Yasunobu Okabe *Editor*

State-Managed International Voluntary Service

The Case of Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers

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Foreword

Today, we face multiple threats to human security such as natural disasters, forced migration, conflicts, and energy and food crises. These have serious socio-economic consequences for our communities, especially those in developing countries. In order to address these challenges and achieve inclusive and resilient societies, it is more important than ever for people in developing countries to build their capacity to solve problems for themselves. In this context, the international voluntary service (IVS), which works with people in developing countries at the grassroots level, is expected to play an indispensable role.

IVS is not just a body of private activities within civil society, because the state sector has also managed international voluntary services substantially. Since the 1960s, numerous volunteers have been dispatched to developing countries by state-managed international voluntary services (SMIVS), such as the United States Peace Corps (USPC), FK Norway (currently Norec), and Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV). In the 1990s and 2000s, they were joined by South Korea's KOICA Volunteers, Friends from Thailand (FFT), and China's Overseas Youth Volunteer Program (OYVP). Today, SMIVS has spread all over the world.

JOCV is the leading SMIVS in the Asian region in terms of its size, range of activities, and history. JOCV is managed by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) under the umbrella of Japan's official development assistance (ODA). Since its inception in 1965, the program has sent more than 45,000 young adults to 93 countries around the world. Throughout its nearly 60-year history, its volunteers have helped build bonds of trust between their host countries and Japan to realize JICA's vision of "Leading the World with Trust". In addition, the volunteers themselves, with their global experiences and perspectives, have become valuable assets to Japanese society.

In 2016, the JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development initiated a research project, "Contributions of International Volunteers in Bringing Change to Developing Countries and Shaping a Global Civil Society". Most studies on SMIVS have focused on programs in Europe and the United States. However, as SMIVS activities become more active in Asian countries, the research on SMIVS in Asia is becoming even more important. This research project focuses on JOCV

as a salient example of SMIVS in Asia and analyzed the impact/effectiveness of its program in collaboration with both researchers and practitioners, including former JOCV volunteers.

This book, which presents the results of this research project, is the first book in English to focus on JOCV. It elaborates the concept of SMIVS and explores its characteristics and strengths based on original data, both qualitative and quantitative. It analyzes the contribution of JOCV from the perspectives of international development, human resource development, and social returns to the home country. The appendix essays, written by scholars, practitioners and former volunteers, provide a variety of stories about JOCV, such as the history and activities of JOCV in water supply, education, capacity development, and sports, as well as personal memories of JOCV in the early years, and the voices of local people who have worked with JOCV. This will help the reader to learn about JOCV from multiple perspectives.

I hope that the analyses presented in this book will contribute to studies on volunteering, serve as a useful reference for researchers, aid practitioners, and volunteers, and provide important information for undergraduate and graduate students interested in IVS, JOCV, development aid, cultural exchange and mutual understanding, global human resources, and the role of the state in IVS.

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I am indebted to the researchers, too. As the book editor, I would like to thank all contributors for their cooperation and patience. During the course of this research project, the pandemic forced us to hold several research conferences online, yet we were still able to have exciting discussions about the progress of each topic. I am most grateful to Anthony Fee and Benjamin Lough for accepting my invitation to the project and contributing their paper to this book. My special thanks also to Akio Hosono, Senior Research Advisor, former Executive Director of JICA-RI, and former Ambassador to El Salvador. Hosono sensei has always encouraged me in this research with his conviction that JOCV could effectively contribute to the development of host countries.

Finally, I thank my students at Tohoku University, who are a source of my inspiration, and an anonymous reviewer of Springer for his/her constructive comments.

Sendai, Japan
April 2024

Yasunobu Okabe

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Chapter 1
Introduction: Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers as a State-Managed International Voluntary Service

Yasunobu Okabe

People stopped moving across borders during the COVID-19 pandemic. Travelers, businesspeople, students, migrants, refugees, diplomats, and aid workers all stayed home. Volunteers working abroad were not an exception. Volunteers of the United States Peace Corps (USPC) and Australian Volunteers International (AVI) were, for example, compelled to return home or were no longer deployed to host countries. The pandemic reminded us of how essential face-to-face exchange with people in host communities is for international volunteering.

This is true of Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCVs), the subject of this book (hereafter, I refer to "JOCVs" as volunteers and to "JOCV" or the "JOCV program" as a voluntary service program). Since its establishment in 1965, JOCVs have believed that they should live and work together with people in host communities, listen humbly to them, respect their voices, and share their perspectives and sense of value. Therefore, when JOCVs realized they could not act in that way because of COVID-19, they found themselves powerless. Sharing their feeling of powerlessness, the contributors to this book recognize the real power of JOCV throughout its 60-year history: this is the power to contribute to downstream impacts (the development of host communities) and to upstream impacts (the volunteers' own personal and professional development, contributions back to Japanese society, and international friendship and mutual understanding).

This book addresses the contributions by JOCVs and the advantages and disadvantages of the JOCV program, proposing a concept of state-managed international voluntary services (SMIVS). By definition, SMIVS refers to international voluntary services (IVS) sponsored and managed by the state, unlike non-government managed IVS, which can be sponsored by the state but managed by independent boards like

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NGOs. The book argues that owing to state management JOCVs can impact on both downstream and upstream benefits, and, at the same time, state management gives JOCVs advantages and disadvantages. In a broader perspective, it explores the significance and possibilities that SMIVS has.

The first section provides an overview of the JOCV program and the second section examines the concept of SMIVS. These sections also review the literature on JOCV and SMIVS. Subsequently, the third section reflects on why JOCV was born under the SMIVS model and the fourth section discusses the two key issues this book addresses: contributions by JOCVs and the advantages and disadvantages of the program over time. The final section introduces the structure of the book.

1.1 Overview of the JOCV Program

JOCV is an IVS program that the Japanese government administers each year for the benefit of developing countries. It is a typical SMIVS program in the sense that it is managed by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), a government agency for development aid, and supervised and sponsored by the government including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA). Within JICA, the secretariat of JOCV is responsible for implementing the program. The government of Japan identifies the program as national participatory official development assistance (ODA). The program has sent 46,640 young adults (as of March 2023) to 93 countries around the world since its foundation in 1965 (see Kadowaki and Tanaka's appendix essay on changes in the number of JOCVs).[1] Volunteers used to be selected from Japanese applicants aged between 20 and 39 (Secretariat of JOCV 2015), but the age limit was raised to 46 in 2018.[2]

JOCVs have covered host countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and the Pacific Islands, with former socialist countries added after the end of the Cold War. The areas of cooperation include a diverse range of about 120 sectors, including agriculture, forestry and fisheries, fabrication, repair operations, civil engineering, and sanitation, as well as planning and administration, education and sports, and culture and Japanese language (Kadowaki and Tanaka's appendix essay points out the influence of the changing industrial structure of Japan on JOCVs' areas of cooperation).[3]

The JOCV program has three purposes: (i) to cooperate in economic and social development, as well as the reconstruction of developing countries; (ii) to promote international goodwill and deepen mutual understanding; and (iii) to develop international perspectives of volunteers and give back their experience to Japanese society

[1] JICA website https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/outline/publication/results/.

[2] JICA website https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/concept/index.html.

[3] JICA website https://www.jica.go.jp/english/activities/schemes/volunteer/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2023/08/14/jica_volunteer_en_1.pdf.

(Secretariat of JOCV 2015).[4] To give a supplementary explanation, the third purpose means enhancing the human capital (or personal and professional development) of volunteers and returned volunteers' contributions to Japanese society. This mixture of upstream and downstream purposes resulted from the political compromises that the governing political party, MOFA, and youth associations reached when it was established (Okabe 2016). Nevertheless, JOCV is characterized as being mutually beneficial to volunteers and Japan on the one hand, and to host communities and countries on the other hand.

These multiple purposes of the program met the various interests of young Japanese people who applied to join it. Okabe et al. (2019) categorized JOCVs' motivations into six types, labeled as: (I) curious, (II) business-minded, (III) development assistance, (IV) quest for oneself, (V) change-oriented, and (VI) altruist. These six types align well with the three objectives of the JOCV program. For instance, while types (III) and (VI) are suitable for the first purpose (development cooperation), types (II) and (V) match the third purpose (development of volunteers).

Domestically known as *Kyoryoku Tai* (cooperation corps), short for the Japanese name *Seinen Kaigai Kyoryoku Tai* (literally youth overseas cooperation corps), JOCV is the most popular ODA scheme among Japanese citizens. In a social survey conducted in 2009 (n = 1320), respondents chose JOCV most frequently from among a broad list of government schemes (59.3%), followed by technical assistance (44.2%), yen loans (29.4%), grants (28.3%), dispatching experts (26.2%), and so on.[5] The high popularity of JOCV is not only because it is the national participatory form of ODA but is also because of JICA's publicity and campaign efforts. Recruitment ads for volunteers periodically appear in public transportation and places like commuter trains, buses, universities, city halls, and shopping centers (see Fig. 1.1a–e). Further, two films titled *Asante Sana: My Beloved Tanzania*[6] and *Crossroad* were made and released in 1975 and 2015, respectively. Social networking services like YouTube, Facebook, and X (Twitter) are also effective tools for publicity. Those ads, films, and YouTube movies received much publicity thanks to them employing famous actors and actresses.

JOCV is known worldwide, too. For example, the author of this chapter often heard from JICA staff members that in Nepal the JOCV program is better known and more recognizable than the program agency (JICA) itself. In 2016 JOCVs received the Ramon Magsaysay Award, which is named after a former President of the Philippines and is called the Nobel prize of Asia, "for their idealism and spirit of service in advancing the lives of communities other than their own."[7] Given its popularity in developing countries, the MOFA of Japan now recognizes JOCV as an effective tool of soft power, thereby exploiting JOCV for public diplomacy.

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[4] See also JICA website https://www.jica.go.jp/english/activities/schemes/volunteer/index.html.

[5] MOFA website https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/press/pr/chosa/yoron/chosa_oda.html.

[6] Asante Sana means "thank you very much" in Swahili.

[7] Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation website https://www.rmaward.asia/awardee/japan-overseas-cooperation-volunteers.

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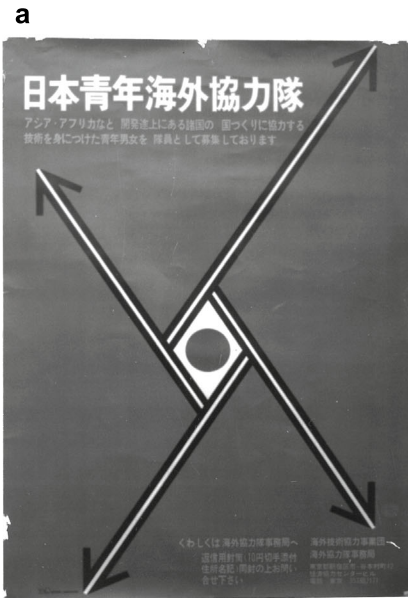

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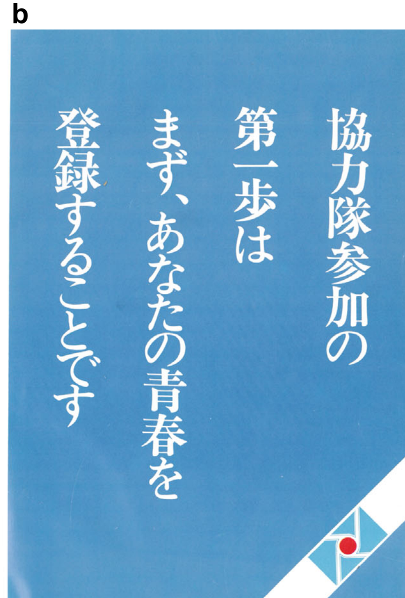

c

d

Fig. 1.1 **a** Recruitment ad for the first JOCVs in 1965: "Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers. We are looking for young men and women with skills who are willing to cooperate in nation-building in developing countries in Asia and Africa." Photo provided by JICA. **b** Recruitment ad in Autumn 1969: "The first step in joining the JOCV is to register your youth." Photo provided by JICA. **c** Recruitment ad in Autumn 1992: "Potential, I found it." Photo provided by JICA. **d** Recruitment ad in Autumn 2014: "There must be something we can do." Photo provided by JICA. **e** Recruitment ad in Spring 2022: "The world and you are full of potential." Photo provided by JICA

e

Fig. 1.1 (continued)

Against a backdrop of domestic and international popularity and its 60-year history, an increasing number of studies in English have focused on JOCV. Although Sherraden et al. (2006) pointed out nearly 20 years ago that the IVS organizations in Asia were not well known in the European and North American literature, acknowledgment of JOCV in the scholarly literature has grown since then. The scholarly working papers of the JICA Ogata Research Institute are also worth mentioning,[8] including works by the contributors of this book. They cover multiple issues like the history of JOCV's foundation (Okabe 2014), an anthropological study of volunteers' disappointments (Sekine 2016), and motivations and competencies (Okabe et al. 2017; Onuki 2018). They also include studies of the change in social capital by JOCVs (Ueda 2018), and the safety and security management of volunteers (Kawachi 2018). Other studies in journals and books have also addressed the history of JOCV (Okabe 2016; Maruyama 2022), volunteers' activities in Bhutan (JICA Bhutan 2018), and volunteers' motivations (Okabe et al. 2019). Following these works, this book makes further contributions to the literature on JOCV and generally to the knowledge base of IVS.[9]

[8] Its official name is JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development, formerly known as the JICA Research Institute.

[9] Needless to say, a lot of works in Japanese have been published. A few examples are enough to illustrate this here: Nakane (1978), Utsumi and Nakamura (2011), and Okabe (2018a).

1.2 The Concept of SMIVS

The literature tends to identify international volunteering with NGO-managed IVS and regard the state as a sponsor of NGOs. Although scholars have always mentioned USPC and JOCV in overviewing the trends of IVS, they have not dealt with SMIVS squarely (e.g., Devereux 2008; Georgeou and Hass 2019; Lopez Franco and Shahrokh 2015; Lough 2015; Moore McBride and Sherraden 2007; Schech et al. 2015; Sherraden et al. 2006).

For example, Devereux's (2008) orientation to NGO-managed IVS is clear, the argument is that the majority of IVCOs (international volunteer cooperation organizations) "are actually NGOs which reflect strong and historical local and overseas community values, links, and governance structures that foster independence and self-determination" (Devereux 2008, 361). Similarly, in tracing the evolution of the relationship between development discourse and approaches to volunteering, Lopez Franco and Shahrokh (2015) only mentioned the start of USPC in 1961 and did not touch JOCV and other SMIVS programs, which were out of their purview. Schech et al. (2015) said, "Most established IDV (i.e., international development volunteering) programmes rely on government foreign aid budgets and are managed by NGOs, multilateral institutions or for-profit organizations" (Schech et al. 2015, 361).

It would be fair to introduce some studies that referred to aspects of SMIVS. Sherraden et al. (2006) mentioned public-funding IVS like USPC and JOCV, and Moore McBride and Sherraden (2007) admitted that governments provided endorsements or other support to IVS programs. But their focus was not on state management. Although Lough (2015) paid more attention to "full-fledged governmental programs" like JOCV, FK Norway, and USPC, state management was outside the scope of his studies. One study worthy of note is Georgeou and Haas (2019, 1409–1410), which explored the theoretical basis for the state as a key actor of IVS. They developed a model to capture the increasing influence of the state in V4D (volunteering for development) and pointed out that: "states might intervene through funding (redistribution) or through legal frameworks that effect the activities of V4D organisations (regulation), or ultimately by setting up their own public V4D programmes, as is the case with the US Peace Corps." Such an ultimate form of state intervention in V4D may correspond to the types of SMIVS this book deals with, yet it fails to articulate the specific features and significance of state management on IVS.

However, despite relatively little scholarly attention, SMIVS is widespread across the world. Western SMIVS programs were founded in the 1960s: the USPC (1961–); Norwegian Fredskorpset or FK Norway (currently Norec, 1963–); the Association Française des Volontaires du Progrès (AFVP, currently France Volontaires, 1963–)[10]; and, though a non-Western program, JOCV (1965–). After the end of the Cold War, Asian SMIVS emerged in the 1990s and 2000s: World Friends Korea (WFK, 1990–), China's Overseas Youth Volunteer Program (OYVP, 2002–), and Friends

[10] AFVP was originally organized by the French Ministry of Cooperation (Cobbs 1996), and in 2009 it was reestablished as an NGO-managed IVS.

from Thailand (FFT, 2003–). Notably, most of the SMIVS initiatives were launched following USPC as a model (Cobbs 1996; Okabe 2016, 2018b).[11]

As defined above, SMIVS is IVS sponsored and managed by the state. State sponsorship is not unique to SMIVS, since many NGO-managed IVS rely on government funding. Therefore, the management by the state is a key of the concept of SMIVS.[12] The management of SMIVS is performed by public agencies such as the secretariats of USPC, JICA, and KOICA, which their governments oversee in the framework of foreign policy.

The IVS management role can be grouped into domestic and overseas duties. In domestic terms, the responsibilities include recruiting, selecting, and providing training to volunteers, as well as assigning and dispatching them. In host countries, IVS agencies prepare for volunteers' assignments: prior negotiation with host country governments on the dispatching of volunteers and conditions for their activities, search for potential host organizations and communities, and the investigation of jobs and skills of volunteers that local hosts need. During a volunteers' term on-site, the agencies finance their living and activity expenses, give advice to them, secure their safety in the host country, and help them to return to their home countries in case of emergencies (e.g., wars, breakdowns in law and order, and the recent worldwide pandemic). These duties may be carried out by NGO-managed IVS, too, yet the range of duties by SMIVS and the volume of target volunteers are wider and more extensive.

The pursuit of multiple purposes is another characteristic of SMIVS.[13] The most common goal is their developmental purpose (downstream purpose), just like the JOCV's first mission mentioned above: Other SMIVS programs pursue policies "to help the countries interested in meeting their need for trained people" (USPC), "to improve the quality of life of residents in developing countries" (WFK), and "to complement the works of Thai experts and to further strengthen Thailand's international development cooperation" (FFT). Norec pursues a nuanced developmental purpose, saying "coordinating the exchange of personnel between workplaces across different countries and cultures."

Certainly, developmental purpose is not unique to SMIVS. It is shared by NGO-managed IVS.[14] UK-based Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO), a representative of

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[11] This diffusion of USPC model demonstrates that institutional isomorphism (Powell and DiMaggio 1991) occurred across continents and generations.

[12] In this sense, "state-sponsored international voluntary services (SSIVS)" proposed by Fee, Lough, and Okabe's chapter in this volume is a wider concept including NGO-managed IVS and SMIVS.

[13] The following quotations of purposes are excerpted from each agency's website and other materials:

FFT: https://tica-thaigov.mfa.go.th/en/page/overview-of-oda-type?menu=5f478776f1e4612798099023.

JOCV: https://www.jica.go.jp/english/our_work/types_of_assistance/citizen/volunteers.html.

Norec: https://www.norec.no/en/organisation/vision-and-values/.

USPC: https://www.peacecorps.gov/about/.

WFK: http://www.worldfriendskorea.or.kr/view/eng.intro.vision.do.

OYVP: See UNDP (2015).

[14] See the following websites:

this kind of NGO, has a vision of "we bring about change … by working with volunteers and partners to empower people living in some of the world's poorest and fragile regions." Similarly, Canada's CUSO International develops "programs that tackle poverty and inequality so all people can thrive." AVI, the first international volunteering for development agency in the world (established as Volunteer Graduate Scheme [VGS] in 1951),[15] introduces itself by saying that it "exists to achieve community-determined development outcomes through the exchange of skills and knowledge."

Thus, SMIVS and NGO-managed IVS commonly aim to meet their downstream purpose because they have a historical origin in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when those IVS were launched or funded by their governments to provide development aid and promote mutual understanding (Lough 2015; Sobocinska 2021). Despite similar historical origins, however, SMIVS has different purposes, which are not necessarily shared by non-governmental IVS. The first example is the diplomatic purpose of promoting cross-cultural understanding between peoples, just like the JOCV's second mission. For the USPC, it is important "to help promote a better understanding of Americans on the part of the peoples served," and "to help promote a better understanding of other peoples on the part of Americans." Likewise, WFK and FFT have such diplomatic purpose, "to increase cooperation and mutual understanding between developing countries and Korea" and "to enhance cultural understanding, (and) mutual trust," respectively. The people-to-people exchange is sometimes stressed as a purpose close to mutual understanding. For example, FFT aims to "foster people-to-people ties between Thailand and our partner countries," and OYVP claims that "People-to-People exchange" is important. The Norec's purpose above mentioned ("coordinating the exchange of personnel between workplaces") can be considered a mix of exchange purpose and developmental one.

Volunteers' personal and professional development is another important purpose for SMIVS. Like the JOCV's third mission—enhancing human capital of volunteers—WFK aims "to achieve self-realization and growth" of volunteers. It is said that the USPC's real purpose is human capital development, because of its paradoxical use of young and inexperienced volunteers for skilled development work (Kallman 2020, 219, 232). Further, initiating a change in national image is an implicit goal of some programs. President John F. Kennedy hoped to improve the American image that was negatively pictured in the best-seller book *The Ugly American* (Lederer and Burdick 1958), through the USPC. In a different context, FFT sets its objective to be nurturing a positive image of Thailand in international society (Thammasat University Volunteer Center 2010).

These upstream purposes were shared by NGO-managed IVS like VSO and AVI in their nascent years. Yet, VSO shifted its purposes downstream (providing

AVI: https://www.avi.org.au/about.
CUSO: https://cusointernational.org/about-us/#what-we-do.
VSO: https://www.vsointernational.org/about/vision-values-and-strategy.

[15] Devereux (2008) considers the Graduate Volunteer Scheme at the University of Melbourne (currently AVI) as "probably the first formal opportunity in the world for long-term international volunteering for development" (Devereux, 359). See Sobocinska (2021) for the historical details.

skills urgently needed) by the end of 1960s, and AVI (then known as VGS), which multiplied its purposes in 1950s–60s, finally directed its purpose to a development-centered one (Sobocinska 2021).

1.3 Why Is JOCV Managed and Sponsored by the State?

Having understood the concept of SMIVS as described above, why was the JOCV program created as SMIVS instead of NGO-managed IVS in 1965? Why did the state of Japan take the initiative in IVS, which is conceptually considered as belonging to civil society?[16] Theoretically this problem can be addressed from three perspectives: state-society relations, historical social structures, and the political process.

First, the state-society relation perspective assumes that there is a dichotomy between the state and civil society. This dichotomy (or zero-sum relationship) is illustrated by "state versus society," "strong (weak) state, weak (strong) society," and "state (society) autonomous from society (state)" (Reimann 2003). From this view, we can infer that volunteering lags in countries with a weak civil society, and volunteering is active in countries with a strong civil society (Haddad 2007). The state-society relations perspective may be able to explain some cases of international voluntary services like JOCV and WFK: It is possible to say that since civil society was underdeveloped in Japan and South Korea, their strong states created and managed the SMIVS initiatives. By contrast, in Australia, UK, and Canada, where civil society is strong, NGOs took the initiative of AVI, VSO, and CUSO.

However, the simple view of state-society relations suffers from theoretical and empirical shortcomings. Critics have argued that state-society relations are more complex than this dichotomy assumes (Reimann 2003, 312). NGOs are influenced by the state's actions and policies, and political institutions that are largely and historically framed by the state.[17] Further, critics of neoliberalism argue that in development aid practice since the 1990s, Western donor states have deepened their ties with NGOs through funding and regulations on governance (e.g., auditing, monitoring, reporting, and reviewing) to such an extent that donor states could pursue their interest and objectives through NGOs and dominate them even in countries where civil society is considered traditionally strong (Georgeou 2012, 47–52).

Like the assumptions of this perspective, Japanese society was not strong empirically. NGOs did not set up JOCV by themselves. On the other hand, Japanese society was not weak, because youth associations, which now can be regarded as quasi-NGOs, played a critical role in encouraging the government to establish JOCV (Okabe 2016. See also Okabe's chapter in this volume). Apart from the Japanese case, this view also cannot explain other cases. USPC was established by the state, although civil society and volunteering traditionally developed in the United States, as the French thinker Alexis de Tocqueville observed in the nineteenth century (Tocqueville

[16] This issue will be dealt with again, but as a problem of the legitimacy of organizations in Chap. 6.

[17] See Pekkanen (2003) for the case of Japan and Skocpol (2003) for the case of the United States.

1945). Norwegian researchers show that the relations between the state and the voluntary sector (i.e., society) in Norway have been historically characterized by consensus and mutuality rather than conflict. "Since the early nineteenth century, the Norwegian state has provided economic support for voluntary organizations and incorporated voluntary organizations in public policymaking" (Selle et al. 2018, 121). Thus, the Norwegian state-society relationship is complex and beyond the prediction of the dichotomous view of state-society relations. In sum, even if the state-society relations theory is persuasive for some cases, it cannot fully explain the rise of SMIVS in Japan, the United States, or Norway.

Second, historical social structures may matter. In 1978, the Japanese anthropologist Chie Nakane, who is famous for her analysis of Japanese people's behavior and the historical social structure of Japanese society (Nakane 1970), gave an insightful explanation of why JOCV evolved as SMIVS: in Japan it was not easy for people to organize voluntary services for several reasons. To begin with, people traditionally had no social conventions that included volunteering for others whom they did not know personally, while they used to actively help their community members (of course there were many exceptions). Also, the credibility of groups in Japan depended on their history and the extent of institutionalization, not on goals that they set. As a result of this difficulty in organizing groups, many voluntary services had to rely on extant organizations. That was true of IVS. As it was difficult for NGOs to sponsor and manage IVS, the government undertook those tasks of the JOCV program (Nakane 1978, 18–23). Thus, JOCV was born under the SMIVS model.

Although the historical social structures mattered, JOCV would not have emerged without stakeholder involvement in the political process. That is why politics also matter. Against the backdrop of the influence of USPC and domestic youth problems, JOCV was founded in 1965 following a political compromise reached between the then governing party (Liberal Democratic Party: LDP), MOFA, and youth associations. In the policymaking process, these stakeholders expected that some government ministries and public organizations should fund and manage the IVS program, but they never considered the roles of NGOs (Okabe 2016). This history is detailed in Okabe's chapter in this book.

In summary, JOCV was inevitably established as an SMIVS program, not because Japanese society was weak, or the Japanese state strong, but because it was only the state that could undertake this action in the 1960s. In the policymaking process, all stakeholders encouraged the state to do it. Therefore, the state was situated at the center of JOCV's foundation, yet the program was impossible without those stakeholders. Importantly, it was launched thanks to young Japanese citizens who joined the program with the will to help "others whom they did not know personally." Thus, we can conclude that the state of Japan was aligned with the LDP, youth associations, and citizens to launch the JOCV program for an intervention in the Global South. In this sense, the JOCV was born as a "humanitarian-development complex," a concept coined by Sobocinska (2021, 2) to describe early IVS like the Australian VGS, VSO, and USPC.

1.4 Issues and Approaches

The concept of SMIVS proposed by this book can inspire several research questions on international volunteering: What are the contributions of SMIVS to the development of host communities and people (downstream impacts) and to domestic purposes like the volunteers' own personal and professional development and international friendships and mutual understanding (upstream impacts)? What are the pros and cons of SMIVS? Is the state management of IVS legitimate in the sense that most international voluntary services have been managed by NGOs? What are the impacts of SMIVS on state-society relations? Do they mean the state's dominance of IVS?

This book addresses the first two issues using the case study of JOCV: Its downstream/upstream contributions (Part I) and the advantages/disadvantages of the program (Part II). These are particularly highlighted because these years have made the evaluation and measurement of contributions a focus of attention of the literature and IVS agencies including JICA, and also because the pros and cons are basic issues for characterizing the JOCV as SMIVS. Other issues, including important questions for the literature, are discussed in the concluding chapter, while the legitimacy issue is dealt with in Chaps. 6 and 10.

1.4.1 Downstream/Upstream Contributions

The contributions of IVS, including evaluation and measurement, had already concerned scholars and practitioners in the 1960s, IVS's incipient years. However, as IVS agencies had multiple aims and lacked sound methods for monitoring and evaluation, the growing number of dispatched volunteers "came to be seen as a mark of success" (Sobocinska 2021, 77). Only recently has the literature started to discuss this issue actively (Burns et al. 2015; Forum 2015; Lough et al. 2009; Lough and Tiessen 2017; Sherraden et al. 2008; UNV 2011).

Traditionally, scholars and practitioners have paid more attention to downstream impacts rather than upstream ones (see Fee, Lough, and Okabe's chapter). Yet, it is not an easy task to assess them. The difficulty of assessing downstream impacts is due to the fact that international volunteers' performance is defined not only by their actions but also through the interaction between volunteers and local people and partners. This definition of performance is aligned with the recently shifting conceptions of the role of international volunteering in social change from an emphasis on skills transfer and service provision to learning and collaboration between volunteers and partner organizations. "This shift has been integral in bringing 'context' into the contributions of volunteering" (Lopez Franco and Shahrokh 2015).

JICA also became interested in measuring the impacts on development due to the Japanese government's growing concern with the efficiency and effectiveness of ODA after the global financial crisis in 2008/09 (Okabe and Mitsugi 2018). Again,

however, it is difficult to measure because JOCVs' philosophy teaches volunteers to dedicate themselves to bolstering self-help efforts by people in host communities. It positions local people and organizations as the key protagonists in the development process, while volunteers serve only as collaborators (or "catalysts" as noted in Hosono's chapter) rather than central actors.

Thus, the causal relationship between volunteers' intervention and downstream impacts is not unidirectional but interactive. To analyze this two-way causality, it is necessary to adopt a dynamic, context-oriented, and qualitative approach, while at the same time admitting the effectiveness of a quantitative measurement approach. In recent trends, such an approach is reflected in the theoretical concepts of "capacity development" and "social capital," the significance of which have been increasingly pointed out in the literature (Burns et al. 2015; Howard and Burns 2015; Lough and Matthews 2013; UNV 2015, 2018).

In this book, the chapters by Hosono and Ueda explicitly adopt these theoretical concepts in their qualitative analyses, investigating downstream impacts through case studies of El Salvador, Guatemala, Malawi, Bangladesh, and others. Also, the chapters of Yamada and Dorji, and Sakamaki rely on the context-oriented qualitative approach to downstream impacts on physical education at school and the school health education, respectively.

Despite the expanding attention by practitioners, however, it was not until the twenty-first century that stakeholders expected that JOCVs could achieve the downstream impact. MOFA, just before JOCV was built up in 1965, had insisted that young Japanese people could not afford to provide complete voluntary service as the USPC did (Okabe 2016). Chie Nakane, the famous anthropologist and supporter of JOCV, dared to say that even if volunteers' activities did not contribute to host countries, their personal development was of great value to Japan (Nakane 1978, 170). Later, the former Director General of the JOCV Secretariat Morihisa Aoki admitted that "the program may not have achieved great results in economic and social cooperation for developing countries" (Aoki 1998, 252–253). The findings reported in this book will go toward presenting a counter-narrative to the stakeholders' negative evaluations of JOCVs.

Upstream impacts—for example, volunteers' personal and professional development, improving the national image, public diplomacy, and post-return civic engagement—are old and new topics for scholars and practitioners. They are old, in the sense that some IVS like VGS (AVI) and VSO were founded on multi missions including upstream impacts in their initial years (Sobocinska 2021), and others like USPC and JOCV still have it as one of their current missions. At the same time, they are new as the literature began to discuss them only in the twenty-first century (see the chapter by Fee, Lough, and Okabe).

JOCV had upstream purposes from the very beginning as outlined above. Although the downstream purpose was the program's official priority, quite a few stakeholders used to informally consider the upstream purpose, in particular youth development, the most important. Their view has a historical origin in youth association leaders and the LDP politicians who made every effort to establish JOCV and thought it should be a program for youth development (Okabe 2016. See also

Okabe's chapter in this book). Subsequently Nakane stated in 1978, as mentioned above, volunteer development was of great value for Japan. And the former JOCV Director General Aoki said, "the program has produced wonderful Japanese with great deal of personality" and "the true value of the JOCV is the volunteers themselves" (Aoki 1998, 252–253). Recently the pro-youth development was redefined as "global human resources." In 2012, the then Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda encouraged returned volunteers to "become models of global human resources whom the contemporary Japanese society demands" in a welcome home reception.[18] In this book, Sekine's chapter explores volunteers' personal development by addressing the issue of what was given to volunteers, who referred to reciprocal gifts from local people as being "taught (given) many things" in serving on-site.

Another upstream purpose of JOCV is the social contribution by returned volunteers to Japanese society, which can be rephrased as post-return social action or civic engagement. Western IVS organizations have long recognized the potential for volunteers to engage in post-return social action. "Returned volunteers have the potential to bring a critical, global perspective into local areas of work, study and daily life, and into the lives of others" (King 2018, 2). The research by VSO (Clark and Lewis 2017) identified four categories of their impacts: personal, community, within existing organizations and structures, and through new initiatives. In their analysis of Canadian returned international development volunteers, Tiessen et al. (2021) demonstrated how they could help to build a more empathetic and justice-oriented society dedicated to the fight against global poverty and inequality.

Social actions by returned JOCVs have recently been highlighted by scholars and practitioners. As Onuki's chapter summarizes, their major social contributions include giving a lecture/talk on JOCV experience, volunteering individually or through NGO/NPO, continuing to support host communities, and donations. Onuki empirically analyzes such civic engagement by returned volunteers through her statistical approach. The JOCV secretariat is collecting dozens of episodes related to those contributions, which can be read on the JICA website.[19] Notably, when the Great East Japan Earthquake occurred in 2011, many returned volunteers visited disaster-affected areas to help victims, and over 100 former volunteers worked for municipalities in those areas for the post-quake restoration.

While JOCV encompasses both upstream and downstream impacts in a mission, the broader international development volunteering community has suffered from the tension created by the contradiction between the two impacts, as the chapter by Fee, Lough, and Okabe posits. This contradiction happens because although many NGO-managed IVS mainly focus on downstream impacts as legitimate purposes, government donors demand accountability for tangible upstream benefits. Actually, however, JOCV has not suffered significantly from the tension for several reasons. First, as the JOCV had both upstream and downstream purposes from the beginning,

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[18] See https://warp.ndl.go.jp/collections/info:ndljp/pid/8097953/www.kantei.go.jp/jp/noda/actions/201206/12seinen.html.

[19] See https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/shakaikangen/.

tension was not conspicuously present. Second, the downstream purpose was officially the program's priority, but unofficially, the stakeholders preferred the purpose of volunteers' development, as discussed above. Therefore, even if contradictions existed tension was not manifested. Third, more importantly, volunteers, the sending country, and local partners could all benefit from the JOCV voluntary service. This mutual benefit enabled these two different purposes to coexist in the program without causing tension.

1.4.2 Advantages and Disadvantages

Advantages and disadvantages are a crucial issue to explore the characterization of the JOCV as SMIVS. To explore this issue, the article of Palmer (2002) is a good starting point. He grouped the pros and cons of volunteering abroad, based on his own experiences and those of other volunteers in the Fiji Islands and Vietnam. He pointed out the pros as making friends, being challenged on conventional thoughts and emotions, being freed from material want, having a lot of things to do at work, and feeling good about contributing to others. And, for the cons, the issues were a lack of privacy, constant attention by local people, potential health problems, feeling isolated, and frustration at work. According to Devereux (2008), the article was an extremely rare contribution about the value of international volunteering. JOCVs currently working and returned ones may echo Palmer's account.

Evidently these are not pros and cons for the SMIVS but are for individual volunteers, yet they have implications for the roles of SMIVS in better volunteering. SMIVS programs and agencies can help volunteers achieve their goals on assignment so that volunteers accept the pros and overcome the cons. Following the preceding account, Palmer (2002) added, "for each pro there is a con and hence your (i.e. volunteers') attitude to each challenge can easily be deciphered as either positive or negative" (Palmer 2002, 642). He suggested, "your attitude to each challenge" depended on whether "what you achieve on your assignment is part of a continuing process that began with individuals who share the same aims and ideals" (Palmer 2002, 642). However as discussed elsewhere, volunteers' achievement on their assignment—downstream impacts—is not easy task despite making their best efforts.

Here there can be room for support by IVS agencies to encourage better performance in voluntary service. SMIVS has advantages over NGO-managed IVS in providing diverse supports to volunteers, such as pre-departure training, safety and security management, and giving necessary suggestion and advice. In this book, Okabe's chapter identifies as advantages of JOCV ("sources of strengths in his terms") state management, the multiple purposes of the program, and the weak expertise of volunteers. More specifically, another three chapters delve into the issue of state management. Yamada and Dorji's chapter, from Yamada's full understanding of the office in Bhutan as former Chief Representative, deals with the roles of country offices of JICA including staff related to the volunteer program. Kawachi's chapter

discusses the management of safety and security, tackling a hot topic of the recent evacuation of volunteers from host countries under the COVID-19 pandemic. In her chapter, Sakamaki focuses on JOCVs' local counterparts (host organizations staff), who are generally public officials, as many volunteers are posted to public organizations according to agreements between the Japanese government and host country governments. This kind of volunteer posting is unique to state management.

SMIVS has disadvantages as well. Palmer (2002) wrote on individual volunteers working overseas "for each pro there is a con" and that is true of SMIVS. The three sources of strengths of JOCV—state management, multiple purposes, and weak expertise—look like weaknesses or disadvantages from the other side. In fact, the legitimacy perspective serves as a reminder that they are so. The first disadvantage is state management. It is not socially legitimate for people to widely believe that it is desirable that IVS organizations are NGOs or civil society organizations (CSOs). Second, although legitimate IVS should send volunteers to achieve downstream impacts, actually JOCV pursues multiple purposes including upstream ones. This seems to be illegitimate. The third disadvantage is in the legitimacy of expertise. The JOCV program sends people who have less knowledge and experience than aid experts to host countries, as the USPC does (Kallman 2020).

Thus, this book addresses JOCV's disadvantages in the light of social legitimacy. In their chapters, Okabe elaborates what the disadvantages or weaknesses are, and Fee, Lough, and Okabe theoretically explore challenges to the legitimacy of IVS. Other disadvantages that may have been identified through the discussion in each chapter are mentioned in the concluding chapter.

1.5 Structure of the Book

This book is structured in three parts plus this introduction. Part I and Part II, which are the main body of the book, each contain four chapters. Part III is the concluding part with one chapter and the conclusion. In addition, the book has eight appendix essays.

Part I deals with the first issue: The contributions of SMIVS. Chapters 2 (Akio Hosono) and 3 (Naoko Ueda) analyze the downstream contributions by JOCVs involved in aid projects that JICA worked on. Hosono's chapter demonstrates how volunteers helped local people to enhance their capacity (capacity development) for solving problems in their communities and workplaces, by presenting the findings and insights from case studies on NERICA (New Rice for Africa) dissemination, the One Village One Product (OVOP) initiative, hospital service improvements, and mathematics education. Ueda's chapter argues that volunteers worked to build and increase social capital among local people by appealing to the locals' hearts, minds, and sentiments, and shows that the formation of social capital contributed to the prevention of Chagas disease in Central America and the uptake of the polio vaccination in Bangladesh.

Chapters 4 (Hisao Sekine) and 5 (Mayuko Onuki) deal with the upstream contributions by JOCVs: Volunteers' psychological gains and personal development and returned volunteers' contributions to Japanese society, respectively. Sekine's chapter, applying the gift theory of anthropology, discusses that volunteers give "gifts" (i.e., volunteering) to local people and receive "returns" from them when volunteers experience the common feeling of "I was taught many things by the locals." He points out that what is returned to JOCV members is in essence the model volunteer itself that is included in the gift, and they confirm their own model through receiving these gifts. Onuki's chapter, which contains an online survey and statistical analysis, examines how much and in what domains returned JOCVs have contributed to the Japanese society and global civil society after a decade of returning home.

Part II mainly addresses the second issue: The advantages and disadvantages of SMIVS. Chapter 6 (Yasunobu Okabe) claims that while the JOCV program encompasses three-fold weaknesses in social legitimacy (state management, incoherent and multiple purposes of the program, and the weak expertise of volunteers), they do not represent weaknesses of the program, rather they are sources of JOCV's strengths.

The following two chapters shed light on topics unique to the state management. Under the management of JICA, JOCV can rely on JICA's institutional and human resources, such as country offices and staff (Chief Representatives and Volunteer Coordinators). Chapter 7 (Koji Yamada and Kuenzang Dorji) outlines and stresses the roles and initiatives of JICA country offices including their staff of JOCV's activities through a case study of Bhutan. State management also implies that sending country governments are responsible for their volunteers' safety and security in host countries. Chapter 8 (Kumiko Kawachi) investigates this topic with a special interest in the recent evacuation of JOCV members from host countries under the COVID-19 pandemic situation, exploring the volunteers' experiences in the evacuation and redeployment to their host countries.

