooperation mechanisms with a focus on JICA's activities": 11

66) JICA. 2014. "Japan's triangular cooperation mechanisms with a focus on JICA's activities": 11

typology is more adequate in analyzing how triangular cooperation projects are implemented, which is the research question of the paper. Therefore the paper will categorize JICA's triangular cooperation cases using OECD's categorization to identify JICA's objectives for implementing triangular cooperation.

1-3. JICA's triangular cooperation programs

As explained in the significance of the Japan study section, Japan has established a long history of actively engaging with pivotal countries and beneficiary states in supporting South-South cooperation and triangular cooperation. Before categorizing triangular cooperation programs based on OECD's triangular cooperation framework, the thesis will provide lists of triangular cooperation cases examined for the analysis of Japan's triangular cooperation landscape. The table below is the list of Japan's triangular cooperation cases.

Table 6. List of Japan's Triangular Cooperation Programs⁶⁷⁾

Project	Pivotal	Beneficiary
Training of faculty engaged in health research at Brazilian Institutes	Brazil	Africa
Training on artificial insemination of dairy cattle	Japan, Indonesia	Indonesia, and various countries
Rice cultivation techniques	Egypt	27 African countries
Integrated village management approach	Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines,	Cambodia

67) Chaturvedi, Sachin. 2012. "Characteristics and potential of triangular development cooperation (tdc): emerging trends, impact and future prospects." *Department and Social Affairs, United Nations Secretariat (undesa)*: 39

	Thailand	
Sustainability and leverage impact of development technical assistance	Thailand	ASEAN
Attachment programme for Cambodian nursing tutors	Cambodia	Afghanistan
Japan-Singapore Partnership Programme for the 21st Century: JSPP 21	Singapore	
Strengthening science and mathematics in secondary education (SMASSE) in Niger	Kenya	Niger
Japan-Egypt triangular technical cooperation programme for the promotion of SSC in Africa	Egypt	African region
SMASE-WESCA: Strengthening of mathematics and science education – western, eastern, central and southern Africa	Africa	Africa
Japan-Tunisia triangular technical cooperation programme for the promotion of SSC in Africa	Tunisia	African region
Clinical immunology of infectious disease and introduction to molecular biology	Egypt	21 African countries
Japan-Brazil Partnership Programme: JBPP	Brazil	Pan-Amazon countries Angola, Mozambique
TAISHIN Project	Mexico	El Salvador
Partnership Programme for joint cooperation between Japan and Argentina: PPJA	Argentina	Peru, Paraguay
Japan-Chile Partnership Programme: JCPP	Chile	Costa Rica, Colombia
AUN/SEED-Net: ASEAN university network/southeast Asia engineering education development network	Southeast Asia	Southeast Asia
JICA-ASEAN regional forum (JARCOM)	ASEAN(4)	CLMV

Japan-Philippines Partnership Programme: JPPP	Philippines	Timor-Leste
Experts in fishery techniques, navigation and shipbuilding mechanics to vocational training centre	Tunisia	Mauritania
Asia-Pacific development center on disability	Asia-Pacific region	Asia-Pacific region
Japan-Mexico Partnership Programme: JMPP	Mexico	Paraguay, El Salvador
Japan-Indonesia Partnership Programme: JIPP	Indonesia	African region
Japan-Thailand Partnership Programme: JTPP	Thailand	Timor-Leste
Japan-Morocco triangular technical cooperation programme for the promotion of SSC in Africa	Morocco	Africa region
PROMESA project for improving health of animals	Argentina	Peru
Triangle of Hope	Malaysia	Zambia
Japan-Jordan Partnership Programme: JJPP	Jordan	Arab countries
Development of peruvian scallops in Casma	Chile	Peru
Project of capacity development for the improvement of livestock hygiene in the southern part of South America	Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay	Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay
Training for trainers in fisheries development	Tunisia	Gabon
Projects on capacity development for disaster risk management in Central America BOSAI	Central America	Central America
Hospital management through 5S-Kaizen-TQM	Sri Lanka	Africa
Building capacities at the Josina Machel Hospital	Brazil	Angola
Malaysia technical cooperation programme	Malaysia	African and other

		developing countries
Consolidation of peace for multicultural nations	Malaysia	Afghanistan, Iraq, Sudan
Participatory agriculture extension (Agency for Agricultural Human Resource Development (AAHRD) jointly with JICA trained Indonesian agriculture officers	Japan, Indonesia	Indonesia, and various countries
CARD: Coalition for African rice development	Asia	Africa
Cooperation projects with the JICA in the area of fishery	Morocco	African countries
Agricultural assistance	Indonesia	Madagascar
Rice production project	Vietnam	Madagascar
Aquaculture	Mexico	Honduras
Professional training programme	Brazil	Angola
The Partnership Programme for joint-cooperation	Argentina	Latin American countries
Annual training programmes since 1985, benefiting 2200 trainees	Egypt	African countries
Share expertise in the design and maintenance of monitoring systems and automation of industrial processes	Colombia	South and Central American countries
Tokyo international conference on African development (TICAD)	Asia, Africa	African countries
Triangular schemes for fostering South-South cooperation	Brazil	Haiti
Environment and disaster prevention	Mexico	Guatemala
Improvement of children's health services	Brazil	Madagascar
Integrated management of plagues	Mexico	Nicaragua
Asia-Africa knowledge co-creation project:	Sri Lanka	African

experience sharing in hospital management		countries
Industry and manufacturing	Mexico	Paraguay
Improvement of water services and sanitation in the Zambezia province	Brazil	Mozambique
Development of national strategy and framework of reference (priority areas, action lines and involved actors) for solid waste management	Mexico	Guatemala
Water waste management (3 year program)	Tunisia	Iraq
Capacity building of drug law enforcement	Thailand	Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar, Vietnam
Police training and capacity building	South Africa	Congo
Hospital management through 5S-Kaizen-TQM	Sri Lanka	Africa
Obtain single cell protein with torula yeast on a coffee pulp juice and sugarcane molasses substrate	Mexico	El-Salvador
Diagnostic and formulation of operational and local disaster risk management plans for forests	Mexico	El-Salvador
Sesame seed production for small farmers	Mexico	Paraguay
V International course “Sustainable cattle production for small and medium-scale farmers	Chile, Japan	Nicaragua
Training course for the sustainable production of vegetables	Brazil	Nicaragua
V International course “Production of organic vegetables”	Brazil	Dominican R.
Develop pectinid farming	Chile	Colombia
I International course “Bivalve Mollusc Seed Production”	Chile	Nicaragua

II International course “Bivalve Mollusc Seed Production”	Chile, Japan	Nicaragua
V International training course in remote sensing using ASTER Data	Argentina	Nicaragua
IV International course on civil protection and disaster prevention	Mexico	Nicaragua
V International course “Rehabilitation policies and social inclusion strategies for persons with disabilities - an integral vision”	Chile, Japan	Nicaragua
International course on urban management Practices	Brazil	Dominican R.
Child labor eradication project	Brazil, ILO	Ecuador
Project for inclusive rehabilitation of persons with disabilities	Chile	Bolivia
Academic exchange	Uruguay, Argentina	Uruguay, Argentina
Comprehensive management of the Chimborazo Province watershed	Chile	Ecuador
Garbage and solid waste management	Mexico	Guatemala
Beginner training course for tropical jungle monitoring	Brazil	Nicaragua
VI International course for Latin American and Caribbean park rangers	Argentina	Dominican R.
Workshop on climate change adaptation strategy in Yucatan	Mexico	Nicaragua
International course on urban management	Brazil	Nicaragua
International course on reforming the criminal justice system in Latin America Phase II	Costa Rica	Nicaragua
Strengthen the early warning system (EWS)	Chile	Paraguay
Training course for human birth delivery care	Brazil	Nicaragua
Course on the development of biological immunity in public health	Brazil	Nicaragua
International course for the humanizing of	Brazil	Dominican

care for women and newborns		R.
International course on development of Immunobiologicals for Public Health	Brazil	Dominican R.
IV International course on uterine cancer prevention and control	Mexico	Nicaragua
Reconnaissance visit of the FIOCRUZ drug manufacturing plant	Brazil	Peru
International training course on urban train systems	Brazil	Dominican R.
I International course on management and operating system techniques to reduce and control water loss	Brazil	Dominican R.
Improve construction technology and energy dissipation systems for earthquake-resistant social housing	Mexico	El Salvador
Agricultural development of the tropical savannah in Mozambique (ProSAVANA)	Brazil	Mozambique

With these triangular cooperation cases as a foundation, the paper provides case analysis to examine JICA's triangular intentions. After categorizing triangular cooperation cases into OECD's 4 categories, the paper will provide explanation on how certain types of triangular cooperation are implemented for which purposes. After providing general explanation on why JICA is utilizing certain triangular cooperation, the thesis will present more extensive triangular cooperation case analysis that best represent JICA's rationale for selecting that type of triangular cooperation for its development cooperation policy.

2. TrC Type: Supporting existing SSC

The first type of triangular cooperation projects are defined by Japan's intervention in the existing South-South cooperation projects. This type of

triangular cooperation can be considered as the earliest triangular cooperation activities implemented by Japan. Japan’s interest in supporting South-South cooperation comes from participating in the Colombo Plan in 1954, where Japan provided development assistance as a developing state. Due to this historical experience of engaging in South-South cooperation, Japan stated in its ODA Charter and mid-term policy paper that it will provide active support in the promotion of SSC.⁶⁸⁾ Under the JICA’s triangular cooperation framework, JICA intervened in the ongoing South-South cooperation by providing supplementary support to the technical cooperation being implemented among developing countries.⁶⁹⁾ This type of cooperation illustrates Japan’s basic triangular cooperation scheme as this type of cooperation shows more bilateral aspect than other triangular cooperation programs. Rather than engaging with both pivotal and beneficiary country agencies, JICA simply provides development assistance to the South-South cooperation implementing agencies, which are mostly pivotal country development cooperation institutions. Hence, the cooperation takes a form of bilateral development cooperation between JICA and pivotal country partner agency. Japan gradually began to develop more sophisticated triangular cooperation framework to implement more effective development cooperation projects. Table below provides the lists of triangular cooperation cases JICA implemented to support existing South-South cooperation projects.