State management requires that Japanese government and host country governments agree on dispatching and posting volunteers. As a result, many volunteers are posted to public organizations, in which they work with public officials as counterparts (partners). Chapter 9 (Eriko Sakamaki) explores the perspectives of the counterparts, which have been ignored in prior studies on JOCV, through a case study of the school health education program in Ghana.

Part III concludes the book, and contains Chap. 10 (Anthony Fee, Benjamin Lough, and Yasunobu Okabe) and the Conclusion (Yasunobu Okabe). Fee et al. step back from the operational features of state-sponsored international voluntary services (SSIVS)—a concept including NGO-managed IVS and SMIVS—to explore challenges to their legitimacy that can arise from competing demands to achieve both down/upstream impacts. They also propose a model that outlines alternative strategies to reconcile these competing demands. This theory-oriented chapter situates JOCV in the global context of IVS and helps us understand its features in comparison with NGO-managed IVS. The concluding chapter summarizes the discussions in each chapter and provides implications not only for the literature of SMIVS but also for JOCV practical issues including the legitimacy, state-society relations, and future of JOCV.

Finally, this book includes eight appendix essays on related interesting topics that the chapters do not fully cover: historical transitions of JOCV, volunteers' cooperation for aid projects (water security management, education for highland schoolchildren, and sports and development), a returned volunteer's narrative about her host community, volunteers' sentiments, memoires of an early returned volunteer, and the voice from local staff of JICA in the Philippines.

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Appendix Essay 1: Historical Transitions of JOCV

Satoshi Kadowaki and Satomi Tanaka

Since its beginning in 1965, the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV) has observed many changes in the environment within which it operates. One of these changes has been the gradual rise in the number of women involved in the program as the participation of women in social activities in Japan has increased (Fig. 1.2). There has also been a change in the demographic of participants with a greater proportion being older than previous; this development is in line with the Japan's declining birthrate and aging population.

More significant is the change in the demand for cooperation, which has evolved from simple requests for support for servicing essential needs to assistance with diverse, sophisticated, and complicated issues with regional coverage. In the early stages of the JOCV program, a large number of requests for volunteers related to primary needs, such as agriculture and food, and small-scale industries, such as dressmaking and car repairs. Gradually such development needs have become

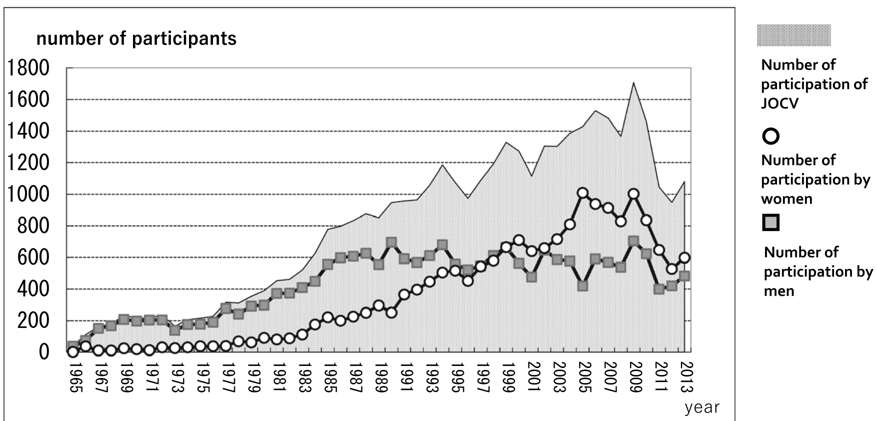

Fig. 1.2 Changes in the number of JOCV participants and increased participation of women. *Source* Elaborated by the authors

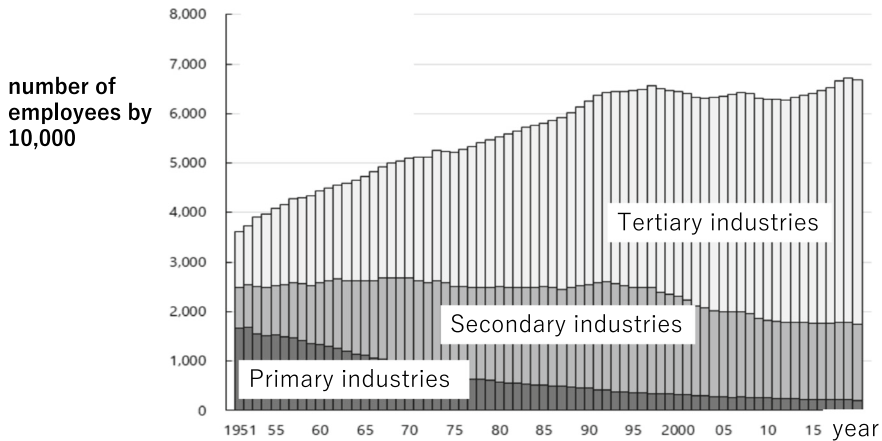

Fig. 1.3 Changes in the number of employees by industry in Japanese society. *Source* Japan Institute for Labor Policy and Training (https://www.jil.go.jp/kokunai/statistics/timeseries/html/g0204.html)

more complicated and geographically diverse, as developing countries grow their economies and societies.

This change in the demand for cooperation can be explained by structural changes in the economy and industry of Japan, and a change in the development needs of partner countries. In Japanese society, the population of skilled workers, engineers, and technicians has decreased, while the number of social development workers has increased; this is in line with the transition of Japanese industry since the 1960s (Fig. 1.3). It is also expected that the number of ICT (Information and Communication Technology) engineers and nurses needed to support the elderly will increase in the near future.

In contrast, the overall number of requests to JOCV from partner countries has remained constant over time, at almost 2,500 per year, if we compare the records from 2005 to 2014. The components of the requests, however, show a number of changes between 2005 and 2014, as the proportion of agriculture, fishery, and forestry requests dropped from 10.7 to 8.6%, and the mining and manufacturing industry requests decreased from 8.2 to 4.6%. Meanwhile, the proportion of human resource development requests rose from 37.4 to 42.2% of the total requests.

Currently, the most popular professions among JOCV applicants are community development, youth activities, and environmental education. Other technical and skilled professions, such as vegetable cultivation, aquaculture, electric machinery maintenance, and automobile engineering, have become less popular over the years as a result of the transitions in the economy and industry of Japan (Fig. 1.4).

Over the years of the program, the demand from developing countries has diversified to include activities such as sports, physical therapy for persons with physical challenges, and geriatric nursing. The demand for more sophisticated volunteers has also become greater especially from middle-level developed countries, as they require further expertise and skills. Further, since the introduction of the SDGs, development

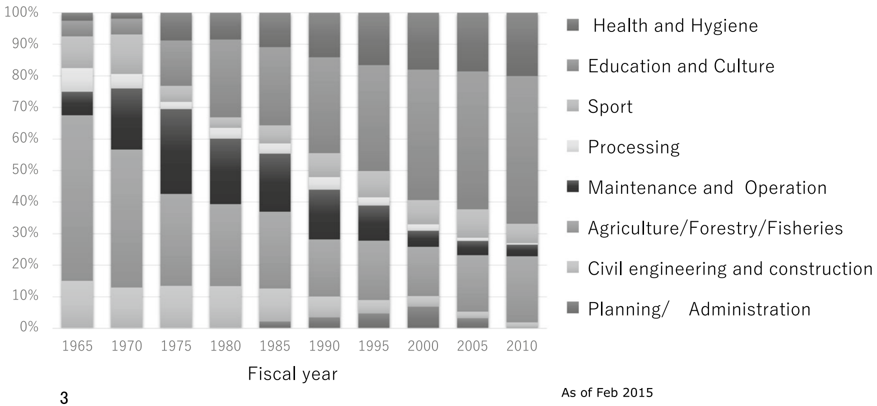

Fig. 1.4 Change in participation of JOCV by thematic issues. *Source* Elaborated by the authors

needs, such as environment management, and protection from infectious diseases and natural disasters, have increased.

The alignment of the JOCV program with these changes in the international development environment suggests that the current development needs described above will require more resources in the future, as single volunteer programs cannot now cover all requirements. It is very difficult for JOCV to recruit more applicants from the technical, professional, and skilled fields, as this may conflict with the requirements of Japanese industry to recruit skilled human resources. JICA prioritizes these areas in order to gain recognition from the Japanese public for the importance of international volunteering. JICA also realizes the need for additional measures to encourage people with the needed resources and skills to apply for the JOCV program.

To meet demand from host countries, JICA may be able to work with other international volunteer placement organizations that have good networks for their peer communication. There is a need for greater coordination between organizations such as the state-managed international voluntary services (SMIVS) and JICA, at the headquarters as well as at the on-site level. To cope with the current diverse and sophisticated development needs, the SMIVS organizations need to effectively and efficiently complement each other's specialties (Fig. 1.5).

By following the changing character of Japanese society, such as social welfare as the leading experience in a highly aged society, and environmental education as the motivation for developing clean living traditions, the JOCV program can play an even more active role in the identified focus areas in the future. Thus, JOCV is expected to keep updating its program in the direction of a diverse and inclusive world, and to contribute to the SDGs and the well-being of people in developing countries.

Country	Japan		United States of America		Republic of Korea		Thailand	
Organization	Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)		Peace Corps		Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA)		Thailand International Cooperation Agency (TICA)	
Composition of Assistance by Sector	(FY2019)		(FY2020)		(FY2019)		(Total)	
	Human Resources	58%	Education	41%	Education	47.8%	Education	40%
	Health and medical care	13%	Health	21%	Public administration	37.2%	Skill Development	34%
	Planning and Administration	10%	Agriculture	11%	Health	7.8%	Agriculture	18%
	Agriculture, forestry and Fisheries	6%	Youth development	10%	Technology, environment, and energy	3.9%	Public Health	4%
	Social welfare	5%	Community Economic Development	9%	Agriculture, forestry, and fishery	3.3%	Rural Development	4%
	Business and tourism	4%	Environment	7%				
	Public works and utilities	2%						
	Mining and industry	2%						
Composition of Assistance by Areas	Central and South America	32%	Africa	45%	Asia	59%	Asia	91%
	Africa	31%	Latin America/ Caribbean	24%	Africa	17.4%	Africa	9%
	Asia	22%	Eastern Europe/ Central Asia	13%	Central and South America	13%		
	Pacific	10%	Asia/ Pacific	16%	Eastern Europe and CIS	9.9%		
	Middle East and Europe	5%	North Africa/ Middle East	3%	Middle East	0.7%		

Fig. 1.5 Areas of cooperation of volunteer sending organizations. *Source* KOICA 2020, Peace Corps 2020, TICA 2022

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Part I
Contributions of State-Managed International Voluntary Service

Chapter 2
Volunteerism and Capacity Development: Insights from Case Studies of JOCV

Akio Hosono

2.1 Introduction

Since the 2000s, there has been a growing recognition of the centrality of "capacity development" (CD) in international development cooperation. The Paris Declaration adopted at the second High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in 2005 incorporated capacity development (CD) as a key cross-cutting theme in aid effectiveness. The *Accra Agenda for Action* (AAA), agreed on at the third High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in 2008, further emphasized the significance of CD. The outcome document of the UN summit on its Millennium Development Goals in 2010 repeatedly asserts the importance of capacity and CD. The subsequent UN declaration *Transforming our World: 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* laid the foundation for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In implementing the SDGs, the declaration highlighted the crucial need to develop and facilitate the availability of appropriate knowledge and technologies globally, as well as capacity building (UNGA 2015, 28 (paragraph 63)). Underlying this trend is a growing recognition among donor organizations, as well as the governments of donors and partner countries, that lack of capacity has been and is likely to remain a major obstacle in translating policy into development results (Hosono et al. 2011, 179). To illustrate, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) specifically articulated that the principle objective of its technical cooperation is "capacity development," positioning JICA's role as a facilitator in supporting CD in partner countries (JICA 2006, 21).

The contribution of volunteers to the CD of people and communities has also been recognized over the past few decades. In 2002, the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) Programme published a report, *Volunteerism and Capacity Development,* aimed at connecting CD and volunteerism as a key means of achieving the desired result (UNV 2002, 2). Later, Oliver Adam, Executive Coordinator of the UNV Programme,

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noted that, since the *State of the World's Volunteerism Report* (SWVR) in 2015, volunteers have been lauded as a critical resource and a cross-cutting means of implementation under the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (UNV 2018, iv).[1] These points were reiterated in the UN Secretary General's report titled *The Road to Dignity by 2030: Ending Poverty, Transforming All Lives and Protecting the Planet. Synthesis Report of the Secretary-General on the Post-2015 Agenda,* which stated that, as we seek to build capacities and to help the new agenda to take root, volunteerism can provide another powerful and cross-cutting means of implementation. Volunteerism can help to expand and mobilize constituencies and to engage people in national planning and implementation for sustainable development goals. And volunteer groups can help to localize the new agenda by providing new spaces for interaction between governments and people for concrete and scalable actions (UN 2014, 36).[2]

The SWVR 2015 report, which focuses on transforming governance, emphasized the importance of volunteerism at the local level in building the capacity of people as one of its primary messages (UNV 2015, xv). The subsequent SWVR 2018 report highlighted volunteerism and community resilience, arguing that CD has been a key contribution of external actors (UNV 2018, 60).

In light of these trends, this chapter aims to develop insights into features of international volunteers' contribution to CD of people, organizations, and communities of partner countries from case studies on Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteer's (JOCV's) activities. First, in Sect. 2.2, this chapter discusses the vital issues of CD for development and international volunteers' contributions to CD. In Sect. 2.3, the chapter provides an analytical perspective and proposes a methodology for analyzing such contributions in five selected areas of JOCV activities. The subsequent sections present findings and insights from these case studies (Sects. 2.4–2.8; Appendix Essay 2). Finally, Sect. 2.9 offers some concluding remarks.

[1] In the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development,* volunteer groups are mentioned as a means for implementing the new agenda (UNGA 2015, 15, paragraph 45).

[2] The *Road to Dignity by 2030* (UN 2014) refers to both "capacity building" and "capacity development." For example, paragraph 130 of the document states that "Developing countries will need support for capacity building. LDCs and post-conflict countries will have particularly urgent needs. For this, the United Nations is working to revitalize and improve its role in capacity development. Here too, ambition will need to be scaled up, especially in the immediate term, not only by the United Nations, but by all partners in the process" (36). Keijzer's observation on capacity development and capacity building in the context of the international debate on aid effectiveness also appears relevant here. He notes that "Initially the term 'capacity building' was used, but was soon accompanied by 'capacity development', which some consider to emphasise the endogenous nature of capacity and its development. The two terms are, however, considered similar, if not identical, and both are still in use today." Despite recognizing the similarities, Keijzer uses the term "capacity development" (Keijzer 2013).

2.2 Key Issues

2.2.1 Definition of CD and the CD Process

According to the widely cited definition from OECD/DAC (2006), capacity is the ability of people, organizations, and society to manage their affairs successfully. CD is the process by which people, organizations, and society as a whole unleash, strengthen, create, adapt, and maintain capacity over time. In the CD process, knowledge and learning are essential. An emerging view of the CD process sees knowledge as the product of continuous human interaction within specific contexts, in which knowledge and innovative solutions are co-created through a mutual learning process and acquired through practical experiences (Hosono et al. 2011, 182). This view is different from the traditional transfer-of-knowledge model. The traditional discourse on knowledge transfer treats knowledge as a material that can be passed through planning and programs from one who teaches to one who learns (181–182).

Regarding the relationship between knowledge and learning, Stiglitz and Greenwald (2014) argue that "Just as *knowledge* itself is endogenous, so is the ability to *learn*. Some economic activities (conducted in certain ways) not only facilitate learning, they may facilitate *learning to learn*" (50; italics in original). Several studies on CD also refer to the two types of capacity. Capacity embodies not only specific technical elements, such as particular health care or road construction skills (specific capacity) but also so-called core capacities (Hosono et al. 2011, 180). These core capacities include generic and cross-cutting competencies and the ability to commit and engage; to identify needs and key issues; to plan, budget, execute, and monitor actions, and most importantly, to acquire knowledge and skills (ECDPM 2008; JICA 2006, 2008). Learning for specific capacity could enhance the capacity to learn—or core capacity—while the capacity of learning to learn could facilitate learning for a specific capacity. The challenge is how to enhance core capacities effectively. Actual engagement and real-world practice in addressing particular issues in areas relevant to core capacities may be the most promising approach (Hosono et al. 2011, 180–181).

In the CD process, five factors are considered essential: stakeholder ownership, specific drivers, mutual learning, pathways to scaling up, and catalyzers (including external actors) (Hosono 2013, 257). Stiglitz and Greenwald (2014, 56–57) identified the following major determinants of learning: (1) learning capabilities; (2) access to knowledge; (3) the catalysts for learning; (4) creating a creative mindset—the right cognitive frames; (5) contacts (i.e., people with whom one interacts) who can catalyze learning, help create the right cognitive frame, and provide crucial inputs into the learning process; and (6) the context of learning.

Building on these factors of CD and determinants of learning, as well as related literature, the CD process could be conceptualized as a dynamic, endogenous, and continuous process through which learning and CD (for both specific capacity and core capacity) take place (Hosono 2017, 312). As illustrated in Fig. 2.1, the foundation of endogenous CD is to be aware of the needs and challenges that one faces and to have ownership, motivation, and commitment. This proactive awareness of the

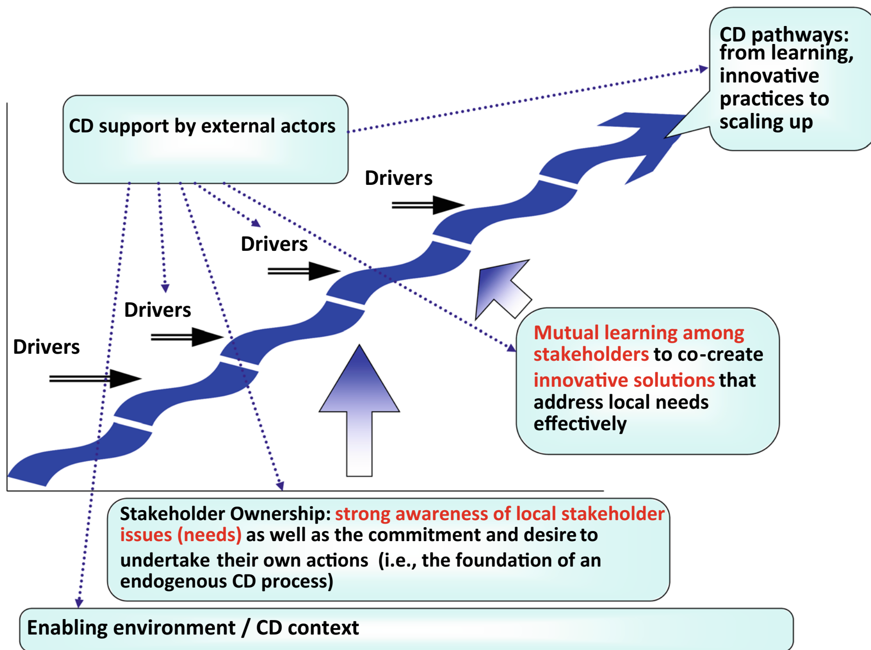

Fig. 2.1 Capacity Development (CD) as a dynamic, endogenous and continuous process. *Note* Vertical axis indicates level of capacity development and horizontal axis indicates time. *Source* Elaborated by the author based on Hosono et al. 2011

challenges—as well as the ownership required to address them—is positioned at the center of this figure. The external actors could play the role of catalyzers of CD in diverse phases and instances, depicted by dotted arrows in the figure. Of particular importance is the need to jointly create innovative solutions through mutual learning and collaboration between people/community and external actors concerned with CD. The process of CD is not straightforward but rather is a nonlinear, dynamic process. Progress may be incremental at one stage due to some specific drivers and then may plateau (Hosono et al. 2011, 183). It is also important to acknowledge the "contexts of CD," which are the social, political, and economic contexts around the CD process (including laws, systems, and policies) that may facilitate or obstruct the CD process.

2.2.2 Volunteerism and CD: Characteristics that Reinforce CD

As mentioned above, UNV considers volunteerism to be an effective means for CD. From this perspective, UNV published the *Volunteerism and Capacity Development*

report in 2002. This report identified "characteristics associated with volunteerism which can reinforce capacity development." From the characteristics identified in the report, the following appear to be the most relevant: "the direct contact with communities through living and working at the grassroots" and "the reciprocity of exchanging skills and experiences." These are essential in developing the community ownership considered critical for CD, as discussed above. The reciprocity of exchanging skills and experiences is essential for "mutual learning," a significant element for CD processes. As the report states, "Volunteers living in closer proximity to local people were in many instances among the early converts to participatory approaches to development. They often proved more inclined and more able to utilize local knowledge, while also having the capacity to draw on external ideas and technologies where necessary" (UNV 2002, 12–14; 24).

Together with these characteristics, it should be remembered that "The terms *volunteering, volunteerism* and *voluntary activities* refer to a wide range of activities … undertaken of free will, for the general public good and where monetary reward is not the principal motivating factor" (UNGA 2002; UNV 2015, xiv). In other words, these "essential characteristics" of volunteerism are intrinsically interrelated with the above-mentioned characteristics of volunteers as important for CD.[3]

The UNV report concludes that volunteerism offers particular advantages in supporting the CD process and that there is potential for even greater contributions through volunteerism if well supported and encouraged (UNV 2002, 42).

2.2.3 CD Process and the Catalyst Role of Volunteers

The role of volunteers as catalysts is a strong feature of Volunteers Service Overseas (VSO). In 2014, it published *VSO's Global Theory of Change: Bringing People Together to Fight Poverty*. The report states that "VSO works with partner organizations to improve the skills and capacity of professionals and community members. […] We co-create new or improved practices, tools and systems, and oversee the generation and use of new research, materials and resources" (VSO 2014, 9).

Karen Iles (2015) conducted a Sri Lanka post-closure project evaluation aimed at investigating four assumptions of the VSO's Global Theory of Change.[4] The study found that the most significant capacity developments supported by VSO volunteers most valued by the partners were (i) new ways of thinking and attitude; (ii) funding and links with donors; (iii) building relationships (external and internal); (iv) documents, systems, processes and organization development; and (v) skills (technical, interaction, personal) developed (8).

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[3] Okabe (2018, 3–4) discusses these aspects in the case of JOCV.

[4] The four assumptions are (1) the nature of "capacity," (2) the sustainability of capacity improvements in Partner Organizations, (3) the cause of change in Partner Organization capacity and service delivery outcomes (value chain), and (4) the effectiveness of volunteers in building the capacity of Partner Organizations (Iles 2015).

In her findings, Iles identified some congruence between aspects of VSO's Global Theory of Change and partners' experiences: "One aspect was the assumption that VSO volunteers were catalysts for capacity development because of the dual insider–outsider position of volunteers. A second aspect was the assumption that being an integral member of a partner-team was an essential factor that enabled volunteers to make effective contributions to capacity development" (65). In affirming these assumptions, Iles argues that "VSO Volunteers dual role as insider and outsider means they can play a catalytic role in facilitating collective action. By acting as intermediaries, they can broker access to information, networks and resources both within and beyond the community, thereby helping to generate social capital" (60).

In a similar vein, Tiessen and Lough (2019) conducted a study titled *International Volunteering Capacity Development: Volunteer Partner Organization Experiences of Mitigating Factors for Effective Practice.* Among other findings, their research highlighted "the importance of partnership with a team of local volunteers, combined with efforts to understand indigenous practices, and integrate local knowledge and capacities" (14). They also pointed out that "team-oriented skills-building that involves collaboration between local and international volunteers can foster ownership of knowledge and also can ensure greater sustainability of the capacity built after the international volunteer leaves" (14).

2.3 Analytical Perspective

As mentioned above, this chapter aims to develop insights into volunteers' contributions to CD. It will primarily focus on volunteers' unique characteristics in supporting the CD process. Accordingly, it will pay special attention to, among other aspects, direct contact with communities, mutual learning, the ability to utilize local knowledge and local resources while also having the capacity to draw on external ideas and technologies where necessary, co-creation of innovative solutions (new or improved practices, tools, and systems), and the dual insider–outsider position of volunteers.

From this perspective, the activities of Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCVs) in five areas will be analyzed: NERICA (New Rice for Africa) dissemination (Sect. 2.4), the One Village One Product (OVOP) initiative (Sect. 2.5), hospital service improvement (Sect. 2.6), mathematics education (Sect. 2.7) and provision of water (Appendix Essay 2).

Figure 2.1 illustrates the basic analytical framework of the CD process. However, in the case of volunteers' activities, their characteristics summarized above need to be added to this framework. For example, they could act as catalysts in supporting CD. They could take on a dual outsider-insider position rather than merely being external actors. Consequently, through intensive mutual learning, they can develop the ability to share external knowledge with people and communities. At the same time, they could become insiders by increasing their local knowledge. This process contributes to enhancing people's and communities' ownership. This is essential for the CD process because people and communities can augment their awareness of their own

issues (needs), as well as the commitment and desire to take their own actions, a goal that underpins the endogenous CD process. Furthermore, mutual learning among stakeholders can facilitate the co-creation of innovative solutions to address local needs effectively. In this way, people and communities can develop core capacity as well as specific capacity.

Nevertheless, the process of development of specific capacity and core capacity in five areas is diverse. The process in each area is analyzed while taking its distinctive characteristics into consideration. Conventionally, the process consists of different phases of CD—or different dimensions of CD. The case studies aim to identify and focus on phases, dimensions, and critical points of the CD process where significant CD takes place and discuss how volunteers contribute as catalyzers, taking advantage of their unique features.

Accordingly, each case study consists of three main pillars: (1) the context where CD takes place (CD context) in the above-mentioned five areas; (2) the main CD process in each area, including phases of CD, their essential characteristics, and primary stakeholders; and (3) the contribution of JOCV to the CD process.

These case studies draw from information based on JOCV members' reports and articles focusing on JOCV's activities, including publications of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA, Japan) and JICA.[5] Additional information has been provided by interviews with experts, dispatched for technical cooperation projects, who had close contacts with JOCVs in the field.

2.4 Disseminating New Rice for Africa (NERICA)

NERICA is a group of interspecific hybrid rice varieties and lines between Asian rice varieties with high-yield potential and African rice varieties resistant to the main constraints on rice production, such as widespread African insect pests and diseases across many ecologies in sub-Sahara Africa (SSA) (JICA 2011). NERICA was developed since 1992 and released in 1999 by WARDA (West Africa Rice Development Association), which later became the Africa Rice Center. It was tasked with improving the food security of small-scale farmers—especially women—who cultivate rain-fed upland rice in forest zones of SSA (JICA 2011).[6]

Among African countries, Uganda is considered one of the most advanced countries in its dissemination of NERICA. The land cultivated with NERICA in Uganda increased from 8,000 ha in 2004 to 70,000 ha in 2014 (National Geographic 2014). During this process, the efforts of Uganda's government, researchers, and

[5] Sources for the case studies include Japan's Official Development Assistance White Paper of MOFA, and Annual Reports of JICA, technical cooperation projects evaluation reports, periodical publications of JICA such as *Mundi* and *JICA's World*, and web pages of JICA offices abroad.

[6] Information regarding NERICA in this section is based on the author's interview with Mr. Tatsushi Tsuboi, as well as articles including National Geographic (2014) and Ikegami (2013). Mr. Tsuboi is widely known as Mr. NERICA.

extensionists, together with those of Japanese experts and JOCVs, were important (Nishimaki 2017).

2.4.1 Introduction and Dissemination of NERICA and the CD Process

The process of NERICA introduction and dissemination, together with the CD of farmers, consists of at least three phases: (i) the initial learning and introduction phase, (ii) the adaptation and dissemination phase, and (iii) the sustainable production phase along with the scaling up of NERICA dissemination. Thus, the process involves learning about NERICA as external knowledge and the methods used in its cultivation by pioneering farmers. This is followed by the dissemination of NERICA, adapting them to suit local conditions, particularly through the exchange of experiences among farmers. Finally, NERICA production becomes sustainable through the increased income from NERICA and the further scaling up of NERICA dissemination. In each phase, JOCVs contributed to the CD process, exercising their strengths and uniqueness as follows.

2.4.2 JOCV's Contribution to the CD Process

In the first phase, JOCV's activities consist mainly of sharing knowledge about NERICA with farmers and understanding local conditions through intense communication, acquiring local knowledge, and discovering latent local capacity. Many cases of volunteers' efforts to make this exchange of knowledge effective, as well as mutual learning, are reported by JOCVs. Holding workshops and frequent visits to farmers have been the most common activities. Sharing knowledge about basic rice cultivation practices, together with the introduction of NERICA, has also proved to be effective. When available, seed rice has been distributed by JOCVs to farmers who have shown strong interest in cultivating NERICA. Some volunteers have constructed model farms. Others have cultivated NERICA in the gardens of schools.[7] Volunteers have shared knowledge on NERICA with farmers and the broader community using innovative approaches such as a "picture-story show" (*kamishibai*), monthly news magazines, wall newspapers, and so on.

The main challenge in the second phase is the dissemination of NERICA and its adaptation to local conditions, together with the improvement of NERICA cultivation practices. This is achieved through the exchange of experiences among pioneer farmers and followers. For this process, volunteers take on the role of catalyzers for mutual learning among farmers. In addition to continuing activities developed in the first phase, volunteers facilitate the formation of pioneer farmers' groups. Members

[7] These examples are based mainly on the cases of Kumi and Masindi provinces of Uganda.

of the groups learn and help each other through shared work and meetings, with the shared work lightening the burden of farming. In this process, some volunteers identified the model pioneer farmers to facilitate the dissemination of NERICA to other farmers. Volunteers' activities during this phase are more intense in terms of playing the role of catalyzer. In many situations, volunteers create the time and space (denoted by the Japanese word "*Ba*")[8] by generating an enabling context for learning and the CD of farmers and the community.

In the third phase, it is expected that NERICA production will become more sustainable, with stronger ownership of farmers and communities. This will come about through, for example, increasing and securing income from NERICA. Although volunteers are fully aware of the importance of cultivation skills as the base of NERICA dissemination, they frequently found the post-harvest process weak. They concluded that inappropriate post-harvest processes (threshing and drying) and preservation affected the quality and price of rice. Several volunteers asserted that activities for the dissemination of NERICA cultivation should be complemented by activities to improve post-harvest processes because better quality and price of rice and higher income from rice are likely to motivate more farmers to cultivate NERICA. Accordingly, the use of better threshing machines and access to rice mills (rice polishing or cleaning mills) were considered essential. To address this challenge, several volunteers accomplished the role of facilitator to link farmers and rice polishing mills as well as shops that lease rice threshers. While some volunteers introduced standard threshers, others introduced a simple manual threshing tool made of wood, stamping threshers (*ashibumi dakkokuki*), or the Japanese tool *sembakoki.*

Some volunteers facilitated the development of contacts with potential purchasers of rice, such as schools. Some other volunteers linked farmers with cooperatives and seed dealers for the marketing of rice seeds. These activities comprise efforts to explore possibilities for enabling farmers to participate in both the downstream (polished rice) and upstream (seed rice) "rice production value chain."

The synergy between the technical cooperation project (hereinafter TCP) for the promotion of NERICA and the activities of JOCV has been widely observed. In Uganda, JOCVs, upon arrival in their host country, are normally invited to participate in NERICA training courses to receive basic information on rice cultivation, harvest, threshing, and other skills. Many of the JOCVs incorporate NERICA promotion as one of their principal activities at their destination. A few months after arrival, those JOCVs interested in learning more about NERICA can apply for advanced training. In some cases, experts in technical cooperation visit NERICA dissemination sites where JOCVs develop their activities. The evaluation report of the NERICA Promotion Project in Uganda notes that one factor that has enabled high achievement in this project has been the adequate monitoring and guidance of the World Food Program (WFP), and of JOCVs, after the distribution of seeds to farmers (JICA 2011, 10). This report and a third-party evaluation of this project stated that in some provinces,

[8] Nonaka et al. (2008) denoted the time and space for learning using the Japanese word "*Ba*," which they define as the essential enabling context for deep business relationships and the creation of knowledge and value.

such as Masindi and Lira, NERICA cultivation has been rapidly disseminated due to the active promotion undertaken by NGOs and JOCVs (JICA 2011, 16; JICA 2016).

2.5 Promoting "One Village One Product" (OVOP) Initiatives

The One Village One Product (OVOP) movement began in 1979 in the Japanese Prefecture of Oita (population 1.23 million).[9] The original concept was to encourage local areas to create and sell unique products in their communities. OVOP was based on the idea of local initiatives, which depend on the energy, creativity, and desire of local citizens to use local resources to restore their economies. Thanks to the constant efforts of local communities, many new products from Oita were brought to market, revitalizing the economy there. Rather than awarding subsidies to local areas (something that had been found to reduce the spirit of independence in other parts of the country), the prefecture's government encouraged each community by providing technical assistance (to improve production quality), market research, and advertising. To increase sales, the Oita One Village One Product Corporation was set up to assist and identify new markets. This type of initiative could be considered a potential model for incubating and promoting inclusive businesses.

According to the Oita OVOP International Exchange Promotion Committee, the three principles of the OVOP movement are (1) the creation of globally acceptable products and services based on local resources, (2) self-reliance and creativity, and (3) human resource development. Kurokawa et al. (2010, 7) state that "The feature common to all three is an emphasis on local ownership." As they further explain, "The first principle is best expressed through the motto 'think globally, act locally.' Local residents are expected to create globally marketable products and services that embody people's pride in the material and cultural richness of their home areas. The 'story' behind any product or its development helps to attract consumer attention. Such homegrown flavor adds value to local products while the use of local human and material resources helps to make economic activities sustainable" (7).

As such, learning to learn could be considered one of the core elements of OVOP. Haraguchi (2008, 12) emphasizes that the process of interactive learning in their activities makes OVOP an effective and sustainable rural development method. Haraguchi concludes that "In essence, taking part in the multiple stages along a value chain from production of raw materials, processing, selling and servicing, OVOP producers can maximize their learning opportunities. […] Moreover, such comprehensive information, together with their direct experience in different stages of a value chain, helps them to generate new ideas. By enhancing learning opportunities in their activities and sharing ideas among members of an OVOP group, they constantly work toward the goal of reaching a better marketing mix" (14–15).

[9] This and next two paragraphs draw heavily on Hosono (2017).

JICA held an OVOP workshop in Malawi in 1998, and following this, the country started its own OVOP initiative in 2003. It was the first country to do so in sub-Saharan Africa.

2.5.1 The OVOP Initiatives and CD Process

The process of OVOP development integrates the CD principles and processes described above. It typically consists of at least three phases: (i) the initial learning and start-up phase; (ii) the early development phase of production and marketing of OVOP products; and (iii) the development phase and scale up of the OVOP value chain. Although OVOP development processes can differ considerably due to the diversity of OVOP products and local conditions, some common processes can be identified. I first analyze the case of palm oil and its processed products in a village called Kaporo, in Malawi, as a representative example of the OVOP development process together with the CD process of OVOP participants. The case of San Lorenzo in El Salvador will be discussed later.

2.5.2 JOCV's Contribution to the CD Process in OVOP Initiatives in Malawi

In the first phase in Kaporo, JOCVs accomplished their roles as catalyzers to organize a cooperative (Kaporo Oil Cooperative). This was the first step in commencing OVOP activities to initiate the palm oil business.[10] JOCVs also supported the cooperative in applying to the OVOP promotion office for a kernel oil processor to increase the production of higher-quality palm oil.

In the second phase, members of the cooperative and JOCVs undertook efforts to develop products derived from palm oil, such as cooking oil, candles, and soap. Later, they strengthened their efforts to increase palm oil production, the basic product of the value chain, which is essential for enhancing the production of processed products (downstream in the value chain). JOCV played the role of facilitator of collaboration between the cooperative and the local farmers' association (Kaporo Oil Farmers Association) to collect saplings and expand the cultivation of oil palms. In this process, JOCV shared information on palm oil cultivation and processed palm oil products with farmers.

In the third phase, JOCVs focused on scaling up production and sales of OVOP products through marketing, the introduction of improved business practices, and so forth. Members of the cooperative and JOCVs dedicated efforts to marketing the products through setting up a shop to sell directly to consumers, in addition to the OVOP antenna shop, as well as participating in trade fairs and agricultural shows.

[10] JOCV activities in Kaporo were carried out from 2010 to 2014.

Efforts were also made to improve the management of the cooperative through the introduction of advanced business skills, to achieve certification of Malawi Bureau Standard (MBS) on food production and food sanitation, and to promote other management activities.

Based on reports of a JOCV member who participated in the above-mentioned process, we can summarize the CD of members of the cooperative as follows. Regarding the cooperative's management, improvements in the sharing of information and technology, enhancement of communication among members, and the sustaining of motivation were observed. In terms of product development, a better understanding of the characteristics and advantages of specific products, a decrease in the rate of defective products, and the launch of new products were remarkable. As for business skills, keeping accurate accounts and implementing cost accounting with adjustments for inflation were among the most important improvements.

2.5.3 JOCV Contributions to the CD Process in OVOP Initiatives in El Salvador

Through experiences of more than four decades and in 33 countries as of 2021, the OVOP approach has evolved and has been customized to many countries.[11] El Salvador's OVOP program was carried out through the cooperation of CONAMYPE (National Commission for Micro and Small Enterprises) and JICA. This partnership is considered one of the most advanced applications of the OVOP approach in Latin America. The distinctive features of this program are, among other factors, (i) promotion of OVOP scaled up to the promotion of the town or village with a "territorial brand," (ii) promotion of non-tangible local resources with "stories" to strengthen sustainable tourism (called the *Onpaku* approach in Japan),[12] and (iii) promotion of nostalgic products for diasporas (mainly in the United States). JOCV members have also contributed to the CD of people and their organizations in promoting this new generation OVOP approach. They fulfilled their role as catalyzers and facilitators. The case of San Lorenzo in El Salvador provides an illustrative example.[13]

San Lorenzo's main OVOP resources are *jocote* (a local fruit) and *loroco* (a local edible flower), and their processed products, as well as the territorial brand connected with Jacote Festival and Loloco Festival. In San Lorenzo, the three distinctive features of the new OVOP approach are apparent. "San Lorenzo, the town of *jocote*," is now well known in El Salvador. *Jacote* was thrown away before. Now, it has become an important local resource, and when processed with high-value additions, it leads to the economic activity of the town.

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[11] Information regarding the experiences of El Salvador draws mainly from the author's interview with Mr. Tomonori Uchikawa and information provided by JICA El Salvador Office.

[12] *Onpaku* is sustainable tourism model based on *Onsen Hakurankai* (hot springs fair) of Beppu, Oita Prefecture, Japan.

[13] JOCV's activities in San Lorenzo were carried out from 2012 to 2016.

As OVOP was scaled up to cover a wider scope with its own "territorial brands," the number of stakeholders has increased. This has required better organization of OVOP participants and other stakeholders. JOCV members have catalyzed stakeholders' mutual trust through improved communication and coordination between them. In this regard, JOCVs—in many cases in coordination with experts of technical cooperation dispatched to support OVOP initiatives—have supported local OVOP Committees with activities such as the creation of the "character" of the territorial brand, publication of Onpaku guidebooks, applications to OVOP fund awards of the Ministry of Economy, construction of *Michi no Eki*,[14] and many other activities. JOCV members, on different occasions, have facilitated contacts with external actors with whom local OVOP groups had no relations before. JOCVs have also facilitated the establishment of a network among the OVOP groups in Latin American countries.

2.6 Introducing Kaizen to Hospitals in Africa: Better Hospital Service Program (BHSP)[15]

Kaizen usually refers to the Japanese approach to improving quality and productivity. What distinguishes *Kaizen* from other approaches is that these goals are attained through *Kaizen's* process, in which learning and inclusiveness are essential (Hosono 2020). Among typical *Kaizen* tools and methods, 5S (entry steps to *Kaizen)* and Quality Control Circles (QCC, commonly called QC circles) are well known. 5S represents "Sort, Set in order (or Systematic arrangement), Shine (or Sweep), Standardize, Sustain," which corresponds to five simple actions that can be taken to obtain discernible results from *Kaizen* in a short period of time. These activities are practiced with simple methods such as the tag method, color displays, visual controls, and dividing lines. As such, 5S is an easy activity to start with that enables the participation of all. QCCs are voluntary small-scale groups that solve onsite problems through teamwork by applying 5S and other methods. Hospitals in Japan started to practice *Kaizen* in earnest around the beginning of the 1980s.

Tanzania became a pioneer in introducing *Kaizen* and Total Quality Management (TQM) in hospitals in Africa. Building on the inspiration gained from Sri Lankan best practice and witnessing the visible changes in the first pilots at Mbeya Zonal Referral Hospital (MZRH), the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (MoHSW, later Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children)

[14] *Michi no Eki* means "roadside station" in Japanese. The *Michi-no-Eki* system was launched 20 years ago to create a safe, comfortable road traffic environment and unique, lively spaces that showcased the individuality of each region. According to the All Nippon Michi no Eki Network website, there are 1193 *Michi no Eki* in Japan as of June 11, 2021.

[15] Officially, this initiative on 5S-KAIZEN-TQM for hospital management consists of several separate but closely coordinated sub-programs, including the Asia-Africa Knowledge Co-creation Program "Total Quality Management (TQM) for Better Hospital Services." In order to encapsulate the breadth of the initiative, this paper collectively calls these sub-programs the "Better Hospital Service Program" (Honda 2012).

officially adopted the 5S-Kaizen-TQM approach as a basis for the national quality improvement program as part of the National Health Sector Strategy. As of September 2012, some 56 hospitals—including all national, specialized, and regional referral hospitals as well as a number of municipal and district hospitals—established quality improvement teams (QITs, a kind of QCC) and implemented 5S. Some of the most remarkable achievements through *Kaizen* include reductions in overstocked inventory, reductions in waiting time for patient consultations, and increases in hospital income through better processing of insurance claims (Honda 2012, 117–119; Takizawa 2013). Over five years of continuous efforts have made Tanzania a center of excellence in quality improvement of hospital care through the application of 5S-Kaizen-TQM. Several other African countries have mainstreamed or are in the process of mainstreaming the approach in their strategies and frameworks of quality assurance for health services.

2.6.1 Dissemination of Kaizen in Hospitals and the CD Process

Activities of JOCVs related to the dissemination of *Kaizen* in hospitals consist of at least three phases: The first phase is the introduction of 5S as external knowledge with initial adaptation to local conditions by some pioneering units. The second phase is the dissemination of 5S in the majority of units based on hospital staff's own initiatives with adaptation, often innovative, to local conditions as well as cross-unit mutual learning. The third phase is full-fledged dissemination of 5S, as well as more advanced *Kaizen,* with mutual learning with organizations outside the hospital.

The Mbeya Zonal Referral Hospital in Tanzania is the pioneering hospital of the Better Hospital Service Program (BHSP). It started in 2008 with the introduction of 5S-Kaizen-TQM with the support of JICA's TCP, "Clean Hospital Program." The process of CD among this hospital's staff could be considered a representative case of a contribution by JOCV.

2.6.2 JOCV's Contribution to the CD Process

In the first phase, JOCVs who were dispatched to the Mbeya Zonal Referral Hospital usually focused on understanding the context and challenges of the hospital. JOCVs found that the level of introduction and dissemination of 5S among departments/sections of the hospital was very diverse. They made efforts to fill the gap between the departments that were more advanced and those lagging behind. In other hospitals where the introduction of 5S was slower, JOCVs normally started their activities from a pilot ward or a unit by sharing their knowledge of Kaizen (or by providing external knowledge) while, at the same time, learning about the local situation. In

such circumstances, the experiences of JOCV volunteers like Yuka Ito are remarkable. "[She] continued with patience to demonstrate that there were approaches to improvement without additional resources. […] As a result, each of the participants began to think for themselves about what problems they were facing and how to solve them" (JICA 2015b, 18–19). It is clear that through this process, capacity development of the participants took place. Ito reported that "staff-members who started to devote themselves on their own initiative to the improvement of the ward increased gradually" (18–19).

In the second phase, JOCVs enhanced the role of catalyzer, working together with participants. In this process, the Working Improvement Team (WIT) in Mbeya Hospital—encouraged by patients' positive evaluation of initial *Kaizen* activities—started spontaneously intensifying their activities. These activities, limited to a few wards of the hospital in the first phase, were then extended to the majority of wards. Wards then developed their own activities as if they were competing with each other. Behind this process, JOCVs developed critical catalytic activities such as preparation and promotion of Quick *Kaizen,* which consisted of activities that were easy to start with the consensus of members and could still achieve high visibility results. They also published "Quick Kaizen" and "Good Practice" sheets.

In the third phase, JOCVs actively shared information with the hospital's managerial staff—especially regarding specific challenges in the wards where JOCVs had direct contacts. JOCVs also contacted cleaning staff and garbage collectors. Challenges and risks related to garbage classification and disposal, including syringes and needles, were identified. JOCVs successfully undertook the role as facilitators for collaboration among the staff of different areas and levels to address safety and infection-related risks. JOCV members also facilitated exchanges of experiences among the different hospitals where they are dispatched, through mutual exchange visits.[16]

In this process of three phases, JOCV members contributed to the CD of their local counterparts, taking advantage of their distinctive characteristics. In Mbeya Hospital, JOCVs and their counterparts edited and distributed the first *Standardization Manual for 5S Tools* in order to facilitate *Kaizen* activities through improved communication among QIT, WIT, and other participants. Additional teaching aids that included many illustrations were also prepared. Due to their status, JOCVs were able to maintain smooth contacts across different departments of the hospital and catalyze a hospital-wide mutual learning process. Timely introduction of best practice sheets and Quick *Kaizen* sheets was possible due to the JOCV's practical and flexible activities. Quick *Kaizen*, when implemented properly, was able to produce positive outcomes in a short time and enhance the engagement and ownership of the participants. As mentioned above, JOCVs contributed to the CD of counterparts by introducing activities to increase safety and reduce infection risks. This deserves special mention because

[16] The "5S study tour" was also an effective and practical approach in Malawi. Diverse members of the hospital participated, including top officials such as the hospital director and high-ranking administrative staff, as well as nurses of the 5S model units and other hospital attendants (JICA Malawi Office 2015).

these activities could be considered an adaptation of the 5S-*Kaizen* approach to local conditions.

Generally, TCP and JOCV teams had flexible relationships and were able to achieve synergy. During the implementation of the BHSP, "JICA technical cooperation experts and JOCV in the country assisted in the execution of pilot projects, institutionalization and rollout of the approach by hospitals and ministries" (Honda 2012, 124). JOCVs supported "the expansion and spread of the activities onsite at the hospitals in each area" (MOFA Japan 2011, 119 Column 9). This case of synergy between TCP and JOCV activities could be summarized as follows. Since 5S has been introduced by an expert of the TCP, Hisahiro Ishijima, "they [JOCVs] are now carrying out spontaneous 5S activities at each of their posts, sharing information between their hospitals, joining Ishijima in the regular training sessions implemented by the Tanzanian Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, and working enthusiastically to bolster the activities. Ishijima, in turn, supports their activities. And since 2010, JICA has even started dispatching volunteers, especially for 5S" (MOFA Japan 2011, 119, Column 9).

2.7 Improving Mathematics Education in Central America

The number of JOCV members dispatched for volunteer work in relation to education and culture increased gradually from the 1980s. This area grew from 25% of all JOCV members in 1980 to 50% in 2010. Education and culture was the largest area of JOCV activities in terms of the number of volunteers by 2010 and, since then, has remained one of the most important fields. Among the sub-areas of education and culture, science and mathematics education has continuously been the main pillar (Maruyama 2019).

The "Mathematics Teaching Ability Improvement Project," a JICA technical cooperation generally known as PROMETAM, was initiated in Honduras in 2003 and was later scaled out as a wide-area regional cooperation project in other Central American countries. The contribution by JOCVs to this project has been significant. The initial impetus for this project came about due to JOCV activities. JICA continuously dispatched JOCV members for elementary school mathematics education to Honduras since 1989. It was their continuous work to enhance the level of elementary school education that ultimately led to the development of this project (Takano 2014).

PROMETAM Phase I aimed to develop a Teachers' Guidebook and the Children's Workbook as teaching materials for teacher training and student use. Paying attention to the utility of these teaching materials, the Honduran Government decided to adopt these resources as official (government-approved) textbooks, and the teaching materials began to be distributed throughout the country in June 2005 (for details of the project, see Nishikata 2017). In response to this success, the PROMETAM Phase II Project was launched in 2006. At the same time, a JOCV Team Dispatch Program started.

For PROMETAM, the relationship between the TCP "experts" and the JOCV team can be seen as two sides of the same coin. Right from its initial stage, the goal was to create synergistic effects between the two. Many former JOCV members with experience in elementary school education in Honduras were recruited as experts for the technical cooperation component, and the collaboration between experts and JOCVs was well coordinated. While the PROMETAM experts supported JOCV members' activities in schools by giving advice related to knowledge of the subject and teaching methods, the JOCV members provided feedback to PROMETAM experts on the use of the teaching materials by teachers and proposals for their revision and improvement based on experiences in the classroom. The textbooks, teaching guidelines, and teaching methods, prepared by PROMETAM, demonstrated their efficacy only after they had become firmly established in educational settings, as discussed below. In this sense, it can be clearly demonstrated that the dispatch of the JOCV teams was crucial to the success of PROMETAM. Moreover, the fact that many of the PROMETAM experts were formerly JOCV members can be described as fundamental to the successful synergy between the technical cooperation project and JOCV activities (Takano 2014).

The method of developing teaching materials established by PROMETAM became widespread in Central American countries, such as Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador. Teaching materials developed in these countries were adopted as government-approved textbooks. In turn, this led to the systematic and thorough "learning to think" approach (to be explained below) in combination with the improvements in teachers' teaching capacity.

Norihiro Nishikata, a mathematics education expert in charge of the wide-area regional cooperation project (a TCP called *Me gusta matemática*, or "I like mathematics"), highlights the efforts of JOCV members to encourage mutual learning between teachers and JOCVs in the period before the TCP (Guatemática Phase I, 2006–2009 and Phase II, 2009–2012) started in Guatemala. JOCVs prepared the teaching materials themselves and made efforts to disseminate them in Guatemala (Pre-TCP period). During this process, JOCVs not only introduced teaching methods using the newly prepared teaching materials but also asked teachers for their opinions on improving the materials, thus establishing a new kind of relationship between teachers and JOCVs. Furthermore, Satsuki Kawasumi, a senior JOCV member, analyzed the results of students' mathematics achievement tests, demonstrating the effectiveness of the teaching materials. It strengthened the commitment and ownership of teachers of the new teaching method. This ultimately motivated the Ministry of Education to recognize the teaching materials as official textbooks (*Guatemática,* a coined word created from Guatemala and *matemática,* which means mathematics) and distribute them nationwide (Nishikata 2017, 154–157). Textbooks for the first to fourth grades of elementary school had been completed by team-dispatched JOCV members before the wide-area regional cooperation TCP projects started in 2006. It is worth mentioning that they were able to learn from experiences of PROMETAM as well as JOCV activities of the Pre-PROMETAM period in Honduras (159).

2.7.1 Mathematics Education Initiatives and the CD Process

This leads to the question of what the JOCV members actually did in their activities to achieve success. From the perspective of CD, it is essential to analyze the efforts they made to firmly consolidate the use of government-approved textbooks and introduce the learning method by encouraging the students to think on their own. This could then be established at the school through teachers' endogenous activities rather than being forced top-down. There was also a need to examine what kind of adaptation to the situation of the actual educational sites was needed for the introduction of new kinds of mathematics education, which has tended to be regarded as the same anywhere in the world. JOCV's activities for the CD of teachers consisted of at least three phases. First, teachers and JOCVs worked together to become acquainted with locally specific challenges of mathematics education in schools and collaborated to find solutions. Second, JOCVs played the role of catalyzers of local teachers' and their groups' CD process by creating space and time for teachers to deepen mutual learning. Third, JOCVs facilitated the scale up of the CD process by sharing the experiences of mutual learning and co-creation of innovative solutions with other schools and providing feedback to the TCP.

2.7.2 JOCV's Contribution to the CD Process

Regarding the first phase, it was crucial that the JOCV members could interact directly with teachers at the local school education sites and promote mutual learning to address specific challenges together. The TCP prepared and distributed the textbooks and teaching guidelines and provided training programs to introduce them. However, JOCV members often found that the teaching method using the new textbooks was not firmly established at the actual education sites. For example, JOCV member Yoshihide Kimura, who was dispatched to a school in Comitancillo located in the western part of Guatemala, found that *Guatemática*, despite being designated as the official textbook, had rarely been used in the two schools to which he had been dispatched. In this situation, Kimura organized a training session for teachers, including those from other elementary schools. He also initiated a "lesson study" in which teachers could learn through mutual observation of classes.[17] Through many training sessions, the value of *Guatemática* as a teacher-friendly textbook was finally recognized, and all the teachers in the two schools began to use the textbook. Furthermore, he promoted the dissemination of *Guatemática* to other schools by dispatching four teachers whom he named "Arithmetic Leaders" (JICA 2015a, 13).

[17] "Lesson study" is a method in which teachers observe classes with related persons inside and outside of school and consider approaches to improve classes and their own teaching skills. In Japan, it has spread gradually since the Meiji Era, and is now commonly practiced at schools (JICA 2015c, 5).

As discussed above, a new teaching method will not necessarily become established or disseminated at actual education sites just because a new textbook has been created. To make that happen, a great effort to promote its dissemination is normally required. In that sense, JOCV members' contributions are extremely significant. Furthermore, together with the introduction and dissemination of new textbooks and new teaching methods, efforts were made to gradually establish the idea of "learning to think" among both teachers and students. This contributed to the development of the core capacity of the CD process. Kimura recalled that, in the past, "Students were just waiting for the answer to be given, or were desperate to transcribe what was written on the blackboard." However, after the learning based on the new textbooks was established, "students have learned the fun of thinking and solving problems by themselves and give their opinions more frequently" (JICA 2015a, 13). Other JOCV members had similar experiences.

In summary, the three types of JOCVs' activities—interacting with teachers and other stakeholders, catalyzing their CD, and scaling up of CD—were observed in the above-mentioned process, and JOCVs accomplished their unique roles, demonstrating their strength to work as catalysts.[18]

2.8 Volunteerism and the CD Process: Insights from Case Studies

In Sect. 2.2, we discussed the characteristics associated with volunteerism that can reinforce CD. Case studies on JOCV's activities in five areas showed that these characteristics are essential for JOCV's contributions to the CD of local people and their organizations. Case studies also identified that some characteristics are more relevant in certain phases or instances, of the CD process, while others may be more effective in different phases or contexts. Volunteers' activities and those of other external actors, including activities of technical cooperation projects, could produce synergy in the CD process. Case studies showed how such synergy was produced.

An important starting point for the CD of local people and their organizations comprises the mutual learning of local people and external actors in regard to local circumstances—especially concerning the challenges local people face. Moreover, it needs to involve the co-creation of innovative solutions to address them, including the adaptation of external knowledge. Mutual learning facilitates the enhancement of local people's awareness of the challenges motivating their commitment to create solutions themselves. This, in turn, facilitates the development of specific capacities and core capacities, and as a result, this strengthens local people's ownership. The volunteers' characteristics highlighted by UNV and others include close (or direct) contact with communities at the grassroots, dual roles as an insider and outsider, and reciprocity of exchange of skills and experiences. These are among the most

[18] For further information on mathematics education and capacity development in Central America, see Hosono (2018).

crucial characteristics related to volunteerism that can be used to reinforce CD. The JOCV case studies demonstrate that mutual learning is particularly vital in the initial phase in areas such as NERICA dissemination, One Village One Product, and the introduction of Kaizen to hospitals. In these cases, specific external knowledge is likely to be new to local people. At the same time, JOCVs need to learn about the local circumstances, primarily from local people. Through this mutual learning, both JOCVs and local people become aware of the issues they face.

Once the CD process is initiated, local people gradually develop both specific and core capacities through learning among themselves by sharing experiences and solutions. They also establish their own organizations (groups, associations, etc.) in which they can work together and learn, enhancing their capacity for engagement in different initiatives. In this phase, the volunteers' characteristic of living and working at the grassroots with local people—often becoming almost integral members of the local groups and community—enables them to play a catalytic role. The case studies on JOCVs found that they frequently created time and space ("Ba," as explained in Sect. 2.4) for learning experiences among local people and establishing groups. These groups include, for example, the pioneers or more formal organizations as a basis to co-create innovative solutions and implement them. In the case of NERICA, pioneer farmer's groups are formed. With One Village One Product, cooperatives or other types of organizations are established. For W-SAT (Water Security Action Team), community water management associations are strengthened (see Appendix Essay 2). Through this process, the ownership of local people is enhanced, developing their core capacity in particular.

In more advanced phases, when local people aim to consolidate the implementation of innovative solutions and scale up their activities, volunteers are able to take on the role of facilitator, linking local people and potential stakeholders while taking advantage of volunteers' networks, access to information, and external resources. While volunteers are more inclined and able to utilize local knowledge than other external actors, they also have the capacity to draw on external ideas and technology where necessary, as identified by UNV (2002). JOCVs accomplished the role of facilitators in different areas, most typically in the advanced phases of the CD process. For example, in the NERICA case, JOCVs connected farmers with rice polishing mills, shops that lease rice threshers, seed dealers, and other agricultural services. In the case of OVOP initiatives in Malawi, JOCVs facilitated the participation of OVOP groups in trade fairs and agricultural shows. In El Salvador, they supported the application to the OVOP fund award and the construction of *Michi no Eki*. In W-SAT activities, JOCV contributed to strengthening contacts between local people and stakeholders, including local government, the water supply authority, consulting firms, and the JICA office, through an extended network for W-SAT.

Generally, the significant synergy between JOCV and TCP activities can be observed in case studies. However, the modalities of collaboration differ between areas. Collaboration was more formal in the case of mathematics education in Central America and less so in the OVOP and BHSP cases. In the NERICA and W-SAT case studies, training courses were provided to JOCVs in different phases, and close communication for synergy between JOCVs and TCP was maintained. In all cases, the collaboration was flexible and smooth. In this regard, it should be emphasized that JOCVs usually develop their activities based on the "essential characteristics" of volunteers, even in instances where collaboration with the TCP is intense (see Sect. 2.2 for essential characteristics). JOCVs have also contributed very effectively to the CD of local people and their organizations, even when TCPs were not carried out. For example, this occurred in the case of mathematics education in Honduras many years before PROMETAM commenced. It was also seen in Guatemala a few years before the Guatemática project started. In these cases, JOCVs' activities enabled TCP, which then relied on further JOCV activities.

2.9 Concluding Remarks

As highlighted in the Introduction, the UN's *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* (UNGA 2015) states that processes to develop and facilitate the global availability of appropriate knowledge and technologies, as well as capacity building, are critical. In achieving this new agenda, volunteer groups are considered a vital means of implementation. The UN Secretary General's report succinctly highlighted that "as we seek to build capacities and to help the agenda to take root, volunteerism can be another powerful and cross-cutting means of implementation" (UN 2014).

UNV previously identified "characteristics associated with volunteerism which can reinforce capacity development" and concluded that volunteerism has particular strengths in supporting the capacity development process (UNV 2002, 42). However, while volunteers use their characteristics as strengths to contribute to the CD of people and their organizations, these strengths have remained a kind of black box. This chapter aimed to open the black box, drawing from case studies of JOCV's activities in five areas critical to achieving the SDGs. We have demonstrated how volunteers have contributed to the CD of people in different phases of the CD process across diverse areas of JOCV's activities. These case studies provide valuable insights into such processes. Through these case studies, it can be seen that volunteerism offers an effective means of CD. However, the author recognizes that volunteer contributions to CD remains a subject that warrants further in-depth study.

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Appendix Essay 2: The Water Security Action Team (W-SAT) in Africa

Akio Hosono

Goal 6 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) is to "Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all." The UN SDG declaration further establishes specific targets to be achieved for all by the year 2030, including achieving universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water, access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene and ending open defecation, and paying special attention to the needs of women and girls and those in vulnerable situations (UNGA 2015, 18).

The Water Security Action Team (W-SAT) is a pioneering and comprehensive approach to achieving Goal 6. Commencing seven years before the UN SDG declaration, W-SAT is an initiative in which JOCVs and experts are dispatched to Africa to provide support for ensuring a safe and stable rural and urban water supply and improving village sanitation and hygiene. This initiative was one of Japan's assistance plans for Africa, announced at the 4th African Development Conference (TICAD IV) in May 2008 (JICA 2017, 14). In the ten years from 2008 to 2018, 260 volunteers were dispatched to 21 countries (JICA 2018, 1).

JOCVs carried out W-SAT activities, along with other designated activities such as community development. The activities undertaken by many JOCVs had significant synergies with water and sanitation-related technical cooperation and grant aid projects designed to improve maintenance capacity for boreholes, strengthen community water management associations, and raise the awareness of residents concerning water, sanitation, and hygiene (JICA 2017, 14).

W-SAT and the CD Process

W-SAT activities for JOCVs consist of at least three interconnected dimensions: (i) improving access to safe water; (ii) establishing and developing the capacity of community water management associations; and (iii) raising the awareness of residents regarding water, sanitation, and hygiene. For each of these dimensions, JOCV contributes to the capacity development of residents and their organizations, particularly water management associations, while taking advantage of their unique characteristics.

JOCV's Contributions to the CD Process

Regarding the first dimension, improving access to safe water, JOCVs have developed activities to support the establishment and consolidation of water supply systems through the creation of water pipe maps, the design and construction of wells, and other water-related projects. Some JOCV members—especially those dispatched to water supply administration offices—have prepared maps indicating water leak points based on GIS and have improved the collection system for water rates by identifying defects in water meters (JICA 2018). Through these and other activities, JOCVs contribute to CD for residents and organizations, encompassing diverse aspects of the safe water supply, such as water quality analysis and the repair of hand pumps. Enhanced learning and awareness of local water supply needs among both residents and JOCVs are essential for these activities, which contribute to the CD of residents and their organizations.

Secondly, concerning the establishment and capacity development of community water management associations, the shared ownership and mutual trust of community members are essential. Consequently, joint activities of community members and JOCV in improving the collection system for water rates and management of a bookkeeping system, among other activities, can contribute to community members' CD. Atsushi Munakata, a volunteer dispatched to Rwanda in 2010, learned through close contact with community members that as farming took up most of the day, they had little time for water management. With technical support from Munakata and experts from the technical cooperation project, community members were able to establish an appropriate water management system for 5000 beneficiaries (JICA 2018).

Thirdly, mutual learning and the collaborative work of community members and JOCV are also critical to the awareness-raising of residents on water, sanitation, and hygiene. A widely promoted approach in this regard is the dissemination of handwashing practices. For example, simple handwashing equipment locally called "Tippy Tap"[19] has been introduced to schools. In Ethiopia, "A handwashing song" was created by Chihiro Saga in partnership with local residents and the support of a JOCV specialized in music education (JICA 2018). In some cases, efforts to raise the awareness of residents on water, sanitation, and hygiene are carried out as part of life-improvement (*Seikatsu Kaizen*) initiatives of JOCV.

Collaboration between TCPs and JOCV activities is coordinated effectively and flexibly, enhancing their synergies. Before being dispatched, JOCVs joining the W-SAT initiative participate in a training program to learn about tools, activities, and know-how related to W-SAT. They are trained in the inspection and repair of hand

[19] Tippy Tap is a simple handwashing facility that uses very little water and is easy to make using a plastic bottle, string, sticks and soap (UNICEF 2020). As it is operated by a foot lever, those washing their hands can do so without touching the equipment, thus reducing the chance of bacterial transmission. It is especially appropriate for rural areas where there is no running water.

pumps—widely used in Africa—as well as methods for raising awareness of hand-washing and hygiene behaviors. In the field, JOCVs are given opportunities to participate in seminars and training programs offered by TCP. Newsletters such as *W-SAT Tsushin* are used as effective tools of communication among JOCVs, and between them and the JICA headquarters (Mouko 2018; JICA 2017).

The advantages of W-SAT initiatives undertaken by JOCV have been identified by Shinya Sakurai, who presented an overview of W-SAT at a side event of TICAD 7. These are (i) the opportunity to utilize networks of JOCVs to obtain information from JOCVs who specialize in water quality, public health, and other key issues to address infectious diseases; (ii) the development of group members' joint large-scale campaigns for safe water, hygiene, sanitation, and similar issues; (iii) the opportunity to share information and technology and obtain spare parts for the operation and maintenance (O&M) of the water supply system through networks of JOCV group members; and (iv) strengthening of contacts between local people and stakeholders, including local governments, the water supply authority, consulting firms, and the JICA office through an extended W-SAT network. In most of these activities, JOCV group members play the role of facilitator for local people and the community to connect with diverse stakeholders who can provide information, technology, spare parts, and other resources (Sakurai 2018).

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Chapter 3
Hearts, Minds, and Sentiments: The Volunteers Program in the Immunization Program in Bangladesh and the Chagas Disease Control Project of Honduras

Naoko Ueda

3.1 Introduction: What Did the Volunteers Change?

More than a half a century has passed since the establishment of the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV) program. Since then, approximately 54,600 volunteers have been dispatched to 98 developing countries.[1] Even though their individual power is small, every day the young volunteers, focusing on the value of their work and their situation, discover new ways to contribute to their host community and try their best to communicate with their hosts so as to help them make a better life for themselves. This paper explores how the JOCV has worked and acted for the betterment of partners in developing countries. It is particularly concerned with what JOCV has achieved and what the volunteers have changed in the host communities.

The case studies discussed in this paper include the national vaccination program of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, especially in relation to the prevention of poliomyelitis, the "EPI: Expanded Program on Immunization," and the measures

[1] The volunteers included: JOCV (Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers): SV (Senior Volunteers): and "Youth and Senior Volunteers for *Nikkei* Communities" in Latin American countries. From the 54,540 volunteers that have been sent to 98 countries since the establishment of the JICA Volunteer Programme, 45,891 had been sent to 92 countries (as of end of September 2021, provisional data). Please visit JICA HP for current activities, volunteers | Our Work | JICA jica_volunteer_en.pdf.

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for the prevention of parasitic infectious disease, known as the "Chagas Disease Control Project," in the Republic of Honduras. The former examines the role that volunteers had played in the development of polio control and the immunization of children throughout the country. The latter discusses the contribution of volunteers in maintaining the reduction of Chagas disease-carrying parasites in houses.

The second section of this paper presents the analytical framework of the study. Specifically, it examines the relationship between Social Capital (hereafter referred to as "SC") and the "sentiment"[2] of the people concerned. The paper then investigates the EPI program in Bangladesh, primarily to show how the diligence and correctness or accuracy of the volunteers developed the "trust" and "norms" of both their Bangladeshi counterparts and of the people in the community. The next section of the paper investigates the cycle of "trust," norms," and changes in the "sentiment" of local people that brought about a "responsiveness" and "exchange of responses" in the Chagas Disease Control Project. This discussion is followed by the conclusion.

3.2 Social Capital and Sentiment

3.2.1 Social Capital: "Trust," "Norms," and "Responsiveness"

Social capital (SC) is employed as a conceptual lens through which the central question of this research can be viewed: how have the volunteers changed the hearts and minds of the host community, and what did they actually do to achieve solid results through this process? SC has wide acceptance in sociology. There are various definitions of the term depending on its context, nature, and function. In this chapter, SC is defined as a social determinant that conditions the actions of individuals and groups; the capital that brings about a set of particular outcomes and features in social organizations, such as trust, norms, and networks, and can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action to implement sustainable systems (Putnam 2001; Coleman 1988, 1990; Bourdieu and Passeron 1997).[3] This paper pays attention

[2] "Sentiment" can mean emotion in the sense of primitive feelings or physical sensation. In the context of this paper however, the term sentiment expresses a rational sense that is used in social contexts. Here, the author investigated sentiment in the context of social changes brought about by aid.

[3] Social capital can be divided into two parts: (1) the structure of society that facilitates certain actions by participants (Coleman 1988, 1990), which may include reciprocity and altruism, and (2) responsiveness (Putnam 1993) and synergy (Evans 1996). In the 1970's, Bourdieu analyzed social capital as the capital that divides people (Bourdieu and Passeron 1997). In contrast, Coleman, known for his rational choice theory, thought that SC had a different function. He stated that SC facilitates certain actions of individuals who are within the social structure, and that it is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that would not be attainable in its absence (Coleman 1990, 302).

to norms, trust, and the collective values of the social networks that underpin SC (Putnam 2001). In particular, it looks at trust, which is central to the foundation of SC.

SC is classified into two categories: institutional (structural) SC and cognitive SC. These two categories are thought to interact and to be mutually complementary.Trust is conceptualized as the core component of cognitive SC and is concerned with the minds of individuals, while norms and networks comprise the institutional components of SC as they directly regulate the visible and concrete behavior of individuals. Cognitive SC is formulated in the mind of individuals, and those who have this tend to accumulate it more than those who do not. Gambetta (2010, 277) defined trust as "a particular level of the subjective probability with which an agent assesses that another agent or group of agents will perform a particular action." Meanwhile, Ostrom (2010, xvi) characterized "trustworthiness" as "preferences choices that are consistent with conditional cooperation even in the absence of material incentives." The creation and destruction of cognitive SC can be explained in terms of good and vicious cycles; for example, the more we use trust, the more we gain trust. However, this capital deteriorates when the individual feels betrayed and no longer has trust in the person who they believe has betrayed them.

Trust can also be the foundation of the development of other forms of institutional SC—such as norms. For example, the norm of "generalized reciprocity"[4] is connected with the density of the network of social exchange. If you trust others it is likely that they will trust you in return, and this in turn might foster generalized reciprocity. In this way, trust is one of the essential elements of SC because it also becomes a source of other forms of SC.

The author focuses on norms as the core of institutional SC as they reflect and regulate the concrete acts and behavior of individuals. "Norms" are defined as "The rules or expectations that determine and regulate appropriate *behavior* within a *culture*, *group*, or *society*" (*Open Education Sociology Dictionary*). Some examples of norms discussed in this paper concern the attitudes of the volunteers and the way they are expressed through behavior such as accuracy, politeness, or acceptance of immunization in the community.

The term "responsiveness" in this paper draws on Putnam's concept of institutional performance (Putnam 2001, 9) and Dahl's (1981) conceptualization of democracy as a responsive system of government. Dahl (1981, 1) states that "a key characteristic of a democracy is the continuing responsiveness of the government to the preferences of its citizens, considered as political equals." Responsiveness is thus understood as a flow of mutual responses, not a top-down flow from the administrative level to the individual residents. Rather, the residents and the administration/government respond to each other in a sustainable manner, thus forming the basis of the SC, where the "the actor produces an output, with responsibility, responding to the input or request that they receive."

[4] Reciprocity is categorized as "balanced or specific reciprocity" and "generalized (or diffuse) reciprocity." The latter implies the "continuing relationship of exchange that is at any given time unrequited or imbalanced but involves mutual expectations that a benefit granted now should be repaid in future" (Putnam 1993, 172).

3.2.2 *"Sentiment" and "Responsiveness"*

This section considers how the responsiveness of the local people is made sustainable. It focuses on the sentiment of the local people as an important element of their intrinsic motivation to ensure the sustainability of responses.

In the mid-1970s, emotional sociology emerged in response to the need to understand the role of emotion or sentiment in society and in human behavior. According to Hochschild (2000), sentiment is constructed in social contexts, but there are some variations in how it is expressed depending on sex or status distinctions. Sentiment is communicated through the "feeling rules" of direction, extent, and continuity fostered in the society under a certain set of circumstances. Feeling rules, which function to adjust feeling to social circumstance, include such items as manners and etiquette. In a broader sense, these rules may also contain religious norms, ideology, views on values, and other characteristics of the society concerned.

The concept of feeling rules has a relationship with the elements of SC focused on in this paper. If we can hypothesize that the volunteers have encouraged the development of SC, responsiveness would also be secured and sustained as the intervention of any volunteer is controlled by feeling rules or other social mechanisms. This process may lead to a change of sentiment among local people, thus bringing to the fore their intrinsic motivation for the continuation of responses.

As noted earlier, trust is an important foundation of other components of SC. Still, in the case of Honduras, we can assume that it was not simply trust and norms, but other elements that contributed to responsiveness. Accordingly, the concept of sentiment is applied, as it may also play a vital role in altering SC, especially cognitive SC, in terms of moving an individual's inner heart and mind. Sentiment can also lead to the intrinsic motivation for continuing responses. This will be discussed in detail later.

3.2.3 *Methodology*

Using the two case studies of Bangladesh and Honduras, this paper analyzes how the JOCV have succeeded in developing both cognitive and institutional SC—trust as the cognitive SC, and norms as the institutional SC. In the first case study, Bangladesh, the analysis draws on 16 semi-structured interviews. The interviews were conducted by the author in October 2014 and May 2017. Ten of the participants were Bangladeshi EPI administrators in Chittagong Division who had experience working with Japanese volunteers. Six of the participants were from the JOCV. Among these five were volunteers on active duty and one was a former volunteer. The interviews utilized open-ended unstructured questions organized thematically around the participant's view of their experiences of working with their Bangladeshi counterparts (Bangladeshi participants were asked about their Japanese counterparts and vice versa), how they felt about their counterparts, what they learned from them,

and the obstacles to they faced when fulfilling their required duties. The participants were both male and female. The Bangladeshi participants were all over 40 and had work experience as EPI Superintendents, Public Health Nurses, and Health Assistants. The Japanese participants were all around 30 years of age and five were female and one male.[5]

In the second case study on Honduras, the paper draws on 72 semi-structured interviews and quantitative surveys conducted by the author with Community Health volunteers (CHV). The mean age of those interviewed was 42.6 years (SD = 10.8) and the interviews took place in four areas, namely, Ocotepeque, Copán, Intibucá, and Comayagua. The participants included both male and female CHVs, ranging from completely inexperienced CHVs to those with 42 years of experience (the mean number of months of experience was 123.3, SD = 36.3). Surveys were composed of 18 questions about the participants (such as name, age, and family members), their daily lives (profession and facts about their community), and their volunteer work (such as how they became a CHV, the kind of activity they are engaged in, how long they spend their time as CHV, and how they feel about being a CHV).

The key findings of the study are that in the Bangladeshi case, the norms held by the volunteers were expressed through their engagement with local partners resulting in the volunteers gaining the trust of the health workers, people working in the public sector, such as health centers, Ministries of Health, and other public health departments. Trust enabled some of the other norms held by the health workers to change the norms and trust levels of the people in the community. Circulation of trust and norms is also observed in the Honduras case study where trust led to changes in norms; in return, this then generated more trust. Figure 3.1 illustrates the cycle of cognitive and institutional SC, which also creates responsiveness, another important component of SC.

3.3 The Bangladeshi Expanded Program on Immunization: Trust and Norms

3.3.1 The EPI and the Volunteers

In 1974, the World Health Organization (WHO) adopted the Expanded Program on Immunization (EPI) to control six vaccine-preventable diseases (diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus, polio, measles, and tuberculosis). Implementation of the EPI began in 1977. The program aimed to administer vaccines to every child in the world by 1990, and to prevent the six aforementioned diseases. Efforts to establish vaccine supplies, their logistics chains, the provision of technical assistance and promotion, and the strengthening of immunization awareness-raising activities were also carried

[5] All quoted words mentioned in this paper are from personal communication with each interviewee, not from the document survey.

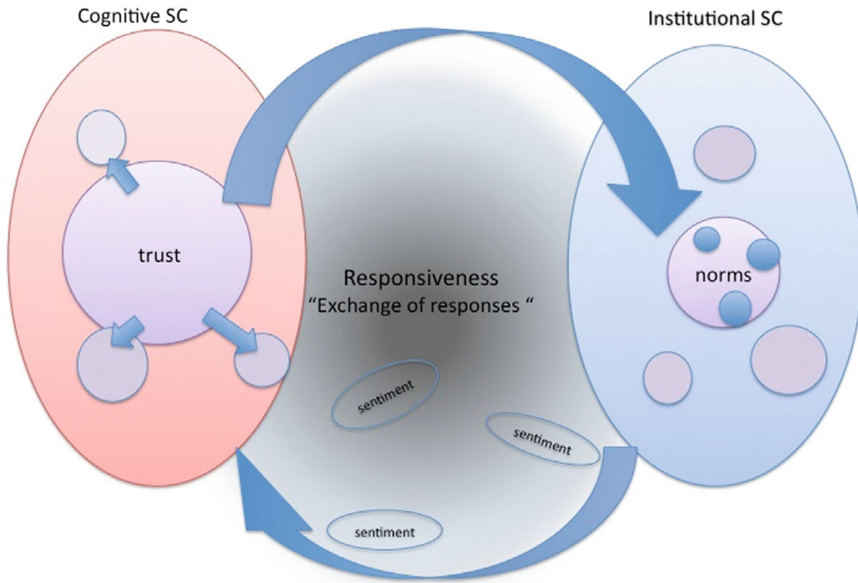

Fig. 3.1 The concept of social capital. *Source* Author

out. This program was based on the global consensus on the need for cooperation to control vaccine-preventable diseases worldwide, which arose out of successes experienced during the eradication of smallpox in 1980.[6] Building on the knowledge acquired during the process of introducing smallpox-free global measures, the next target was polio. In 1988, the WHO set a target for a polio-free world by launching the Global Polio Eradication Initiative, spearheaded by national governments. The WHO and other donors agreed to eradicate this disease by the year 2000.

In 1979, the Government of Bangladesh launched an EPI in Dhaka with the support of the WHO; this was then expanded throughout the entire country in 1985. However, that year vaccination coverage was only about 2% as the vaccination delivery point's EPI sites were limited to district hospitals.[7] The government of Bangladesh started a program consistent with the strategy of the WHO to achieve its objective of becoming a polio-free state. This included improvements in the coverage of routine immunizations. Most important here was the vaccination of newborns using the NID or National Immunization Day, a nationwide campaign for the vaccination of children under five

[6] The last naturally infected case of smallpox was in 1977.

[7] Figure 3.1: National immunization coverage, 1980–2011. http://www.searo.who.int/entity/immunization/data/bangladesh_epi_factsheet_2011.pdf.

years old as a supplement to routine immunizations, a mop-up campaign, simultaneous vaccinations in specific areas where infection was detected, and a surveillance of AFP (acute flaccid paralysis) in children.[8]

Prior to 1985 it was estimated that about 11,500 children in Bangladesh were exhibiting AFP symptoms caused by polio every year. Three mop-up campaigns and 21 NIDs were carried out between 1995 and 2013. The more the coverage improved, the greater the decrease in the number of patients, with only 234 patients at the time of the third NID in 1997.[9] NID was not implemented between 2000 and 2005, as no new cases were detected, and a polio-free state seemed to have been achieved. However, this turned out to be only a temporary state as new cases flowed from neighboring countries like India (2006) and Myanmar (2007). The government of Bangladesh resumed the NID program in 2007. Since then, no new cases have been found, and in March 2014, the WHO South-East Asia Region, including Bangladesh, was certified as polio-free.[10] However, even after the Bangladeshi government had succeeded in controlling polio within the country, JICA continued to dispatch volunteers to the country as there was a continued need to control the disease in those areas adjacent to the national borders.[11]

Prior to its experience in Bangladesh, JOCV had obtained relevant experience in infectious disease control activities in the rural areas of other developing countries. Since 1970, volunteers had participated in a number of activities beginning with a smallpox eradication program in Ethiopia. JOCV activities at that time focused on promotion of the program, technical assistance for quality improvement of the vaccination program, surveillance, and raising the awareness of the disease among the community. Using these experiences and responding to the polio–free global movement, JICA launched its support of EPI and selected target countries for JOCV—Niger, Kenya, and Bangladesh. Between 1999 and 2015, 65 EPI volunteers were sent to Bangladesh.

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[8] Immunization against nine preventable diseases, namely, hepatitis-B, diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus, haemophilus influenza (Hib) (as Pentavalent), BCG, measles, polio, and rubella, is delivered to children. The TT vaccine, given to women aged between 18 and 49 years for the prevention of neonatal tetanus, is now available in Bangladesh.

[9] Table 2. Number and rate of reported poliomyelitis and AFP cases and stool specimen results, by year for Bangladesh, 1992–1997. http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/00050881.htm#00001630.gif.

[10] WHO divides the world into six regions. The WPR (Western Pacific Region, consisting of 37 countries and areas that include Japan and China) was certified as polio-free in 2000. Bangladesh, India, and Myanmar are classified within the SEAR (Southeast Region) countries.

[11] In addition to sending volunteers, the Japanese Government also assisted with the cooperative plan for gaining a polio-free status in Bangladesh in other ways. Japan's Official Development Assistance provided the equivalent of 4,364,000,000 yen worth of polio vaccines from the Second NID in 1996 until the eleventh NID in 2003. They also supplied cold chain equipment in 1996 and 1997.