Table 7. List of Japan’s Triangular Cooperation Programs Supporting South-South Cooperation

Project	Pivotal	Beneficiary
Integrated village management approach	Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines,	Cambodia

68) JICA. 2005. “Thematic Guidelines on South-South Cooperation”5.

69) JICA. 2014. “Japan’s triangular cooperation mechanisms with a focus on JICA’s activities” 12

	Thailand,	
Training for trainers in fisheries development	Tunisia	Gabon
Cooperation projects with the JICA in the area of fishery	Morocco	African countries
Aquaculture	Mexico	Honduras
Professional training programme	Brazil	Angola
Annual training programmes since 1985, benefiting 2200 trainees	Egypt	African countries
Share expertise in the design and maintenance of monitoring systems and automation of industrial processes	Colombia	South and Central American countries
Triangular schemes for fostering South-South cooperation	Brazil	Haiti
Environment and disaster prevention	Mexico	Guatemala
Improvement of Children's Health Services	Brazil	Madagascar
Integrated management of plagues	Mexico	Nicaragua
Industry and manufacturing	Mexico	Paraguay
Improvement of water services and sanitation in the Zambezia province	Brazil	Mozambique
Development of national strategy and framework of reference (priority areas, action lines and involved actors) for solid waste management	Mexico	Guatemala
Water waste management (3 year program)	Tunisia	Iraq
Police training and capacity building	South Africa	Congo
Obtain single cell protein with torula yeast on a coffee pulp juice and sugar cane molasses substrate	Mexico	El-Salvador
Diagnostic and formulation of operational and local disaster risk management plans	Mexico	El-Salvador

for forests		
V International course “Sustainable cattle production for small and medium-scale farmers	Chile, Japan	Nicaragua
Training course for the sustainable production of vegetables	Brazil	Nicaragua
V International course on production of organic vegetables	Brazil	Dominican R.
Develop pectinid farming	Chile	Colombia
I International course “Bivalve Mollusc Seed Production”	Chile	Nicaragua
II International course “Bivalve Mollusc Seed Production”	Chile, Japan	Nicaragua
V International training course in remote sensing using ASTER Data	Argentina	Nicaragua
IV International course on civil protection and disaster prevention	Mexico	Nicaragua
V International course “Rehabilitation policies and social Inclusion strategies for persons with disabilities - an integral vision”	Chile, Japan	Nicaragua
International course on urban management practices	Brazil	Dominican R.
Child labor eradication project	Brazil, ILO	Ecuador
Project for inclusive rehabilitation of persons with disabilities	Chile	Bolivia
Academic exchange	Uruguay, Argentina	Uruguay, Argentina
Comprehensive management of the Chimborazo Province watershed	Chile	Ecuador
Garbage and solid waste management	Mexico	Guatemala
Beginner training course for tropical jungle	Brazil	Nicaragua

monitoring		
VI International course for Latin American and Caribbean park rangers	Argentina	Dominican R.
Workshop on climate change adaptation strategy in Yucatan	Mexico	Nicaragua
International course on urban management	Brazil	Nicaragua
International course on reforming the criminal justice system in Latin America Phase II	Costa Rica	Nicaragua
Strengthen the early warning system (EWS)	Chile	Paraguay
Training course for human birth delivery care	Brazil	Nicaragua
Course on the development of biological immunity in public health	Brazil	Nicaragua
International course for the humanizing of care for women and newborns	Brazil	Dominican R.
International course on development of immunobiologicals for public health	Brazil	Dominican R.
IV International course on uterine cancer prevention and control	Mexico	Nicaragua
Reconnaissance visit of the FIOCRUZ drug manufacturing plant	Brazil	Peru
International training course on urban train systems	Brazil	Dominican R.
I International course on management and operating system techniques to reduce and control water loss	Brazil	Dominican R.
Improve construction technology and energy dissipation systems for earthquake-resistant social housing	Mexico	El-Salvador

This type of triangular cooperation is perhaps the most simple triangular cooperation schemes for providers as donors can simply assist existing

South-South cooperation. This type of triangular cooperation provides flexibility in implementing triangular cooperation as donors can simply support any SSC programs upon request. JICA shows clear intentions of providing this type of TrC. JICA's support for SSC is concentrated and strategic, as it mostly supports key pivotal countries. JICA's objective for providing triangular cooperation in this case is to enhance relationship with pivotal countries and assist pivotal countries (which are Japanese aid-recipients) to become donors. With providing support for SSC as a foundation, JICA enhances development cooperation into the second type of triangular cooperation which will be examined in the next section.

Challenges regarding this type of triangular cooperation come from the fact that triangular cooperation was implemented in an inconsistent manner, and Japan's contribution was opaque. JICA arbitrarily selected SSC programs it sought to assist which undermined the consistency of JICA's TrC scheme. To overcome this inconsistency in conducting triangular cooperation programs, JICA developed Partnership Programme (PP) with key pivotal states to systematically implement triangular cooperation under the joint development cooperation between Japan and pivotal country, which is visible in the second type of TrC. Nevertheless, JICA is implementing triangular cooperation practices to support existing SSC as a means to support "donorizing" pivotal countries and sustain Japan-pivotal country bilateral ties.

Another challenge regarding this type of triangular cooperation is that JICA's contribution is difficult to observe. While evaluation of triangular cooperation itself is a challenge which needs to be improved in every types of triangular cooperation, difficulty of TrC assessment is perhaps the highest within this type of triangular cooperation. The difficulty results from the fact that this triangular cooperation program provides the least information on JICA's activities, making the evaluation challenging. JICA mainly

implements this type of triangular cooperation by providing technical and financial support to the existing SSC, so JICA is playing a more passive role in the development cooperation. As a result, triangular cooperation reports are brief descriptions on how JICA provided assistance on SSC without indicating how this type of triangular cooperation contribute to the JICA's triangular cooperation framework or objectives. This has led to the limitation of information, which hindered the thesis from conducting case analysis.

3. TrC type: Initiated from provider-pivotal cooperation

Second type of triangular cooperation is implemented after Japan-pivotal country joint bilateral cooperation takes place. This type of triangular cooperation is a dominating pattern of JICA's triangular cooperation program which is designed to overcome challenges addressed in first type of TrC. Unlike first type of triangular cooperation where Japan selects existing South-South cooperation projects, JICA and pivotal country establish bilateral development cooperation agreements to identify roles and expectations of each other when implementing triangular cooperation. Under this triangular cooperation mechanism, JICA was not only able to capture its contributions to the development cooperation programs but also could further utilize comparative advantage of TrC. Before the triangular cooperation programs was implemented, Japan and pivotal country establishes prior agreement, which states in what development cooperation sector, Japan and pivotal country would provide specific assistance regarding the beneficiary country. By setting this agreement, JICA could acquire better understanding on roles of JICA and pivotal partner agency, which provides guidelines for evaluating JICA's performance. Moreover, JICA may analyze comparative advantage of Japan and pivotal country, and then use this data to implement triangular cooperation to enhance its effectiveness. Table below illustrates lists of

triangular cooperation projects implemented under Japan-pivotal bilateral cooperation.

Table 8. List of Japan's Triangular Cooperation Programs Initiated from Provider-Pivotal Bilateral Cooperation

Project	Pivotal	Beneficiary
Training of faculty engaged in health research at Brazilian Institutes	Brazil	Africa
PROMESA project for improving health of animals	Argentina	Peru
Strengthening science and mathematics in secondary education (SMASSE) in Niger	Kenya	Niger
Development of peruvian scallops in Casma	Chile	Peru
Sustainability and leverage impact of development technical assistance	Thailand	ASEAN
Attachment programme for Cambodian nursing tutors	Cambodia	Afghanistan
Japan-Singapore Partnership Programme for the 21st Century: JSPP 21	Singapore	
Partnership Programme for joint cooperation between Japan and Argentina: PPJA	Argentina	Peru, Paraguay
Japan-Chile Partnership Programme: JCPP	Chile	Costa Rica, Colombia
Japan-Brazil Partnership Programme: JBPP	Brazil	Pan-Amazon countries, Angola, Mozambique
Japan-Egypt triangular technical cooperation programme for the promotion of SSC in Africa	Egypt	African region
Japan-Tunisia triangular technical cooperation programme for the promotion of SSC in Africa	Tunisia	African region

TAISHIN Project	Mexico	El Salvador
Projects on capacity development for disaster risk management in Central America BOSAI	Central America	Central America
Japan-Philippines Partnership Programme: JPPP	Philippines	Timor-Leste
Experts in fishery techniques, navigation and shipbuilding mechanics to vocational training centre	Tunisia	Mauritania
Japan-Mexico Partnership Programme: JMPP	Mexico	Paraguay, El Salvador
Japan-Indonesia Partnership Programme: JIPP	Indonesia	African region
Japan-Thailand Partnership Programme: JTPP	Thailand	Timor-Leste
Japan-Morocco triangular technical cooperation programme for the promotion of SSC in Africa	Morocco	Africa region
Japan-Jordan Partnership Programme: JJPP	Jordan	Arab countries
Hospital management through 5S-Kaizen-TQM	Sri Lanka	Africa
Hospital management through 5S-Kaizen-TQM	Sri Lanka	Africa
Asia-Africa knowledge co-creation project: experience sharing in hospital management	Sri Lanka	African countries
Building capacities at the Josina Machel Hospital	Brazil	Angola
Malaysia technical cooperation programme	Malaysia	African and other developing countries
Participatory Agriculture Extension (Agency for Agricultural Human Resource Development (AAHRD) jointly with JICA trained Indonesian agriculture officers	Japan, Indonesia	Indonesia, and various countries
The Partnership Programme for	Argentina	Latin

joint-cooperation		American countries
Capacity building of drug law enforcement	Thailand	Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar, Vietnam
Sesame seed production for small farmers	Mexico	Paraguay
Agricultural development of the tropical savannah in Mozambique (Pro-SAVANA)	Brazil	Mozambique

As the number of triangular cooperation programs implemented under Japan-pivotal country bilateral agreement represents, this type of cooperation is what Japan prefers when implementing triangular cooperation. JICA's objective for implementing this type of triangular cooperation is twofold, minimizing negative impact of "donorization" process and addressing challenges Japan faced in the first type of triangular cooperation.

As mentioned above, first type of triangular cooperation was implemented as a means to support pivotal states to evolve into a donor country. Pivotal countries gradually emerged as donors of South-South cooperation, and yet they are still considered as recipient states in terms of bilateral relationship with northern donors, including Japan. Supporting pivotal state's capacity building as donors is a double-edged sword which may presents both opportunities and challenges for JICA. Supporting "donorization" of pivotal countries provides more strategic options for Japan in a sense that number of pivotal states and their development capacity will be enhanced in the long run. After pivotal states transition from aid recipient to aid donors like northern donors, Japan can scale up development cooperation programs by utilizing increased number of pivotal countries and their enhanced development cooperation capacities when conducting development cooperation

programs. Ultimately, with the successful donorization of pivotal states, Japan can secure its presence within the political environment of the region.⁷⁰⁾

However, supporting pivotal state's initiatives to enhance its donor capacity may undermine development cooperation environment for Japan. Pivotal state's significance in development cooperation stems from increase in their economic capacity. As pivotal countries economy prospers, scale of Japan's development assistance disbursed to the country are likely to gradually decrease. This phenomenon created a new concern for Japan as reduction of development assistance to pivotal countries could undermine the bilateral relations established from previous development cooperation projects, which may even damage Japanese ODA's diplomatic function.⁷¹⁾ Under these circumstances, JICA had to develop strategies to offset negative impact of "donorization" while improving its triangular cooperation strategy to overcome challenges addressed in the first type of TrC.

When JICA was supporting existing South-South Cooperation, it faced difficulties in enhancing effectiveness of triangular cooperation in mainly three reasons: lack of visibility in JICA's support; inconsistency among triangular cooperation programs; and limited utilization of comparative advantage. When JICA supported SSC, identification of Japan's support was not clear, as main portion of triangular cooperation was simply supporting pivotal states delivering development assistance. But by signing joint agreement on how JICA and pivotal country would cooperate in the triangular cooperation programs, it not only provided visibility in Japan's intervention, but also laid foundation for conducting program evaluation. As

70) JICA. 2005. "Thematic Guidelines on South-South Cooperation" 6.

71) JICA. 2005. "Thematic Guidelines on South-South Cooperation" 19.

bilateral agreement clarifies JICA and pivotal development cooperation agency's roles, JICA can use the agreement as a reference to conduct more in-depth evaluation of the program, which was limited in the first type of triangular cooperation. Therefore, clarity of JICA's influence in TrC was enhanced, compared to the first type of cooperation.

Moreover, Japan was able to enhance development cooperation program consistency under this type of triangular cooperation. This was made possible by establishing bilateral cooperation framework utilizing Partnership Programme (PP). Japan has designed PP as a framework to maintain and enhance bilateral relationship with pivotal states, and overcome challenges resulting from donorization or aid graduation of pivotal states. JICA sees Partnership Programme as a comprehensive framework for Japan and pivotal states which enables conducting joint development cooperation programmes when implementing triangular cooperation. Under the PP umbrella, JICA cooperated with pivotal country's implementing agencies to organize and implement triangular cooperation towards beneficiary country. JICA and pivotal country aimed to support SSC activities by dispatching experts, inviting trainees, providing seminars and workshops at a comprehensive and systematic manner.⁷²⁾ This enabled JICA to secure consistency in triangular cooperation since Japan and pivotal countries reached agreement on which development cooperation programs will be implemented. As a result, rather than assisting individual SSC programs, Japan can now strategically select TrC projects in a more organized manner. Up to now, Japan has completed Partnership Programme with 12 pivotal countries, which are mostly pivotal states mentioned in the first type of triangular cooperation programs. Table below incorporates PP activities conducted to promote triangular cooperation.

72) JICA. 2005. "Thematic Guidelines on South-South Cooperation" 22.

Table 9. List of Japan's Partnership Programme stating TrC⁷³⁾

Pivotal country	PP activities targeting triangular cooperation
Philippines	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Human Resource Development Assistance Package for Timor-Leste (English Language Training Course) - Human Resource Development Assistance Package for Timor-Leste (Results Monitoring and Evaluation Course)
Thailand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Modernization of Irrigation Water Management for Sustainable Development - IT Bridging Programme for Laos - Capacity Building on HIV/AIDS Counseling and Management for Timor-Leste
Argentina	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reinforcement of Animal Health in Peru - Strengthening laboratory of microbiology and bromatology in National Institute of Technology and Standardization (INTN) of Paraguay - Strengthening of Packaging Department in National Institute of Technology and Standardization (INTN) of Paraguay
Brazil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Training for Capacity Building of Josina Machel Hospital in Angola - Triangular Cooperation for Agricultural Development of the Tropical Savannah in Mozambique
Chile	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Incorporation of bio-psychological model in National Rehabilitation Center of Costa Rica - Shellfish aquaculture development in Colombia
Mexico	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strengthening Production of Sesame Seed for Small

73) *WEBSITES*: JICA. "Partnership Program Challenge to Inclusive and Dynamic Development through Triangular Cooperation with New Partners" Accessed May 15. [http://gwweb.jica.go.jp/km/FSubject2101.nsf/03a114c1448e2ca449256f2b003e6f57/d1d2bce70d395f4f4925768e0027fce8/\\$FILE/PartnershipProgram_SSC.pdf](http://gwweb.jica.go.jp/km/FSubject2101.nsf/03a114c1448e2ca449256f2b003e6f57/d1d2bce70d395f4f4925768e0027fce8/$FILE/PartnershipProgram_SSC.pdf)

	Farmers in Paraguay - Enhancement of the Construction Technology and Dissemination System of the Earthquake-Resistant "Vivienda Social" in El Salvador - Promotion and empowerment of Maquila in Paraguay
Egypt	- International Course for Clinical Immunology for Africa - Rice Cultivation Techniques for Africa - Quality Management of Concurrent Infections Control of TB/HIV for Africa
Jordan	- Human resource and institutional capacity development prioritized for the reconstruction of Iraq in the field of Agriculture, Electricity, Water Supply, Public Security(Police), etc.
Tunisia	- Design of waste water treatment plant for Iraqi engineers

Third merit of utilizing Partnership Programme or bilateral agreement comes from the fact that JICA could now enhance the comparative advantage of triangular cooperation. In the first type of triangular cooperation, JICA's decision making power was limited. That is, JICA could select South-South cooperation programs to provide assistance, but it could not influence how pivotal and beneficiary country will engage in development cooperation. But under the joint agreement, JICA and pivotal country development cooperation agencies can identify comparative advantages of each country and decide in which development cooperation sector they will implement TrC.

As this type of triangular cooperation is a mainstream in JICA's TrC programs, the paper selected two triangular cooperation programs implemented by JICA: triangular cooperation implemented under PP framework; and Non PP framework TrC for the case analysis. For the

analysis of triangular cooperation practices implemented under Partnership Programme, the paper provides explanation on PP framework, and how it is related to Japan's triangular cooperation strategy.

3-1. Case analysis: ProSAVANA Programme

Japan-Brazil-Mozambique's triangular cooperation on ProSAVANA Programme is selected for the case analysis. Brazil is a major pivotal country with ample experience in triangular cooperation. Japan has implemented the largest number of triangular cooperation programs with Brazil as a pivotal state, which makes selecting JICA's cases involving Brazil is more adequate in generalization of JICA's development cooperation projects. Moreover, unlike other PP framework, Japan has conducted research on analyzing Japan-Brazil Partnership Programme (JBPP), which provides more explanation on how JICA utilized PP for triangular cooperation. Lastly, JICA views this case as a representative case for TrC which is also recognized by UNDP as a best practice in its South-South cooperation and triangular cooperation paper. ProSAVANA program also received spotlight in international events such as G20 meetings, the High-Level Forums for South-South cooperation, and summit meetings which makes the case analysis more important.⁷⁴⁾ Lastly, the fact that this case is widely recognized as a successful case while receiving criticisms from Mozambique civil society provides implications for future triangular cooperation practices.