3.3.2 The Volunteers: What Have They Achieved?

The first generation of EPI volunteers was dispatched in 1999. These volunteers were mainly stationed in hospitals and were involved in the surveillance of children with AFP. They were assigned to the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare's EPI and Surveillance headquarters in Dhaka. Volunteers visited and assisted the activities in rural communities to monitor the surveillance and coverage of immunization in infected areas before gradually shifting to the Eastern area as the WHO increased the number of doctors in the field. Initially there were two volunteers in one district in the Chittagong Division, but later the pattern became one volunteer per district. Volunteers were assigned to the Civil Surgeon Office and District Health Offices in Bangladesh (CSO) under the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, where they provided support for routine immunizations and NID. The specific goals of their activities were as follows: (1) As a member of the NID team of CSO, improve vaccination coverage by assisting at EPI sites and on home visits; (2) Improve the coverage of routine vaccinations; (3) Improve the quality of the daily work of field workers; (4) Provide assistance to those carrying out coverage surveys and surveillance of AFP patients in collaboration with the WHO; and (5) To promote and raise awareness of the importance of vaccinations in the local community.

Although most of the volunteers did not have medical expertise, they were assigned to the CSO, which was an implementation body for the EPI. The volunteers tried to improve the coverage and quality of EPI in the field by instructing inspectors, the field workers, and their supervisors about clean and accurate vaccinations. Additionally, they worked in remote areas with the field workers to identify unvaccinated children using the "Mapping"[12] and the "Child-to-child"[13] methods to secure better vaccination coverage. The volunteers worked alongside field workers and inhabitants of the local community and communicated in Bengali, even though they were not initially fluent in that language.[14]

The chapter will now consider in detail the activities undertaken by the volunteers. With respect to the first goal of nationwide coverage for NIDs, the volunteers ran field worker orientations, discussed social mobilization, assisted with micro-planning

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[12] The volunteers trained the field workers for the post-NID pilot survey by visiting all the households in some areas of the Noakhali district. The purpose of this engagement was to ensure all of the houses in the targeted area were visited, and that the program was supervised. The supervisors and field workers were to: (1) draw a map of each of the designated areas; (2) clarify the borders between these areas and each assigned area for every team (sub-block); (3) provide the names of all the residents living in these border areas; and (4) calculate the numbers of households in each sub-block. This method, called "Mapping," ensured they did not miss any household in the border areas. This methodology, and its associated training, was adopted throughout the country from the seventh NID.

[13] Using this method, volunteers are able to confirm vaccinations by visiting all of the households on the day after the NID. If they find any unvaccinated children during their visit, they immunize the child instantly. This is also called the "House-to-house method."

[14] All JOCV are supposed to work in the local languages. They are given a 70-day intensive language training course before leaving Japan and attend a one-month additional language class upon arrival. This is then followed by home-stay training before they leave for their place of assignment.

for each of the EPI sites, and accompanied supervisors to the field on NID. After NID, the volunteers compiled and presented the problems raised, discussed countermeasures with the NID evaluation committee, and focused on pursuing realistic and possible measures in the Hard-to-Reach Areas (HTRs) where access is not easy (e.g., sandbanks), and in the areas where EPI was not progressing as expected.

For Goals 2 and 3, to improve the accuracy of the field workers' daily tasks, the volunteers rotated between those EPI sites that were showing poor performance. Along with the site supervisors, the volunteers sought to grasp the problems that some workers were having, such as low motivation and poor attitudes, and guided supervisors and workers toward better work practices. Additionally, through conversation with mothers whose children were to be vaccinated and continuous visits to the sites, including those recording poor performance, volunteers tried to motivate the workers and raise the mothers' awareness of the need for and importance of vaccinations. They also paid attention to the small things that tended to be neglected by workers or supervisors and reported these to the Ministry; thus, workers were motivated to be more careful about daily routine work practices such as planning, implementation, monitoring, and reporting. The installation of medical disposable trash boxes and guidance on the handling of open vaccines are good examples of the changes that were implemented. The volunteers discussed field difficulties and challenges with supervisors on-site and reported to the Ministry in the capital. The more important points in the reports were passed on to CSOs from the Ministry.

For Goal 4, to enhance the surveillance network, the volunteers held community meetings in each village and invited various community members including traditional healers, leaders, religious people, nurses, midwives, NGO staff, teachers, and students to attend. Council members of the Union, the smallest administrative units in Bangladesh, were also involved in these educational events. In kindergartens, the volunteers explained to parents how they can find children suffering from AFP. Most of the participants in these assemblies were positive and listened eagerly to the volunteers, especially as they explained things plainly with the aid of pictures and illustrations. Moreover, the enjoyment that the participants got from the rare situation of young foreigners speaking in their language, Bengali, also helped to attract village people to the meetings (JICA Bangladesh Office 2007). Many participants are reported to have listened carefully to the presentations given by the volunteers and accepted the cooperation in surveillance matters offered during the talks (JICA Bangladesh Office 2007).

The fifth goal in raising awareness of EPI was a particularly successful activity for the volunteers who were not equipped with medical skills or knowledge. As with Goal 4, the volunteers tried to appeal to multiple layers of the village community, from leaders to the mothers at EPI sites. On these occasions, too, the volunteers communicated in Bengali and used various methods such as using pictures to explain the importance of EPI so that listeners would not become bored; this also ensured that illiterate mothers were able to understand the message they were conveying (JICA Bangladesh Office 2007).

3.3.3 The Volunteers: What Have They Changed?

Between 1995 and 2011, polio vaccination coverage in Bangladesh increased from 69 to 96%.[15] The expansion of coverage and the improvement of accuracy and careful on-site surveillance of vaccinations contributed to the polio-free status gained by the state in 2014. It is the effort of the government of Bangladesh that should be praised most highly, even though it owes a great debt to other technical, physical, and financial supporters such as the WHO and UNICEF. However, the role of the JOCV who collaborated at vaccination sites and who spoke the language of the local people should also be highly commended. To ascertain what the volunteers were able to change for their Bangladeshi collaborators and the residents through the activities mentioned above, the paper will investigate the themes of networking, presentation of norms, raising of motivation, and the formation of trust.

Networking

The volunteers connected field workers with their superiors in the CSO by sharing with them the problems that the workers faced on site and discussing countermeasures. For the field workers, the volunteers were young foreigners with no political agenda or financial interests in the country's EPI. They were not superiors or technical experts like doctors sent from WHO, but rather, they shared the same problems of implementation as the field workers at the various sites.

The volunteers optimized their unique position to connect the bottom with the top, even within the ministerial hierarchy that existed among the field workers, their supervisors, and the people in the capital. Until the volunteers became involved, the information flow was mainly one way, from top to bottom, with little opportunity for reverse flows (JICA Bangladesh Office 2007).

Presentation of Norms to the Field Workers: Accuracy, Diligence, Integrity, and Politeness

Tremendous and rigorous preparation work is required to implement the NID. Microplanning is needed at each site, at the district, division, and national levels. For example, decisions are required on when to implement the vaccination program, and the number of children to be vaccinated by region, as well as on the procurement of vaccines and the other important materials needed for the recording, distribution, and disposal of used vaccination equipment. Additionally, EPI sites had to be prepared, field workers and local volunteer workers from the community mobilized and trained, and information needed to be shared and advertised for several months beforehand. The volunteers assisted with the NID and its preparation process, a very complicated,

[15] Figure 3.1: National immunization coverage, 1980–2011. http://www.searo.who.int/entity/immunization/data/bangladesh_epi_factsheet_2011.pdf.

sophisticated, and tremendous administrative operation that is sometimes difficult for some developing countries to accurately implement without support. The same thing can be said for assistance with routine immunizations; the volunteers helped their Bangladeshi colleagues to make proper records for each vaccinated child, and they explained to mothers the need to return for the next vaccination at the appropriate time intervals (JICA Bangladesh Office 2007).

Carrying out fundamental daily administrative tasks, required performing a given task correctly, managing both budgets and time, planning, implementing, and evaluating each activity alongside medium and long-term planning milestones are important. And all of this has to be done in a way that was polite and sincere to field workers and residents. Through such personal conduct and by completing tasks efficiently and effectively, the volunteers demonstrated the required norms for carrying out EPI to their Bangladeshi colleagues.

Volunteers demonstrated norms of punctuality, accuracy, respect, and courtesy through their attitudes toward their colleagues and the community, and they showed diligence in searching throughout the community so as not to miss any unvaccinated children. The following comments from Bangladeshi colleagues who worked with the volunteers illustrate how much their assistance was appreciated:

> *They (the volunteers) worked spontaneously at the place where they were required to. They were all-round players, acting eagerly and politely. What we learned from them was their attitude and time management. They were not only inspectors, but they themselves also carried the vaccine and played an important role in the field. They were punctual; sometimes they arrived on the site earlier than the worker. When the volunteer noticed that the workers made mistake in vaccination, they did not tell the worker strongly on the very spot, but instead, tried to make the other worker do the job in the correct way later thus enabling the worker to notice that they carried out the task wrongly in the first instance. When we, EPI superintendents or officials in CSO, noticed the same thing, we scold that worker at the site strongly, but we now know that this approach is not good, as that not only makes that worker shameful but also makes the mothers of mal-vaccinated children anxious. I learned that from the volunteers* (Mr. Malek, former EPI Superintendent, Chittagong CSO).
>
> *Even when mothers refuse vaccination of their children, the volunteers visited their home and continued to persuade them patiently. When the volunteers find mothers reluctant about vaccination, they even walked in their kitchen to explain the importance of vaccination. They explained and exchanged opinions in a polite way. As vaccination is for women and children, female volunteers were advantageous in communication with mothers* (Mr. Dewan, EPI Superintendent, Chittagong CSO).

These quotes show that the volunteers made the Bangladeshi colleagues, field workers, and their supervisors understand the importance and effect of attitude; they showed them how to undertake their daily administrative jobs correctly and politely by doing so themselves. Thus, their Bangladeshi colleagues were able to bring about improvements in the quality and quantity of immunization. To do the daily administrative job requires correct vaccination procedures, maintenance of clean environments, finding unvaccinated children and making sure they are vaccinated, good time and personal management, a polite but persistent attitude toward others, and improvement of the conventional way of doing things (e.g., adding the Bengali almanac to the EPI advertising poster, and the creation, introduction, and dissemination of work

checklists). The following words of a Japanese Volunteer who participated in a recent anti-measles vaccination campaign, which has been carried out alongside the polio vaccinations, show the acceptance of these messages:

> *When I searched for unvaccinated children persistently after the anti-measles campaign as a follow-up, the field workers were talking behind me, saying, "Japanese are the people who work like this"* (Rika AYA, assigned to Lakshmipur CSO, dispatched 2013–2015).

The Motivation of Field Workers

Being together with the foreign volunteers might have placed pressure on field workers and supervisors, but it also became a good opportunity to motivate and stimulate their willingness to work. The volunteers, who lived next door, ate the same food and spoke the same language, were different to the experts from other donor agencies; they were observers and guests from outside, but also close colleagues with whom the locals worked together even in hard times. They were sometimes like family members or close relatives with whom they could discuss their true feelings. Neither the local medical doctors sent by WHO nor any other organizations had outsiders who visited EPI sites as frequently as the volunteers. Even those workers who tended to lack motivation to go to work because of the frequent lack of transport and delayed payment of wages had their situation gradually improved by the volunteers' frequent visits to EPI sites. There are also some cases in the HTR areas where site visits by volunteers contributed to the improvement of vaccination coverage (JICA Bangladesh Office 2007). Again, the words of their Bangladeshi colleagues are instructive:

> *The volunteers advanced to HTR areas, with no reluctance, even in bad weather or terrible conditions. This attitude motivated field workers. When volunteers visited HTR areas, they insisted on taking CSOs officials together to make them see the sites in HTR areas by themselves as well. The volunteers visited all the EPI sites in the district with the list of EPI sites, and that attitude encouraged the field workers so much* (Mr. Robiul, Lakshmipur EPI Superintendent).

In this way, through their presence in the field, the volunteers sometimes had a positive influence on local communities; this is referred to as the "foreigner effect" by the volunteers. In Bangladesh, the volunteers' presence, their views, and their attitudes toward accompaniment and collaboration stimulated the motivation of field workers. The foreigner effect of the volunteers manifested itself in various ways. For example, the volunteers were, to some extent, always in the spotlight as young foreigners, and were even seen as the stranger who speaks the local language. While this was often the view in rural areas in developing countries, it was especially noticeable in the rural areas of Bangladesh. This affected not only the field workers but also the residents. An interesting example of this was the effort of one Volunteer who tried to draw the attention of residents by painting an advertisement about EPI on his own arm and went to a migrant camp to raise awareness of the program. At that time, the sight of a young foreigner who spoke Bengali was rare enough to attract a

gathering of children, and consequently their parents, providing the Volunteer with the opportunity to enter their society in future, even without having to paint anything on his body.

Improvement of Vaccination Acceptance and the Motivation of Residents: Building Trust

In Bangladesh, the acceptance of immunization was hampered by several factors. These may be categorized as: distance to health facilities; the frequency of health worker visits to communities; mother's age, mobility, and educational level; the household economic condition; possession of a radio; and local custom. Differences in coverage between the sexes were also found to be statistically significant, with male children more likely to be immunized than female children (Bhuiya et al. 1995).

The Ministry of Health and Family Welfare of Bangladesh has also analyzed the reasons for no or partial vaccination. The latter refers to those who do not come again for the next vaccination in a series, even though multiple vaccinations are needed (Directorate General of Health Services 2014, XX). The main reasons identified were rumors, superstition, fear of side effects, the children do not want to be vaccinated, the children are sick, the parents are busy, the EPI sites are too far, and/or the parents do not know about immunizations. Except for the HTR areas, as one of the most densely populated countries in the world, the Ministry could set the EPI sites near or in a community and use cars with megaphones and workers on foot to advertise the immunization program that is free to residents. Thus, one of the main challenges to the implementation of the Bangladeshi EPI might be considered to be a lack of information and a low level of belief in the efficacy of the program based on superstition or anxiety. For example, some people think that they will not fall ill if they believe in Allah.

To cope with these conventional problems, the volunteers and field workers contributed to the dissemination of accurate information by explaining, persuading, advocating as well as by visiting each household. This approach was important considering that the norms mentioned in Sect. 3.3.3 also led to improvements in the attitudes of field workers toward the building of trust essential for the acceptance of vaccinations.

Streefland et al. (1999, 1713) use a definition of trust as being "confidence in the reliability of a person or system, regarding a given set of outcomes or events, where that confidence expresses a faith in the probity or love of another, or in the correctness of abstract principles (technical knowledge)." They also note that gaining the trust of the people is crucial for the acceptance of vaccinations. From their research in Bangladesh and India, the authors further note that in the event of serious side effects, it is the specific health worker, not the medical technology doing the vaccination that is blamed; they emphasized the importance of trust in health workers. Trust in this context is understood in terms of respect for the health worker's honesty and accuracy and is sometimes more important than trust in medical products or technology (Streefland et al. 1999, 1713–1714).

If we follow the observations of Streefland et al. (1999), the important attitudes that the volunteers demonstrated in the field in Bangladesh were their politeness, patience, and accuracy, which attracted the trust of the community. Importantly, field workers who were accompanied by volunteers also won the trust of the community as a result of norms such as patience and accuracy that they acquired from the volunteers. This trust won from the community led to the new norm of acceptance of vaccinations among the local residents. Specifically, the volunteers displayed an attitude of stewardship when they went with field workers to villages and households, and this led to the lowering of fear and distrust among residents and widening the acceptance of vaccinations. The volunteers therefore succeeded in gaining the all-important trust of the community by placing their norms among those of the health workers, and also by changing the norms held by the residents. In this way, they reduced the negative situations around the hesitation and refusal to vaccinate.

3.4 Chagas Disease Control: Responsiveness

In Bangladesh, the greater acceptance of vaccinations created by the changes in the norms of field workers and the people's trust in them, may be considered to be the result of the passive involvement of residents or a one-way movement from the administration or volunteers to the local people. The following section considers the more active situation "responsiveness," and its developed form "exchange of responses," as elements of social capital brought about by mutual interaction between government administrations and the community.[16]

3.4.1 Chagas Disease Control, Surveillance System with Community Participation and Its Sustainability: The "Exchange of Responses"

Chagas disease is a potentially life-threatening illness in a person infected by the parasite *Trypanosoma cruzi (T. cruzi).* The illness is mainly concentrated in Latin American countries. *T. cruzi,* carried inside the intestine of an insect vector, enters the human body via the vector's feces that are excreted at night while sucking human blood. The disease is commonly found in marginalized poor areas, as the vector infests the natural materials found in houses in rural areas (Hotez et al. 2012).

In 2000, JICA began dispatching volunteers to assist in vector control for this disease to several Central American countries, including Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Belize, and Panama (Hashimoto 2013). This paper focuses on Honduras, as both the prevalence and incidence rates of Chagas disease in Honduras

[16] This section is a revised version of parts of the works of Ueda (2013a, 2013b, 2015, 2016).

were among the highest in the Central American countries in 2005 with a prevalence of 3.05% and an incidence of 0.039% (PAHO 2006).

Chagas disease in Central America is transmitted by two principal vector species, *Triatoma dimidiata* and *Rhodnius prolixus*. *Triatoma dimidiata*, native to this region, is found in both human and natural environments and cannot be eliminated. *Rhodnius prolixus* is an imported species with higher fertility and rates of infection than *T. dimidiata*, but can be eliminated due to its limited infestation of human dwellings. For these characteristics, the control measures differed slightly in terms of strategies and techniques. The volunteers, in cooperation with JICA experts, have built a sustainable surveillance system of vectors, mainly about *Rhodnius prolixus,* based on community participation to prevent vector-borne transmission in each country. This was achieved by working with the national health administrations, departmental health offices, and communities in those countries.[17]

JICA implemented capacity development through the Japanese experts assigned to Ministries and as volunteers in local health administration offices. The volunteers were mainly working with local health administrators,[18] Community Health volunteers (CHVs), non-professional village health workers. To interrupt the vector-borne transmission of the disease, JICA and its Honduran counterparts made efforts to establish a vector control system with community participation. The system consists of two phases, namely, the attack phase, during which insecticide is sprayed in houses, and the monitoring phase, during which individuals keep recording low domestic infestation rates of the vector.[19]

3.4.2 The Volunteers: What Have They Achieved?

Among the activities mentioned above, the young volunteers implemented capacity building measures in administrations from top to bottom in terms of administrative and technical capacity for disease control and intervened in local CHVs, while experts from JICA collaborated mainly with administrators from the Capital and departmental health offices.

The following are the words of local Honduran health officers: "*The volunteers were always with us*," "*We walked and walked to deep in the mountains*," "*We were sweating together*." The attitude of the volunteers, who did not hesitate in accompanying local health officers along mountainside trails to the remote areas where the vector is common, has been praised by people involved with disease control,

[17] Except for Panama and Belize where only JOCV were sent. For the content of the project activity in Honduras, please see Ueda (2013a, 2013b).

[18] The measures of improvement of house materials, such as plastering of holes in the walls, are also effective in preventing the spread of disease vectors.

[19] JICA also cooperated in blood screening to control the transmission of diseases through blood transfusions.

including the WHO, and other organizations in Southern America. Again, the willingness to continuously accompany local people was unique to the Japanese volunteers, and no other experts behaved in this way. This attitude greatly fostered teamwork and a sense of belonging among the team of volunteers and their Honduran colleagues; this in turn led to an optimization of the outcomes of the program. Even in the most remote areas, the volunteers worked in solidarity with their Honduran colleagues, assisting them, supporting them, and solving problems with them. They did not just sit in an office or do the jobs for their Honduran colleagues but rather worked alongside them.

In Honduras, as in Bangladesh and many other countries, the volunteers spoke in the same language as their colleagues and the CHVs. They supported local health officers when they explained vector control to the CHVs. Volunteers also assisted by helping to create audio-visual materials, and they assisted in CHV meetings. They also talked directly to school children using picture play, coloring books, and many other means to help them understand the importance of vector control in their houses. The curious and active children became contributors in the search for vector insects in their homes.

3.4.3 The Volunteers: What Have They Changed?

The "Responsiveness" that Brought About a Sustainable Surveillance System with Community Participation

The surveillance system, which incorporated the participation of community volunteers, consisted of entomological and epidemiological monitoring of houses (Hashimoto and Yoshioka 2012). The CHVs were encouraged to educate their neighbors, search for vectors, and try to prevent the spread of Chagas disease by cleaning up of the environment and bringing any vector found to the attention of the local public health office. The volunteers made the most of the CHV meetings at the local public health office and used them to educate and raise awareness of the CHVs. They also tried out some new ideas such as the installment of a small vector box into which the CHVs could deliver any vectors they found even when the health facilities were not open, and other new educational devices to meet the daily needs of the residents. This routine of searching for and delivering vectors was organized by the CHVs. Upon receiving a vector, the health administration instructed the CHVs to spray insecticide in their houses. At the same time, the volunteers promoted the administration of the process to show their thanks and respect to the CHVs for searching for and delivering the vectors. If the administration had failed to respond correctly, they would have lost the trust of the community. This cycle of CHV's searching and delivering insects to the administration, and the response from the administration, became a new norm that built trust between the actors. In turn, this enabled the creation of responsiveness for a sustainable surveillance system with community participation.

This cycle can be described as an "exchange of responses" between the community and the administration. "Response" here means the act of an individual or organization aimed at producing fair and responsible outputs after receiving inputs from the social environment. Responses were exchanged between people in the community and the different levels of public health administration. The exchanged elements were diverse: captured vectors, ordering the spraying of insecticides, information, techniques, volunteer services, educational activities, and sentiments. These elements were responded to and exchanged, thus forming the exchange of responses between the community and its administration. These exchanges were a basic mechanism for creating a sustainable surveillance system that relied on community participation.

With the help of the public health authorities, the volunteers succeeded in using this "exchange of responses" to bring about sustainable achievements at the community level. This was achieved through: (1) activities that ensured visibility of achievements; (2) having volunteers accompany Honduran staff into the field; and (3) promoting capacity development among people involved in vector control in terms of their awareness, participation, knowledge, skills, and action at multiple levels.

Before volunteers had come into the field to assist with the control of the Chagas disease, CHVs in rural areas had of course undertaken activities related to the care of mothers and children; however, these were subcontracted activities that had been ordered by local health offices. There had not been an interactive flow of activities between administration and community, based on a CHVs active participation in the process. But when the administration needed to search for nocturnal vectors in houses in a sustainable way, there was no other way to set up the system other than mobilizing CHVs to actively participate and to respond without delay. The volunteers played an active and vital role in connecting each party and helping them to interact in a sustainable way.

What Was the Intrinsic Motivation for "Exchange of Responses"?

To assure the sustainability of the "exchange of responses," it was important to foster the intrinsic motivation of both sides to continue the activities. As the motivation became more intrinsic, changes in sentiment were observed among the CHVs and the health officers. Confidence and progress in disease control provided the administration with motivation. For local residents, the happiness they felt when serving others led to a change in SC. Sentiments such as happiness, sense of achievement, and pride are noted below as factors that bring about intrinsic motivation.

The sentiment felt by the CHVs was a key factor here as it underpinned the establishment of the "exchange of responses." The quotes below, collected from the CHVs, illustrate these positive sentiments.

Happiness

Includes the pleasure of serving others; the impact gained from learning and acquiring new skills through training leads to empowerment. The satisfaction of watching the improvement of the health of children and the joy of acquainting new people with organizations and participating in networks is especially important. One interviewee said: "*I am happy to be able to learn new things and to help the community through the activities of CHV*" (49-year-old housewife from Rosario, Comayagua). Another interviewee said:

> *What I obtained by serving as a CHV is knowledge about our health and that of the children and the satisfaction of helping the community…With the volunteers' activities, I lose time at work but for me it is more important to help the community. I will continue being a volunteer so that God accepts me in Paradise. For me, the most important experience of being a CHV is to see how the children of the community improve in health* (male, 31-year-old farmer from Dolores, Intibucá).

Sense of Achievement

A sense of achievement was gained through contact with the administration or participation in the exchange of responses. According to one interviewee: "*If I find a bug, I take it to the health center. If I give them a bug, the health center responds by spraying insecticide or creating educational activities. That is satisfactory and motivates me to send a bug again*" (45-year-old housewife from Rosario, Comayagua).

Furthermore, the sense of satisfaction and achievement that is related to interaction with others, namely the support and appreciation of the community, is essential for successful vector control.

Pride

Pride and honor refer to the enhancement of self-confidence through increased attention, trust, respect, and reliance upon other people in the community. One interviewee said "*When I chat, and all listen to me in silence, I see that I am admired. Only the CHV service gives me this sentiment*" (44-year-old housewife from El Rodeo, Comayagua). In the context of empowerment, it was also observed that people felt that they could exercise a new skill or discover a potential skill in themselves. Participants gained confidence as they developed their own responsibilities.

"Responsiveness" that Encourages Collective Action

The change of sentiment among the CHVs led to a sustainable intrinsic motivation to undertake vector surveillance, but it also brought a responsiveness between the administration and communities concerning vector control. In the process of creating this form of SC, we see various aspects of the other SCs mentioned in the first part of this paper; this in turn helps to improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action around trust and norms, as discussed in the second part of this paper.

Coleman (1988) stated that there are three aspects of SC as a social structure for collective action: "obligation and expectations", norms and "effective sanctions," and "information channels". The first two of these are considered to be particularly enhanced by closure of social networks.[20] In the case of vector control, we can imagine that obligation and expectations arise both in the administration and in communities. If a CHV brings a bug to a health facility, that CHV expects a response from the administration of that facility; if the administration responds to him/her, then a new norm might be created. If we share the concept of generalized reciprocity (Putnam 1993), "exchange of response" can be understood as describing those mechanisms that produce altruism and generalized reciprocity in a community. When many individuals voluntarily perform acts that are not related to their direct self-interest, it is likely that the society to which they belong is rich in trust and that the society as a whole can benefit from such acts of altruism. A CHV who performs unpaid voluntary work for a community creates generalized reciprocity, and even though he or she cannot immediately get a direct benefit from that work, he or she may enjoy benefits in the future, such as an improvement of the whole environment or a new opportunity for social participation. The desire to eliminate vectors results in a cleanup of the whole community; the people must begin to think about the entire community not only themselves, otherwise the vectors may return.

Thus, the development of responsiveness sheds light on other important aspects of SC, such as social structure for collective action. It can be assumed that this process also promotes the further establishment and even the enforcement of responsiveness itself, by furthering its implementation.

3.5 Conclusions: The Volunteers Who Moved People's Hearts

Common themes for volunteers sent to Bangladesh to take part in an EPI and to Honduras to assist with Chagas disease control, were: (1) the interface with people in the local community was most crucial for community involvement in infectious disease control; (2) the improvement and enlargement of health service activities in marginalized areas at the micro level brought about concrete outcomes; and (3) accuracy and sustainability were most essential for the routine work of local health administrations.

In addition, there are a number of similarities between the situations, including: (1) they are global initiatives for a particular infectious disease that has no borders were implemented through a WHO initiative; and (2) efforts in many countries were made simultaneously, prompted by the strong political will that the WHO showed in securing support from several donor agencies. In any case, access to and involvement

[20] "Closure" here might be construed as presenting a "Closed Corporate Community"—an approach particularly seen in the communities of indigenous people in those parts of Latin America where the vector is found.

of geophysical and socially marginalized peoples was essential for the attainment of this goal.

Against this background, these two groups of volunteers tried to improve the routine work of local health administrators by connecting with them and enhancing the connection between health administrators and local communities. By motivating community members and raising awareness, the activities of the volunteers produced outcomes in the communities. Both sets of volunteers succeeded in creating and altering the SC of the communities by advancing into remote areas, talking directly to local people, and optimizing the advantage inherent in the "foreigner effect." Thus, the influence on norms and trust that the volunteers had led to a new norm of wider acceptance of vaccinations in Bangladesh. The same changes in sentiment brought the "exchange of responsiveness" that led to sustainable vector control in Honduras. Arguably, volunteers played a key role in the achievement of Bangladesh's polio-free status in 2014 and in the WHO/PAHO's Certification of the interruption of Chagas disease transmission by the vector *Rhodnius prolixus* in Honduras in 2010/2011. In the course of their activities, the volunteers helped to develop the trust, norms, responsiveness, and changes in sentiment of the local people toward health administrators and workers. In other words, the volunteers succeeded in encouraging changes in the hearts and minds of the local people, which then contributed to an improvement in the sustained effect of their joint activities. In the Bangladeshi case, creating these norms led to trust in health workers and thus enabled another norm to develop among the people. In the Honduran case, circulation of trust and norms was more notable; trust leads to norms and norms bring about trust in return, which realizes the cycle of cognitive and institutional SC, thus creating another SC, and indicates the level of responsiveness around this exchange.

In August 2016, the JOCV received a Ramon Magsaysay Award, the so-called "Nobel Prize of Asia." In its citation, the Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation notes the contribution of the volunteers in Bangladesh: "*In Bangladesh, a succession of a hundred volunteers over a ten-year period improved the preventive polio vaccination rate, and eradicated polio and filariasis in the country.*"[21,22]

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[21] http://rmaward.asia/awardees/japan-overseas-cooperation-volunteers/.

[22] It should be noted that the volunteers faced some important challenges in carrying out their activities. Being a young foreigner had some advantages but also had a negative side in terms of cultural and linguistic barriers, immaturity borne from inexperience, and the need for restraint on the technical side, as most of the volunteers had little or no medical background. Moreover, their assignment period was two years, which also hampered their adjustment to the assigned places.

The assistance given to young volunteers by colleagues, neighbors, and members of the community should also be evaluated. Rina Tanaka (a Volunteer dispatched to the Rangpur Division in Bangladesh for filariasis control between 2012 and 2014), who received the Magsaysay Award in Manila in August 2016 on behalf of all the JOCVs, made the following points: "The real recipients of the prize may not be us, the volunteers, but the people in Bangladesh who worked with us, confronting bravely the poverty and difficulties, but insisting on putting their blood into tackling the problems. We could not have worked without them; the people there received, appreciated, and supported us. We are away from home and everything around us; culture, religion, and sense of value and so on, in the surrounding environment is totally different. The people raised us, just like bringing up babies with care, cherished us, and always kept their eyes on us. This was why we could

This paper has shown that the volunteers altered the social capital of people in two developing countries, and that social capital brought about observable changes in the social behavior of the local people. A strengthening of norms and trust was seen in the Bangladeshi case, and in Honduras, the intrinsic motivation of community people, stimulated by sentiment, altered the local SC and established an "exchange of responses" that may ensure its sustainability. In both cases, the volunteers moved and acted directly in relation to the hearts, minds, and sentiments of the people. Through these processes, volunteers helped to establish a sustainable vector surveillance system with the participation of the community in Honduras, and it is likely that the infection rate of Chagas disease will decline as a result. In Bangladesh, after having achieved polio-free status, an accurate vaccination EPI program may be sustained by the norms and trust that volunteers promoted; in turn, this may contribute to the future prevention of other diseases, such as measles. The deterioration of regular health services due to the COVID-19 that has engulfed the world since early 2020 leads to concerns about the negative impact on health indicators in developing countries, especially in rural areas. Once the situation is under control, future volunteer activities will not only help developing countries fight infectious diseases, but will also strengthen healthcare systems and accelerate progress in host countries toward achieving Universal Health Coverage.

The importance of the hearts, minds, and sentiments of individuals must be taken into account when examining SCs and the sustainability of foreign aid. Moving peoples' hearts changed their SC and also brought about changes in the effects and sustainability of aid activities. Based on the discussion above, more attention should be paid to sentiment and to the trust and norms of individuals undertaking aid activities in the field, in particular among both the people in the recipient countries and also the aid workers of the donor/partner countries. Foreign aid can no longer be viewed as a simple one-way transfer of resources from donors to recipients. Instead, a focus on the sentiment of the people who engage in development work will hopefully provide further mutual understanding of the exchanges of responses within the aid process. Indeed, it may be said that the aid process itself has an aspect of "exchanges of responses". Perhaps this is the *convivialité* brought about by circulation of sentiment, aimed at pursing sustainable benefits for all, where "no one will be left behind."[23]

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work peacefully. They gave us our place. I would like to thank everybody in the region, not only the people I directly worked with." Tanaka's words are introduced in the following article: http://globalnation.inquirer.net/143737/japan-volunteer-keeps-coming-back.

[23] http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/000101401.pdf.

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Appendix Essay 3: Shocked and Angry Volunteers

Naoko Ueda

In the chapter "Hearts, Minds, and Sentiments," we observed the cycle of the positive sentiments of an individual and the social capital that determines their activities and outcomes. Here, the author would like to present two examples of how the negative sentiment of Japanese volunteers in Bangladesh actually brought continuity to their activities.

In the above-mentioned chapter, volunteers expressed their sentiments in a variety of ways: happiness at the moment when their activities bore fruit, and/or happiness with the creation of a sense of belonging and teamwork as they progressed. However, volunteers may also experience negative sentiments in situations that sometimes arise from being in the country, i.e., disappointment and observations of incompetence. Such sentiments changed the views of the volunteers:

> *When I was assigned, I went to a hospital to greet a doctor. There I saw a man who was seriously injured in a traffic accident lying in front of the hospital. I had no doubt that the doctors of the hospital would treat that patient right away, but it seemed no one was taking care of him. I told the doctor who greeted me about the wounded man. But his answer was only "someone will take care" and he did not move for that. I was worried about that man during the meeting with the doctor, and when I looked outside through the window, I found that man still left unattended. Then I informed the doctor about him again, the doctor finally went to him to transport him to another facility, but I learned that the man had soon died.*
>
> *To leave an injured man unattended in front of a medical facility in the middle of day would not happen in Japan. I was astonished and disappointed in Bangla society. At the same time, I could not stop asking myself why I was not strong enough to ask for the doctor's immediate action at the initial stage. That man might have been saved if I had done so. I cannot forget that strong sentiment. There were moments when I felt I would give up my activities during my assignment, but at every such moment, I remembered these sentiments and told myself "I have to distinguish things to give up and not to give up and raise my voice when needed in this country." This sentiment has been the basis of my activity.* (Shingo Takahashi, assigned to Chittagong CSO, 2010–2012).

After completing his two-year assignment in Chittagong, Takahashi re-volunteered to work at the EPI headquarters in Dhaka and continued his assignment as an EPI Volunteer. These words show that changes in sentiment bring about an intrinsic motivation to continue activities. As for the Chagas disease control case in Honduras, a positive change in sentiment led to an improvement in the motivation of Honduran CHVs concerning vector control by altering the social capital, however in Bangladesh, the strong negative sentiments that many volunteers shared also resulted in their motivation to carry out field activities.

The author would like to present another case. This is a different area from the two volunteer programs already mentioned, but a similar case in which the grassroots activities of the volunteers have produced objective, remarkable, and sustainable results. The case is an IT human resource development program originating from the activities of the volunteer in Bangladesh, which started in 2008 and developed into a national project. This became a rare case of collaboration between Japan and Bangladesh in industry, government, and academic circles, and then with a local area (Miyazaki Prefecture) in Japan that is suffering from a shortage of IT human resources. Akihiro Shoji, who played a key role in this program said:

> *When I arrived in an assigned place, I was surprised by the potential of Bengali youth. They are strong, powerful, speak much better English than we do, and have a plenty of potential to absorb technology and play an active role in the world. However, at the same time, I began to be rather angry, annoyed, and frustrated at the fact that they were not being nurtured to achieve this role. In Japan, the road to success is not closed to those who come from disadvantaged backgrounds or those who have fallen off the path. I knew firsthand that a variety of opportunities were open to us. But this was not the case in Bangladesh. In a society where connections and social inequalities prevailed, I felt anger that opportunities were not given to young people who were better and more motivated than we were. Even if we could improve the skills of the few counterparts we come in contact with every day, it would only be a drop in the ocean. I was passionate about creating a system that would allow people of all backgrounds to participate in society in a fair manner.*

Shoji thinks of himself as someone who comes from a lower strata of society but as he was Japanese in Japan he had opportunities to climb up by himself. He couldn't help but be angry that such opportunities were not available in Bangladesh. Driven by anger and frustration, Shoji felt the need to do something about the situation itself, and with several sympathetic volunteer colleagues and the JICA officials who supported him, he was able to involve the Bangladeshi government in the formation of a Technical Cooperation Project to introduce a national Information Technology Engineers Examination (ITEE) (KANO 2021). Since then, the Project has continued to grow with the involvement of many actors from the public and private sectors in both countries and is now paving the way for new international cooperation in the form of the "Miyazaki-Bangladesh Model." In general, it is not always easy to pursue objective and sustainable results in the activities of the volunteers, however, in this case, it can be truly said that the baton has been passed on to the private sector and local governments. Shoji was reassigned to Bangladesh as a JICA expert for this Project after his service as a volunteer, but that is another story. As a volunteer, he stresses that "*there was nothing but anger and resentment* as the driving force behind his unyielding will to challenge." *It would be a beautiful story if we could make a flower bloom in the desert, but why, the desert?*" (Akihiro Shoji, assigned to Barisal, Bangladesh Computer Council (BCC), 2008–2010).

These are further examples of how the sentiments of the volunteer, in the same country but in a very different situation, can lead to sustainability of the activities and results. Although it is difficult to find universality or reproducibility in terms of how individual sentiments affect the results of activities, it may be possible to replicate such dynamism in other cases.

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Chapter 4
Gift and Return in Volunteerism: Interpreting the "Model Volunteer" Through Gift Theory

Hisao Sekine

4.1 Introduction

Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV) is an overseas volunteer program implemented by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in connection with official development assistance. Begun in 1965, it will complete 60 years within a year. Since its inception, more than 45,000 Japanese volunteers have been dispatched to 92 countries.[1] The term "volunteer" first became widely known in Japan in the 1970s, becoming fully entrenched in Japanese society following the Great Hanshin Earthquake in 1995, when many people began to participate as volunteers in social contribution activities (Utsumi 2011, 3). In that sense, JOCV has been an exceptional and groundbreaking volunteer program.

Until now, studies of JOCV activities have been conducted primarily from the perspectives of personnel training and international cooperation and assistance. For example, the educational theorist Katsuhiko Sakuma states that JOCV, although a technical cooperation program, is "bilateral 'cooperation' in the sense of learning about the language and culture of the host country," rather than unilaterally "teaching" and "helping" (Sakuma 1991, 116), and points out that JOCV includes the aspect of global personnel training. In addition, on the basis of awareness polls conducted among JOCV volunteers returning to Japan, Tokuda et al. (1999, 130, 149) state that the program has the characteristic of "holistic cooperation" in that the subjects are

[1] The webpage of Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/outline/publication/results/.

This chapter is based on an original paper by the author, "What Do Volunteers Receive? Interpreting the Reciprocal Feelings of Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers Through Gift Theory" (Sekine 2021), with some modifications.

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characteristically young adults going to other countries to provide cooperation and exchange ideas, and that their "achievements" must be viewed vis-à-vis the overall social and cultural environment in which they are situated.

"Outcomes" here could also be described as the volunteers' personal growth. Many studies of JOCV have identified the internal (mental or ideological) changes among its volunteers as the outcome. Yasuhide Nakamura, an expert in international health cooperation, clarified the actual situation involving international cooperation on the ground by looking for the "real" voices of JOCV volunteers in the "Volunteer Reports" regularly written by individual volunteers during their tenure (Nakamura 2011). In these reports, he found that many struggle because of the difference between their imagined ideal before leaving and the actual situation they find themselves in after reaching the site, and the realization that they must overcome these difficulties.

In addition, while some JOCV volunteers reestablish their goals and "reset" their activities on-site, many others return to Japan without finding any meaning in their experience (Nakamura 2011, 88). Following their return, some have written, and subsequently published, books about their experiences overseas. Many of these are along the lines of "despite facing challenges, I managed to overcome them and carry out my tasks, and through the kindness and friendship of the local people, led a fulfilling daily life in the end." As noted by the international development/cooperation theorist Shu Kitano, the "people who set about writing journals of their [international cooperation] experiences, and those requested to do so, are very likely to be the ones who have been successful in this area and have done exemplary work" (Kitano 2011, 74). The content of these experience journals is, in part, an example of the group success in "resetting," as seen in the volunteer reports read by Nakamura.