In 2000, Japan-Brazil Partnership Program was initiated to conduct systematic triangular cooperation. JICA and Brazil established JBPP to achieve two objectives: to enhance the capacity of Brazil's development

74) Sakaguchi, K. 2012. "Japan-Brazil Partnership Program: A Framework for Triangular Cooperation." *V Scaling Up South-South and Triangular Cooperation*, ur. Hiroshi Kato, 227-237. 234.

assistance, and to enhance relationship with Brazil to achieve strategic interest. During the period where JBPP was implemented, Brazil was increasing its budgets and technical cooperation projects. But at the same time, Brazil was a state suffering from insufficient overseas offices specialized in international cooperation, and absence of its own accounting and procurement system.⁷⁵⁾

To enhance development cooperation capacity of Brazil, Japan signed JBPP as a means of supporting Brazil in its capacity development for conducting SSC.⁷⁶⁾ Another rationale behind signing Partnership Programme with Brazil was to effectively utilize Brazil's resources for implementing triangular cooperation. Brazil possesses rich body of technology and experience which can be used for development cooperation in terms of technologies developed in and applicable to tropical areas.⁷⁷⁾ Moreover, Brazil's regional influence and its rapid growing economy made it an important player in Latin America region development cooperation.

ProSAVANA Programme was implemented under the JBPP as “the Japan-Brazil Partnership Program for Agricultural Development of the Tropical Savannah in Mozambique” project.⁷⁸⁾ ProSAVANA project was a test project designed to provide preparation assistance for the implementation

75) Sakaguchi, K. 2012. “Japan-Brazil Partnership Program: A Framework for Triangular Cooperation.” *V Scaling Up South-South and Triangular Cooperation*, ur. Hiroshi Kato, 227-237. 228.

76) Sakaguchi, K. 2012. “Japan-Brazil Partnership Program: A Framework for Triangular Cooperation.” *V Scaling Up South-South and Triangular Cooperation*, ur. Hiroshi Kato, 227-237. 229

77) Sakaguchi, K. 2012. “Japan-Brazil Partnership Program: A Framework for Triangular Cooperation.” *V Scaling Up South-South and Triangular Cooperation*, ur. Hiroshi Kato, 227-237. 230.

78) Classen, S. F. 2013. “Analysis of the Discourse and Background of the ProSAVANA Programme in Mozambique—focusing on Japan's role”. *Tokyo (Jp.): Tokyo University of Foreign Studies*. 2.

of other triangular cooperation projects. JICA established bilateral cooperation with Brazil in supporting its agriculture sector in Cerrado, which is a tropical savanna region. Under JICA's assistance, Brazil was able to increase agricultural capacity in the savanna region. With this successful development cooperation experience, Japan and Brazil decided to implement triangular cooperation programs in Africa's tropical savanna region.

Mozambique was selected as the suitable country for the implementation of Cerrado model for following reasons. First, Mozambique and Brazil are Portuguese speaking country, so the cooperation with Brazil can help overcome language barrier. Also, Northern Mozambique region was considered as a region that shared similar agronomical characteristics with Cerrado region. JICA analyzed Cerrado and Mozambique savanna regions as vast uncultivated land with low productivity.⁷⁹⁾ With similar geographical characteristics and Brazil's expertise in promoting agriculture growth in Savanna, JICA viewed that Cerrado development experience could be duplicated in Mozambique.

Under the JBPP framework, Japan and Brazil decided to launch ProSAVANA project near Nacara Corridor. Objective of the project was twofold, implementing market oriented agricultural development models, and providing sustainable agriculture where small and large scale farmers can coexist.⁸⁰⁾ The project involved various capacity development projects such as developing human resources by implementing technical cooperation to improve agricultural research capacity, and developing master plans for the

79) Classen, S. F. 2013. "Analysis of the Discourse and Background of the ProSAVANA Programme in Mozambique—focusing on Japan's role". *Tokyo (Jp.): Tokyo University of Foreign Studies*. 9.

80) Sakaguchi, K. 2012. "Japan-Brazil Partnership Program: A Framework for Triangular Cooperation." *V Scaling Up South-South and Triangular Cooperation*, ur. Hiroshi Kato, 227-237. 231-232.

implementation of ProSAVANA project.⁸¹⁾ Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation, Mozambican Agrarian Research Institute engaged in the enhancement of agricultural research capacity. In the case of developing agriculture master plan, Oriental Consulting (Japanese consulting team), FGV Projetos (Brazilian consulting company), and Mozambican counterparts were involved.⁸²⁾ As a result of this program, Japan and Brazil was able to transform small scale farms into large scale agriculture to boost crop yield, while enhancing Mozambique's agricultural capacity by providing expertise.

The project illustrates which factors needs to be considered for effective triangular cooperation. This project shows weak ownership of Mozambique and is implemented in a donor-driven manner. Japan and Brazil agreed to promote cooperation in promoting agricultural development in savanna regions, and Mozambique was selected during the process. This process excluded Mozambique's ownership and demand when the triangular cooperation was designed. Another important aspect of this program is that private sectors were incorporated for the implementation of triangular cooperation. JICA reported that Japan, Brazil and Mozambique's private sector participation was crucial in achieving a development of the expected scale. But this has aroused criticism from civil society that Japan neglected its role in preventing private sector from undermining Mozambique's agricultural sector. While Japan viewed private sector participation in triangular cooperation as a means expand business opportunities for japan, it neglected concerns that involving foreign investment could lead to land

81) Sakaguchi, K. 2012. "Japan-Brazil Partnership Program: A Framework for Triangular Cooperation." *V Scaling Up South-South and Triangular Cooperation*, ur. Hiroshi Kato, 227-237. 231-232.

82) Nogueira, I., & Ollinaho, O. 2013. "From Rhetoric to Practice in South-South Development Cooperation: A case study of Brazilian interventions in the Nacala corridor development program." *Institute of Socioeconomics, University of Geneva, Geneva, Switzerland*. 4.

grabbing issue.⁸³⁾ This created suspicion on Mozambique the ProSAVANA programme was implemented for cheap land acquisition.⁸⁴⁾

3-2. Case analysis: 5S-Kaizen-TQM

For analyzing JICA's triangular cooperation cases involving non-PP framework, the paper has examined Japan-Sri Lanka-African Kaizen-TQM program. This is a rare type of triangular cooperation implemented under the second type of JICA's triangular cooperation where Japan cooperated with non-major pivotal states. The paper identified three triangular cooperation cases which were implemented without Partnership Programme framework.

First triangular cooperation program implemented without PP is the Japan-Kenya-Niger Science and Mathematics in Secondary Education (SMASSE) in Niger project. JICA previously implemented SMASSE project in Kenya to improve teaching capacity of teachers in mathematics and science education in the secondary education by introducing In-service Education and Training (INSET) at the national level.⁸⁵⁾ Japan later expanded this project to Niger, with Kenya as a pivotal state believing that similarities between Niger and Kenya may contribute to the successful implementation of TrC.

Second triangular cooperation program is Japan-Cambodia-Afghanistan

83) Classen, S. F. 2013. "Analysis of the Discourse and Background of the ProSAVANA Programme in Mozambique—focusing on Japan's role". *Tokyo (Jp.): Tokyo University of Foreign Studies*.

84) Classen, S. F. 2013. "Analysis of the Discourse and Background of the ProSAVANA Programme in Mozambique—focusing on Japan's role". *Tokyo (Jp.): Tokyo University of Foreign Studies* 17.

85) Special Unit for South-South Cooperation, UNDP. 2013. "ENHANCING SOUTH-SOUTH AND TRIANGULAR COOPERATION, Study of the Current Situation and Existing Good Practices in Policy, Institutions, and Operation of South-South and Triangular Cooperation" 84.

Attachment programme for Cambodian nursing tutors. This program also began with the previous bilateral cooperation with Japan and Cambodia where JICA supported enhancing capacity of Cambodian nurses. After JICA officer found similarities in Cambodia and Afghanistan as a war-torn country, JICA made an arrangement with Cambodia to share their development cooperation experience with Afghanistan. The plan was to invite Afghan nurses to Phnom Penh, where Cambodia would provide nursing courses while sharing their previous experience accumulated from Japan-Cambodia technical cooperation.⁸⁶⁾

Japan-Sri Lanka-Africa Hospital Management through 5S-Kaizen-TQM is similar with two projects mentioned above in that, pivotal states are non-major pivotal countries in the perspective of Japan. Rationale behind selecting this project for case analysis is that not only this case offers most resources on TrC program, but also provides implication for further triangular cooperation research since JICA was able to identify new pivotal state for further triangular cooperation implementation.

5S-KAIZEN-TQM is a management system utilized in medical facilities, where 5S stands for “Sort,” “Set,” “Shine,” “Standardize,” and “Sustain” for a better working environment. KAIZEN is a participatory system that incrementally promotes performance and productivity boost by utilizing reflective group actions process, which is later combined with Total Quality Management (TQM).⁸⁷⁾ JICA once provided Japan-Sri Lanka bilateral

86) Special Unit for South-South Cooperation, UNDP. 2013. “ENHANCING SOUTH-SOUTH AND TRIANGULAR COOPERATION, Study of the Current Situation and Existing Good Practices in Policy, Institutions, and Operation of South-South and Triangular Cooperation” 171.

87) Honda, S. 2012. “Inspired by Sri-Lankan Practice: Scaling-up 5S-KAIZENTQM for Improving African Hospital Service”. *Scaling up South-South and triangular cooperation*. 109.

technical cooperation to support Sri Lanka hospitals in adopting KAIZEN system. Sri Lanka’s Castle Street Hospital for Women (CSHW) and Sri Lanka Institute of Public Administration (SLIDA) were partner agencies which received Japanese management system and later modified it so it would fit in the Sri Lankan local context.⁸⁸⁾ With this previous experience, Japan and Sri Lanka established Better Hospital Service Program (BHSP) for better delivery of 5S-KAIZEN-TQM model to Asia and African countries. Table below explains how BHSP was implemented.

Table 10. Two Phases of Better Hospital Service Program⁸⁹⁾

	First phase	Second phase
Knowledge focus	5S	KAIZEN and TQM
General Objectives	- Promote exchange and Co-creation of locally adapted knowledge of 5S – KAIZEN-TQM with pilot 5S experimentations in preparation for national mainstreaming	- By building on the first phase focused on 5S, Phase 2 is aimed at enhancing and deepening locally-adapted 5S-KAIZEN-TQM through advanced practices, institutionalization and national rollout through the combination of experience sharing and country actions
Main program instruments	- Training sessions in Sri Lanka and Japan	- Training in Sri Lanka, Japan and one of African

88) Honda, S. 2012. “Inspired by Sri-Lankan Practice: Scaling-up 5S-KAIZENTQM for Improving African Hospital Service”. *Scaling up South-South and triangular cooperation*. 110.

89) Honda, S. 2012. “Inspired by Sri-Lankan Practice: Scaling-up 5S-KAIZENTQM for Improving African Hospital Service”. *Scaling up South-South and triangular cooperation*. 111.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Monitoring and field support visit by Japanese and Sri Lankan experts - Complementary support to country practices through bilateral cooperation by JICA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> countries (e.g. Tanzania) - Monitoring and field support visits by Japanese, Sri Lankan and African experts - Complementary support to country practices such as through bilateral cooperation by JICA - Provision of other opportunities of learning such as international workshop and seminars
Duration	- 1.5 years between the initial and final wrap-up training (Country pilot continues beyond 1.5 years.)	- 3 years including country execution

As the table shows, triangular cooperation program was consisted of two phases. In the first phase of cooperation, Japan and Sri Lanka would deliver 5S to beneficiary countries and provide opportunities for participants to exchange knowledge and discuss system implementation.⁹⁰⁾ After beneficiary country group has enhanced their capacity to implement 5S, Sri Lanka and Japan would provide technical assistance to deliver Kaizen and TQM system. To transfer KAIZEN system to African beneficiary countries, Japan and Sri Lanka conducted training programs and session while conducting

90) Honda, S. 2012. “Inspired by Sri-Lankan Practice: Scaling-up 5S-KAIZENTQM for Improving African Hospital Service”. *Scaling up South-South and triangular cooperation*.111-112

class-room learning as well as field observation tours in Sri Lanka and Japan's hospitals. At the second phase of the program where African countries began to implement KAIZEN-TQM, Japan and Sri Lanka dispatched experts to assist periodic monitoring and field support visits.⁹¹⁾

To enhance effectiveness of the program, JICA and Sri Lanka divided 15 African countries into two groups, considering their status of hospital management system. Countries categorized in the first group were Nigeria, Senegal, Eritrea, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Madagascar and Malawi, which has established more advanced hospital management system compared to the second group. Countries in the second group were Morocco, Benin, Burkina, Faso, Mali, Niger, Burundi, and DRC Congo.

Result of triangular cooperation varies among beneficiary countries. Countries that have progressed to the complete KAIZEN system implementation stages were Tanzania, Nigeria and Uganda while Madagascar, Senegal and Democratic Republic of Congo were field testing KAIZEN.⁹²⁾ Tanzania was an exemplary beneficiary country in the triangular cooperation as it was able to scale up Kaizen program at a national scale. After Tanzania received technical cooperation from triangular cooperation, it successfully disseminated 5S system to 56 national, regional and municipal hospitals.⁹³⁾

91) Honda, S. 2012. "Inspired by Sri-Lankan Practice: Scaling-up 5S-KAIZENTQM for Improving African Hospital Service". *Scaling up South-South and triangular cooperation*.111-112

92) Honda, S. 2012. "Inspired by Sri-Lankan Practice: Scaling-up 5S-KAIZENTQM for Improving African Hospital Service". *Scaling up South-South and triangular cooperation*.114

93) Honda, S. 2012. "Inspired by Sri-Lankan Practice: Scaling-up 5S-KAIZENTQM for Improving African Hospital Service". *Scaling up South-South and triangular cooperation*.118

In this type of triangular cooperation, JICA shows more flexibility in selecting pivotal states. When JICA is implementing triangular cooperation under PP framework, it has to consider enhancing bilateral relationship with pivotal countries since they are major pivotal countries within the region. Therefore, JICA faces risks in weakening beneficiary country's ownership and demand by focusing too much on the Japan-pivotal bilateral relationship. In the case of non PP-signatory cases, triangular cooperation was often initiated by Japan, with focus on how previous development cooperation practices implemented in pivotal country could lead to effective assistance delivery. So in this sense, Japan's consideration on triangular cooperation was relatively focusing on aid effectiveness compared to TrC conducted with major pivotal states. Another interesting aspect of non PP-signatory triangular cooperation is that pivotal and beneficiary state are not positioned in the same region, which may also imply that JICA shows more flexibility in matching pivotal and beneficiary country.

4. TrC type: Initiated from provider-beneficiary cooperation

Third type of triangular cooperation indicates programs where Japan initiates bilateral cooperation with the beneficiary country then later expands the cooperation into triangular cooperation with pivotal country joining the development cooperation process. Third type of TrC is least implemented by JICA under its triangular cooperation framework. This type of triangular cooperation is similar with the second type of triangular cooperation implemented with non-major pivotal country in that JICA shows flexibility in selecting pivotal country to enhance aid effectiveness of TrC. JICA receives demand from beneficiary state and then match it with adequate pivotal country, so this type of triangular cooperation shows the highest possibility for beneficiary state to exercise ownership. Moreover, as pivotal country's influence is limited before JICA invites them to the development

cooperation this reduces possibility of overemphasizing pivotal country's interest, which could take place in first and second type of TrC. The table below provides the list of triangular cooperation which began under bilateral cooperation between Japan and beneficiary country.

Table 11. List of Japan's Triangular Cooperation Programs Initiated from Provider-Beneficiary Bilateral Cooperation

Project	Pivotal	Beneficiary
Training on artificial insemination of dairy cattle	Japan, Indonesia	Indonesia, and various countries
Triangle of hope	Malaysia	Zambia
Agricultural assistance	Indonesia	Madagascar
Rice Production project	Vietnam	Madagascar
Consolidation of Peace for Multiculture Nations	Malaysia	Afghanistan, Iraq, Sudan

In the case of Japan-Indonesia-Madagascar Agricultural assistance program, the cooperation began upon Madagascar's request to JICA in providing assistance in enhancing agricultural capacity of Madagascar. Madagascar is a country which noticeably stands out as the major rice-consuming nations in the world.⁹⁴⁾ JICA and Madagascar selected Antsirabe as a target region where crops were produced in paddy fields divided by small paths, which is also shown in Japan's rural environment.⁹⁵⁾ However, during bilateral development cooperation with Madagascar, JICA discovered that Indonesian equipment possesses comparative advantage in prices, compared to Japan's

94) *WEBSITES*: Africa Rice Center. 2007. "Overview of recent developments in the sub-Saharan African rice sector" Accessed May 20.

[http://www.africarice.org/publications/Rice%20Trend%2023-10-07.pdf](http://www.africarice.org/publications/Rice%20Trend%202023-10-07.pdf): 7

95) *WEBSITES*: Hiroshi Tanaka. 2010. "JICA has Jakarta aiding Madagascar rice crop." Accessed May 22.

<http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2010/04/16/business/jica-has-jakarta-aiding-madagascar-rice-crop/#.V2D39NKLTGh>

agriculture technologies which are efficient but expensive. Moreover, Indonesia and Madagascar shared cultural similarities as Malay descents resided in Madagascar's central highland areas, including Antsirabe.⁹⁶⁾ JICA acknowledged that incorporating Indonesia's capacity can enhance the effectiveness of development cooperation projects in Madagascar, and thus expanded bilateral development cooperation into triangular cooperation. In the in-depth case analysis of how Japan is inviting pivotal states in its bilateral development cooperation, Triangle of hope case has been examined.

4-1. Case Analysis: Triangle of Hope

Japan-Zambia-Malaysia Triangle of Hope program is a case that represents how provider-beneficiary country's bilateral cooperation can evolve into triangular cooperation. The paper selected this triangular cooperation program for the analysis as JICA has published number of reports regarding the Triangle of Hope, which enabled deeper analysis of the case. Furthermore, this program was selected as one of the good practices of triangular cooperation by UNDP Special Unit for South-South Cooperation, which makes this case worth analyzing.⁹⁷⁾ JICA's objectives in implementing triangular cooperation were to support Zambia's economic development by nurturing investment-friendly climate and promoting foreign direct investment (FDI).⁹⁸⁾ Triangle of Hope project was implemented upon a request from

96) *WEBSITES*: Hiroshi Tanaka. 2010. "JICA has Jakarta aiding Madagascar rice crop." Accessed May 22.

<http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2010/04/16/business/jica-has-jakarta-aiding-madagascar-rice-crop/#.V2D39NKLTGh>

97) Special Unit for South-South Cooperation, UNDP. 2013. "ENHANCING SOUTH-SOUTH AND TRIANGULAR COOPERATION, Study of the Current Situation and Existing Good Practices in Policy, Institutions, and Operation of South-South and Triangular Cooperation" 19.

98) *WEBSITES*: JICA. "The Triangle of Hope: Promoting Investment in Zambia through Malaysian Experiences". Accessed: June 1. 129.

https://jica-ri.jica.go.jp/publication/assets/2_PartII-Case3.pdf.