JOCVs are volunteers, a word that, in general, carries a strong nuance of "serving others without compensation" in Japanese. This nuance is shaped by "the feelings most people must have of wanting to improve the situation at hand through one's own skills and knowledge, without actually using the word altruism" (Kitano 2011, 97). Norihiro Nihei, who studies volunteer theory from the perspective of the sociology of knowledge, says that actions interpreted externally as being "for others," common in a participatory civil society, such as volunteering, represent "gifts" (Nihei 2011, 10). Considering this, as a social phenomenon JOCV activities can thus also be called a gift-act "for others (local people)" with the objective of ameliorating the issues and problems of the "others"—that is, the country where volunteers are stationed—through (by bestowing) their (the volunteers') skills, knowledge, or tangible support activities.

Such gifts are not always unilateral from the volunteer to the host society. Benjamin Lough and Willy Oppenheim, who study international volunteers, state that the reciprocity embedded in volunteers' relationships with communities, allows volunteerism to avoid falling into neocolonial, paternalistic, and hierarchical relationships (Lough and Oppenheim 2017, 2–3). Joanna Puckering (2015), who has also identified the contemporary anthropological significance of volunteerism in university education, has rethought the dichotomous framework of altruism and selfishness that accompanies volunteerism from the perspective of gift theory. She then draws

on Michael Carrithers' anthropological perspective that human sociality is underpinned by cooperation and inter-dependence rather than altruism (Carrithers 1992, 48). This perspective suggests an interesting approach to exploring the tensions between altruism and self-interest that also complement aspects of reciprocal gift exchange (Puckering 2015, 1–2). What these approaches have in common is that they position the gift of individuals as international volunteering and focus on the reciprocal characteristics of this giving.

The first instance of the concept of gift being employed for analyzing social phenomena can be found in "The Gift" by Marcel Mauss—he states that a gift comprises three obligations: "to give presents, to receive them, and to repay [the] gifts received" (Mauss 1950 [1990], 39–42), and because reciprocation is an obligation, gifts inevitably include the sense of an exchange (Mauss, 46). Through his essay Mauss aimed to clarify the reasons why people fulfill these three obligations and, above all, the meaning of gifts given in return. To that end, he undertook ethnographic case studies of Pacific islanders and North American indigenous people, particularly focusing on the Maori of New Zealand, who are motivated by the spirit ("*hau*") residing in gifts to prepare return gifts—they believe the *hau* wants to return to its place of birth even at the cost of killing the owner, thus inducing return gifts (Mauss, 11, 35, 38, 43). In addition, the system of gifts not only is based on such supernatural explanations but is also an overall social phenomenon related to other systems such as law, economy, and ethics in society (Mauss, 3). The gift giver is in a superior position to the receiver, and conversely, the receiver feels a sense of indebtedness. If the receiver accepts without returning or repaying more, they face subordination (Mauss, 74, 46). In this way, Mauss states that the social phenomenon of the gift involves the exchange of feelings of superiority and indebtedness, and that society stands upon the adjustment of symmetry between individuals or groups through the normative system of reciprocal gifts (i.e., exchanges).

Subsequent studies on the concept of gift have been developed using "The Gift" as a starting point while abandoning the interpretation of supernatural matters such as *hau*.[2] The anthropologist Marshall Sahlins, for example, distinguishes gift theory from the context of primitive societies and the phenomenon of the giving of objects and widens its theoretical possibilities by representing it as an abstract standard of interpersonal relationships (Matsumoto 2014, 115). He focuses on Hobbes' "state of nature" concept, applying it to the "primitive societies" that Mauss brings up in "The Gift" (Sahlins 1972, 171–179). The state of nature, Thomas Hobbes discusses, is equivalent to a "state of war," the state in which humans exist in equality as created by nature, and because of this equality, they are also in a state of freedom to exercise force at any time. The free use of force always involves conflict and opposition, hence the term "state of nature," that is, the state of war (Hobbes 2012, 188–192). Sahlins states that all exchanges must bear in their material design some political burden

[2] For example, Claude Lévi-Strauss criticizes Mauss's use of *hau* as a reason for return, even though his explanation of *hau* was given by Maori wise men: "The fact that Maori sages were the first people to pose certain problems and to resolve them in an infinitely interesting but strikingly unsatisfactory manner does not oblige us to bow to their interpretation. *Hau* is not the ultimate reason for exchange" (Lévi-Strauss 1950, 48).

of reconciliation (Sahlins 1972, 182). Essentially, the relationships between people are weak, and that weakness can be provisionally inhibited through exchanges—that is, obligatory reciprocal gifts, including gifts given in return. As Sahlins points out, reciprocity in Mauss's gift theory can be extended to general relations with others, and the underlying tension of the state of nature is an argument that overlaps with the conflict between "self-interest and altruism" that is always inherent in the field of volunteerism.

E. Gil Clary and Mark Snyder (1999, 157), who studied motivation for volunteering from the psychological perspective, found that many volunteers had multiple important motives which are both altruistic and selfish in nature. Okabe et al. (2019) statistically processed a questionnaire survey of JOCV volunteers and, based on the results, classified their motivations for participation into six clusters: (I) curiosity, (II) business-minded, (III) giving development assistance, (IV) quest for oneself, (V) change-oriented, and (VI) an altruist. The results confirm that JOCV volunteers have both altruistic and egocentric motivations, as seen in Western volunteers. That is to say, volunteers' acts that appear to be pure gifts also have a converse vector of "gifts given in return" that is not limited to material goods, comprising the sense of an exchange. Therefore, when applying to JOCV volunteers the question of "why gifts are reciprocated," as established in gift theory, how are we to interpret the relationship between the giver and receiver that comprises superiority, indebtedness, and the corollary of their latent confrontation and opposition? Certainly, they also receive "personal growth" as a gift in return, but what does this mean for the JOCV program? This paper clarifies these points through data obtained from interviews the author conducted with JOCV volunteers, by analyzing the experience journals published by former volunteers, and by incorporating past research on international volunteers, including JOCVs. The author is a former JOCV volunteer who was dispatched to the Solomon Islands for 28 months between 1987 and 1989. In discussing this paper, I have tried to get as close as possible to the emotions of the volunteers I interviewed.

4.2 The Model JOCV Volunteer: Integration with Local Residents

JOCV recruits volunteers twice a year, in spring and fall. Recruitment posters and flyers often feature photographs of volunteers on active duty smiling alongside local residents including students and colleagues.[3] These images conform to the general image of JOCV volunteers; that is to say, they project the image of the "model volunteer." Article 21 (2) of the Japan International Cooperation Agency Act of 1974 states the following:

[3] For example, see the recruitment pages for JOCV volunteers on the JICA website (https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/index.html).

> (2) Promoting youth activities overseas with the objective of cooperating in the development of the economy and society of developing countries *in integration with the residents* of the area (referred to in the following items as "international cooperation activities") and carrying out the following projects for the purpose of support (following text omitted; the emphasis is the author's own).

In addition, when the JICA shifted from being a semi-governmental organization to an incorporated administrative agency in 2008, the relevant article was altered as follows (Article 13 (4) of the Japan International Cooperation Agency Act of 2008):

> a. To recruit, select and train individuals interested in citizens' cooperative activities *in integration with the residents* of developing regions, and to establish and manage facilities for this training (following text omitted; the emphasis is the author's own).

Despite the extension in the parties supporting the developing countries from "youths" to "citizens," the stance of carrying out activities "in integration with" local residents is common in both. This stance of respect for cooperation has been particularly emphasized since JOCV's inception. In connection with this, Shoichi Ban (1978), who served as JOCV Secretary-General from 1972 to 1977, states the following in his book *Volunteer Spirit*:

> The focus on people which has been emblematic of JOCV since its inauguration is its symbolic basic stance. The expression 'in integration with local residents' as found in the Act is simply a confirmation of this (Ban 1978, 37).
>
> In the same sense as 'in integration with local residents' another wording is 'living and working alongside people in the partner country' (Ban 1978, 39).
>
> Integrating into the local area means grasping the reactions of the local people from the look in their eyes or their attitude before they put it into words. … (Ban 1978, 11).

Integration is thus vaguely envisioned as living at the same level as the people in that particular environment, with workplace counterparts, and so on. JOCV volunteers assigned to the Solomon Islands have described the ideal volunteer as "someone who spends a lot of time with the local people, stays with them on holidays, is with Solomon Islanders even during business trips, and keeps them company even when off duty," and "someone who can adapt quickly to the differences observed between actual activities on the islands and the volunteer's imagined ideal." Regarding this, the journalist Itsuo Yoshioka, a former JOCV volunteer in Ethiopia from 1972 to 1974, states the following (the "P" in the quotation refers to Yoshioka himself):

> Around that time, a problem for the Secretariat of JOCV headquarter was the increase in traffic accidents among volunteers, so the supply of motorcycles was undoubtedly going to end. P said, 'If a motorcycle is not allowed, I will buy a car,' which was not well received by the resident volunteers or the coordinator.[4] Their reaction was, 'That is not something a volunteer does. We have to adapt to the level the local people are living at.' … One time, a

[4] A staff member who works at a JICA field office. In particular, the coordinator not only performs various tasks related to the initial stage of the dispatch of each volunteer, such as developing a case for a request for a volunteer, investigating the acceptance of the volunteer, accepting the volunteer, training the volunteer in the field, and introducing the volunteer to the place of assignment, but also providing support for various matters related to the volunteer throughout the entire period of the volunteer's activities. For this reason, coordinators can have a strong influence on volunteers.

> resident volunteer said, 'You are here to volunteer, so eat the local food. *Injera*[5] is delicious, is it not? It is fun to ride in shared taxis, is it not? (Yoshioka 1998, 164).

JOCV members make efforts to be "model volunteers," something which JICA officials also expect of them. This "model" is shared among the Japanese volunteers as an important and fundamental standard of conduct while in JOCV. However, its essence is contained in the abstract expression "integration with local residents," which is "vaguely" acknowledged as learning the local language, eating the same food, living in the same type of housing, and having the same lifestyle. Even so, the true essence of a model volunteer is made clear individually through personal experience. One example is that of Tomoaki Tsugawa, a JOCV volunteer/surveyor in Malawi:

> When going there to attend a survey, he (Tsugawa) played soccer with the children after work. He drank and chatted with [his] Malawian colleagues. At those times… he somehow felt happy. This is great. I have no difficulties with [the] local people, and I would be happy to live like this for two years. Even though it is called technical cooperation, there is no need to be so serious. If possible, I would like to 'sow some seeds.' Just getting on well with those around me calmly is praiseworthy enough (Yoshioka 2010, 142–143).

JOCV volunteers go to the host countries for technical cooperation, but the program's essence is to become genuinely close to local residents and make intimate connections. Tsugawa found this to be the meaning of being a JOCV volunteer. He viewed and internalized it as "integration with local residents (for him)."

I have cited "people's memories" as one JOCV achievement (Sekine 2016, 20–21, 2018). Some local residents speak fondly of former volunteers. For example, among the minister-level politicians I became acquainted with in the Solomon Islands, one fondly recalled "working with JOCV volunteers when I was young. We often talked nonsense and drank beer together." It was also not uncommon to be stopped by strangers on the street, whether in the capital of the Solomon Islands or in towns, who would reminisce about JOCV volunteers they had worked with 20 years ago (Sekine 2018, 212). Rather than memories of technical cooperation, as Tsugawa says above, these anecdotes are ultimately the result of "getting on well." This must be what Ban had in mind with "integration with local residents." While reading the "Volunteer Reports," Yasuhide Nakamura found that many "volunteers could not become a part of the community," with their greatest struggles being "language" and "building interpersonal relationships" (Nakamura 2011, 92). Also, his point that "the problem was complicated by the volunteers' sense of mission to convey something of Japan" (Nakamura, 92) indicated a desperate struggle to become "model volunteers" in terms of integration with local residents. Tsugawa's statement above may reflect the end state of this struggle.

[5] *Injera* is a staple food of Ethiopia made from fermented *teff* flour and baked into crepes. *Teff* is a kind of perennial grass.

4.3 Overcoming Discouragement

Some JOCV volunteers' activities on-site lead to "discouragement," which may also be called "difficulties." For example, there is no room here for the many references to the significant gap between the duties requested and the actual work. Yoshioka states that this is because "requests should lead to dispatch, but there is a gap of about a year between the request and the actual dispatch for recruitment and training. During that period, the senior personnel who made the request on-site may be transferred, or policy may change as well" (Yoshioka 1998, 65) Typically, this includes resentment, such as "It is not what I imagined a developing country would be like," or at counterparts and local people who seem uninterested in making improvements; dissatisfaction at being used simply as an employee (so-called "manpower") to compensate for the lack of personnel at local worksites[6]; and dissatisfaction with the response from the JICA country office. Below are some comments by JOCV volunteers from their interviews:

> Maybe, the people of Palau do not have the concept of 'independence.' They are receiving assistance from the US, Japan, Taiwan, and Korea, and they have gotten used to it. Many people have the latest computers, and many families even have two cars. They have several household appliances. Taro and tapioca are readily available. It is not in their national character to work hard for something (JOCV volunteer in Palau).[7]
>
> The people of Palau do not have the desire to improve as a developing country. It seems as if they do not care about moving forward, they just do not want to fall back any further (JOCV volunteer in Palau).[8]
>
> I am supposed to be here as a technical advisor at the school, but I am actually no more than a replacement for people who do not want to work. Classes are left to the JOCV volunteers while the other teachers chat in the staff room (JOCV volunteer in Palau).[9]
>
> They insist on what they call their own Palau-style rehabilitation. I have been told to learn how people do things in Palau. I just had to hold back my feelings or complain to other Japanese people. My motivation is low. I will not be requesting a successor. More than that, I do not even think that JOCV is needed in Palau. Primary school teachers may be needed, but medical staff like me are just supplementary manpower. They rely solely on relief goods (JOCV volunteer in Palau).[10]

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[6] However, there are not a few JOCV volunteers who do not feel particularly dissatisfied about being in the host country as a mere labor force = manpower," as shown in the following statement: "In the workplace, I am manpower itself. My main job is to follow up with my counterparts, but since I am a nurse, I think it is unavoidable for me to be a manpower figure. If I can be useful here by doing the same thing as in Japan, that is fine" (JOCV volunteer in Solomon Islands), "I don't mind being manpower. It's true that the workplace can function even if I am not there. It is the same in Japan. However, in the case of a dental technician like me, my footprints will remain on the dentures of my patients. It's like, 'This is how the Japanese volunteer did it!" (JOCV volunteer in Samoa).

[7] Interview with a volunteer primary school teacher in Palau on September 27, 2011.

[8] Interview with a volunteer system engineer in Palau on September 26, 2011.

[9] Interview with a volunteer primary school teacher in Palau on September 28, 2011.

[10] Interview with a volunteer physical therapist in Palau on September 29, 2011.

> The local people themselves have said, 'We only think about tomorrow or the day after.' I have the impression that many people really are like that, for better or worse. This is because they are satisfied with their current life (JOCV volunteer in Fiji).[11]

> Teachers regularly fail to show up, and arriving late is considered normal. There are people who did not graduate high school, and yet are teaching assistants (effectively, teachers). There is a lack of sufficient teachers, and volunteers feel like they are 'supplementary staff.' I feel like local teachers basically want to avoid working (JOCV volunteer in the Federated States of Micronesia).[12]

> In the Solomon Islands, people just do what they feel like. No one gives a thought to the future. They cannot even plan a week ahead, so they surely cannot think about the future (JOCV volunteer in the Solomon Islands).[13]

> Solomon Islanders seem to be satisfied with the status quo. Very few people say that they are truly dissatisfied with their current life. 'The Solomon Islands is a comfortable country,' they say, whether they work or stay at home (JOCV volunteer in the Solomon Islands).[14]

> Fiji is used to receiving aid. They think they can get whatever they want (JOCV volunteer in Fiji).[15]

> Samoans lack ambition. I cannot help thinking that when a JOCV volunteer arrives, there is a sense [among them] that they can take it easier [now] with [there being] one more person to work. They are reliant on JOCV. Some of my colleagues show up to work, take a nap, and then head home (JOCV volunteer in Samoa).[16]

> I do not need a successor. I wonder whether there is any point in being here. The scope of what I can do is incredibly limited, so there is no need to send volunteers here all the way from Japan. Samoans are plenty. All they wanted here was manpower (JOCV volunteer in Samoa).[17]

> JOCV comes here to provide manpower. Why should we come if we are just supplementary personnel? I feel like they could come up with personnel funds to hire Samoans by cutting costs on a daily basis. There is a lot of waste in small things (JOCV volunteer in Samoa).[18]

Discouraged volunteers consistently reevaluate their own reasons for existence. Discouragement may express itself, as shown above, as negative reactions toward the significance of volunteer activities or the future, or as confrontation with the status quo. Many of these volunteers have left their jobs or taken leave from employment in Japan to participate in JOCV. For JOCV volunteers who are (supposed to be) giving their everything to the volunteer work during the by-no-means insignificant period of two years, the difficult situations that lead to this discouragement are actually shocking—discouraged volunteers are told by JICA country officials,

[11] Interview with a returning volunteer science teacher from Fiji in Tokyo on September 27, 2013.

[12] Interview with a volunteer kindergarten teacher in the Federated States of Micronesia on February 20, 2012.

[13] Interview with a volunteer disaster countermeasure in the Solomon Islands on February 18, 2014.

[14] Interview with a volunteer environmental instructor in the Solomon Islands on November 13, 2012.

[15] Interview with a returning volunteer science teacher from Fiji in Tokyo on September 27, 2013.

[16] Interview with a volunteer childminder in Samoa on November 24, 2006.

[17] Interview with a volunteer dental hygienist in Samoa on November 24, 2006.

[18] Interview with a volunteer childminder in Samoa on November 24, 2006.

"You are a volunteer, so you have to find your own work and be proactive" (Yoshioka 1998, 65). Activities in sociocultural environments that differ from Japan are a series of unexpected occurrences. A volunteer in the Solomon Islands said, "Things that are out of the ordinary in Japan are everyday occurrences here," which is by no means an exaggeration. In these situations, the word "volunteer" is used as "a magic spell to make volunteers endure" (Yoshioka 1998, 65)—it holds the "power" to make those who have nothing to do look for work proactively, accept difficult situations, and behave like model JOCV volunteers. Even though these negative situations are commonplace, volunteers continue to be sent, and their deployment does not stop. Discouragement is a subjective turmoil that occurs when individual volunteers encounter a cross-cultural environment. After overcoming these fluctuations through various experiences, "achievements" as a volunteer are recognized. However, as mentioned at the beginning of this paper, at least in light of the fact that one of the outcomes of JOCV is the volunteers' personal growth, discouragement can be a kind of "teaching material."

Thus, while JOCV volunteers tend to become discouraged after taking up their posts on-site, some may "recover" from this state after going through various conflicts. Generally, even if they recall being irritated at work, many also recall that by increasing emotional intimacy with the local people they become tolerant of their lifestyles, "doing what they feel like," doing things differently from the Japanese way, and being carefree and having different values. These are the volunteers who were able to rebuild their work and lives by accepting the reality of the situation (Sekine 2016, 14–18). Regarding positive assessments of this kind of "discouragement → recovery (rebuilding)," Yoshioka also refers to the phenomenon wherein "many JOCV volunteers find themselves at a loss when they hit the wall. The futility of unrewarding work, a culture in which Japanese common sense does not apply… and the mental state of 'being at a loss' leads to a discovery of their own helplessness" (Yoshioka 1998, 228–229). In addition, based on the Volunteer Reports, Nakamura found that "many volunteers are compelled to 'reset their own goals'… While hitting various walls, they fumbled their way to their own purpose" (Nakamura 2011, 88). Furthermore, as Yoko Fujikake quotes from interviews with volunteers after their return to Japan, "There was no work to do at the dispatch site. I thought, 'I have to do something,' but the people around me would not make any preparations, so the only option was to act for myself" (Fujikake 2011, 71).

JOCV volunteers are supposed to "integrate with citizens" to conduct activities in countries they are dispatched to; this is not only a requirement stated in the Act, it is the origin of the general image of JOCV that has been cultivated and promoted over many years through experience journals and recruitment posters. In trying to get close to local residents, volunteers become discouraged when they see the reality of the developing country, and thus face various unexpected difficulties. They are then called on by JICA officials, or even themselves, to overcome these difficulties like "model volunteers" should.

Integrating with citizens and recovering from discouragement are not limited to the context of work alone. For example, in the case of Kohei Yamada, who was dispatched to Malawi to promote village development, the original request called

for improvement in monetary income using agricultural products produced in the host villages. However, while interacting with the local residents, Yamada wrote an AIDS prevention public awareness song that became a big hit (Yamada 2007). This may differ from the case of surveyor Tsugawa and his "casual time" spent with local people outside work. However, it shows that the creativity required to flexibly discover volunteer activities (whether or not related to the main task) through mutual relationships with local residents forms the basis of the "model volunteer" in terms of integrating with local people and recovering from discouragement.

4.4 JOCV-Like Reciprocity: "I Learned More Than I Taught"

With reference to the final Volunteer Reports of JOCV volunteers, Katsuhiko Sakuma (1991, 110) points out that many discuss their own personal growth (in the following quotes, volunteers refer to themselves in the first person):

> (1) During this two-year period, I feel like I have received far more from them (and from the country) than I have given; (2) Although I was not able to teach them anything but Japanese, the country and its people have taught me "to live wisely." This means having a happy life and, rather than creating individual happiness, creating happiness with others (not just on the small scale of the family) (Sakuma 1991, 110).

As seen here, what they were "taught" was the importance of bonds with family and friends, the wonder of mutually beneficial relationships, the meaning of "true richness," and other emotional matters, as well as the issues in relationships with colleagues and of job details. Benjamin Lough and Willy Oppenheim (2017, 5) also pointed out that returned volunteers consistently assert that they received far more than they were able to give. Moreover, Joanna Machin stated that opportunities for the development of young people through international volunteering have been particularly highlighted, citing a report on the outcomes and impacts of Global Xchange, a program managed by a partnership of the British Council and VSO. This identified the key areas of learning among young volunteers to be the understanding of diversity, development issues, taking on responsibility, confidence, team working, and leadership skills (Machin 2008, 9).

The author too has heard similar phrases repeatedly in interviews with JOCV volunteers assigned to the Pacific Islands:

> I learn more than I teach. For these people, it is normal to help each other in life. Although it can seem messy, everyone feels happy, including me. My values have been broadened. What is wrong in living this way, with these attitudes? (JOCV volunteer in the Federated States of Micronesia).[19]

[19] Interview with a volunteer kindergarten teacher in the Federated States of Micronesia on February 20, 2012.

> I was taught so much about daily life, and about values. I was taught in the sense that I discovered the possibilities of these values (JOCV volunteer in the Solomon Islands).[20]
>
> My image of developing countries has changed since coming to the Solomon Islands. I had a fixed image earlier—I imagined that they were a world where people lived like beggars, struggling to get by. However, the Solomon Islands made me rethink the meaning of poverty. There are people who "live richly"—if they do not have gas, they use a hearth; if they have propane gas, they only use it when it rains (when they cannot use the hearth). Basically, they do not seem to feel dissatisfied. For better or worse, they are not greedy (JOCV volunteer in the Solomon Islands).[21]
>
> I am now able to accept even their careless attitudes. Even if they say, "I will do it tomorrow," they may not actually show up to do it. I have grasped this. I have grown in that I am not credulous anymore (JOCV volunteer in the Solomon Islands).[22]
>
> When I came to the Solomon Islands, I was amazed that such places still exist (in the sense of the level of modernization). They have a lot of food, and no one is starving. Wealth is shared among the *wantoks* (people with geographic or blood relationships) (JOCV volunteer in the Solomon Islands).[23]

Tadashi Shimizu, a former JOCV volunteer who later became a JICA specialist and worked for other international organizations, gathered the following statements from former volunteers in his book.

> As a JOCV volunteer, I held the title of technical advisor to the people of the Maldives while I lived there for two years, but I learned much more than I taught (Shimizu 2011, 44–45).
>
> Through various experiences, I think I honed abilities that I would not have developed in Japan. Also, I learned that persistence will eventually bear fruit. I came "to help a developing country," but I learned so much, and I was helped in so many ways (Shimizu 2011, 76).
>
> Even more than providing technical support to the country as a JOCV volunteer, as a human being, I feel like I received emotional support from a family where "bonds" are important. When I was homesick for faraway Japan, the family was always there for me, to lift my spirits and calm me down. The emotional connections with people always gave me strength (Shimizu 2011, 198).

JOCV volunteers go to their host countries strongly hoping to give "pure gifts" through volunteer work, seeking no recompense, and conducting their activities "for others." Their activities are essentially acts of technical cooperation based on requests from the host countries; hence, in relationship with counterparts and others, there is necessarily an element of leadership comprising the nuances of "teaching," "proposing," "identifying," and "taking the lead." This is the case even when they are positioned as nothing more than "manpower" to supplement the lack of local personnel at the workplace. As volunteers sent to provide support, JOCV volunteers always have at least one extra card to play in comparison with the local people: they

[20] Interview with a volunteer for anti-Malaria control in the Solomon Islands on February 18, 2014.

[21] Interview with a volunteer for community development in the Solomon Islands on November 12, 2012.

[22] Interview with a volunteer for disaster countermeasures in the Solomon Islands on February 19, 2014.

[23] Interview with a volunteer occupational therapist in the Solomon Islands on November 13, 2012.

are participating in activities "for others" as a "gift resource." This resonates with one point in "The Gift," namely, "the giver is in a position of superiority over the receiver."

However, JOCV volunteers, as stated above, also develop feelings of opposition during their cooperative activities, such as dissatisfaction and resentment at the actual condition of workplaces on-site and become discouraged. The "card" of superiority is thus rendered pointless, as they develop doubts about their own purpose and actions, such as "Why am I here (what is this gift for)?" It is the JOCV volunteers in this state, the gift givers, who feel "indebted" themselves, rather than the local gift receivers. Before long, however, these volunteers discover diverse values that are broad enough to recognize this different world, including views on labor and happiness based on bonds with family and relatives. They recover from their discouragement by accepting reality, albeit with a sense of resignation—here, they are revising their view of reality, from previously being people who were "careless," "lacking motivation," "not working," "with no desire for improvement," and "just relying on support" to "a rich people (society)," "a peaceful people (society)," and "a people (society) rich in mutually beneficial relationships." Volunteers refer to this experience with expressions such as "I learned a lot more than I taught."

Various forms of discouragement, including doubts about their own purpose and wondering what it is all for, which are expressions of the sense of opposition that accompanies a gift in the scheme of activities as a JOCV volunteer, are frozen by JOCV volunteers' awareness of "being taught." Here, the reciprocal exchange of gifts between volunteers and local people, society, and workplaces can be recognized. In interviews with JOCV volunteers, Mao Takahashi (2011, 109) points out three characteristic changes in their awareness: "commonality," "synchronicity," and "empathy"—over two years of activities, volunteers, even while being bewildered when things do not go as expected, learn to share the issues, interests, and concerns of the local people (commonality). Furthermore, while they carry out activities with the local people and live alongside them, they not only get a sense of the synchronized parallelism of local events and their own experiences in Japan (synchronicity) but also share the local people's anger and sadness over the issues they face (empathy). Thus, they may feel a sense of accomplishment of "becoming as one" (Takahashi, 110). If these changes in volunteers' awareness are internal events related closely to the recovery from discouragement, the three characteristics identified by Takahashi can be considered to represent the reciprocation JOCV volunteers define as "being taught."

However, this reciprocation has certain notable features. In particular, in the stated context of volunteers "learning (receiving reciprocation)," the local side is unaware of "teaching." For Tsugawa, in the JOCV volunteer interviews conducted by the author and by Shimizu, as well as the experience journals published by former volunteers, the exchange of gifts is taking place only within their own awareness. Local people are not aware of the learning effect, at least not of the learning effect that volunteers feel "returned" to them, as being the result of the "obligation to return" of the three obligations described by Mauss. Such a gift exchange may be noted as a peculiar reciprocity, as Lough and Oppenheim (2017, 6) state that this disrupts conventional

means of measuring "tit for tat" reciprocity. Likewise, their sense of superiority, that is, holding all the cards, and indebtedness too is internal. This unilateral feeling of reciprocity among volunteers is called "JOCV-like reciprocity."

The essential behavior required of JOCV volunteers is "integration with local people," as stated above. At the same time, they are also called on to possess the flexibility to creatively overcome the discouragement that accompanies the multi-dimensional difficulties encountered during volunteer activities. The label "model JOCV volunteer" is applied to these, internalizing the behavior expected of volunteers. Consequently, they return to Japan upon receiving "something" from the local people and society that goes beyond the service they gave. They also refer to this as a kind of harvest. Takushi Iwano states, "The reciprocation of a gift item is not just the act thereof, but also one that reflects personal relationships" (Iwano 2017, 65). If JOCV emphasizes human links with local people through images and slogans on its recruitment posters that imply 'integration with the local population," their mission statement, the reciprocation of "being taught," which succeeds discouragement, is an essential element both for JOCV volunteers themselves and for JOCV as a project. JOCV-like reciprocity is a necessary emotion for volunteers to become aware of the "model volunteer" characteristics of "integration with local residents" and "overcoming difficulties," besides being an important sign of their having lived this way for a time as a volunteer.

4.5 Conclusions: What Has Been Given Back?

Ultimately, what was given to JOCV volunteers, who referred to reciprocation from local people as being "taught (given) many things" because of repeated "gifts" in the sense of serving on-site? The discussion so far has posited the essence of reciprocation as hitherto unknown feelings and discoveries that emerge on-site, such as new values, happiness, workstyles (including approaches to expertise), and attitudes toward development and modernization among individual volunteers. However, if the other party has no recollection of having given anything, and the volunteers, convinced of having received something, bury their feelings of confrontation and indebtedness, can that really be called reciprocation? If what has been "taught" is the result of being a "model volunteer," the reciprocation here is a transformation of what was gifted by the JOCV volunteers to the locality. That is to say, a gift was given to the other party via cooperation activities based on the idea of "model volunteer," and that idea is working its way back to the individual in the form of "being taught," like the Maori belief in the *hau* that resides in gifts, as stated above.

What JOCV volunteers get back—that is, what is returned—is in essence the "model volunteer" itself that is included in the gift; by getting it back, the individual is confirmed as a model volunteer. If what was gifted comes back, even in a different form, it forms a single loop, which can also be seen as a "unilateral gift" that comes back to the giver through the local people and society (Fig. 4.1). Related to this is the

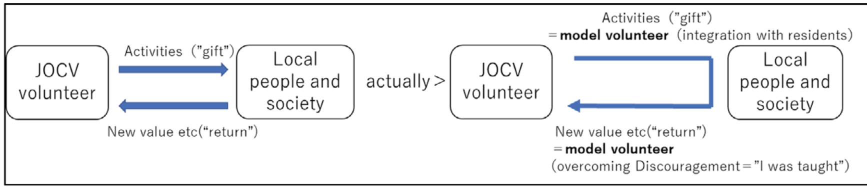

Fig. 4.1 Gift-Exchange between JOCV volunteer and local people and society. *Source* Author

fact that JOCV-like reciprocation is not so much a tangible thing as an interpretation on part of volunteers and JOCV officials alone.

Since its beginning in 1965, the program has consistently fixated on the "model JOCV volunteer." For example, even if the specific outcomes in line with the request details for the activities of individual volunteers are not reached, the outcome in view of JOCV-like reciprocation is regarded highly in the context of the development of Japanese young people as personnel. In other words, it means growing into a young person who can integrate with the local people and overcome various difficulties in a cross-cultural environment. The number of JOCV applicants has decreased significantly. It peaked at 11,832 in 1994 and has hovered around 2,000 to 3,000 per year in recent years (Fujisaki 2019, 85). Fujikake presents multiple reasons for this fall, including the aging population, the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011, the stagnation of the Japanese economy, the need for economic independence due to the collapse of lifetime employment, "introverted" thinking, and the lack of attraction to potential volunteers on the part of JOCV (Fujikake 2018, 65). As countermeasures, steps are being taken, such as the introduction of a system of short-term dispatch projects of one to three months in cooperation with universities and companies. However, the JOCV-like reciprocation discussed in this paper cannot be experienced during a short stay. What is the "model JOCV volunteer?" Dedication to this question underpins the JOCV program.

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Appendix Essay 4: JOCVs in the Field of Sport: Co-creation Practice

Susumu Katsumata

Although it is not recognized as a traditional development issue, the role of sport was highlighted as an important element of development cooperation internationally during the 1990s and early 2000s, when human development began to be prioritized on the international stage. Sport has a power to attract and bond diverse people and communities that have different backgrounds such as language, culture, religion, and so on. In addition, people's interactions through sport can promote mutual understanding and respect for diversity, which can assist in achieving peace. Sport is a human activity not only to "play" but also to "watch," to "support," and to "gather." Living with happiness and prosperity through sport is mentioned as a right for all people in Japan's Basic Law on Sport.

In the field of sports, the free will of local people is more significant than in other fields. If they participate in sport activities it gives them joy and enriches their life, and in some cases, it also provides an opportunity for social participation. Therefore, JOCVs focus their activity on developing people's voluntary self-help efforts based on local perspectives that JOCVs have attained through working in the local society and with people there. This way of action in volunteering can result in the co-creation of impact by local people and volunteers. This is one of the reasons why JICA has been sending volunteers in the field of sports overseas from the very beginning of the program.

JICA has been sending volunteers in the field of sports such as judo and swimming since the first JOCV members in sport were dispatched in January 1966. By the end of March 2020 a cumulative total of 4,649 JOCVs relating to sports had been dispatched, accounting for 8.5 percent of the total number of assigned volunteers. In terms of volunteer job categories, 28 types of sports and physical education have been supported in this program so far, with the top five being physical education,

which accounts for the largest number, followed by baseball, judo, volleyball, and swimming, all of which have relatively high international competitiveness in Japan.

There are two ways of cooperation in sport that are unique to JOCV. First, while sport cooperation by other countries is often event-based and temporary, most of the JOCVs work in the field for two years. This long-term commitment to the activity is a unique approach. Second, their volunteering activity has diverse objectives, ranging from training top-level athletes to spreading sport widely across the nation and including children and women.

There is a good example in the case of Mr. Yuta Deai, who served as a baseball volunteer in Burkina Faso from March 2008 to March 2010.[24] He was requested to "make baseball a major sport" and "popularize baseball among children" from the local baseball federation, which was his host organization during his volunteer activity. However, he soon realized that he had to start from scratch without a baseball field and equipment. Despite this situation, Deai never gave up hope and kept thinking of how baseball can be popularized. Six months after he started his activity, one neighborhood boy who had mistook him for a karate instructor, approached Deai. They started playing catch between them. Then, the boy's friends joined one after another when they looked at their play and the number of kids playing baseball increased.

Through Mr. Deai's continuous coaching, the children's baseball skills gradually improved. Further, they showed their growth in areas other than playing, such as maintaining the baseball field and being more polite to others. Then, their parents and other adults who had not paid attention to those children playing baseball began to appreciate the importance of it. This unexpectedly supported the children and helped him. What Mr. Deai learnt from his volunteer experience was that in order to launch a new initiative in the local community, it is important to boldly give a sign to the start-up (to "display a flag" in his own words). As the adults on his site were not well attracted to baseball, he approached the children, giving a sign to start up baseball. Children responded to the sign, and subsequently adults followed them. Today, a couple of his students in Burkina Faso are playing baseball in Japan, including Sanfo Rashina who is captain of the Kochi Fighting Dogs, a Japanese independent professional baseball league team.

One of the unique points of Mr. Deai's approach was "displaying a flag and waiting with patience." However, to achieve the targets and results from the volunteer activity, a more proactive approach may be effective in some cases, while in other cases, responding to local needs that volunteers did not expect can also be effective. In all cases, JOCV promote the local perspective with local people to support their self-help efforts. This way of action sometimes happens to lead to the co-creation of impact by local people and volunteers, as we saw in the case of Mr. Deai in Burkina Faso. Children responded to his volunteer activity, adults appreciated the

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[24] See the following websites (in Japanese):
https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/outline/publication/pamphlet/crossroad/202108/pickup_08_32/index.html.
https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/sports/01/index.html.
https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/lp/my-episode-0/index.html.

importance of baseball and supported their kids, and finally the country produced baseball players who could play in Japan.

So, although individual volunteers' support for self-help may be small action, it can have a great impact through accumulating the best practices of co-creation of cooperation in sport. Furthermore, it can have an impact on people's social participation and mutual understanding through sport. It is like small dots become a line by connecting them, and lines become a surface.

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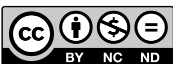

Chapter 5
Giving Back to Society by Returned Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers

Mayuko Onuki

5.1 Introduction

The potential for international volunteers (IVs) to remain active in development issues and contribute to global civil society after returning home has long been recognized and reported by volunteers themselves and the organizations sending them. According to King (2018), IVs returning to their home countries "have the potential to bring a critical, global perspective into local areas of work, study and daily life, and into the lives of others" (King 2018, 2). The scope of their long-term contributions is known to be multifaceted and complex, permeating their personal, social, and professional spaces (e.g., Clark and Lewis 2017; Shiraishi et al. 2020). However, their actual contributions to local and global communities remain largely unknown (Tiessen et al. 2021).

This chapter presents a study on personal values, personalities, and volunteering of Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCVs) a decade after returning home. The study assesses the rates and types of volunteering that returned JOCVs engage in, one of the major indicators of civic engagement among returned IVs. The study explores the relationships between their personal characteristics and volunteering, revealing the values that underlie their long-term commitment to international cooperation. Thus, it first provides an overview of the state-of-the-art research on the contributions of returned IVs and JOCVs.

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5.2 Evidence of Contributions by Returned International Volunteers

There is growing evidence of various contributions by returned IVs. Overall, the literature suggests that international volunteering develops skills and transforms beliefs and values about politics and international development, enhancing civic engagement in the community or international development through careers, volunteerism, and donations (e.g., Clark and Lewis 2017; Kelly and Case 2007; Machin 2008; Tiessen et al. 2021; Universalia et al. 2005). Specific contributions include ongoing support for developing countries and host communities, involvement in international humanitarian or development projects, advocating foreign aid (Tiessen et al. 2021), raising awareness, influencing others, fundraising for policy and social change (Clark and Lewis 2017; Lough et al. 2014; Scheinert et al. 2019; Universalia et al. 2005), and supporting immigrants and refugees (Scheinert et al. 2019; Tiessen et al. 2021) and social enterprises (Clark and Lewis 2017; Lough et al. 2014). Furthermore, a study in Canada revealed that returned IVs were 1.5 times more likely than the general population to volunteer through charitable or nonprofit organizations and community groups (Kelly and Case 2007; Tiessen and Lough 2019).

Returned IVs often attribute their post-placement civic engagement and career/educational choices to their transformative experiences, such as the following: an increased awareness or "humanized" understanding of poverty, inequality, injustice, and power dynamics; enhanced intercultural understanding and empathy toward others; greater confidence, motivation, communication skills, resilience, adaptability, identity as a "global citizen," and social networks (Bentall et al. 2010; Clark and Lewis 2017; Diprose 2012; Hamby and Brinberg 2016; Lough et al. 2014; Tiessen 2018; Tiessen et al. 2021).

Studies also report challenges faced by returned IVs, such as increased concern about development aid with deeper, more complex, and critical perspectives of international development cooperation (Bentall 2020; Clark and Lewis 2017; Tiessen et al. 2021; Tiessen and Heron 2012). According to Bentall (2020), this made it difficult for some returned IVs to work with local service organizations in their home countries because of different beliefs about ideal forms of engagement in development issues. Some respondents even emphasized the negative aspects of development aid, such as "development having 'helped Africa fail'," "Westerners wanting to develop others to be like them," and the unsustainability of development interventions (Bentall 2020, 8). Some returned IVs also reported a lack of confidence and difficulty in applying "global thinking" when acting locally (Diprose 2012). Furthermore, volunteer-sending organizations often lack the organizational capacity and resources for post-placement programs to continue supporting their contributions (Bentall 2020; Comhlámh 2018; Sato 2010).

5.3 Evidence of "Giving Back to Society" by Returned JOCVs

In the case of JOCVs, one of the three program objectives is "to give back the volunteer experience to society" (JICA 2020, 2). By definition, social contributions are expected to result from learning outcomes, such as global perspectives and competencies gained through the JOCV experience (Okabe 2018). The Secretariat of JOCV has been monitoring the social contributions—"giving back to society"—by returned JOCVs. It discovered that major social contributions include the following: sharing JOCV experiences (e.g., delivering a lecture/talk); volunteering individually or through NGO/NPO associations for various causes (child/youth-support, social welfare, environmental protection, community development, and support for foreigners and immigrants); continuing to support the host community; donating (Sato 2010, 2012; Secretariat of JOCV 2018). Although these contributions are voluntary, some of the returned JOCVs were recruited and facilitated by the Secretariat of the JOCV to support and advocate for the JOCV program by participating in events and/or talking about their experiences.

In terms of contribution to international cooperation, about one-fourth of the returned JOCVs continue to assist developing countries, including their host country, through NGO, NPO, or development consultant activities, either independently or through other means (Secretariat of JOCV 2018). Furthermore, the National Institution for Youth and Education, Secretariat of JOCV, and Supporting Organization of JOCV (2021) found that returned JOCVs (14,509 survey respondents dispatched between 1995 and 2014) were almost twice as likely to volunteer in the previous five years, as compared to the general population in Japan. In Canada, IVs volunteer 1.5 times more than the general population (Kelly and Case 2007; Tiessen and Lough 2019). Along with the Japanese example, this is fairly strong evidence for returned JOCVs "giving back to society."

Returned JOCVs are more likely than the general population to occupy civil servant teaching jobs or work for public interest/independent administrative corporations (Sato 2012). As teachers, they adopt various roles related to diversity in the classroom, facilitating intercultural understanding and communication, supporting non-native students, and partnering with international organizations, the JICA, and schools abroad (Sato 2010). Most of the surveyed returned JOCVs also report that their volunteer experience is useful at work, regardless of job categories. Further, they utilize their language, intercultural communication and professional/technical skills, knowledge of foreign affairs, flexibility, planning, project management skills, and the international network they gained through the JOCV experience (Sato 2010, 2012; Secretariat of JOCV 2018). For example, Nozue et al. (2013) found that returned nutritionist JOCVs attributed their professional growth (number of professional memberships, conference presentations, and publications) to their overseas experience when their professional competencies and aspirations were high. Returned sports teacher JOCVs reported that the struggles they experienced in

creating curricula to match the needs of students abroad raised their competence levels while developing new curricula after returning to Japan (Shiraishi et al. 2020).

For changes potentially attributable to social contributions, returned JOCVs similarly report the following: enhanced intercultural understanding; broadening perspectives; changing perspectives on life, values, and worldviews; making friends and acquaintances; gaining deeper interest and understanding of the host country (Secretariat of JOCV 1989; Sekine 2016). Moreover, returned JOCVs reported more humble perceptions of themselves and Japan by gaining broader perspectives on life and observing Japan from the outside (Secretariat of JOCV 1989). When specifically asked about what they learned from their host country, most respondents reported "family love" and "mutual support." Their aspiration for the future of Japan also appears to have changed in that they value "respect from other nations" and "cultural advancement" rather than "lack of anxiety/insecurity," an aspect highly endorsed by non-JOCVs.

Similarly, Shiraishi et al. (2020) found that returned JOCVs perceived increased interest in "Japaneseness," Japanese politics, and domestic issues as a result of their IV experience, in addition to enhanced interest in global issues (general, as well as specific to the host country), understanding of development issues and international cooperation, and awareness of others' opinions about them. Most interviewees also reported that people around them noticed that their communication style and energy level had changed—they were more extroverted, proactive, assertive, and caring for others than before.

Regarding social capital formation, similar to findings found outside Japan, many returned JOCVs seem to stay connected with the local people they met while volunteering (Sato 2010, 2012; Secretariat of JOCV 1989, 2018). There are also large networks of returned JOCVs across Japan, including regional associations sponsored by the Secretariat of the JOCV and voluntary associations led by returned JOCVs to exchange information and experiences. The impact of such local networks on returned JOCVs is largely unknown and will be a fruitful topic for future research.

5.4 Study on Values, Personality, and Volunteering Among Returned JOCVs

Existing research lists the various types of social contributions reported by returned IVs, whether voluntary or enumerated. The literature suggests that perceived changes and transformations, based on their experiences, are immediate drivers of the civic engagement or social contributions of returned IVs. However, little is known about the long-term determinants of the social contributions of returned IVs.

How does the experience of international volunteers transform into long-term contributions to society, and what are the values that underlie their enduring volunteerism? This chapter presents the research conducted to answer these questions by examining the values and personalities of returned JOCVs and whether these explain

their volunteerism after a decade of JOCV experience. To the best of my knowledge, no study has examined the influence of values and personalities on volunteering among returned IVs. Therefore, this literature review is mainly concerned with local volunteering and altruistic behavior in general.

5.4.1 Literature on Values and Volunteering

Values are the guiding principles in our lives, serving as a motivational base for selecting and justifying actions and evaluating people and events (Schwartz 1992, 2012). Many studies have found that people who place higher importance on altruistic or other-oriented values are more likely to engage in volunteering (e.g., Bathini and Vohra 2014; Bekkers 2005, 2010; Penner and Finkelstein 1998; Schultz et al. 2005). This is especially applicable to philanthropy-related domains, such as helping cancer patients (Briggs et al. 2010) and people with disabilities (Carlo et al. 2005), as well as to older volunteers (Okun et al. 2014). Some studies have also found that self-centered or utilitarian values are *negatively* associated with prosocial values and volunteering. Schultz et al. (2005) found that people who valued self-enhancement were *less* likely to be concerned about environmental problems. Briggs et al. (2010) showed that a self-enhancement value, particularly an achievement orientation, was associated with *negative* attitudes toward helping others and charitable organizations.

Many studies have also shown that religiosity, which promotes "other-oriented" values (e.g., Leigh et al. 2011), is associated with a greater commitment to volunteering (e.g., Bekkers 2004; Becker and Dhingra 2001; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Wilson and Musick 1997). Some other studies have shown that values oriented toward others mediate the relationship between religiosity and prosocial behaviors (Hardy and Carlo 2005; Okun et al. 2014). Spirituality, which is defined as openness to other people's needs, has also been found to be associated with informal volunteering in the Netherlands (van Tienen et al. 2011).

Overall, it is relatively well-established that volunteering is generally associated with altruistic or "other-oriented values." However, when we turn to the literature on *motivation* specific to volunteering, altruistic and self-oriented motives, such as networking (e.g., Carlin 2001; Segal and Weisbrod 2002), résumé building (Handy et al. 2010) and recreation (Sakurai 2002), appear to be related to volunteer participation (cf., Clary et al. 1998). This is also the case for IVs, who have been observed to exhibit altruistic and self-oriented values (e.g., Rehberg 2005; Tiessen and Heron 2012). Okabe et al. (2019) identified six motivations for JOCVs: curiosity, business-mindedness, quest to find themselves, change orientation, altruism, and interest in developing assistance. Half of these motivations, such as being business-minded, in a quest to find oneself, and change-oriented, are self-oriented or utilitarian, whereas others, such as development assistance and altruism, are based on other-oriented values.

5.4.2 Universal Model of Values

Previous studies on values and volunteering have focused on specific types of values, such as altruistic versus egocentric values. Thus, it is difficult to obtain a holistic view of the values more linked to volunteering, as there is more than one value dimension. Therefore, this study adopted a holistic approach using the multi-dimensional value theory proposed by Schwartz (1992, 1994).

Schwartz (1992, 1994) identified two super-ordinate value dimensions encompassing ten values that can be understood in terms of the two fundamental universal human problems (see Table 5.1 for the conceptual definitions of these values). One dimension, labeled as "*Openness-to-change versus Conservation*," relates to the conflict between one's concerns for independence, personal interest, and readiness for change (*Openness-to-change*) against those for order, avoidance of risks, preservation of the past, and resistance to change (*Conservation*). The second dimension, labeled "*Self-transcendence versus Self-enhancement*," relates to the conflict between one's concern for the greater society superseding that for the self (*Self-transcendence*) against concern for the consequences of one's own and others' actions for the self (*Self-enhancement*).

These can be recognized across cultures and are structured on a circular continuum (see Fig. 5.1). According to Schwartz's model, diagonal values conflict with each other, whereas adjacent values are congruent. Every individual possesses all ten value types but differs in the relative importance accorded to each of them; the relative importance is posited as fundamentally driving an individual's action.

Table 5.1 Conceptual definitions of 10 basic values

Value	Conceptual definition
Self-direction	Independent thought and action—choosing, creating, exploring
Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life
Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself
Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards
Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources
Security	Safety, harmony, and stability of society, relationships, and self
Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms
Tradition	Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide
Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact
Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and nature

Source Adapted from Schwartz, S. H. 1994. "Are There Universal Aspects in the Structure and Contents of Human Values?" *Journal of Social Issues* 50 (4): 19–45

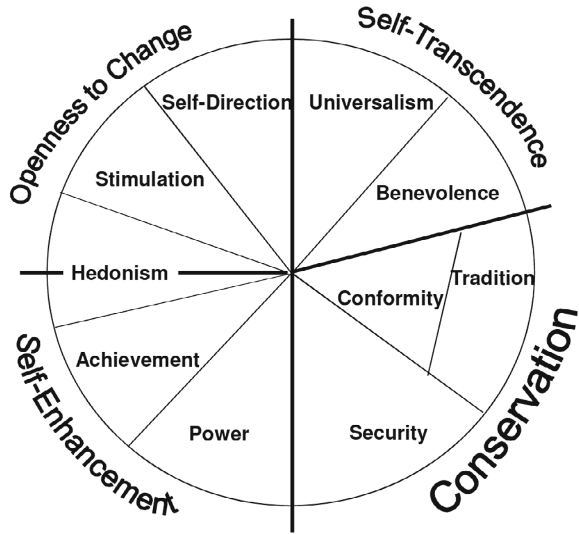

Fig. 5.1 Schwartz's theoretical model of relations among ten values and bipolar value dimensions. *Source* Reprinted from Schwartz, S. H. 2012. "An overview of the Schwartz theory of basic values." *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture* 2 (1): 2307–0919

Bathini and Vohra (2014) examined the influence of Schwartz's universal values on graduate students' volunteer activities in India. They found that higher levels of universalism and benevolence (i.e., *Self-transcendence*) were associated with greater volunteering for the "helping" type, whereas higher levels of stimulation and achievement were associated with volunteering for the "involvement" type. To the best of my knowledge, this study is the first to examine the relationship between Schwartz's universal values and volunteering and suggest that value-volunteering relations differ by the type of volunteering.

5.4.3 Literature on Personality and Volunteering

Personality refers to individual differences in the characteristic patterns of thoughts, feelings, and actions that provide a rough sketch of a person's overall style of relating to the world as a social actor (Kazdin 2000). Thus, personality traits reflect the basic potential that predisposes people to respond consistently to environmental demands, such as the need for assistance from beneficiaries in volunteering.

Currently, the five-factor model (Costa and McCrae 1992) is one of the most comprehensive and universally accepted models for capturing personality traits across cultures. These five factors are *Openness*, *Conscientiousness*, *Extraversion*, *Agreeableness*, and *Neuroticism*. *Openness* refers to how open a person is to new ideas and experiences. A person with significant openness is curious, critical, and non-conforming (McCrae and Costa 2008). Research has shown positive links between

openness and volunteering, presumably because open individuals seek new experiences, people, and innovation through volunteering (Dorner and Rózsa 2018; McCrae and Sutin 2009).

Conscientiousness refers to orderly, careful, dutiful, disciplined, and hardworking behavior (McCrae and Costa 2008). There is no clear hypothesis regarding the link between this dimension of personality and volunteering, and the empirical evidence is mixed. Conscientious persons may volunteer more or less, depending, respectively, upon whether participation is perceived as an obligation or as inefficient and lacking structure. Bekkers (2005) and Weinschenk (2013) found negative associations between conscientiousness and volunteering, while others found positive links (Akhtar 2019; King et al. 2015; Kossowska and Łaguna 2018).

Extraversion involves sociable, energetic, and outgoing characteristics (John and Srivastava 1999). Bekkers (2004) proposed that extraverts may engage in volunteering because they are generally more active and sociable; therefore, they are more likely to be asked to become volunteers. Research has shown that extroverted people are more committed to volunteering (e.g., Ackermann 2019; Akhtar 2019; Burke and Hall 1986; Carlo et al. 2005; Cowles and Davis 1987; Dorner and Rózsa 2018; King et al. 2015; Musick and Wilson 2007).

Agreeableness represents a prosocial and communal orientation toward others (John and Srivastava 1999); it is also considered a predictor of prosocial behavior (e.g., Caprara et al. 2012; Habashi et al. 2016; Paterson et al. 2009) and volunteering (Bekkers 2010; Dorner and Rózsa 2018; Howarth 1976). Carlo et al. (2005) found that students' degree of involvement in volunteer activities is associated with *Extraversion* and *Agreeableness* and that these impacts are mediated by the prosocial motivation to volunteer.

Neuroticism (N) represents a shy, ill-contented, and emotionally unstable disposition (John and Srivastava 1999). As volunteer activities usually involve interactions with others (Wilson and Musick 1997), which may include unpredictable or anxiety-inducing situations, people with significant *Neuroticism* are likely to avoid them. Research generally confirms that significantly neurotic people are less likely to volunteer (Allen and Rushton 1983; Bekkers 2004; Burke and Hall 1986; Okun et al. 2014).

5.5 Present Study and Hypotheses

This study had two objectives: (i) to survey the scope of "giving back to society" by returned JOCVs through volunteering; (ii) to explore the personal drivers of such long-term commitment to volunteerism among returned JOCVs by examining the associations between their values and personality and volunteering.

No existing study has generated strong hypotheses on the values and personalities of returned IVs regarding long-term volunteering. Based on the literature on values and volunteering, altruistic values seem to be the dominant driver of volunteer actions in general, whereas self-oriented motives can predict specific types of volunteer

engagement. By introducing Schwartz's ten basic values, this study explores the link between the other value dimension—*Openness-to-change versus Conservation*—and volunteering among returned JOCVs. Regarding the literature on personality, higher levels of *Openness*, *Extraversion,* and *Agreeableness* and a lower level of *Neuroticism* are generally expected to be associated with higher volunteering among returned JOCVs.

5.6 Methods

Procedure and Respondents. From December 2017 to January 2018, an online survey link was forwarded to the available 2558 email addresses of the returned JOCVs, who were dispatched between 2005 and 2007 for two years (i.e., 9–11 years after returning). The survey took approximately 5–10 min, and participation was voluntary, with no one compelled to answer any questionnaire items. No monetary compensation was provided. This resulted in a response rate of 8.9% (228 participants).[1] These comprised 113 females and 115 males in the age range of 33–81 years, of whom 70 had participated in senior volunteer programs[2] (i.e., dispatched when they were between 40 and 69 years old).

Measures of Volunteering. Questions about volunteer activities were obtained from the "Survey on Time Use and Leisure Activities" (Statistical Bureau 2016, 2021).[3] Respondents were asked how many days they volunteered for in the past year (excluding those spent on paid work) in the 10 service domains, using an 8-point Likert scale (0 = 0 days; 1 = 1–4 days; 2 = 5–9 days; 3 = 10–19 days (once a month); 4 = 20–39 days (a few times a month); 5 = 40–99 days (once a week); 6 = 100–199 days (a few times a week); 7 = 200 or more days (more than four days a week)). The 10 service domains included the following: (1) Health/medicine (e.g., blood donation, conversation partners with patients at hospitals, mainstreaming safe food products); (2) For older adults (e.g., assisting living and leisure activities of older adults); (3) For people with disabilities (e.g., sign language, braille translation, reading, assisting social participation of people with disabilities); (4) For children (e.g., taking care of children's meetings, childrearing volunteering, assisting school events); (5) Sports, culture, arts, and science (e.g., teaching sports, spreading traditional Japanese culture, museum guide, assisting operations of lectures and symposia); (6) Local improvement (e.g., cleaning streets and public parks, planting flowers, regional revitalization); (7) Safety promotion (e.g., disaster prevention, crime

[1] No major sampling bias was detected with available variables in the dataset except that the current sample has a larger proportion of former senior volunteers than that of the survey target sample.

[2] Senior volunteer programs started in 1990, targeting those between ages 40 and 69 with expertise (Secretariat of JOCV 2020).

[3] http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/shakai/. (Accessed August 24, 2021).

prevention, traffic safety movements); (8) Conservation or environmental protection (e.g., wild birds observation and protection, forest and green protection, recycling movements, reducing wastes); (9) Disaster (e.g., food and clothing provision to disaster victims, emergency food services in affected areas); (10) International cooperation (e.g., international development assistance, refugee support, supporting foreigners in Japan).

Values. Respondents' values were measured using the Japanese 11-item version (Ikeda 2016; Manabe 2017) of the Schwartz Value Survey (Schwartz 1992, 2007). This was originally adapted from the fifth and sixth waves of the World Values Survey (Inglehart and Welzel 2005), which allowed for the selection of one item from Schwartz's 10 values: self-direction, power, security, hedonism, benevolence (collectivism and altruism), achievement, stimulation, conformity, universalism, and tradition. Following the standard data reduction methods for the Schwartz values, deviation scores were used to indicate which values were endorsed more than others (Welzel 2010).

The descriptive statistics of the deviation scores showed that conformity was accorded the highest priority among the respondents (*Mean* = 0.79, *SD* = 0.88), whereas power received the lowest priority (*Mean* = −1.27, *SD* = 0.97). Two items (hedonism and universalism) were excluded from the final principal component analysis because of mislocation (both were in the opposite direction of the theory) and extremely low communality (both below 0.18). The remaining nine items demonstrated a 2-component structure: (a) *Self-transcendence* versus *Self-enhancement* ($\alpha = 0.66$) and (b) *Openness-to-change* versus *Conservation* ($\alpha = 0.58$); this was largely consistent with Schwartz's theory. As it is a shortened version, and each component encompasses multiple categories of values, the internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha) of each subscale is acceptable.[4] Factor scores were calculated for the main analyses.

Personality. The short form of the Japanese Big Five Scale (Namikawa et al. 2012) was used to measure the respondents' personality profiles. It comprises 29 items (trait adjectives) with a 7-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (not at all applicable) to 7 (very applicable). The reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of the five personality traits was as follows: *Openness* (0.78), *Conscientiousness* (0.82), *Extraversion* (0.87), *Agreeableness* (0.68), and *Neuroticism* (0.85). Mean scores for each subscale were calculated for the main analyses.

Demographic variables. The following seven demographic variables were measured: age in years, gender, marital status, personal income (in Japanese yen), household income (in Japanese yen), childcare at home, and weekly working hours. Ordered categories were used for personal income, household income, and work hours per week, and the responses were transformed into numerical values by taking the middle value of the range for each category. Table 5.2 provides the descriptive statistics of the independent variables.

[4] Indeed, regarding the α values of the 10-items value survey (excluding the "Collectivism" item) that reported in 46 countries, 80% show values below 0.50 (Rudnev 2011).

Table 5.2 Descriptive statistics of independent variables

		Frequency	Percentage (%)
Gender	Female	113	49.6
	Male	115	50.4
Marital status	Married	156	68.4
	Not married	71	31.1
Childcare	Yes	80	35.1
	No	148	64.9
		Mean	*SD*
Age		49.32	14.11
Personal income[a]		3,636,062	261.12
Household income[a]		5,970,982	379.16
Work hours (weekly)		33.09	21.75
Self-transcendence versus Self-enhancement[b]		0.00	1.00
Openness-to-change versus Conservation[b]		0.00	1.00
Openness		4.98	0.82
Conscientiousness		4.19	0.89
Extraversion		4.77	1.06
Agreeableness		4.51	0.76
Neuroticism		4.15	1.11

Note [a]In Japanese yen. [b]These are factor scores

5.7 Results

5.7.1 Volunteering by Returned JOCVs and the General Population

The main outcome variable across the ten service domains was the number of volunteer days. The proportion of survey respondents who volunteered and the number of volunteer days across the 10 service domains were compared with the statistics for the general Japanese population from the Survey on Time Use and Leisure Activities in 2016 and 2021 (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2016, 2021). See Table 5.3 for the summary statistics.

Among the returned JOCV respondents, 79.8% had engaged in some form of volunteering in the past 12 months. Conversely, the proportion of Japanese citizens who were engaged in some form of volunteering in the past 12 months was only 27.4% in 2016 and 20.0% in 2021.

Among those who volunteered in the past 12 months, the greatest proportion of returned JOCV respondents (50.5%) was engaged in activities related to international cooperation, followed by those for children, local improvement, sports, culture, arts,

Table 5.3 Volunteer participation rates by the returned JOCVs and the general population

	Returned JOCVs N = 228		General Population (2016)[a] N = 139,892		General Population (2021)[a] N = 133,993	
Volunteered	79.8%		27.4%		20.0%	
10 service domains	%	(days)	%	(days)	%	(days)
1. Health	34.1	(38.1)	10.3	(15.0)	11.0	(19.1)
2. For older adults	34.1	(25.0)	14.9	(31.2)	14.3	(41.6)
3. For people with disabilities	24.7	(24.0)	5.1	(28.3)	4.9	(30.9)
4. For children	44.5	(34.3)	32.6	(23.3)	26.5	(31.5)
5. Sports, culture, arts, and science	41.2	(24.6)	13.5	(38.1)	14.2	(46.7)
6. Local improvement	42.3	(20.8)	45.3	(11.7)	43.6	(13.4)
7. Safety promotion	24.7	(7.8)	20.7	(15.0)	18.6	(18.2)
8. Conservationand environment	36.3	(31.2)	15.4	(18.9)	17.0	(24.8)
9. Disaster related	23.6	(9.4)	5.6	(7.6)	4.6	(8.1)
10. International cooperation	50.5	(31.9)	3.2	(22.7)	3.9	(18.7)

Note Participation rates across the ten service domains were calculated among those who volunteered in the past year

[a] From Statistical Bureau Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (2016, 2021): Statistics from the age between 30 and 85 years were extracted to compute the values to match the returned JOCV sample

and science. Conversely, only a few local Japanese volunteers were involved in activities related to international cooperation. The largest proportion of local Japanese volunteers participated in activities related to local improvement, followed by those for children and safety promotion.

Once engaged, the returned JOCVs spent the maximum number of days in health- and medicine-related activities, followed by activities for children, international cooperation, conservation, and environmental protection. In comparison, the local Japanese volunteers spent a comparable amount of time volunteering but for different service domains; the greatest amount of time was spent in the areas of sports, culture, arts, and science, followed by activities related to older adults and people with disabilities.

Overall, there is a trend for returned JOCVs to be more committed to volunteering, whereas a declining trend in volunteer participation has been observed in Japan from 2016 to 2021. The former's commitment to international cooperation through volunteering is particularly prominent compared with the general population in Japan. Nonetheless, sampling times and methods were different among the three surveys compared; therefore, a direct comparison of the results is not possible.

5.7.2 Days of Volunteering Predicted by Values and Personality Traits

Multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine the effects of values (*Self-transcendence* and *Openness-to-change*) and personality traits (*Openness*, *Conscientiousness*, *Extraversion*, *Agreeableness*, and *Neuroticism*) on the number of volunteering days in the past year across the ten service domains while controlling for age, gender, personal income, household income, marital status, childcare, and work hours. Scores for days of volunteering were all positively skewed because of the frequent responses of 0 s (volunteered for zero days); thus, a natural logarithm transformation was used to reduce the skewness of the distributions. Owing to the small sample size (N = 228) and significant missing data across the variables in the model (complete data were available for 69.3% of the respondents),[5] multiple imputations were used to replace the missing cases by generating fifty imputed datasets and pooled parameter estimates (Rubin 1996), using the MICE package (van Buuren and Groothuis-Oudshoorn 2010) in R.[6] Table 5.4 shows the results.

Regarding the influence of values on volunteering, respondents with higher scores on *Openness-to-change*, as opposed to *Conservation*, spent more time volunteering for activities related to international cooperation, children, older adults, and culture. Regarding the influence of personality traits on volunteering, only weak relationships with moderate statistical significance were found (see Table 5.4 for more details).

For control variables, the analyses found that older respondents spent more time volunteering for activities related to international cooperation, the local community, older adults, safety, people with disabilities, environment and disasters. Additionally, respondents with lower personal income spent more time volunteering for activities related to health or medicine and older adults.

5.8 Discussion

This study provides initial empirical support for significant social contributions by returned JOCVs through volunteering long after their IV experience and "openness to change" as a foundational value for their long-term volunteering. In particular, returned JOCVs are the most committed to volunteering for international cooperation, even after a decade, which suggests that their passion for international cooperation is alive and long-term.

In this study, volunteering for international cooperation was broadly defined as domestic volunteering, such as promoting intercultural relations and supporting refugees and foreigners in Japan. In other words, returned JOCVs continue to work

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[5] Older respondents demonstrated more missing values with the survey items asking about volunteering across all the domains.

[6] Balance test comparing the distributions between the imputed and observed data indicated no noticeable problems with the imputation.

Table 5.4 Results of multiple regression analyses

	Health	Elderly	Disability	Children	Culture	Community	Safety	Environment	Disaster	IC
Self-transcendence	0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Openness-to-change	0.01 (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.06* (0.03)	0.05* (0.02)	0.04+ (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)
Openness	−0.02 (0.03)	−0.02 (0.03)	−0.04+ (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.02)	0.05+ (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	−0.03 (0.02)
Conscientiousness	−0.02 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	−0.03+ (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	−0.02 (0.02)	−0.02 (0.01)	−0.03 (0.02)
Extraversion	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.04+ (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Agreeableness	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	−0.02 (0.02)	−0.02 (0.02)	−0.03 (0.02)	−0.03 (0.02)	−0.02 (0.01)	−0.02 (0.02)	−0.02 (0.01)	0.00 (0.02)
Neuroticism	−0.04+ (0.02)	−0.02 (0.02)	−0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	−0.04+ (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.01)	−0.03 (0.02)	−0.02 (0.01)	0.00 (0.02)
Age	0.05+ (0.03)	0.08** (0.03)	0.06* (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.06* (0.03)	0.06* (0.02)	0.11*** (0.03)
Sex	−0.07 (0.05)	−0.05 (0.05)	−0.05 (0.04)	−0.01 (0.05)	−0.07 (0.05)	−0.08+ (0.04)	−0.05 (0.03)	−0.02 (0.04)	−0.02 (0.03)	−0.04 (0.04)
Personal income	−0.08** (0.03)	−0.06+ (0.03)	−0.08** (0.03)	−0.03 (0.03)	−0.03 (0.03)	−0.03 (0.03)	−0.02 (0.02)	−0.03 (0.03)	−0.00 (0.02)	−0.02 (0.03)
Household income	0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)
Marital status	−0.09 (0.05)	−0.06 (0.05)	−0.04 (0.05)	0.04 (0.06)	0.07 (0.05)	0.00 (0.05)	0.04 (0.04)	0.03 (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)	−0.02 (0.05)
Childcare	0.04 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	0.03 (0.04)	0.08 (0.05)	−0.05 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	−0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.05)	−0.04 (0.04)	0.00 (0.05)
Work hours	0.05 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.02)	−0.02 (0.03)

Note Sex (1 = female, 0 = male), Marital status (1 = married, 0 = non-married), Childcare (1 = yes, 0 = no). IC = "International Cooperation". All continuous variables were standardized. $+p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$

directly with developing countries for international cooperation and transfer their skills, knowledge, and passion to global issues faced by local and regional communities in Japan. As international cooperation is the least popular activity among local Japanese volunteers, the returned JOCVs seem to play a major role in supporting Japanese society in tackling global issues at the grassroots level.

Furthermore, the findings suggest that this long-term commitment to international cooperation/relations by returned JOCVs is partly explained by valuing "*Openness-to-change*." *Openness-to-change* is defined as a combination of self-direction and stimulation, whereas *Conservation* is defined as a combination of security, conformity, and tradition (Schwartz 1994). These two value dimensions are in conflict when humans make decisions in life, and people differ in the inclination to value one over the other. In the case of returned JOCVs, those who are self-directed and open to taking risks to change for the better are particularly committed to volunteering for international cooperation, even after a decade of initial involvement. This is consistent with Fujikake's (2011) finding that returned JOCVs, committed to long-term social contributions, are characterized by searching for work that can only be done by themselves and their own way of life (without being constrained by the social norms of Japan).

Contrary to previous research, which was predominantly from the West, valuing *Self-transcendence* was unrelated to volunteering in this study. This may be partly due to cultural differences in the meaning and practice of "volunteering" in Japan and the West. Nihei (2011) argued that philanthropy in Japan suffers from a paradox whereby, regardless of the givers' intentions, giving is reciprocated with hidden rewards and that this comprises the ultimate goal of giving rather than its preconceived notion of altruism in nature. The Japanese (and East Asians, more broadly defined) are also known to uphold stronger social norms of reciprocity (e.g., Kitayama et al. 2006), and recipients of support in Japan feel a stronger sense of indebtedness (which then elicits helping others because of obligation rather than altruism) than Western counterparts (Hitokoto 2016; Naito and Sakata 2010). Indeed, Hustinx et al. (2010) found that altruistic motivations for volunteering were lower among the Japanese than among Western Anglo-Saxon countries, such as the US, England, and Ireland. Instead, the Japanese ranked "volunteering gives a new perspective" as the top reason for volunteering. Sakurai (2005) found that altruistic motives are unrelated to retention among Japanese volunteers.

Only weak relationships were observed between personality traits and volunteering. This could be due to the lack of power with the small sample size, as the impact of personality on volunteer actions is usually weak (Bekkers 2004). This could also be due to the status of the returned JOCVs, such that personality traits have little influence on how much they remain committed to volunteering over the long-term.

In addition to values and personality traits, the age of the returned JOCVs was also related to their level of commitment to volunteering. Older respondents spent more days volunteering for many types of activities. This is largely consistent with the data on the general population in Japan, wherein the rate of volunteering peaks after the retirement age of 65 years, especially for men (Ministry of Internal Affairs

and Communications 2016). The sample included (older) returned volunteers who had participated in senior volunteer programs (30.7%). Future studies should clarify whether the observed effects on volunteering are due to their age or the fact that they had participated in the senior program and investigate why older returned volunteers contribute more across different types of activities over the long-term.

The study also found that a higher personal income was associated with lower participation in volunteering when taking the remaining characteristics examined in this study into consideration. This finding appears contrary to the "dominant status model" (Smith 1994) and the "resource model" (Wilson and Musick 1997), which posit that people with higher socioeconomic status and greater resources are socially motivated and practically able to volunteer more. However, these models were developed in the literature on the developed world, largely based on studies in Europe and North America, and may not be applicable to returned JOCVs. We might speculate that those with lower incomes can empathize better with people in need of support, thus engaging more. This may resemble a type of volunteering based on mutual aid and cooperation known to be more predominant in the Global South (e.g., Butcher and Einolf 2017). It is also possible that spending more time volunteering results in less personal income, implying a bidirectional relationship. These questions should be answered in future research.

5.9 Conclusions

What can volunteer-sending and civil society organizations do to enable and maximize the contributions of returned IVs through long-term commitments to volunteering? This study suggests that returned JOCVs continue to volunteer for development and play a significant role in tackling global issues in Japan at the grassroots level. To further facilitate their contributions after returning home, volunteer organizations may coordinate with regional municipalities to generate opportunities for them to contribute to local issues related to international and/or intercultural relations. In response to the increasing number of immigrants and foreign residents in Japan's regional communities over the past decade, municipalities have been devising various programs and activities to support and promote multicultural coexistence. In a policy dialogue on the future directions of JICA volunteer programs among experts in 2020,[7] the Secretariat of the JOCV presented various strategies to facilitate the contributions of returned JOCVs by strengthening regional and cross-sector collaborations and explicitly identifying Japanese regional issues and long-term social contributions as goals of the JOCV program in pre-departure training. Nurturing the mindset for "giving back to society" and generating suitable volunteer and work opportunities

[7] Summaries of the dialogue are available at: https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/outline/publication/report/pdf/newera_01.pdf and https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/outline/publication/report/pdf/newera_02.pdf.

for returned volunteers across regions in Japan seem to be the future direction of the JOCV program, the government funded international volunteer program in Japan.

In our survey and elsewhere (e.g., Comhlámh 2018), returned IVs reported that one of the greatest obstacles for volunteering is "the lack of time." However, I observed that time-related variables, such as working hours and childcare involvement, were not associated with the number of volunteering days among the returned JOCVs. Instead, my findings suggest that valuing "openness to change" sustains the motivation of returned IVs for long-term volunteering in international cooperation. Accordingly, recruitment activities and advertisements may target returned IVs who believe in changing themselves, others, and societies for the better, as well as those in search of change, such as job seekers in career transitions, facing positive and negative life events, and seeking opportunities and challenges. Conversely, the conservative and risk averse may not be easily attracted to post-placement activities. Alternatively, the content of advertisements or messages could be tailored to match the openness-to-change values examined in this study to attract suitable candidates.

As the literature suggests, there are many other avenues for social contribution by returned IVs besides volunteering, such as professional occupations and influencing others on social networks. Considering volunteering as an indicator of social contribution allows us to compare it with general population statistics; however, richer and more complex processes of social contribution cannot be captured. Future studies should consider a more comprehensive approach to capture contributions by returned IVs and determine which aspects of IV experience and related transformations are linked with various kinds of long-term contributions.

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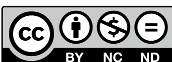

Part II
Advantages and Disadvantages of State-Managed International Voluntary Service

Chapter 6
Strengths and Weaknesses of the State-Managed International Voluntary Services: A Perspective from JOCV

Yasunobu Okabe

6.1 Introduction

While it is widely considered that international volunteering is an activity that is appropriately located within civil society, the state (governments) has managed quite a few international voluntary services (IVS). Actually, many volunteers have been sent to developing countries by state-managed international voluntary services (SMIVS) initiatives, such as the U.S. Peace Corps (USPC), FK Norway (currently Norec), and Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV) from the 1960s, and KOICA Volunteers (currently WFK), Friends from Thailand (FFT), and China's Overseas Youth Volunteer Program (OYVP) from the 1990s and 2000s.

SMIVS has been subject to three-fold weaknesses in social legitimacy since their genesis. First, the legitimacy of such organizations is weak, because they are managed and sponsored by the state. As volunteering is generally defined as free will activities undertaken for the public good and not motivated by monetary reward, the socially desirable legitimate organizations for IVS are non-governmental (NGOs) or civil society based organizations (CSOs), not the state.[1] Even if many NGOs and CSOs depend on funding by the state, they desire to maintain their legitimacy as volunteering organizations by managing the IVS. In the case of SMIVS, however, this management role is the state's business.

Second, the legitimacy of purpose is weak. It is generally believed that legitimate IVS should send volunteers for downstream impacts (contribution to development

[1] In fact, many IVSs are managed by CSOs such as VSO, CUSO, AVI, France Volontaires, and others.

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of host communities and partner organizations). Indeed, most SMIVS programs pursue such purposes as fighting against poverty and providing development cooperation and emergency aid. At the same time, many SMIVS programs also aim at upstream impacts (impacts on the domestic society of the sending countries). For example, they pursue volunteers' learning, fostering their international perspectives, and youth education (FFT, JOCV, WFK), the promotion of friendship (FFT, JOCV, WFK, USPC), the encouragement of people's exchange (Norec, OYVP), and improving the image of the donor countries (FFT). The pursuit of multiple and incoherent goals, particularly aiming at upstream goals, means that SMIVS is not fully legitimate with respect to their volunteering purpose.

The third weakness is in the legitimacy of expertise. SMIVS sends nonprofessional development workers, or people who have less knowledge and experience than aid experts, to host countries. It is widely known that the USPC for example has sent many young volunteers who have just graduated from universities to teach English in host countries. Volunteers from JOCV and USPC are young (about 28 on average). Volunteers of FFT and OYVP are also youthful. In a word, SMIVS volunteers are not as professional as technical assistance experts and do not have years of experience behind them.

Despite the tensions and problems represented by these weaknesses, few studies have examined the state management of IVS and the weaknesses that SMIVS has. On the one hand, the literature on SMIVS programs has paid attention to the USPC (e.g., Cobbs 1996; Cobbs Hoffman 1998; Hanchey 2015; Kallman 2020; Magu 2018; Meisler 2011), FK Norway/Norec (Tjønneland 2016), JOCV (Okabe 2016; Okabe et al. 2019; Onuki 2018; Sekine 2016), and KOICA volunteers/WFK (Lee 2018a, 2018b). On the other hand, scholars who are concerned with the relations between the state and nonprofit sector/civil society have shed light on Asian cases. For example, Haddad (2011) and Ogawa (2004) for Japan, Jang (2017) for South Korea, and Hu (2020) for China as a case of an authoritarian state. Nevertheless, both sets of literature did not have the problem of state management within their scope.

Kallman's work (2020) is noteworthy for its implications for this chapter. Addressing the question of what killed idealism in the USPC and caused the shift from idealism to rationalism (emphasis on procedures and measurement), she notes that institutional pressures of professionalization on the agency and on the volunteers in recruitment, training, fieldwork, and returning home led to the death of idealism in the USPC. The volunteers came under pressure from the USPC agency, the US Congress, the federal government, and neoliberal norms. This argument implies that USPC had institutional weaknesses—vulnerability to the pressures—because of the state management of IVS. The limitation of her book is that while highlighting the problems and tensions caused by this turn toward proceduralism, it paid little attention to the potential advantages or strengths created by state-level management.

This chapter addresses the weaknesses of SMIVS by examining the case of the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (hereafter I refer to JOCVs as volunteers and to the JOCV or JOCV program as a volunteer program). It argues that JOCV has the above-mentioned weaknesses in social legitimacy of organizations, purposes, and expertise. However, these do not represent tensions nor problems to be resolved, but

rather they are sources of JOCV's strengths. This study also demonstrates that the weaknesses have a historical origin in the foundation of JOCV.

The remainder of the chapter is structured as follows. The second section identifies the three-fold weaknesses of JOCV, and the third section explores how these weaknesses were created in the history of JOCV's foundation. Subsequently, the fourth section shows that they can work as sources of strength for volunteering. Finally, conclusions and implications are drawn.

6.2 The Three-Fold Weaknesses of JOCV

This section identifies JOCV's three weaknesses of social legitimacy (state management, incoherent and multiple purposes, and the weak expertise of volunteers), and explains how each of them is a recognized weakness. Before this discussion, however, we need to overview the JOCV program.

JOCV is an international voluntary service that the Japanese government provides each year to developing countries. It is managed by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), a governmental agency for development aid, and supervised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA). In JICA the secretariat of JOCV is responsible for the program. Since its foundation in 1965, the program has sent 46,640 young adults (as of March 2023) to help economic and social development in 93 countries around the world.[2] Volunteers used to be selected from Japanese applicants between the ages of 20 and 39 (Secretariat of JOCV 2015a), but the age limit was raised to 46 in 2018.[3] The host countries have included those in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, with former socialist countries added after the end of the Cold War. The areas of cooperation have covered a diverse range of about 120 sectors, including agriculture, forestry and fisheries, fabrication, repair operations, civil engineering, sanitation, education and culture, and sports, as well as planning and administration (Okabe 2016). The program had three objectives: (i) To cooperate in the economic and social development, as well as the reconstruction of developing countries. (ii) To promote international goodwill and deepen mutual understanding. (iii) To develop volunteers' international perspectives and give back their experience to the Japanese society (Secretariat of JOCV 2015a).[4]

[2] JICA Website (accessed 18 October 2023) https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/outline/publication/results/.

[3] JICA Website (accessed 18 October 2023) https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/concept/index.html.

[4] See also JICA website (accessed 1 July 2024) https://www.jica.go.jp/english/activities/schemes/volunteer/index.html.

6.2.1 State Management and Sponsorship

As pointed out in the introduction, SMIVS is weak at the legitimacy of organization level. This is true of JOCV because it is managed by JICA under the supervision of MOFA. Under this JICA–MOFA regime, "JOCV was embedded in a framework of technical assistance by the Japanese government" (Okabe 2016, 233). In this subsection, we will see how the state of Japan sponsors and manages JOCV and how much of the JOCV program reflects this state involvement.

First, the JOCV program is sponsored by the state. To be exact, it is a type of official development assistance (ODA) that JICA as an aid agency provides among other types technical assistance, loans, grants, and emergency disaster relief. JICA's budget, which is placed under the jurisdiction of MOFA except for the loan account, is appropriated in the national budget every year.

Second, it is managed by the state agency JICA (Secretariat of JOCV 2015a). The JOCV secretariat is responsible for the program within JICA. Unlike the USPC secretariat, it is not an independent administrative body but only a department of JICA headquarters in Tokyo. For the JOCV secretariat, tasks before volunteers' departure are particularly important. The pre-departure tasks include recruiting volunteers throughout Japan, assigning them to host countries for a period of two years, and providing training in every aspect of volunteering. After the volunteers' arrival in host countries, JICA overseas offices are directly responsible for on-site tasks, e.g., supporting volunteers for their safety and security and better performance in activities. Volunteers, on their part, are required to regularly inform the overseas offices of their services and daily life.