Zambia during the 2004 Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD). At the conference, president of Zambia Mr. Levy Patrick Mwanawasa requested JICA President Dr. S. Ogata to provide assistance in promoting resource mobilization which would accelerate foreign investment in Zambia.⁹⁹⁾

Upon Zambia's request for development assistance, JICA contracted Malaysian international consultant with expertise in promoting investments. JICA and Malaysian consultant conducted seminars to raise awareness of three key groups in Zambia: parliamentarians, senior civil servants and private sector, to promote partnership in reducing poverty through job and wealth creation.¹⁰⁰⁾ JICA partnered with Malaysian Government organizations such as Malaysia External Trade Development Corporation (MATRADE), Malaysia South-South Association, and Malaysia Industrial Development Authority (MIDA) to assist Zambian government in organizing trade promotion missions and trade missions.¹⁰¹⁾

With the support from Malaysia's experience in achieving economic development with foreign investment as a comparative advantage, Japan could achieve its triangular cooperation objectives. JICA's evaluation states that materialization of actual investment projects had been realized and

99) Special Unit for South-South Cooperation, UNDP. 2013. "ENHANCING SOUTH-SOUTH AND TRIANGULAR COOPERATION, Study of the Current Situation and Existing Good Practices in Policy, Institutions, and Operation of South-South and Triangular Cooperation" 174.

100) Special Unit for South-South Cooperation, UNDP. 2013. "ENHANCING SOUTH-SOUTH AND TRIANGULAR COOPERATION, Study of the Current Situation and Existing Good Practices in Policy, Institutions, and Operation of South-South and Triangular Cooperation" 174.

101) *WEBSITES*: "Japan-Zambia-Malaysia – Investing in the Triangle of Hope" :2 Accessed May 17.

http://www.southsouth.org/uploads/Japan-Zambia-Malaysia_-_Investing_in_the_Triangle_of_Hope.pdf.

investments from Japan also increased under this project.¹⁰²⁾ Triangle of Hope case shows how pivotal countries can contribute to the enhancement of development cooperation effectiveness by sharing their development experience with the beneficiary country. Another interesting aspect of this type of cooperation was that, pivotal and beneficiary countries were located in the different region. This type of cooperation may imply that Japan was relatively considering the effectiveness of triangular cooperation when selecting pivotal partner country, compared to first and second type of triangular cooperation, as this program was not implemented to increase Japan's influence utilizing pivotal country as a regional hub.

5. TrC type: Initiated from beginning of cooperation

Last type of triangular cooperation is the case where Japan, pivotal country and beneficiary country implement triangular cooperation from the start of the program. In the case of implementing triangular cooperation from the beginning, JICA's conducted triangular cooperation involving multiple states for regional integration, especially in ASEAN and Central America region.¹⁰³⁾ The table below shows triangular cooperation that has been implemented from the beginning.

Table 12. List of Japan's Triangular Cooperation Programs Initiated from the Beginning of Cooperation

Project	Pivotal	Beneficiary
Tokyo international conference on African development (TICAD)	Asia, Africa	African countries
JICA-ASEAN regional forum (JARCOM)	ASEAN(4)	CLMV

102) *WEBSITES*: "Japan-Zambia-Malaysia – Investing in the Triangle of Hope Terminal Evaluation Summary" :14. Accessed May 17.
http://www.jica.go.jp/english/our_work/evaluation/tech_and_grant/project/term/africa/c8h0vm000001rp75-att/zambia_2012_01.pdf

103) JICA. 2012. "Scaling up South-South and Triangular Cooperation" 28.

CARD: Coalition for African rice development	Asia	Africa
Project of Capacity development for the improvement of livestock hygiene in the southern part of South America	Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay	Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay
Asia-Pacific development center on disability	Asia-Pacific region	Asia-Pacific region
Rice cultivation techniques	Egypt	27 African countries
SMASE-WESCA: Strengthening of mathematics and science education – western, eastern, central and southern Africa	Africa	Africa
Clinical immunology of infectious disease and introduction to molecular biology	Egypt	21 African countries
AUN/SEED-Net: ASEAN university network/southeast Asia engineering education development network	Southeast Asia	Southeast Asia

Characteristic of these triangular cooperation programs is that, JICA is not targeting specific pivotal or beneficiary country when implementing TrC. To understand why JICA is implementing triangular cooperation from the start, the scope of analysis should be on the Japan's regional strategic interests. Japan has been implementing triangular cooperation in three regions: Asia, Latin America and Africa. Except for the Africa's case where JICA is seeking to provide network among Asia and African developing states, Japan emphasizes the significance of regional integration as a core goal of Japan's ODA objective.

Japan's ODA White Paper which highlights Japan's overall ODA policies, states supporting regional integration is part of Japan's development

cooperation policy. Japan's ODA policy also states that enhancing regional cooperation and integration under ASEAN network is Japan's foreign aid policy objectives, and JICA will support value sharing and promote mutual understanding to ensure consistent regional stability.¹⁰⁴⁾ Japan's ODA policy framework also states that JICA also aims to address development gap existing among ASEAN member countries.¹⁰⁵⁾ To promote regional integration and alleviate social gaps existing among ASEAN member states, JICA initiated AUN/SEED-Net program to provide engineering education development network to combine ASEAN universities in Southeast Asia into integrated development cooperation framework. In the case of Asia-Pacific development center on disability program, JICA created a knowledge sharing channel to link Asia and Pacific region states to enhance their capacity in disability management. Perhaps the most famous JICA initiative to promote regional integration is JICA-ASEAN regional forum (JARCOM), which was a triangular cooperation aimed to enhance knowledge sharing among ASEAN countries.

In the case of Latin America, JICA focuses on supporting South-South/triangular cooperation in Central American region by linking aid-recipient states with Central American Integration System (SICA).¹⁰⁶⁾ Unlike Asia's case where Japan's ODA Whitepaper indicates regional integration and filling the economic gap among ASEAN member states are crucial in Japan's ODA policy, Whitepaper did not stress the importance of Central America's regional integration. JICA's focus on regional integration in Latin America is implied in the Country Assistance Policy (CAP). JICA

104) *WEBSITES*: Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2013. "ODA White Paper 2013" 110. Accessed May 5

<http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/white/2013/pdfs/all.pdf>.

105) JICA. 2014. "Japan's triangular cooperation mechanisms with a focus on JICA's activities" 6

106) JICA. 2012. "Scaling up South-South and Triangular Cooperation" 28.

has drafted CAP with Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua which are major beneficiary countries within the region. Each countries CAP states that importance for JICA to provide development assistance to these countries are to promote regional stabilization and integration.¹⁰⁷⁾¹⁰⁸⁾¹⁰⁹⁾¹¹⁰⁾

Japan's objective in implementing forth type of triangular cooperation in Africa is slightly different from that of Asia and Central America. While JICA can utilize existing regional platform (ASEAN or SICA) to align its triangular cooperation program within existing platform, it needs to adopt different strategy when implementing TrC in Africa since it lacks regional platform. This is why Japan is trying to establish network to link Asia and African developing countries which transcends regional boundaries. Triangular cooperation such as CARD: Coalition for African rice development and Asia-Pacific development center on disability is an example which shows how Japan seeks to connect Asia with Africa and Pacific regions to provide capacity development for African countries.

Forth type of triangular cooperation is similar to JICA's Network/Platform among Southern Partners typology in a sense that JICA is interacting with various pivotal and beneficiary countries under Southern network. This type

107) *WEBSITES*: Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2012. Country Assistance Policy for Costa Rica Accessed May 13 <http://www.cr.emb-japan.go.jp/coope/coope.html>

108) *WEBSITES*: Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2012. Country Assistance Policy for El-Salvador Accessed May 13 <http://www.sv.emb-japan.go.jp/espa/cooperacion/Espanol/Politica%20de%20Cooperacion%20Japonesa%20en%20En%20Salvador.pdf>

109) *WEBSITES*: Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2013. Country Assistance policy for Guatemala Accessed May 13 http://www.gt.emb-japan.go.jp/Cooperacion/Politica_de_Cooperacion_%20Japonesa_hacia_la_Republica_de_Guatemala_2013.03.pdf

110) *WEBSITES*: Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2013. Country Assistance policy for of Nicaragua Accessed May 13 <http://www.ni.emb-japan.go.jp/es/cooperacion/AOD/lineamientoAOD20130624.html>

of triangular cooperation is gradually becoming JICA's standard model for TrC implementation, as JICA can scale-up triangular cooperation by linking various TrC stakeholders under multilateral knowledge platform.¹¹¹⁾

5-1. Case analysis: JICA-ASEAN regional forum (JARCOM)

JICA-ASEAN regional Forum was selected for case analysis as this is a well-recognized case in regional/sub-regional level matching exercise practice.¹¹²⁾ JARCOM's initial objective was to establish development cooperation system to formulate good quality SSC projects, which later expanded into a forum to address development challenges in the region.¹¹³⁾

Objective of JARCOM was to overcome common challenge in ASEAN, and to alleviate development inequalities among ASEAN member countries with a focus on CLMV (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam) as major beneficiary states. Through JARCOM meetings, beneficiary countries wanted to utilize JARCOM as a knowledge delivery channel where they can request training courses to catch up with advanced ASEAN members.¹¹⁴⁾ In the case of pivotal countries, they wished enhance their development cooperation capacities as donors within the ASEAN region. Japan aimed to benefit from

111) JICA. 2014. "Japan's triangular cooperation mechanisms with a focus on JICA's activities": 11-12.

112) Special Unit for South-South Cooperation, UNDP. 2013. "ENHANCING SOUTH-SOUTH AND TRIANGULAR COOPERATION, Study of the Current Situation and Existing Good Practices in Policy, Institutions, and Operation of South-South and Triangular Cooperation" 73.

113) WEBSITES: "Japan – Innovative triangular cooperation with ASEAN countries (JARCOM)" 1. Accessed May 23.
[http://www.southsouth.org/uploads/Japan_-_Innovative_triangular_cooperation_with_ASEAN_countries_\(JARCOM\).pdf](http://www.southsouth.org/uploads/Japan_-_Innovative_triangular_cooperation_with_ASEAN_countries_(JARCOM).pdf)

114) WEBSITES: "Japan – Innovative triangular cooperation with ASEAN countries (JARCOM)" 2. Accessed May 23.
[http://www.southsouth.org/uploads/Japan_-_Innovative_triangular_cooperation_with_ASEAN_countries_\(JARCOM\).pdf](http://www.southsouth.org/uploads/Japan_-_Innovative_triangular_cooperation_with_ASEAN_countries_(JARCOM).pdf)

JARCOM by improving aid effectiveness with utilization of South-South Cooperation while establishing good relationships with ASEAN member states.

JARCOM's case provides a mixed result in triangular cooperation. While JICA was able to enhance ownership of each ASEAN beneficiary countries by cooperating with ASEAN secretariat, JICA was suffering from growing financial and coordination costs, as JARCOM was a single donor-supported regional framework.¹¹⁵⁾

V. CONCLUSION

1. Summary of Japanese triangular cooperation programs

The paper categorized Japan's triangular cooperation into 4 types and provided analysis on why JICA is implementing specific type of triangular cooperation to achieve which development cooperation objectives. Research question for the paper was to explain how JICA is utilizing triangular cooperation to satisfy its state interest, and case studies suggests that first and second type of triangular cooperation are major TrC programs implemented by Japan. JICA's emphasis on providing these types of triangular cooperation implies that that Realism is evident within Japan's triangular cooperation strategy.

The reason why triangular cooperation is gaining importance as a mechanism to enhance aid effectiveness comes from the rationale that provider country will be able to better deliver development assistance to the beneficiary country with the adequate support from the pivotal states. JICA's

115) *WEBSITES*: "Japan – Innovative triangular cooperation with ASEAN countries (JARCOM)" 5-6. Accessed May 23.

[http://www.southsouth.org/uploads/Japan_-_Innovative_triangular_cooperation_with_ASEAN_countries_\(JARCOM\).pdf](http://www.southsouth.org/uploads/Japan_-_Innovative_triangular_cooperation_with_ASEAN_countries_(JARCOM).pdf)

triangular cooperation with non-PP signatory countries and cases where TrC was implemented after Japan-beneficiary bilateral cooperation suggest that triangular cooperation has potentials to bring positive impact toward beneficiary country's demand and ownership. Under these triangular cooperation frameworks, JICA could reflect more demand of beneficiary country and enhance aid effectiveness. In these cases, JICA received demands from the beneficiary country, and then tried to match it with suitable pivotal country. This type of triangular cooperation may be able to catch two birds in one stone as ownership of beneficiary country can be reflected, and Japan can also find suitable pivotal country to utilize their comparative advantages. Triangular cooperation programs where JICA and non-major pivotal countries such as Sri Lanka and Cambodia engaged in TrC show how JICA matched beneficiary country's demand and pivotal country's capacity. But up to now these triangular cooperation programs are few, and most of Japan's development cooperation is implemented under realist principles.

First and second type of triangular cooperation is the dominant pattern in JICA's TrC framework where realism provides more explanatory power. Under the premise of realism, Japan is also a state actor that seeks to maximize its national interests. When comparing pivotal country and beneficiary country's significance in Japan's interest, it is the pivotal country that can provide more opportunities for Japan. JICA ambiguously states that it is selecting pivotal countries which are Japanese aid graduating nations, and Japan needs to develop strategic reasons for selecting pivotal countries to enhance effectiveness of triangular cooperation.¹¹⁶⁾ While Japan's ODA papers do not clearly state how Japan has selected key pivotal countries which are Partnership Programme signatory states, list of the countries implies that Japan strategically selected emerging economic powers as their

116) JICA. 2012. "Scaling up South-South and Triangular Cooperation" 34.

partners. Japan selected pivotal countries in the realist perspective, where Japan selected regional power states as pivotal countries. By doing so Japan can now better meet its national interest since they can incorporate larger financial/technical assets possessed in pivotal countries and achieve its regional development strategy.

Japan's regional development strategy is to establish a center of excellence (COE) in each region where COE functions as a hub for efficient technology dissemination. The Center and the beneficiary country belong in the same language sphere where common language is used and language barrier is alleviated.¹¹⁷⁾ Center of excellence or technology incubator needs to possess relatively advanced implementation agency, or needs to share common challenges within the region so that Japan can utilize this center to transfer Japan's technology which can be modified to fit local contexts.¹¹⁸⁾ To secure effectiveness of COE, Japan needs to select pivotal country that possess capacities to become a hub of language sphere, which are powerful countries within the region. As Japan selected pivotal countries to become the hub of regional development cooperation, it became crucial for Japan to enhance bilateral relationship with those nations. This explains JICA's efforts to implement first and second type of triangular cooperation as a main channel for development assistance delivery. These two types of triangular cooperation put importance in pivotal country's interest, as JICA's main development cooperation objectives are to support pivotal country in becoming donors while enhancing bilateral relationship. In this sense, Japan's triangular cooperation is more similar to the bilateral development cooperation with the pivotal country, as JICA's concern for beneficiary country's development and ownership are often shadowed by pivotal country's interests. Pro-SAVANA triangular cooperation program represents

117) JICA. 2005. "Thematic Guidelines on South-South Cooperation"¹⁸

118) JICA. 2005. "Thematic Guidelines on South-South Cooperation"¹⁸.

how triangular cooperation is utilized for enhancing cooperation with Brazil, rather than providing effective assistance to Mozambique. This is also related with the forth category of triangular cooperation where JICA implemented TrC to achieve its regional strategy. While Japan did not select specific pivotal or beneficiary countries in implementing triangular cooperation, this still involved key pivotal countries to empower them into becoming COEs. The table below provides summary of JICA’s triangular cooperation characteristics.

Table 13. Characteristics of Japan’s Triangular Cooperation Based on 4 types

TrC type	Pivotal country selection (Flexible/Fixed)	Beneficiary country demand	Pivotal country demand	JICA’s TrC target (Micro/Macro)
Type1	Fixed	Weak	Strong	Micro (country specific)
Type2	Fixed/Flexible	Strong/Weak	Strong	Micro (country specific)
Type3	Flexible	Strong	Weak	Micro (country specific)
Type4	Fixed	Weak	Strong	Macro (regional strategy)

The paper analyzed JICA’s triangular cooperation programs under OECD’s four types of TrC. Pivotal country selection explains how JICA is selecting pivotal partners when implementing triangular cooperation. In the case of flexible pivotal country selection, JICA invests more efforts to match adequate pivotal country with beneficiary state to enhance aid effectiveness. However, if JICA selects pivotal country in a more determined manner, JICA is focusing more on enhancing relationship with key-pivotal countries, than considering aid effectiveness. Beneficiary country demand can be

strongly/weakly reflected in JICA's triangular cooperation. If beneficiary country demand is strong, it implies that JICA implemented triangular cooperation programs to meet beneficiary country's demand, while pivotal country demand oriented cases indicates that JICA is more focusing on the interest of pivotal country. Last characteristic explains JICA's development cooperation targets. In the case of micro level objective, JICA is implementing country-level TrC, seeking to implement triangular cooperation for the development of certain country. But there exists difference between which country is JICA's TrC target. For example, if first type of triangular cooperation focuses on micro level objective, it is focusing more on the pivotal country's sake, while third type may show that JICA's TrC target is more related to the beneficiary country. In the case of Macro level, JICA is focusing more on achieving regional strategy, than development of specific country. The paper will now summarize each types of triangular cooperation based on characteristics presented above.

In the first type of triangular cooperation, JICA focuses on working with its key-pivotal countries, rather than seeking new development cooperation opportunities with non-major pivotal states. Beneficiary country demands are weakly reflected in the cooperation process as JICA is providing assistance in pivotal-beneficiary bilateral cooperation. However, pivotal country demands are incorporated in the first type of triangular cooperation as main objective of JICA's goal is to support "donorization" of pivotal country, which aligns with their intentions to become donors. Lastly, JICA's triangular cooperation objective is more country based, as JICA's goal is to enhance development cooperation capacities of pivotal nations.

Second type of triangular cooperation illustrates cases of JICA implementing TrC under the joint agreement between Japan and pivotal country. Characteristics of second type of triangular cooperation vary as

JICA not only implement PP based TrC, but also conducts development cooperation with non-PP signatory states. Japan mainly implemented triangular cooperation under the Partnership Programme as its framework. In this case, characteristics of triangular cooperation are similar with the first type of TrC. Slight difference exists between first and second type of triangular cooperation. First type of TrC is more emphasizing re-establishing bilateral relationship with Japan and pivotal country. JICA has been utilizing triangular cooperation to transition its donor-recipient relationship into provider-pivotal country so that Japan could maintain bilateral ties with pivotal country even after they graduate from Japanese aid. Second type of triangular cooperation also plays similar role with the first type of cooperation, but it shows more enhanced level of cooperation in that JICA is more actively engaging with pivotal country in implementing TrC programs which JICA could further benefit from. The degree of comparative advantage achieved by the second type of cooperation is also greater than that of the first type of TrC, as JICA and partner agencies can discuss and set up development cooperation plans prior to the TrC implementation. Pivotal country's interest is also reflected more, as shown in the paper's case analysis on Japan-Brazil-Mozambique's ProSAVANA program.

However, in the case of triangular cooperation involving non-PP signatory state shows different characteristics. As pivotal countries are not major TrC partners which are regional powers, JICA was able to concentrate more on the demand of beneficiary countries. This also resulted in the increased flexibility in the selection of pivotal countries where JICA could focus more on matching beneficiary country's demand with pivotal country's capacities.