What highlights the state involvement most in the management by JICA are the pre-departure training, safety and security management, and expenses for volunteers. The training program, which lasts approximately 70 days, is provided by JICA in cooperation with the Japan Overseas Cooperative Association (JOCA), a JICA affiliated organization of returned volunteers. It includes "lectures on volunteerism, cross-cultural understanding, cooperation methods, health management, safety and security, as well as intensive language training appropriate for each dispatch country" (Secretariat of JOCV 2015a). The training program is prepared to improve volunteers' motivations, capacity, and understanding about developing countries, thereby being expected to contribute toward enhancing their performance in services (Okabe and Mitsugi 2018).

The management of safety and security also represents state involvement (see also Kawachi's chapter in this volume). Many SMIVS volunteers have faced insecurity in host countries because of their unique status as temporary foreign government-dispatched volunteers. For example, the offices and volunteers of USPC were attacked by local people due to the anti-US sentiment in Bolivia during the 1960s and 1970s (Kawachi 2018, 2–3). Likewise, JOCV has on occasion been looked upon as an enemy in host countries. In Laos, the Pathet Lao communist government regarded development projects by Japan as being the product of imperialism, to the extent that the JOCV program was asked to leave the country (Secretariat of JOCV 2001,

63–64). JOCVs are "perceived as extensions of their government and its policies and become the target of negative sentiment or more by locals" (Kawachi 2018, 3).

Expenses for JOCVs show the involvement of the state as well. During their mission, JICA pays necessary expenses, which include air tickets, local cost of living, and allowance for expenses when they return to Japan.[5] The cost of these expenses is covered by the national budget, which is the state sponsorship.

Third, MOFA, the supervisor of JICA, has responsibility for the JOCV program at the ministerial level in the government. While early on high ranking officials of MOFA were appointed to the position of director general of the JOCV secretariat, since 1993 JICA staff members, including former volunteers, have been appointed to that position. MOFA, however, keeps its grip on board members and director generals of JICA headquarters by appointing its senior officials to those positions (currently one board member and one director general are from MOFA). Beyond supervising the JOCV program, MOFA recently re-defined JOCV as an effective diplomatic instrument for soft power and is now actively promoting the program as public diplomacy (MOFA Japan 2011; Okabe 2016). Therefore, the foreign ministry has encouraged and praised their voluntary services and spirit on many occasions. Foreign Ministers and Vice Ministers annually have hosted receptions for JOCVs (and other JICA volunteers),[6] and ministers frequently visit JOCV sites, taking opportunities to do so during their official visits to developing countries.

Thus, JOCV is managed, sponsored, and supervised by state agencies: JICA and MOFA. While JOCV strongly reflects state involvement, no NGOs or CSOs participate in the management of recruiting, training, dispatching, and supervising volunteers. The state of Japan deeply intervenes in the civil society sphere, to which IVS are essentially supposed to belong. In short, JOCV, a typical SMIVS program, is weak in the legitimacy of organizations.

6.2.2 Incoherent and Multiple Purposes

The second weakness of JOCV is in the legitimacy of purpose. The program is incoherent in its pursuit of divergent goals: to provide technical assistance, to promote friendship and understanding, and to foster youth development and their contribution to Japanese society. Such a mix of downstream and upstream positions—the first purpose is for development of people in developing countries, while the second and third ones could be thought of as being for sender countries' benefit including the development of volunteers and public diplomacy—seems to be unacceptable to the relevant stakeholders of voluntary service and development cooperation. Fee, Lough,

[5] For further details, see the JICA Website (accessed 18 October 2023). https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/application/seinen/support_system/treatment/.

For receiving such expenses, JOCVs are sometimes regarded as paid volunteers in Japan.

[6] For example, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Taro Kono, hosted such a reception in 2018. See the following website (accessed 7 February 2021). https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_002098.html.

and Okabe's chapter in this volume suggests that these dual objectives create tensions for SMIVS, "which may struggle to reconcile downstream development outcomes with the domestic agendas of their government funders."

The first purpose, development cooperation, is the principal objective of JOCV. JICA places the program institutionally within the official development assistance framework. Paragraph 2, Article 21 of the 1974 JICA Act explicitly stated that the Agency (JICA) should undertake operations (including the JOCV program) "to promote and encourage youth activities overseas with the purpose of cooperating in the economic and social development of the developing countries by working together with the people from local communities." Subsequently, when the act was revised in 2008, Article 13 (4) of the 2008 JICA Act stated that JICA should undertake the following operations among others:

> a. To recruit, select and train individuals interested in citizens' cooperative activities in integration with the residents of developing regions, and to establish and manage facilities for this training.

This contribution to developing countries through JOCV was consistent with the global trend after the 1950s in international voluntary services by Western countries, which were the traditional and main donors for developing countries (Lopez Franco and Shahrokh 2015). Most known is the USPC, established in 1961, that sent thousands of volunteers every year "to help the countries interested in meeting their need for trained people."[7] Prior to this, Australian Volunteers International (AVI), a pioneer of IVS, and Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) had started their services in 1951 and 1958, respectively. Affected by USPC, CUSO International (CUSO) and FK Norway started their services in 1961 and 1963, respectively.

The downstream contribution is the main motivation for many JOCV volunteers. A questionnaire survey on JOCVs ($n = 1507$) demonstrated that the most selected motives of volunteers for joining the program were "to help others" (40.9% of respondents) and "to help developing countries" (36.4%) (Okabe et al. 2019).[8]

By contrast, the second purpose of the program, the promotion of friendship and mutual understanding, is an upstream purpose in a sense that it contributes to diplomatic benefits. Actually, many SMIVS programs including USPC, WFK, and FFT highlight the promotion of friendship as their mission. For example, USPC's missions, apart from development benefit, are "to help promote a better understanding of Americans on the part of the peoples served" and "to help promote a better understanding of other peoples on the part of Americans."[9] Recently, fostering the friendship and understanding by volunteers is considered effective public diplomacy (Magu 2018). As discussed in Sect. 6.2.1, Japan's MOFA is also promoting it actively and praises JOCV as a diplomatic tool.

The third purpose, youth development and returned volunteers' contribution to Japanese society, is the benefit to the volunteers themselves and the benefit to the

[7] USPC's website (accessed 14 September 2023) https://www.peacecorps.gov/about/.

[8] Respondents were asked to choose up to three motives from 17 options in this survey.

[9] USPC's website (accessed 14 September 2023) https://www.peacecorps.gov/about/.

sending countries' domestic society. These have been long regarded as important as developmental purposes. Practically, youth development has been the most meaningful mission of JOCV for some stakeholders. Morihisa Aoki, former director general of the JOCV Secretariat and former Ambassador to Peru, stated "the real value of JOCV is volunteers themselves. Producing those wonderful Japanese is a great contribution to Japan as well as the world" (Aoki 1998, 252–253). In line with this, Yoshioka (1998), a journalist and returned volunteer of JOCV, acknowledged the significance of the JOCV in the sense that it provides Japanese youth the chance to cultivate their mental capacities in host countries.

It is noteworthy that JICA dropped youth education from the JOCV's official purposes in 2015, concluding that nowadays young Japanese people have many opportunities to visit, stay at, and study in foreign countries at their own expense. Nevertheless, it is still considered as an important purpose of the program because it can meet the increasing demand in Japanese society for fostering "gurobaru jinzai" (globally competent human resources), which JOCV has produced for over 50 years (Okabe and Mitsugi 2018). Furthermore, as of July of 2024, it seems that JICA has not abandoned the purpose of youth development, as its website says, "participating volunteers can … gain valuable experience in terms of international goodwill, mutual understanding and *an expansion in their international perspectives*" (italics added).[10] Therefore, youth education is still alive in JOCV's objectives.

Returned volunteers' contribution to Japanese society was emphasized as a key when the program's purposes were reviewed in 2015. Their contribution is currently focused on, particularly because they are expected to support the restoration of local communities that suffered from the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011. While many returned volunteers headed for disaster-affected areas to help victims in the wake of the unprecedented quake, some of them worked for municipalities in those areas for the post-quake restoration. The total number of these returned volunteers in local municipalities had reached 116 as of 2015 (Secretariat of JOCV 2015b). Additionally, returned volunteers are making contributions to domestic and global citizenship by participating in post-placement NPO/NGO activities and volunteering (see Onuki's chapter for details).

To sum up, JOCV's goals are mixing downstream with upstream. The concept of JOCV as such can therefore be characterized as mutual benefit to Japan and host countries.[11] This is why JOCV is considered weak in terms of legitimacy of purpose. Curiously, the concept of mutual benefit is common among SMIVS programs—USPC, WFK, FFT, and OYVP—all pursue development assistance as well as youth education, mutual understanding, and improving the nation's good image. In contrast NGO-managed IVS like Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO), Australian Volunteers

[10] JICA website (accessed 1 July 2024). https://www.jica.go.jp/english/activities/schemes/volunteer/index.html.

[11] This feature of mutual benefit is quite similar to the concept of Japan's ODA. "The motivation for aid giving is not merely sympathy for others" but "also to be linked to Japan's own stability and prosperity (Söderberg 2011, 50).

International (AVI), and CUSO International (CUSO) are almost specialized in development assistance for the goals of poverty reduction and sustainable development. They may set up upstream goals such as international exchange and youth education through short-term programs for students, but downstream development purpose is their central mission.

6.2.3 Weak Expertise of Volunteers

The last factor is the weak expertise of volunteers. Certainly, not a few JOCVs have skills related to their jobs like mechanics, engineers, nurses,[12] physical therapists, farmers, social workers, sports instructors, science/mathematics teachers,[13] and Japanese language teachers.[14] Generally speaking, however, they are young at the age of about 28 on average (Okabe et al. 2019), inexperienced, and therefore not as professional as technical assistance experts. The tendency for non-professionalism is evident in the fact that 49.9% of volunteers who were dispatched overseas from 1965 to 2014 had been students, temporary employees, and part-time workers before they joined JOCV.[15] This is also the case with their job classification. As of June 2011, 15.8% of all volunteers in operation (n = 2638) were engaged in community development, 8.9% were primary school teachers, and 6.0% were engaged in youth activities. Totally 30.7% of all respondents represent these job categories, which require relatively little professional knowledge and experience.[16]

In this feature of the weak expertise, JOCV resembles USPC, the American SMIVS, which paradoxically uses "young, inexperienced, generalist volunteers to undertake what is described as skilled development work" (Kallman 2020, 232). By contrast, VSO, CUSO, AVI, and UNV send volunteers who have knowledge and several years of job experience. The average age of VSO and UNV volunteers was 41 (in 2008) and 40 (in 2014) respectively, and UNV volunteers generally have 10 years

[12] Medical doctors have rarely been sent under the JOCV program.

[13] See Hosono's chapter in this volume.

[14] Separately from JOCVs, volunteers who have high level of experiences and skills are classified as 'senior volunteers' in JICA scheme. Under this category, 6,620 adults were sent so far (as of March 2023). Senior volunteers used to be selected from Japanese applicants of the ages of over 40, but the age condition was removed in 2018. See the following JICA websites. https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/concept/index.html.

https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/outline/publication/results/sv.html.

[15] JICA website (accessed January 26, 2021).

https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/outline/publication/report/pdf/suggestion_data.pdf.

This data includes JOCVs for Nikkei (Japanese descendant) communities in Latin America, although the number of the Nikkei volunteers is relatively small (2,089 for Nikkei and 45,776 for JOCV as of September 2020). See Secretariat of JOCV (2015a).

[16] Author's calculation of the data in JICA website (accessed January 29, 2021).

https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/outline/publication/report/pdf/commission_01.pdf.

of job experience.[17] These volunteers are considered more professional and mature than JOCVs.

Even if JOCVs can upgrade their skills and learn the theories and good practices of volunteering for development cooperation during their intensive training period, it is not easy for many to obtain work-related outcomes for various reasons: insufficient knowledge and experience, a lack of understanding of and communication with local people, a shortage of resources, and the perception gap of affluence between volunteers and local people (Ban 1978; Sekine 2016).[18]

Notwithstanding their non-professionalism, JICA has sent over 45,000 volunteers to developing countries for the primary mission of development assistance. Perhaps for the reason of this non-professionalism, JOCVs may not be expected to achieve the developmental purpose so much. As mentioned in Sect. 6.2.2, even JICA staff do not believe that their volunteers can do it but rather regarded youth development as the real purpose of the JOCV program. Again, JOCV is similar to the USPC in this point (Kallman 2020, 219). The former director general of the JOCV secretariat Aoki admitted that "the program may not have achieved great results in economic and social cooperation for developing countries" (Aoki 1998, 252–253).

From the three-fold weaknesses identified above arise two questions: (i) When and how were the weaknesses created within the operation of JOCV? (ii) Do they represent the tensions and problems to be resolved? and (iii) How do they affect the performance of volunteers? The following two sections address these questions in order.

6.3 Historical Origins of the Weaknesses

History matters in the creation of the three weaknesses. This section delves into the historical and political process of the foundation of JOCV, highlighting international and domestic levels of analysis as well as structural, agential, and ideational factors.[19]

6.3.1 International Structural Factor

At the international level, Japan's relationship with the United States, a key ally of Japan during the Cold War, should be examined. This structural factor shaped the

[17] See the following websites. For VSO, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/magazine/7401326.stm, and for UNV, https://www.unv.org/annual-report-2014/pdf/Partnering_Through_UNV.pdf. https://unv.or.jp/about/.

[18] The nonsuccess of their voluntary services is an issue frequently addressed by the magazine for JOCVs, *Kurosu Rodo* (Crossroad), published by JICA (Secretariat of JOCV, various years).

[19] This section basically draws on Okabe (2016).

political arena where agential and ideational factors worked, thereby motivating the Japanese government to step forward and create JOCV.

In 1960, when Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda took office, he was seriously concerned about restoring confidence from the US government that had been undermined by the domestic violent protests against the revision of the Japan–US Security Treaty. During his visit to Washington, D.C. in 1961, Ikeda met President John F. Kennedy and his brother-in-law Sargent Shriver, founding director of the Peace Corps, and emphasized Japan's active diplomacy within Asia. Specifically, Ikeda expressed his hope for economic cooperation, including support of the Peace Corps, within Southeast Asia in order to restore the confidence of the Western bloc countries in Japan. While Ikeda was willing to cooperate with the Peace Corps, however, he had no idea that his government should start a similar project.

Meanwhile, the US government began to encourage similar projects to the Peace Corps in other countries, including Japan. Their intention was to build up middle-level manpower or skilled labor in developing countries. Toward that end, the United States held the International Conference on Middle-Level Manpower in Puerto Rico in October 1962 (Godwin et al. 1963, xv–xvi). Despite earnest requests from the US to promote overseas volunteering, Japan's response was not positive. MOFA made the decision to send 14 junior experts, rather than volunteers, to five Asian countries including Cambodia and Thailand (JICA 1985, 41; Godwin et al. 1963, 125–26). MOFA argued that the government should send junior experts and provide monetary rewards, claiming that young Japanese people could not afford to provide complete voluntary service as the US Peace Corps did (Suetsugu 1988, 260).

In summary, the US–Japan relationship motivated the Japanese government to approach JOCV as a voluntary service project. Nonetheless, this alone cannot explain why JOCV was characterized as both a voluntary service and a youth development project. The next subsection will examine the domestic social factors.

6.3.2 Domestic Structural Factor

At the domestic structural level, this discussion needs to explore youth problems in rural and urban areas of Japan prior to the launch of JOCV. Its focus is on how youth associations and LDP (Liberal Democratic Party) members found solutions to those problems in the idea of international volunteering.

In the 1950s, unemployment among second and third sons of farmers was a serious social problem in the rural areas of Japan, where traditional primogeniture still dominated. To deal with this issue, the government set up various youth corps for rural development, of which the most important was the Industrial Development Youth Corps (IDYC) under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Construction. However, in the second half of the 1950s, as the Japanese economy grew rapidly and unemployment in rural areas simultaneously fell, these youth corps began to lose their purpose. As a result, they and their related ministries sought to redefine their mission from rural development toward overseas technical assistance as well as the prevention of the

communization of rural young people. An example of their new mission was the "Japan Peace Corps," which was planned in 1962 by the Japan Industrial Development Youth Association (JIDYA), the peak association of regional IDYCs organized in 1953. This suggests that JOCV has its origins in the initiatives of the earlier youth corps and associations.

Youth problems were not unique to rural areas though. Along with the decline in rural unemployment, youth problems in urban areas received more attention. Since 1960, there had been increasing concerns about the anti-security treaty student movement, terrorist acts carried out by young right-wing men such as the assassination of the president of the first opposition party (Social Democratic Party of Japan), and a rise in youth crime. These issues were often discussed in the Diet in the early 1960s, with Prime Minister Ikeda also increasingly absorbed by them. It is likely that politicians' serious concerns about urban youth impacted the foundation of JOCV. In the wake of the 1960 Security Treaty conflict, the LDP government had more misgivings about young people, to such an extent that some LDP politicians who feared the growing danger of the situation found hope in Kennedy's Peace Corps and its approach to educating youth.

6.3.3 Domestic Agential and Ideational Factors

This subsection examines how the domestic issues were linked to the idea of IVS and discusses the roles played by youth associations, LDP politicians, and MOFA in creating these links.

First, youth association leaders and young members of the LDP are focused on. As discussed above, the original idea of sending young Japanese volunteers abroad came from youth associations, led by the eminent leaders Ichiro Suetsugu and Yoshiaki Sagae, both known as the founding fathers of JOCV (JICA 1985). These two leaders, with the purpose of youth development and education, approached the project of sending Japanese abroad in the late 1950s. While they had already generated their own ideas, Kennedy's speech on the Peace Corps in 1960 had a strong impact on their actions. Immediately the young leaders initiated their plans for public policymaking, and Suetsugu went on an overseas tour to investigate potential host countries for Japanese volunteers (JICA 1985, 17).

Second, the impact of Kennedy's initiative went beyond inspiring youth associations. Young LDP members, represented by later Prime Ministers Noboru Takeshita, Sosuke Uno, and Toshiki Kaifu, also began to discuss the formation of a "Japan Peace Corps" in 1960, exchanging opinions and ideas with the youth associations. The LDP members' idea was to give youth, full of ambition, the dream of going abroad and developing friendships with foreign countries (JICA 1985, 42). Motivated by the enthusiasm of its young party members and the youth association leaders, the LDP showed a keen interest in establishing an overseas voluntary service in 1963. Eventually the LDP decided to publicly propose the plan for the coming election campaign, which was the critical factor in showing its interest (Suetsugu 1963, 73). After the

victory of the LDP, Prime Minister Ikeda expressed this idea in his policy speech in January 1964.

Although the LDP government decided to undertake the project, many problems still remained unsolved. To examine them, the LDP set up a special commission, which formed a joint research group including MOFA, the Overseas Technical Cooperation Agency (OTCA, currently JICA), youth associations, and business associations. This research group dispatched four teams to Asian and African countries, such as Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, India, Kenya, and Nigeria, to conduct research on host countries' willingness to accept Japanese volunteers and specific fields and conditions for voluntary service.

After the four research teams returned home, three organizations drafted their own plans. First, MOFA presented a draft that focused on the dispatch of young experts rather than volunteers. The draft, defining the project as a kind of technical assistance, proposed that MOFA should supervise the project and OTCA manage the services. In the second draft, youth associations and university professors argued in favor of sending young volunteers rather than experts, who would live with local people and dedicate themselves to volunteering. Characterizing the project as a private activity, the youth associations claimed that a newly formed incorporated foundation should manage the service under the supervision of the government. The third draft was presented by the Ministry of the Prime Minister's Office, which seemed similar to the second draft plan.

The LDP's special commission examined these three drafts, fundamentally accepting MOFA's draft (the first) and offering little opposition to the idea that OTCA should manage voluntary services as a technical assistance project. Although the basic understanding of the commission was that this volunteer project should not only be characterized as technical assistance but also as a new approach to youth problems, MOFA flatly rejected the idea of tackling Japan's domestic youth problems in the lands of foreign countries and instead argued that the government did not need to create a new entity for this project. In fact, there were no ministries likely to form such a new entity, despite the special commission's recommendation (MOFA 1964). As a result, the commission had no choice but to approve MOFA's draft.

But, as the commission persisted in defining the project as an approach to domestic youth problems, it laid down one condition for the agreement: that MOFA agree that the Ministry of the Prime Minister's Office would set up a consultation body organized by advisors from the public and private sectors and that MOFA respect the opinions of the consultation body with regard to JOCV policies. Finally, MOFA accepted this compromise by the commission and assumed authority over the overseas volunteer project (MOFA 1964).

Thus, the government settled on a plan to send young volunteers, not experts, as a technical assistance project and formulated a policy that MOFA supervise the project and OTCA manage related services. This was the historical origin of the state management and weak expertise of JOCV. And as a result of the political compromise between the LDP, youth associations, and MOFA, two goals were added to the project: promoting friendship and developing the international perspectives of youth. Here we can find the origin of its incoherent and diverse objectives. In short,

this was in the historical and political process of the time that the JOCV's three-fold weaknesses were created.

6.4 Sources of JOCV's Strengths

The weaknesses discussed in Sects. 6.2 and 6.3 may seem to be problematic for the JOCV program and the performance of volunteers. However, as this section argues, these weaknesses paradoxically built up sources of strengths, thereby helping volunteers to contribute to development in host communities.

6.4.1 State Management and Sponsorship: The JICA–MOFA Regime

The first weakness—state management and sponsorship—indicates that JOCV is not legitimate as an IVS organization, because the program is not managed by NGOs but by the state. But as this subsection demonstrates, the management of the service by the state's organizations does not cause problems, rather it helps to gain better performance from volunteers.

The management of JOCV is a business of the JICA–MOFA regime, under which MOFA supervises the program and JICA recruits volunteers, provides training, dispatches them abroad, and supervises each volunteer's activity. Although it started as a result of the political compromise that LDP, MOFA, and youth associations reached in 1965 as observed in Sect. 6.3, the regime, once established, continues to support the JOCV program through the following three institutions in a path-dependent way.

First, volunteers enjoy the organizational support offered by JICA headquarters and its overseas offices in developing countries.[20] This support includes consulting with national/local governments and local counterparts in host countries about volunteer assignments, providing information about volunteering areas and communities, advising volunteers on their activities and daily life,[21] and, if necessary, financing the purchase of materials and services (see Yamada's chapter in this volume for the roles of overseas offices). Importantly, as the chapters of Hosono and Ueda in this volume show, JICA can link volunteers to specific ODA projects. For example, Ueda offers a good example of this linking in her case study on the Chagas disease vector control program in Honduras. Within JICA's technical assistance for the program, Japanese volunteers worked with local volunteers and contributed to motivating people to fight for the prevention of the parasitic infectious diseases. Such links to ODA projects are unique to JOCV, because this connection is hardly witnessed in other SMIVS

[20] Currently, there are 96 overseas offices (JICA 2020).

[21] This task is assigned to Volunteer Coordinators (VC) in JICA overseas offices.

programs like USPC and FK Norway/Norec or in NGO-managed IVS like VSO, CUSO, and AVI, all of which are independent of development aid agencies.

Second, the JOCV was embedded in a diplomatic strategy. MOFA, which had initially been negative about IVS by Japanese youth, came to consider JOCV an effective instrument of soft power for public diplomacy as discussed in Sect. 6.2. For this reason, MOFA, as the supervisor of JICA, buttressed the JOCV program in formulating the budget, promoting it as a scheme of technical assistance, and making an agreement with host country governments about the provision of voluntary service. This embeddedness in diplomacy enables JOCV to continue to enjoy support from MOFA.

Third, the JICA–MOFA regime was reinforced by domestic stakeholders such as the LDP, local governments, and the returned volunteers' association (JOCA). The long-governing LDP supported the budget allocation and sustainability of the program.[22] The main supporters in the party were young and powerful politicians who enthusiastically encouraged the launch of the program and later became prime ministers. While JOCA was entrusted with the duties of recruiting, screening, and training volunteers, local governments and public schools helped the recruitment of young adults by recommending that their officials and teachers apply for volunteering.

Thus, thanks to the JICA–MOFA regime in cooperation with related stakeholders, the program and volunteers could rely on personal and institutional support in their activities, thereby obtaining resources such as information, skills, materials, manpower, service, and finance. Volunteers utilized these resources to work with local people and achieve the goals of their voluntary service.

6.4.2 Incoherent and Multiple Purposes

The second weakness exposes the incoherence of the program's goals and the odd coexistence of downstream and upstream contributions. This incoherence and multiplicity though met the wide range of young people's motivations and enhanced the attractiveness of JOCV.

Okabe et al. (2019) conducted a cluster analysis of JOCVs' motivations for joining the program and categorized them into six types labeled as: (I) curious; (II) business-minded; (III) development assistance; (IV) quest for oneself; (V) change-oriented; and (VI) altruist. The existence of these six types is apparently aligned with the three objectives of the JOCV program. For example, the types (III) and (VI) precisely match the first purpose (technical assistance). Likewise, types (II) and (V) are suitable for the third purpose (youth education). Regarding the second purpose (international friendship and mutual understanding), the most suitable volunteers are the type (I). Overall, the JOCV program's multiple, though incoherent, purposes were able to meet the various interests of young Japanese people.

[22] The LDP has stayed in power since its foundation in 1955 until now except for the periods 1993–1994 and 2009–2012.

Thanks to this attractiveness to youth, the JOCV program has been successful in recruiting many competent and highly motivated volunteers for some 60 years, to the extent that it could achieve positive results for each purpose. With regard to the first purpose, developmental assistance, while many volunteers used to face difficulties, some few volunteers performed well in their activities. For example, they contributed to campaigns for the prevention of infectious diseases like poliomyelitis in Bangladesh and Chagas disease in Honduras by creating and increasing social capital in local communities (Ueda's chapter in this volume). They also accomplished the purpose by promoting the capacity development of local people and organizations in projects of mathematics education in Central America, New Rice for Africa (NERICA) dissemination, the One Village One Product (OVOP) initiative in Malawi and El Salvador, and others (see Hosono's chapter in this volume).

Achievement of the second purpose—international friendship and mutual understanding—are evidenced by many episodes. At the national level, a case from Bhutan demonstrates such friendship nicely. JOCVs are well known and admired for their activities in that country to the extent that King Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck took basketball lessons from a JOCV coach in his high school days. Subsequently, when the King paid a visit to Japan in 2011, he requested to hold a meeting with former volunteers to express gratitude to them.[23] Also, Sekine (2016) in his anthropological study about JOCVs working in the Pacific Islands discusses how their individual activities promote friendship and understanding between volunteers and local people. He argues that "(e)ven if there are no notable or sustainable work-related results, there are many cases in which the image of the volunteer remains firmly ingrained in the memories of the local people" (20). Such positive memories remain with local people because Japanese volunteers "come to empathize with the lifestyle of the local people and adjust their sense of values to align with the culture" (21).

It should be noted that without this friendship and understanding, it would be impossible for volunteers to achieve the developmental goals.[24] A lot of episodes and stories written by volunteers, JICA, and scholars report that volunteers promoted friendship and mutual understanding through their daily life and work with local people and thanks to these they made progress with the jobs.[25] In this sense, the first and second purposes are interconnected in the individual volunteers' mind.

The third purpose—youth education and their contribution to Japanese society—may be expected to be easily achieved through volunteering, though actually it is difficult to observe and evaluate it. Therefore, the heuristic impact of JOCV has

[23] See the following JICA website on this episode, https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/outline/story/09/index.html.

[24] See the following JICA website, https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/outline/publication/report/pdf/suggestion.pdf.

[25] For instance, Nakane 1978; Sekine 2016; Secretariat of JOCV, various years; Yoshioka 1998.

attracted scholarly attention.[26] As for the JOCV's impact on intercultural competencies, Onuki (2018) in her statistical analysis demonstrated that after one year of working in host countries JOCVs' competencies increased, and "in particular, (that of) intercultural negotiation exceeded the level before volunteering." Sekine (2016) also demonstrated that many volunteers were disappointed with the unanticipated reality in host countries of the Pacific Islands: the socio-cultural conditions that subsistence affluence and the custom of mutual support characterize local societies and therefore people lack ambition for development and continue to wait for foreign aid. Volunteers, however, came to understand their sense of values and even to admire it after a while. Such a process is "relevant to the outcome of achieving personal development, one of JOCV's main objectives" (Sekine 2016, 18–22).

The returned volunteers' contribution to Japanese society has been studied less than youth education. Okabe et al. (2019), which categorized JOCVs into six types, demonstrated that many volunteers of the type (III) "development assistance" and (VI) "altruist" wanted to be involved in NPO/NGO activities after returning home. From their statistical study, Onuki's chapter in this volume shows that returned JOCVs with higher levels of "Openness-to-change" contributed more days of volunteering in the domains of education and international development.

6.4.3 *Weak Expertise of Volunteers*

The final weakness is in the expertise of JOCVs—insufficient level of knowledge and experience—in their jobs. This seems to be problematic, since it implies the unsuccessful performance in their technical assistance and makes the program look like voluntourism by university students.[27] This assessment may be right, if the weakness (or the strength) is defined as the extent of expertise that is made up of knowledge and experiences. The fact that volunteers are not so strong in expertise as paid development workers or experts implies that they do not have enough capacity to help local people.

Paradoxically, however, it is in this weak expertise that the strength of JOCVs lies. In other words, volunteers can help to empower local people all the more because they know themselves to be weak or amateur in expertise (Shirakawa 2019). Having recognized the weakness, volunteers are motivated to open their windows in two directions: approaching local people inside and outside communities. They have a big advantage over the experts and staff of aid agencies in taking this two-track

[26] The literature of IVS has specifically focused on the impact on intercultural competencies. For example, see Yashima (2010) for the case of Japanese university students who joined the international volunteer projects, and Fee and Gray (2013) for the case of Australian Volunteers International (AVI).

[27] International volunteering for development like JOCV is essentially distinct from voluntourism (see McGloin and Georgeou 2016).

approach, which helps them to achieve developmental goals. I call this advantage “the strength of weak expertise.”[28]

First, JOCVs are motivated to approach people inside communities with whom they live and work together: listening humbly to them, respecting their voices, and sharing their perspectives and sense of value (Kawakita 1974; Shirakawa 2019).[29] This approach of “community-embeddedness” (see Fee, Lough, and Okabe’s chapter in this volume) is a key to discovering local people’s real needs for economic and social development to an extent that the people can act on their own initiatives. A Japanese anthropologist Jiro Kawakita argued that as it was not easy for outsiders like foreigners to discover people’s real needs and occasionally it could be the case that people themselves did not know them, so dialogues were important. He illustrated the importance of dialogues between outsiders and local people with his experience in a poor village of Nepal in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. While villagers knew the details of their village and neighboring areas and used to think about their development, outsiders like Kawakita had more knowledge of the civilized world outside the village. The villagers and outsiders encountered and expanded the dialogues between them. That led to the discovery of real needs (Kawakita 1974, 213). Kawakita’s argument is true for JOCV. Their approach to people inside communities—listening to them and sharing their views—can be helpful in the expansion of dialogues to discover their real needs.

Second, the recognition of their weakness motivates JOCVs to approach individuals outside communities as well. Volunteers can rely on those people for knowledge and experiences that they and community members lack. The key to this approach is networking and trust building between individuals, through which local communities can obtain resources to exploit for developmental purposes (Lin 2001). These networking and trust building mean that JOCVs have “bridging” and “linking” social capital with outsiders (Szreter and Woolcock 2004). To put it simply, bridging social capital is the horizontal network between people of different groups that are more or less equal in terms of their status and power. Linking social capital, by contrast, is developing vertical networks to connect people across explicit power differentials. Such outsiders can be development experts, staff of aid agencies, other volunteers working a long way off, and local government officers and people of other communities.

The JOCV program institutionally encourages volunteers to try the two-track approach. The 1974 JICA Act, Paragraph 2, Article 21, provides that JICA conduct the program “with the purpose of cooperating in the economic and social development of the developing countries by working together with the people from local communities” (i.e., people inside communities).[30] The pre-departure training program also encourages to approach people inside communities. During the training period,

[28] This concept is suggested by “the strength of weak ties” of Mark Granovetter (1973).

[29] Shirakawa pointed out that the amateurishness of JOCVs could be beneficial when conducting support activities, particularly community-based participatory activities (2019, 719–720).

[30] See the website of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/oda/shiryo/hyouka/kunibetu/gai/seinen/th01_01_0201.html.

volunteers must take a course in the foreign languages spoken in their host countries, including minority languages in terms of the speaker population such as Nepali, Laotian, Swahili, and so on. Developing their language skills is considered necessary for volunteering in local communities. Further they learn about cross-cultural understanding, blending in host communities, and supporting people's self-help efforts.[31]

For approaching outsiders, JICA overseas offices provide formal and informal opportunities for volunteers to be connected with office staff, experts working for specific ODA projects, and other volunteers working in distant areas. For example, annual meetings of JOCVs, study meetings on voluntary service and ODA projects, and informal gatherings by interested persons are organized by JICA offices as well as by volunteers themselves (Yamada 2018, 164–167). Through these meetings bridging and linking social capital is created between volunteers and outsiders of communities. Again, these kinds of support for volunteers are all available thanks to the first weakness or the state management of JOCV program.

In the field of volunteering, many JOCVs put the strength of weak expertise into practice. Take the examples of two cases: the first is a case of discovering the real needs of local people and bridging social capital. A volunteer (called X as a pseudonym), who worked in Ghana to develop and spread a processed product of oranges utilizing her expertise in food processing.[32] Realizing the necessity of grasping the actual condition of farming, X visited farmers in distant areas and this revealed that oranges were overproduced with their wholesale price held down by middlemen. Therefore, X attempted to make jam from oranges to local people's taste to increase its consumption. Then X gave numerous lectures to farmers to teach them how to produce orange jam, but because it was an unfamiliar food, no farmer really tried jam making as a business. To break this deadlock, the volunteer not only worked on the improvement of jam but also that of sales channels. Although it did not progress easily, X's subsequent encounter with the owner of a bakery who offered to manage jam finally opened the way for marketing. This led X to hit upon a method to sell orange jam by combining it with the bread that local people ate on a daily basis—jam on bread. Following a good response from consumers, the volunteer organized a group of producers of orange jam in order to realize specific production and sales plans. While the volunteer had no experience of sales, she had skills in food processing. Thus, because of this weakness, she tried to listen humbly to the voices of farmers and consumers and to share local people's sense of value (taste for food). Moreover, by taking the chance to encounter the bakery owner, she created bridging social capital to connect farmers, producers, and retailers.

[31] See the website of JICA. https://www.jica.go.jp/komagane/topics/2013/ku57pq00000cwdfw.html.

[32] Secretariat of JOCV (various years). Specifically, the description of the case is based on Volume 11 published in 2015.

The second case shows how a JOCV played a role in linking local people to outsiders who have expertise. The volunteer, who worked for the NERICA rice[33] promotion in the West Region of Cameroon from 2013 to 2015, reported that as she had little knowledge and experience in the rice cultivation, she often asked JICA experts for professional advice and invited them to visit her site in order to connect them with local farmers. That was what she could do. This approach—creating linking social capital—was successful in changing the rice farmers' behavior. Taking advice from experts and realizing the improvement of yield, they began to cultivate NERICA. In particular, the experts' site visit and technical advice encouraged them to enjoy the new challenge.[34]

In summary, JOCVs are motivated by their weakness in expertise to stay together and listen to local people when seeking to discover their real needs. They are also motivated to rely on outsiders, who have resources that otherwise JOCVs and local people lack, for bridging and linking social capital. Counterintuitively, despite their weakness, volunteers have succeeded in their service for development. They transformed weak expertise into productive strength.

6.5 Conclusion and Implications

This study addressed the weaknesses of SMIVS in the legitimacy of organizations, purposes, and expertise by examining the case of the JOCV program. The first weakness is state management. The JOCV program is managed by JICA under the supervision of MOFA. As volunteering is considered to be an activity of civil society organizations, it seems to be far from desirable IVS. The second one is JOCV's incoherent and multiple purposes: encompassing development cooperation, international friendship, and youth education together. The program is incoherent in its pursuit of both upstream and downstream goals. Finally, the practical expertise of JOCVs is weak. For the purpose of development cooperation, the Japanese government dispatches many volunteers who have fewer skills, knowledge, and experience than professional experts.

These weaknesses have a historical origin in the foundation of JOCV. When it was established, the Japanese government was motivated by international and domestic factors. While the US. government was encouraging the Japanese government to launch a similar program to their Peace Corps, domestic youth problems in Japan were seriously concerning youth associations and the governing party (LDP), who found solutions to those problems in the idea of the Peace Corps. In the decision-making process, these agencies reached a political compromise with MOFA. The government

[33] NERICA (New Rice for Africa) is a new type of rice developed for improving the yield of African rice farmers. It grows faster, yields more, and resists drought and infertile soils better than existing African and Asian rice. For further information, see the AfricaRice website https://www.africarice.org/nerica.

[34] Author's interview by email with a returned JOCV, Saori Yamamoto, on March 11 and 30, 2021. See also Yamamoto's appendix essay in this book.

then settled on a plan to send young volunteers abroad for both development and youth education and formulated a regime that MOFA supervise the program and JICA manage related services.

Despite the three-fold weaknesses, JOCV did not suffer from any problems and tensions related to them. On the contrary, they became sources of its strengths. First, state management enabled all stakeholders to cooperate with each other for the better performance of JOCV. JICA and MOFA were not the sole stakeholders either. The returned volunteers' association, local governments, and public schools, and the LDP also supported the JOCV program in recruiting, training, and allocating the national budget. Second, the multiple and incoherent purposes of the program made itself more attractive to youth. Japanese volunteers had a mixture of altruistic and egoistic motivations for joining JOCV, therefore the three purposes met the wide range of young people's interest and increased the number of volunteers. Finally, the weak expertise of volunteers actually demonstrated strength in their activities. JOCVs, motivated by their insufficient knowledge and experiences, attempted to listen humbly to local people and respect their voices in order to grasp the real needs. From the same motive, they also created bridging and linking social capital to connect local people and outsiders who had the necessary knowledge, experiences, and skills.

This chapter has argued that the weaknesses of the JOCV program contributed to its better performance in practice and therefore assisted development in local communities. From this counterintuitive conclusion some implications can be drawn for other SMIVS programs, particularly in East Asia. On the one hand, they have a chance to perform well, because they share the first and second weaknesses with JOCV: cooperation between stakeholders under state management and multiple purposes including technical assistance and youth education. This will be the case with the Korean SMIVS, which is managed by KOICA and supervised by MOFA. On the other hand, whether the third weakness or the weak expertise can turn into strengths in other SMIVS programs depends on contingent factors, including volunteers' motivations, their personal relationships with local people, and positive attitudes toward sharing perspectives with them. Exploring these factors will be scholars' future tasks for our better understanding of the work of SMIVS.

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Appendix Essay 5: A JOCV's Story in Cameroon: Essence of Volunteering Abroad

Saori Yamamoto

I served as a JOCV community development volunteer in Cameroon from 2013 to 2015. My major was International Relations and Cultural Anthoropology at university, so I had a strong interest in volunteering and being involved in development from the perspective of local people. I was just excited to go to Cameroon as a JOCV.

I was assigned to a small village in the West Province of Cameroon. I was the first foreigner in the village. I started my activity in the village where nobody knew me, and tried to work together with my counterpart and neighbors.

In the beginning, I had problems making appointments with them because they tended to be late for an appointment or not show up for a meeting without notice. I tried to be patient and wait for them to come to the meeting. However, some days it was mentally difficult to wait for two or three hours. From my side, arranging meetings with them sometimes even felt like a waste of time. I had no choice but to walk around the village every day, introducing myself, asking them to teach me their local language, and try to learn about their way of life.

About a month after I arrived in the village, I realized I had a big misunderstanding. It was when I was chatting with a neighbor woman while buying breakfast at a concession stand as usual. She said, "I'm sorry, Saori, but I can't attend the meeting today because the market is being held today. You go to the market too, don't you?" From her words, I finally realized that they have a local calendar. Following this calendar shows that the market is held every 8 days and has priority over meetings or any other events in the village. This was a turning point in changing my view of the local people. I finally understood that they were late for a meeting for their own solid reasons.