Third case of triangular cooperation shows similar characteristics of TrC with non-PP states. This case shows even higher level of beneficiary country's ownership compared to the second type as they are reflected in

the triangular cooperation process prior to the intervention of pivotal country. After receiving request from beneficiary country, JICA analyzed and matched beneficiary country's demand with pivotal countries including non-major pivotal countries. This indicates that flexibility in selecting pivotal countries are also higher than the second type of TrC. Scope of JICA's objective is also targeting micro level, as it is focusing on enhancing development capacity of beneficiary states. But this should be distinguished from the first and second type of triangular cooperation. First two programs were pivotal country centered, as JICA was seeking to enhance development capacity of pivotal countries while enhancing bilateral relationship. However, in the third type of triangular cooperation, JICA's focus was more centered toward beneficiary country, as Japan was inviting pivotal country to better achieve beneficiary country's objectives.

Last triangular cooperation mechanism shows similarities and differences from first and second types of development cooperation. In the case of forth TrC, key pivotal states also plays an important role in implementing triangular cooperation, as the forth type aims to achieve Japan's regional strategic interest, by making pivotal country into a regional hub. But the huge difference between forth and other types of TrC comes from the fact that as this type is targeting more regional focused objectives, it sometimes does not target specific beneficiary country. While the first two types of cooperation presents limitations on addressing the needs of beneficiary country, the last type of TrC may not select specific beneficiary country at all.

Japan's triangular cooperation is strongly influenced by realist perspective since it emphasizes achieving state interest over satisfying beneficiary country's demands. Under this pivotal country-centered triangular cooperation framework where few cases seems to utilize TrC for achieving more

effective development assistance, Japan may receive similar criticism it suffered from its previous North-South cooperation. Main criticism Japan faced from international community was that it prefers commercialized development assistance which may undermine beneficiary country's ownership and effectiveness of development cooperation. When JICA was supporting South-South cooperation, it received criticism that Japan's assistance was self-serving since JICA's Third-Country Training and Third-Country Experts Dispatch framework were limited to pivotal country's implementation agency that received JICA's technical assistance in the previous bilateral cooperation.¹¹⁹⁾ Similar pattern was also observed in the case of Japan's triangular cooperation as Japan is more concerned about establishing relationship with pivotal countries while not showing strong attentions on empowering beneficiary countries for poverty reduction. If these types of development cooperation continue, triangular cooperation's merits of enhancing aid effectiveness could be undermined, as demand of pivotal state is more represented within the cooperation, not the recipient's.

2. Implications

Japanese case analysis provides answers to the research question, on how providers utilize triangular cooperation to achieve its development cooperation objectives. When donors engage in development cooperation projects, their intentions are twofold, satisfying its state interest and helping beneficiary country to reduce poverty. JICA's rationale for implementing triangular cooperation also shows both selfish and altruistic aspect of development cooperation. On one hand, JICA uses triangular cooperation to enhance bilateral ties with emerging donors and utilize their expertise in delivering assistance which may contribute to enhancing Japan's influence in the region, utilizing pivotal country as a regional entry point. This goal is

119) JICA. 2005. "Thematic Guidelines on South-South Cooperation" 9.

more strongly reflected in JICA's triangular cooperation framework, as dominant type of JICA's triangular cooperation centers on selecting key pivotal country to engage in TrC under joint bilateral agreement. On the other hand, JICA is also implementing triangular cooperation to enhance its development assistance effectiveness by inviting pivotal country so that comparative advantages can be maximized in JICA's programs. As Japan's triangular cooperation is designed to achieve national interest and enhance aid effectiveness, this provides implications on both aspects of development cooperation that future providers may consider when implementing TrC.

If provider country aims to utilize TrC for its state interest, they can enhance bilateral ties with pivotal country, or utilize triangular cooperation to increase its regional influence by setting pivotal country as a regional hub. Selection of pivotal country becomes more important compared to selecting beneficiary country as establishing strong bilateral relationship with pivotal country is more crucial in achieving state interest. Working with JICA's PP signatory countries may be more beneficial in this sense since they are emerging donors with rich technical/financial resources. PP signatory countries are also states that can play a crucial role in its regional integration. If donor countries aim to enhance partnership with the pivotal country to gain access to the region, it is more desirable to select pivotal countries which are regional powers. However, JICA's financial modality needs further research. In the case of funding triangular cooperation, JICA is supporting most portion of budget needed for the implementation of triangular cooperation, which may offset the gains achieved from the cooperation itself. The financial burden was high when JICA was cooperating with Southern network for implementing triangular cooperation. While development cooperation with Southern network provides opportunities for implementing large scale triangular cooperation, this increased financial

burden on JICA as JICA had to support large number of Southern participants using its budget.

Japan's triangular cooperation also presents implications for provider countries to consider in enhancing aid effectiveness of TrC. Triangular cooperation implemented with non-major pivotal country, or programs that originate from bilateral cooperation with the beneficiary country may provide better modalities in enhancing ownership and enabling more beneficiary country demand-driven approach. Moreover, Japan's case shows that selection of pivotal country needs flexibility as matching adequate pivotal country's comparative advantage with beneficiary country's demands provides more chance for implementing successful development cooperation programs. In the case of Japan's triangular cooperation involving Sri Lanka, JICA was able to successfully deliver Sri Lanka's expertise to African countries, even though Sri Lanka was not a major pivotal country in its triangular cooperation framework. Moreover, during the cooperation, Tanzania emerged as a potential pivotal country in delivering hospital management system which indicates that there are more pivotal countries to consider when implementing triangular cooperation. These cases imply that selecting pivotal countries which may lack financial/technical capacities can still enhance the effectiveness in delivering development assistance to beneficiary country, if their capacities are well matched with beneficiary country's contexts.

This paper is analyzing triangular cooperation from the Japan's perspective and the result of other provider country's TrC case studies may provide different pictures. Nevertheless, the paper selected Japan's case as it offered the largest number of triangular cooperation programs which may contribute in generalizing provider's intentions in engaging in TrC. As this paper's focus is limited to the Japanese case study, it requires further researches to verify whether Japan's case represents general types of triangular

cooperation.

The research question, how JICA is utilizing triangular cooperation to achieve its state interest is answered throughout the case analysis. By categorizing Japan's triangular cooperation under OECD's triangular cooperation typology, the paper tried to derive characteristics of TrC cases per each category. The hypothesis was constructed to analyze Japan's rationale for conducting triangular cooperation. JICA's triangular cooperation program analysis supports hypothesis and sub-hypotheses that triangular cooperation is initiated to maximize Japan's strategic interests. JICA has implemented most number of TrC programs under triangular cooperation types that can better achieve its state interest. While this paper acknowledges that further research is needed to verify which types of triangular cooperation can be more effective, it still pursued to provide a starting point for comparative analysis of TrC. The paper's analysis suggests that triangular cooperation implemented under bilateral cooperation between Japan and beneficiary country, or cases where Japan selected non-major pivotal countries for development partnership may contribute to more effective triangular cooperation. Japan's case shows that under certain conditions, triangular cooperation can enhance or undermine aid effectiveness.

In conclusion, the research conducted in the paper tried to provide how JICA's triangular cooperation can be categorized to identify characteristics of TrC while explaining Japan's rationale for implementing triangular cooperation. By answering the research question, the paper aimed to contribute to the further study of triangular cooperation to explain how providers utilize triangular cooperation for their development cooperation policy, and what strategies can be implemented for effective TrC projects.

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Abstract (Korean)

국문초록

<일본국제협력기구의 사례를 통한 삼각협력 전략화 방안>

성명: 김찬규

학과 및 전공: 국제학과 국제협력전공

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삼각협력은 신흥공업국의 경제성장을 바탕으로 재조명되기 시작한 남남협력 (South-South Cooperation)을 지원하는 방안으로 여겨져 왔다. 공여국(provider)와 신흥공여국(pivotal country), 그리고 수원국(beneficiary country) 세 행위자는 개발 원조의 효과성을 제고하기 위해 삼각협력을 시행해오고 있으나, 삼각협력의 중요성 및 가치를 파악하기 위해서는 더 많은 연구를 필요로 하고 있는 실정이다.

삼각협력이 지속 가능한 개발목표(Sustainable Development Goals, SDGs) 달성을 위한 방안으로 주목을 받으면서, 삼각협력의 중요성은 점차 증가하고 있다. 이에 본 연구는 공여국이 기존의 양자협력이 아닌 삼각협력이라는 형태의 원조를 어떻게 활용하고 있으며, 이를 통해 어떠한 목표를 달성하고자 하는지를 공여국의 관점에서 분석하고자 하였다.

본 연구는 일본 국제협력기구(Japan International Cooperation Agency, JICA)의 삼각협력 사례를 중심으로 일본이 삼각협력을 자국의 원조목적을 달성하기 위해 전략적으로 사용하고 있음을 조명하고 있다. 일본의 삼각협력 사례 분석을 위해 본 연구는 현실주의를 이론적 분석틀로 삼았으며, 이를 바탕으로 일본의 삼각협력 정부 보고서, UN 및 OECD등 국제기구에서 작성한 삼각협력 관련 자료를 분석하였다. 일본의 삼각협력 사례들을 OECD의 삼각협력 분석유형별로 정리하였으며, 이를 통해 일본이 어떠한 경우에 유형별로 삼각협력을 시행하였는지, 여기에 내재된 일본의 목적은 무엇인지에 대한 연구를 수행하고자 하였다. 이러한 일본의 사례 연구는 삼각협력의 공여국 역할을 수행하게 될 한국과 같은 공여국이 삼각협력의 효과적인 수행을 위해 고려해야 할 요소들을 제시하고 있다는 점에서 향후 다른 공여국의 삼각협력 시행에 기여할 수 있을 것으로 기대된다

핵심어: 일본 삼각협력, 삼각협력 유형, 삼각협력 목표, 현실주의

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