Invitation letter from a local event organizer (2014). Photo by Saori Yamamoto

Landscape of a village in the Western Cameroon (2015). Photo by Saori Yamamoto

Here is one of the highlights of the relationship-building episode with them. Everyone would stare at me when I walked through the village, and it was very stressful, especially in the beginning when I arrived in the village. I also felt that I

wasn't accepted by my counterpart and neighbors, so they didn't come to meetings on time or skipped meetings without notice. However, as time went on, I found that my idea was wrong. When there was a festival in the village, I often received an invitation to be a guest. Early on, the invitations were addressed to "JOCV Volunteer." At the end of my first year of activities, when I received an invitation, it was addressed to "Saori Yamamoto," instead of "JOCV Volunteer." I will never forget how happy I was to receive an invitation addressed to me. I showed the envelope to my counterpart and said, "Look! My name is spelled right on the invitation letter! People in the village recognize me now!" His reaction was not what I had expected:

> Of course everyone knows your name, your home country, and what your JOCV activities are. We have been living together for a year in this village. I have learned about Japan and working with foreigners from you.

My idea that I would not be accepted into my counterpart and neighbors because they didn't respect the time of meetings was wrong. I realized how one-sided I was. I had already been accepted by them. Over time, we spent time together, and became interested in each other's cultures.

When I was at university, I knew how important it was to respect each other's cultures. However, there was a big difference between knowing and doing. I didn't really understand the importance and difficulty of understanding other cultures. Seeing is believing, so I should have gone to Cameroon. From my JOCV experience in Cameroon, I learned that there is no perfect way to understand the local culture and that you don't have to be afraid of misunderstandings to understand the local people. I really enjoyed spending time with my counterpart and neighbors. Merci, mes amis!

Appendix Essay 6: The Long Journey of Development Cooperation Across Four Continents

Yoshikazu Ito

Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers, 1968

When I was working as a civil engineer for the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (currently the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries) at the Gunma Water Works (Water Resources Development Corporation), my director asked me to join the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV) managed by OTCA (Overseas Technical Cooperation Agency. Currently JICA), a program that had just been established. I received an invitation to join the JOCV. Thinking that it might be a good idea to work overseas, I went for an interview and was dispatched to the Philippines as a civil engineer in January 1968. I worked for the Philippine government's PACD

(Presidential Arm on Community Development) and was dispatched to the Infanta/Polilio Island area in Central Luzon. This area was the site of a fierce battle at the end of World War II and was significantly underdeveloped. PACD staff accompanied me to the area, but when the locals learned that I was Japanese, they started throwing pebbles and shouting abuse at me.

However, I gradually got used to life in the area. For nearly a year, I worked hard to improve the social infrastructure in the area I was dispatched to. In anticipation of the results, I was then assigned to the PACD headquarters in Manila and dispatched to areas where social infrastructure development had not yet progressed (southern Luzon, Cebu Island, Romblon, Iloilo, Bohol, Mindanao, etc.). I have since been involved in several large-scale social infrastructure planning projects. The old technical books I brought from Japan were very useful for my work in the Philippines. These books are a complete collection of irrigation and farm road planning and accumulation methods written in the early twentieth century and were given to me by a director of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry before I went to the Philippines. In developing countries, traditional methods are often more useful than modern methods. When I was about to return to Japan after 2 years of work, I donated this complete collection to PACD at the request of my counterpart.

United Nations Volunteers (UNV), 1971

Shortly after returning to Japan from the Philippines in January 1970, I attended a seminar on ODA (Official Development Assistance) organized by the USAID (United States Agency for International Development) in Fukuoka as a lecturer, along with the staff of the JOCV Secretariat. The seminar was held at the U.S. Consulate General in Fukuoka, and after the seminar, I received a book from the Consul General as a commemorative gift. Looking back, this book is what started me on a long, long journey of development cooperation across four continents.

The book is *The Good War: The U.N.'s World-Wide Fight Against Poverty, Disease and Ignorance* (Marian Maury 1965). The book states that the source of a good war is a vast network of labor centered on food, money, and technical assistance from the haves to the have-nots, and that developed and developing countries need to work together. We seek to prosper together. Let's learn together. If I had not read this book, I might have stayed in Japan and worked as a national civil servant until I retired.

In the fall of 1970, I learned from USAID that the UNDP (United Nations Development Program) was planning to dispatch Japanese volunteers to Yemen. This was before the official launch of the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) Programme. I was busy with work and wasn't interested, but later I received a letter from USAID saying that there were no applicants for this dispatch program. Yemen is a country well known for its agricultural engineering and is home to the world's oldest irrigation dam, Marib Dam, built in the eighth century BC. As an irrigation and flood control expert, I was interested in Yemen, so I decided to apply if there were no other applicants. In the spring of 1971, after receiving Arabic language training at UNDP

Headquarters (NY), I was sent to Yemen. There were also six other volunteers from Sweden, Italy, Finland, Norway, and Austria (two) who participated. After arriving in Yemen, I was formally appointed to UNV in November of 1971. I was the first Japanese person to join UNV. Later that year UN volunteers from Kenya, Egypt, Iran, and the Philippines came to Yemen.

With an Italian UN volunteer in the field in Yemen (November 1972). Photo by Yoshikazu Ito

As a water resource engineer my job was to work with Yemeni government engineers and an Italian volunteer to ensure quality irrigation and drinking water supplies. I oversaw the desert region facing the Red Sea, investigating the presence of underground water from the mountains through geological and electrical surveys, collecting data, and drilling deep wells for irrigation. Meanwhile, the Italian volunteer was in charge of the mountainous areas. The local people were very happy with the project, which made it very rewarding.

Through this project, we transferred technology through the training of many Yemeni government technical staff and counterparts, and we believe that their skills improved as a result. My Italian volunteer colleague was in charge of the mountainous region and spent days and nights surveying for the construction of reservoirs. We spent a weekend at our accommodation, and the Italian UN volunteer and I collaborated on drawings of the reservoir (we all lived together). Reservoirs and irrigation canals were constructed with the cooperation of the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock, based on drawings with input from other UN volunteers in charge of crop cultivation technology.

Developing agricultural water resources (including drinking water) in the arid region I was in charge of was a major challenge, but once we succeeded in drilling a productive deep well, we received a series of requests from local residents for new drilling. These requests usually came from tribal chiefs (sheikhs), but, in some regions, they had to be turned down for geographical or geophysical reasons.

However, there was still an atmosphere of insistence on drilling (sometimes even at gunpoint!) and we have dug wells even though there was no water source in a particular location. In a local area, the project will not progress unless the wishes of the tribal chief (sheikh) are respected, so I learned the importance of putting into practice the proverb "when in Rome, do as the Romans do," and listening to the true wishes of the local people. Moreover, I made use of it in my future activities.

Development Cooperation Across Four Continents

Later, I put my experience gained through JOCV and UNV into practicing "The good war" in various countries. In 1975, my achievements in Yemen were recognized and I was dispatched to Ethiopia, Nepal and Bhutan as a UN Water Resources Development Specialist for several years on the recommendation of UNDP and FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations). I also worked with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Japan and JICA, serving in countries and regions where conflicts had just ended (NIS countries after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Angola, Bosnia, Afghanistan, Eritrea, Bolivia, Paraguay, etc.)

Moreover, I was also involved in development assistance projects and vocational training in the Golden Triangle of northern Thailand as part of a drug eradication campaign with JICA and WHO. I have visited and stayed in 25 countries in Africa, 17 countries in Asia and Oceania, 11 countries in Central America/South America, 8 countries in the Middle East and Central Asia, and 9 countries in Europe, working across four continents for development cooperation.

Some people working in the development cooperation sector will be unfamiliar with my working experience in European countries, but I would like to raise one example from Poland where I served in the JICA office in 1993 as the first Chief Representative. Poland has a strong relationship with JOCV. As part of the Japanese government's policy of support for Eastern Europe, JICA started sending JOCVs for the purpose of cultural exchange. Later, JICA also assisted in the establishment of the International Volunteer Program in Poland.

I would like to highlight that a study delegation from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, NGOs, and universities visited Japan and met at the Komagane Training Center of JICA in July 2007. The Polish delegation observed lectures and language training, participated in morning exercises, and exchanged views with the JOCVs and staff of the training center. Thanks to this, Poland is currently implementing a Polish Aid Program (Volunteering), mainly in African countries.

In December 2021, UNV's 50th anniversary celebration was held at the United Nations Headquarters in New York, and I was invited by the United Nations to give a keynote speech on UNV support and SDGs at the United Nations Headquarters Convention Hall. Through my support experience across four continents, I have interacted with people from all over the world. Drawing on that experience, and with the spirit of "learning together and thriving together," I will stay active for the rest of my life and continue to actively engage in the fight against poverty (the good war). If you ask for my involvement, I'll think about it!

At the UN Headquarters Convention Hall (December 2021). Photo by Yoshikazu Ito

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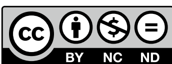

Chapter 7
The Country Office as Part of the JICA Volunteer Program: Background and Implementation in Bhutan

Koji Yamada and Kuenzang Dorji

7.1 Introduction: Volunteer Coordinators and the Country Office

JICA has been implementing the JICA Volunteer Program in accordance with the 2002 Act of the Incorporated Administrative Agency—Japan International Cooperation Agency of the government of Japan.[1] The Act defines, in Article 3, the objective of JICA as being "to contribute to the promotion of international cooperation and to the sound development of Japan and the international socio-economy by contributing to the development or reconstruction of the economy and society, or the economic stability of overseas regions which are in the developing stage." It further defines the scope of operations in Article 13, where the "Citizens' Cooperation Activities" have been defined as the fourth main pillar of the JICA operations aimed at promoting and fostering the volunteer activities of the Japanese citizens in cooperating with the inhabitants of the developing countries. The JICA Volunteer Program (hereafter referred to as the Program) is one of the most important instruments to promote citizen cooperation.

[1] For tentative translation, please see: http://association.joureikun.jp/jica/act/actdata/110000002/current/FormEtc/13000412601000000008.pdf.

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The primary impacts of the Program have always been discussed by focusing on the individual activities of the volunteers. Of course, secondary impacts should also be expected, such as deepening of mutual understanding between the people of two countries at the grass-root level, capacity enhancement of the volunteers, and their contribution to socio-economic development after the completion of their volunteer assignment. But what matters first and foremost is the effectiveness of the volunteer activities for the development of the host countries.

In addition to the volunteers' own efforts at the individual level, we should not forget JICA's role in program management. It posts vacancy announcements, recruits Japanese youth and senior citizens via its domestic offices, and organizes pre-departure group trainings, including intensive local language training sessions for candidates at two JICA training institutes, before it dispatches final candidates as JICA volunteers. But the program management cycle is not complete without its country offices. They function to identify volunteer opportunities, process documents for recruitment, coordinate with host agencies before volunteers' arrival, and provide in-country immersion programs for new arrivals. Even after posting, JICA country offices keep an eye on the life and activities of each volunteer and extend additional consultation and support when necessary (see Fig. 7.1).

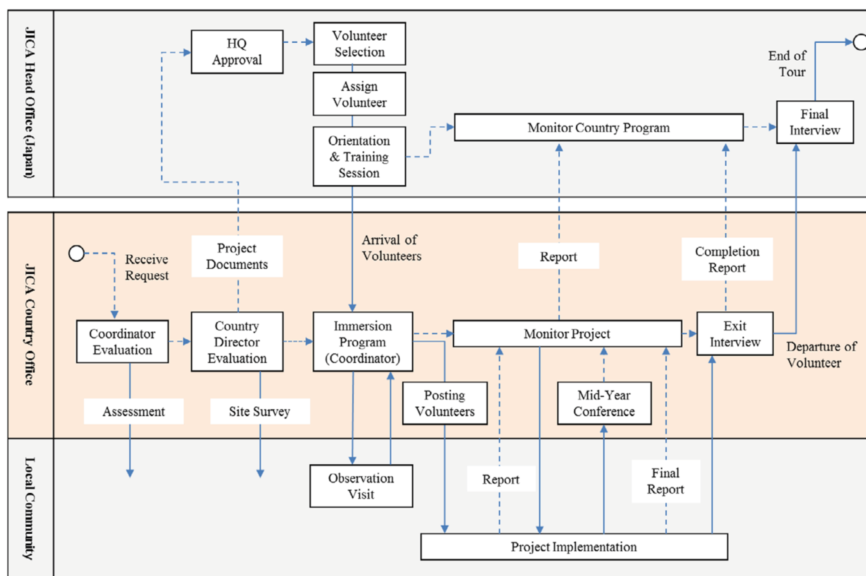

Fig. 7.1 JICA volunteer management flow.
Note Solid lines show the movement of the JICA staff and Volunteers. Broken lines show the movement of the information and the documents.
Source Author

At the country office, the Volunteer Coordinator (VC)[2] assumes primary responsibility for the management of the Volunteer Program. VCs are all Japanese staff working on a contract basis and there are 152 VCs in 71 countries around the world as of November 2023.[3] Besides such formal coordinators, all the other staff engaged in volunteer operations, no matter if it's the Japanese Representatives or the national staff program officers, may work for volunteer coordination. They have differentiated roles so that the country office as a whole can design effective and efficient program implementation sequences for each volunteer as well as for the host country.

According to the job description defined by JICA, the VCs' role is to support the activities of JICA volunteers in the country of their assignment. Stationed in the country office, they are supposed to work as intermediaries between the volunteers and JICA Head Office in many parts of the volunteer management cycle (see Fig. 7.1).[4] In addition to these arrangements, VCs should work closely with the staff of other units, work on sector and thematic analyses, and design programs combining volunteers and other JICA programs.

JICA country offices and VCs have frequently been the target of criticism from journalists, politicians, and sometimes volunteers themselves on how they implement programs. The most frequently heard complaints are those raised by ex-volunteers who say, "I found there was no job in my duty station," "I found there was no counterpart," and in an extreme case, "I found that there was no office at all." It is primarily the responsibility of the volunteers themselves to try every possible effort to overcome the difficulties they may face. But it is also true that there must be something that the country offices and VCs could have done to avoid the above situations, facilitate the problem-solving process of the volunteers and help them to get better results.

This chapter does not highlight the individual achievements of volunteers. Instead, it argues that the JICA Volunteer Program is not implemented by volunteers alone. With the volunteers and the country offices combined, the Program could be made effective, and this has been endorsed by the conceptual framework of capacity development as well as the findings of the opinion survey conducted by the JICA Research Institute in 2011–13 for JOCV members around the world. Also, the chapter touches on a few cases of the initiatives taken by the JICA Bhutan Office to leverage the program's impact on socio-economic development. Both authors were engaged in

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[2] Currently their formal title is "Project Formulation Advisor (Volunteer Program)." But in this chapter, we use "Volunteer Coordinator" as it's more frequently used in JICA country operations.

[3] JICA (2023) "*2023 Nendo Dai 2 Kai Kikaku-Chousain (Volunteer Jigyou) Boshu Youkou [Application Guideline for Project Formulation Advisor (Volunteer Program) for 2nd Recruitment in FY2023].*"

[4] According to the Job Description published by JICA, VCs are supposed to undertake: (i) identification of the volunteer needs in the recipient countries; (ii) setting the qualifications required for the volunteer activities; (iii) communication and coordination with the recipient government; (iv) safety and security assurance of volunteers; (v) advisory and mentoring for volunteers; (vi) coordination with other local development partners; (vii) communication and coordination with the JICA headquarters; (viii) financing and accounting for the volunteer program; and (ix) other support requirements related to the program.

those initiatives as the Chief Representative and the Programme Officer respectively in 2016–19. Finally, as part of documenting the efforts by the country office, the authors discuss the measures proposed in the volunteer program in Bhutan to avoid the possibility of a needs-resource mismatch at entry.

7.2 Pathways of Volunteer Activities to Reach Sustainable Outcomes

7.2.1 Methodology for Impact Evaluation of the Volunteer Program

Although there is quite a lot of anecdotal evidence on the achievements of a few specific JICA volunteers,[5] there is no consensus on the methodology that should be used to measure their contribution to the economic and social development of the host countries (JICA 2001b). At the JICA headquarters, the Secretariat of JOCV has run, since FY2005, a questionnaire survey targeting volunteers, recipient agencies, and their beneficiaries at completion of their assignments. In this survey, volunteers' contributions to economic and social development are measured by the framework that consists of two major pillars: self-evaluation by the volunteers themselves, and evaluation by the host agencies that received those volunteers. The questionnaire asks the following key questions:

a. Appropriateness of target-setting and activity plan: Ratio of cases in which volunteers and host agencies agree on the targets and activity plan;
b. Effectiveness of activities: Target achievement rate; Timeliness of the volunteer assignment;
c. Impact of activities; and
d. Sustainability of activities.

In addition to the above, JICA evaluated the JICA Volunteer Program in FY2004/05 (JICA 2005). Because of the variety of sectors and thematic areas, JICA (2005) admits that it was difficult to show macro-level impact of the program on the development of the whole host countries. But it proposes at least a three-tier evaluation framework consisting of (i) matching the rates of volunteer needs and activities; (ii) self-evaluation of the volunteer on target achievement; and (iii) the host's evaluation of the volunteer's performance.

[5] Miura et al. (1980), Daughters of St. Paul ed. (1991), Aoki (1998), Kuriki (2001), Hirayama (2005), Kendo Nippon (2007), Yoshioka (2010), Hashimoto (2013), Yamada (2013).

The analyses described above assume that macro-level development impact can be measured by the sum of the valuation results of individual volunteer activities. Where they end up with unsatisfactory results, the analyses point out that in most cases this is due to a lack of communication skills among the volunteers or the lack of readiness and capacity of the host agencies, and hence they make recommendations on the institutional reform and strengthening of volunteer operations.

In the framework of impact evaluation of the JICA Volunteer Program, defined as in JICA (2005), the target achievement rate may greatly influence the overall satisfaction of the volunteers for their entire life in the countries of assignment. This is clearly depicted in the data collected in the opinion survey by the JICA Research Institute from 2011 to 2013. In this survey, we have collected panel data, three times, from the same volunteers covering the pre-service phase, one year after assignment, and upon completion. Of all the panel data, however, we used the sample data collected from 2,564 volunteers upon their return to Japan and conducted a multiple regression analysis to identify the factors influencing their overall satisfaction. The respondents were all JOCV members (no senior volunteers), who were dispatched between September 2009 and April 2012 and successfully completed the 2-year assignment (see Table 7.1). Short-term assignments were excluded from the samples.

Table 7.2 is the summary of our analysis. It shows that the most important factor for their overall satisfaction with their volunteer life was "To what extent could you

Table 7.1 Analysis of factors influencing the overall life satisfaction of volunteers

Number of respondents	2,564 ex-JOCV members who completed two full years as volunteer and agreed to respond to our survey. (Male: 986/Female: 1,423/ Unknown: 155)
Dependent variable	
Overall life satisfaction as volunteer	"If you look back at your volunteer life, how do you evaluate your overall satisfaction?": 1 (very unsatisfactory) – 5 (very satisfactory)
Explanatory variables	
Goal achievement	"To what extent, could you achieve the goals of your activities?": 1 (not at all)/2 (not much)/3 (somewhat)/4 (much)/5 (very much)
Health condition during the whole period	"Did you suffer from serious diseases or injuries?": 1 (Yes)–2 (No)
Number of local friends	1 (none)/2 (one)/3 (two)/4 (three–four)/5 (five–nine)/6 (more than ten)
Stressful experiences during the whole period	Average of 11 indicators each evaluated from 1 (no stress) to 7 (much stress)
Obstacles to his/her activities during the whole period	Average of 11 indicators each answered by 1 (Yes) or 0 (No)
Support from supervisors, colleagues, and JICA	Average of 5 indicators each answered by 1 (Yes) or 0 (No)

achieve the goals of your activities?" Also, it indicates that the more friends they made in the same locality, the more satisfied they were with their entire life as volunteers there. Their satisfaction was raised as they had fewer stressful experiences; fewer obstacles to their activities; more benefit and support from their supervisors at the office; and as they could receive more support from the JICA country office involved. More importantly, the regression coefficients imply that the support from JICA may have more significant influence than support from their supervisors or colleagues at their office.

We looked further into the individual indicators constituting the explanatory variables and found some additional important factors. For example, out of the 11 indicators describing obstacles to their activities, the comment, "I couldn't get enough support from JICA office or other volunteers" significantly reduced the level of overall satisfaction. Therefore, we concluded that while it is primarily up to the individual volunteers to maximize the development impacts of their own activities, their effectiveness could be further enhanced if individual efforts and the other JICA supports were combined. In order for volunteers to raise their self-evaluation on their own activities, the JICA country office must be responsible for creating an enabling environment for them. In other words, we had better conceptualize the JICA Volunteer Program as a joint operation of individual volunteers and a JICA country office.

Table 7.2 Factors influencing overall life satisfaction of volunteers (Results)

	n = 1933		
Explanatory Variables	Regression coefficient	t	Significance
Goal achievement	0.335	11.23	***
Health condition during the whole period	0.001	0.02	
Number of local friends	0.055	3.16	***
Stressful experiences during the whole period	−0.206	−9.38	***
Obstacles to his/her activities during the whole period	−0.458	−4.10	***
Support from supervisors	0.162	2.74	***
Support from colleagues	0.124	1.93	*
Support from JICA	0.257	4.73	***

Note The asterisks *, **, and *** indicate that the coefficients are statistically different from zero at the 10, 5, and 1% levels, respectively.
Source Elaborated by the author based on Yamada (2018b)

7.2.2 Capacity Development: Can "One Volunteer, One Project" Work?

In the early 2000s, JICA re-examined their past experience in their technical cooperation projects and re-defined technical cooperation as support for indigenous capacity development process (JICA 2004, 2006). The term "Capacity Development (CD)" was first referred to by UNDP as the process in which individuals, organizations, institutions, and societies develop "abilities" either individually or collectively, to respond to emerging development issues. Because it should be an indigenous process led by various local actors in the host country, JICA (2004) defined the key role of their staff, experts and consultants in the CD process as facilitators or catalysts for mutual interactions between individuals, organizations, institutions, and social systems (JICA 2004,14).

In their review of past projects, JICA (2006) identified the four common "pitfalls" of project management frequently observed in unsuccessful projects:

a. **Ambiguous Scenario for Project Sustainability**: Although the project objectives have been met, the project lacks the measures to address the external conditions of the project design matrix that ensures project sustainability by addressing the enabling environment and helps to reach the long-term goal beyond the short-term objectives of the project. If no one is involved in meeting the external conditions, the project is not able to reach its overall goal and ends up with limited sustainability.
b. **Lack of Relevance to Host Government Policies**: The project is not recognized as an important initiative that contributes to the national development plan of the recipient government or other development partners. Even though there are substantial results, the counterparts failed to obtain sufficient budget allocation in the post-project phase.
c. **Crowding out by International Experts**: Although the project has ended up with positive and visible results, these were achieved through the extraordinary efforts made by the Japanese project team and there was limited commitment by their local counterparts. Once the project is completed and the Japanese project team leaves the country, there is no one responsible for the post-project phase and the impact may vaporize.
d. **Lack of Risk Management**: The director or the project manager left the project all of a sudden during the course of project implementation. New ones arrived immediately or after a long interval, without any handing over process on the counterpart side. As a result, the Japanese project team had to make extra effort to build trust and good relationships with the new counterparts from the beginning.

The arguments in JICA (2004) and JICA (2006) seem to apply to the JICA volunteers, too. JICA is expecting each volunteer to facilitate the indigenous CD process, motivate his/her co-workers, and co-create mechanisms to sustain the impact, just like experts and consultants. However, in most cases, volunteers have less experience and knowledge than experts and consultants. Even so, they are still expected to work for the CD process in their host organization as their individual effort.

At the turn of the century, it was emphasized among the JICA staff that even if they had an individual assignment, staff should look at this as a single project, and apply the same principle to volunteers. In order to do this, JICA has to be well-prepared for the situation in which the volunteers might ask for technical advice or coaching support from other JICA officials, experts, consultants, and even from other volunteers.[6]

7.2.3 *Ground Reality of the Volunteers*

In 2009, a group of researchers of the University of Tokyo visited eight African countries and interviewed JICA volunteers, staff of the JICA country offices, and officials of the host governments (University of Tokyo 2009). Their findings shocked JICA and the government of Japan, and their report was used as evidence of aid ineffectiveness to allow the then-ruling political party to slash the program budget drastically:

a. Most of the volunteers answered negatively about the extent of their contributions to the economic and social development of the host countries. Many said that they were not so sure whether they had been useful.
b. The evaluation by the counterparts and host government officials was in most cases highly positive about the performance of the volunteers. They looked at the volunteers as manpower support, filling the gap of staff shortage. In some cases, they highly evaluated and regarded the volunteers as indispensable member of the organization.
c. The volunteers still expressed their strong concerns that their achievements might not be sustained after their departure.

[6] One of the most frequently asked questions of the JICA volunteers is the possibility to request JICA to provide technical equipment in connection to their assignment. In fact we have observed in many cases that the volunteer is requested to do so by the host agency expecting that the equipment would be attached to the his/her assignment. And in most cases, we regret this for two reasons. First, even though the volunteer may feel that it will facilitate his/her activity after thorough needs assessment, it takes time to procure and complete the delivery of the equipment, and the volunteer may not be able to use it before he/she completes his/her assignment in two years. If the equipment had been their main motivation, it should be made it clear and processed in parallel to the request for the volunteer assignment. Second, JICA is not looking at volunteers as equivalent to experts and consultants in terms of their knowledge and experience. In other words, JICA is not expecting results from volunteers as strictly as from experts and consultants. The country office might discuss the equipment support to facilitate the volunteer activities to get results. But it would expect the volunteer to find a way to get moderate results without incurring heavy investment in equipment.

This study only collected samples from a few African countries. As for Bhutan, the authors went through the progress reports of the JICA volunteers for 2016–18 and also interviewed them. Then we found that "manpower support" and "*maru-nage* (hundred percent sub-contracting)" were the top two phrases which appeared most frequently in their narratives. Other common phrases that appeared in their texts were "limited time for the volunteer to work with his/her counterpart," and "limited time for dialogues and conversation with his/her supervisor at the office."

These phrases imply that the volunteers were presented with specific assignments and told to work on them alone. Their counterparts had their own tasks and assignments and rarely collaborated with the volunteers. Even if the volunteers wanted to discuss the situation with their supervisors at the office, they were too busy and in most cases not available at office. The volunteers could at least feel that they were needed and appreciated because they had their own jobs to do. They could proceed with their own assignments, but they were still not sure how their assignments and deliverables could be taken over and sustained by their counterparts.

The authors admit that it is primarily the volunteers themselves who should endeavor to find the breakthrough for the situation described above. But it should also be noted that it's difficult for an individual volunteer alone to work on capacity development and address the sustainability issue. With just 2 years of assignment, volunteers are not in a good position to have long-term perspectives on capacity development and impact sustainability. They may be impatient to get good results in such a short time, try to address too many issues by themselves, and then experience the pitfalls of project-based result management mentioned above.

Instead, the authors argue for a shift from project-based result management for each individual volunteer assignment, toward a more programmatic approach combining volunteers with other support programs, including the advisory and mentoring support extended by the JICA country office. In some circumstances, the country offices may have to cool down the volunteers and propose downward adjustments in their targets to meet within 2 years. In other circumstances, the country offices should work out a solution together by providing complementary measures to their ongoing activities. In other words, the JICA Volunteer Program is not only for individual volunteers. It is also a program consisting of individual volunteers and country offices with a variety of cooperation resources behind them. In addition to the direct support to individual volunteers, the country offices should facilitate the formation of a platform at local level among individual volunteers, integrate the volunteer program into their country operations in general, and then play more a proactive role in connecting volunteers to the other initiatives in case they see that these initiatives are relevant to the knowledge and experience of the volunteers. We call it the Whole-of-the-Office Approach.

Since the first decade of the twenty-first century, the number of JICA volunteer assignments has been stagnating because of the adverse demographic trend in Japan and the consequent decrease in the number of applicants for the program.[7] Ironically, this will reduce the burden on the capacity of the country office to respond to the demands of existing volunteers. It is the responsibility of the country office to enhance the quality of each and every volunteer activity and create enabling environments for him/her to be satisfied with their results so that their impact could be sustained much longer after the completion of his/her activities.

7.3 Toward the Whole-Of-The-Office Approach and Its Practices in Bhutan

The previous two sections are based on arguments found in Yamada (2018b). It raises three points to note for successful volunteer management: (i) institutional arrangements for program-based result management in the country operations; (ii) proactive binding of volunteers among themselves and with other JICA programs; and (iii) clustering volunteer opportunities. This section will further elaborate the above arguments and explain the readers how they could be or were actually brought into practice in program management in a case study of Bhutan.

7.3.1 Institutional Arrangements for Program-Based Result Management

Given the changing operational environment of the Volunteer Program, JICA set up a special expert panel in early 2011 to discuss intensively the program direction (Experts Panel 2011). Their recommendations were published in August of the same year. They included a few policy measures to maximize the impact of the volunteer assignments.

As for the issue of needs–resource mismatch, it was recommended that individual volunteers agree on their targets and 2-year action plans with their supervisors at the host agency within 6 months after their posting. It is regarded as due process to control the expectations of their counterparts and host agencies and help them identify the capacity they have to build to meet their targets. During this consensus- and trust-building process, the panel recommended the JICA country offices to (i) coordinate with the host agencies to control their expectations in accordance with the skills and experience of the new volunteers in the earlier stages of the volunteer cycle; (ii) provide volunteers with additional learning opportunities, both self-learning and group-training, to minimize the needs-resource gap; and (iii) facilitate their action plan development after the assignment. It was also emphasized that in this process

[7] https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/outline/publication/results/jocv.html.

the Volunteer Coordinator (VC) at the country office should play a crucial role in advising and mentoring volunteers. Therefore, the panel recommended that JICA should apply stricter selection criteria for VC's recruitment and make extra efforts to enhance their capacity for volunteer management, advisory and counseling during the pre-departure phase.

These recommendations were taken seriously, and JICA also released a concrete action plan that included re-defining the roles of the country office staff (JICA 2011). This said, "We will reconsider the roles of the permanent staff and contract-based VCs so that the JICA permanent staff should be more committed to the volunteer operations in the country office" (JICA 2011, 14).

Since JICA was founded in 1974, the JOCV country offices and JICA country offices were merged in one country after another (JICA 1985, JICA 2001a). However, in many of the current JICA country offices, there still exists an autonomous Volunteer Unit, where VCs and national staff act exclusively for the volunteer operations, under the supervision of the Chief Representative. This institutional arrangement has been efficient in supporting individual volunteers, dealing with host agencies, and undertaking mass identification of volunteer opportunities.

However, as they become more conscious of quality and effectiveness, it is becoming more necessary to show how the JICA Volunteer Program has brought about an impact not only on individuals but also on the whole organization or the whole sector. In order to have a bigger impact, they often need to go beyond a single volunteer assignment, combining it with other JICA programs ongoing in the same sector or thematic area. Sometimes, they need to place volunteers in a systematic manner to facilitate other JICA operations. In such cases, they must also be concerned about the timing, volume, and length of the placement. These all require more coordination inside the country office.

It is usual practice that the volunteer assignments are integrated into the overall country assistance program of Japan for the country, and all the volunteer assignments are categorized in line with the 5-year rolling plan of the overall JICA country operations. However, this does not ensure the full integration of the volunteer operations. Even today, we often come across two parallel operations in the same sector, same thematic area, or same region, without any coordination between them. The sector and thematic knowledge are often scattered around between the two.

To create an enabling environment for two operations to have more interactions, some offices have shifted from scheme-wise vertical organizational structure to sector-wise horizontal structure (see Fig. 7.2). While the vertical structure keeps a stand-alone volunteer program management unit, the horizontal structure allows the volunteer management to be divided sector-wise and attached to each sector manager. By bringing the volunteer program closer to the other operations in specific sectors, those country officers are trying to build an internal mechanism to overcome the silo problem by placing a permanent staff member as the unit chief. Among offices which have shifted to a horizontal management structure, some have also introduced a complementary mechanism for VCs to interact on the general issues on volunteers.

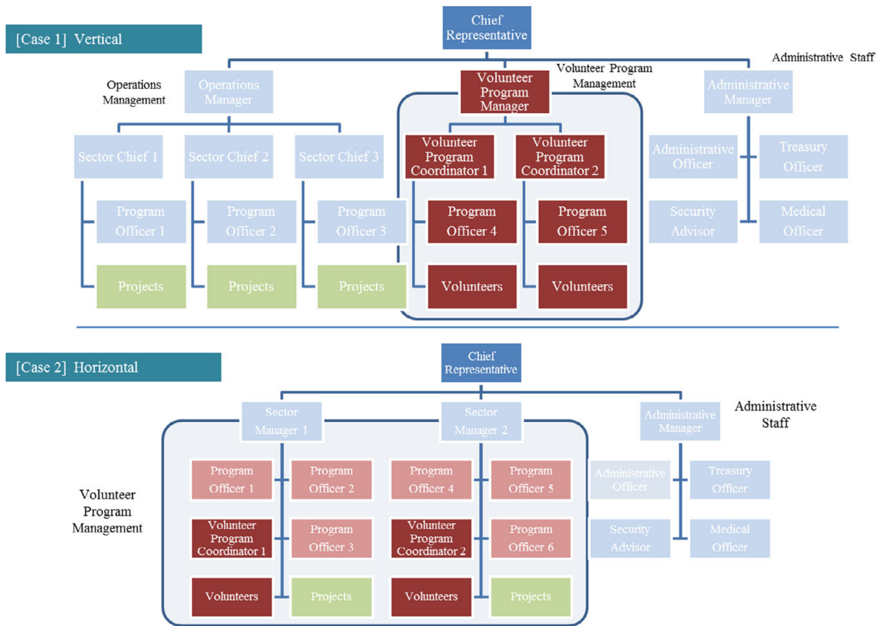

Fig. 7.2 Management structure of JICA country offices: Vertical versus horizontal. *Source* Author

This horizontal management structure facilitates the dissemination of sector-wise or thematic-wise information to new volunteers. For example, key policy documents and mapping of key stakeholders for the sector or thematic area will be useful and indispensable for the new volunteers to start with the action plan development. Also, the reverse flow of information from the fields via the volunteers will help the manager to update his/her knowledge of the sector or theme.

7.3.2 Proactive Binding of Volunteers Among Themselves and with Other JICA Programs

JICA (2011) also refers to the "Building of the network of technical advisors, experts, senior advisors[8] and volunteers, so that they could extend mutual support to each other" (JICA 2011, 8). This indicates that what matters when seeking to strengthen our approach to the sectors and the thematic area in a particular country is the strengthening of the human network among volunteers, office staff, experts, and consultants engaged in the country operations.

[8] Technical advisors and senior advisors are the titles of the sector/thematic specialists stationed in the headquarters in Japan, and could be dropped from our arguments here on country-wise operations.

The self-evaluation made by the Secretariat of JOCV in 2002 referred to strengthening volunteer support as one of the priority issues for the Volunteer Program for the twenty-first century (JICA 2002b). It went further to suggest proactive support for network building. It recommended that:

> JICA should create a platform for existing volunteers, experts and others or ex-volunteers and present volunteers to share their knowledge and experience. This practice is essential to realize the spirit of this program (JICA 2002b, 94).

Wenger et al. (2002) presents the concept of "Community of Practice (COP)" to describe the cross-department platform for sharing knowledge and experience to co-create new innovations inside an organization or a firm. Here, we will use the term sector-wise or theme-wise personal network of human resources, primarily volunteers, being engaged in the JICA country operations in one way or another. Sector/thematic COPs have been a common practice among volunteers for a long time. In Bhutan, volunteers for physical education voluntarily formed a COP for physical education (PE-COP). Member volunteers visited the schools of other member volunteers for micro-teaching exercises to improve their skills for class delivery. Also, they involved their schools and organized *Undokai* (the school health and physical education festival), and they helped each other with event management. *Undokai* was first introduced to Bhutan by a group of JICA volunteers in 2009 and the practice has spread out to many schools across the country. Based on their experience and lessons learned from the event management, some volunteers wrote a research paper and made a presentation at a research conference. In July 2017, PE-COP suggested that JICA should have a policy dialogue with the Department of Youth and Sports and the Royal Education Council so that they could work closely to improve the quality of health and physical education (HPE) in Bhutan. Similar COPs have been in place for art education and midwives.

The effectiveness of sector or thematic COPs was also pointed out in the program evaluation conducted by the JICA Evaluation Department in 2005 (JICA 2005). Also, in the analysis based on the opinion survey of 2011, one of the authors has found a significant correlation between the participation in a "study group", the proxy of COPs, and the overall satisfaction of their volunteer life (Yamada 2018b).

However, JICA has regarded COPs as initiative of volunteers themselves and let them do it without expressing any preference for/against. What JICA (2002b) recommended was that the country offices should go beyond historical neutrality and act more proactively to arrange platforms where volunteers are able to participate and share knowledge and experience more frequently and learn from each other.

Bearing these past recommendations in mind, JICA Bhutan Office autonomously took the following actions from 2016 to 2019.

First, it proposed the volunteers that the COPs be more cross-sectoral. While the existing COPs on physical education, art education, and midwives were promoted, it proposed that the sector boundaries be further expanded so that they could attract more participants from different sectors. The existing COPs remained in their expertise-wise silos. PE-COP consisted of volunteers teaching HPE at college or

secondary/primary schools. If it had taken in community members with different expertise and sector backgrounds, they could have produced more innovative collaboration measures.

For the 2016–19 period, JICA increased the volunteer assignments in Bhutan in the areas that would contribute to private sector development, such as handicraft development, natural dyeing, marketing, animation, and instructors at Technical Training Institutes. Although the teachers and nurses were still occupying major chunks of volunteer assignments, JICA diversified the volunteer opportunities so that it could collectively respond to the emerging and more diversified needs of the country. But the volunteers seemed to be facing common issues across different sectors. Therefore, JICA Bhutan Office proposed the cross-sector COPs in such thematic areas as 5S,[9] safety awareness, and meta-facilitation. For example, we can see 5S and safety awareness in many workplaces across sectors from construction sites and machine workshops, to technical training institutes (TTIs) and hospitals. Cross-sector COPs could attract the volunteers with different expertise and leave no volunteer behind.

Second, while JICA promoted the formulation of formal COPs which could act on a regular basis, JICA Bhutan Office facilitated ad hoc group formulation, too, in response to the emerging needs. The Chief Representative frequently would receive a few visitors from CSOs, private business firms, colleges, and sometimes informal social groups who brought so many requests for JICA's assistance. Their requests had a wide variety but had some common characteristics: They were too small and fragmented, their time frames were too short, and they wanted it to happen as soon as possible. In most cases, however, the Chief Representative had to reject saying that they were too small and too hasty. But if it was not about financial support but about knowledge support in terms of innovative ideas that the conventional wisdom of Bhutan was not able to produce, the rich and diverse pool of existing volunteers might be instrumental and able to respond very quickly.

In this regard, the Chief Representative invited a few volunteers to brainstorming sessions with the women's group who had funds but no idea of how to start up a new income-generating activity. On other occasions, he asked a few volunteers to see if they were able to rectify the problems that the local entities, such as fire stations and milk processing units, had been facing. This collective capacity of volunteers was an informal tool, but it could respond to the emerging needs on an ad-hoc basis. This could be arranged and facilitated by the JICA country office.

Third, although there had been mixed feelings among volunteers on the benefit of JOCV annual meetings, JICA Bhutan Office insisted that the meetings should take place at least twice a year. JOCV annual meetings is a gathering of all the in-service volunteers so that they come to know each other. Volunteers share their experiences and lessons learned with newcomers and they discuss common issues concerning volunteer activities. Taking this occasion, the JICA country office

[9] 5S is a methodology for workplace organization that emerged in Japan. It consists of five Japanese words: *Seiri* (Sort), *Seiton* (Set in order), *Seisou* (Shine), *Seiketsu* (Standardize) and *Shitsuke* (Sustain/self-discipline). It describes how to transform a workplace for better efficiency, effectiveness and safety by identifying and storing the items used, maintaining the area and items, and sustaining the organization.

also shares messages from headquarters and the Embassy of Japan and gets the participants to take regular health check-ups and vaccinations.

However, for the last two decades, volunteers came to prefer acting rather independently of any other volunteer in the country. Some volunteers were stationed in rural areas and had to travel across the country for more than a week just to attend the 2-day meetings in Thimphu. The merit and demerit of annual meetings were taken up as agenda for discussion in the last few meetings in Bhutan. And finally, in December 2017, they decided to meet only once a year. Theoretically, half of the volunteers would be replaced by new arrivals every year, and then they must build the human network once again. Sociologist Ronald Burt (2002) calls each connection of community members a "bridge" and indicates that the bridges between the community members are easy to decay and destroy and 90% of the bridges are lost in just 1 year. Once they lose the bridges, they have to do without them and so become more isolated. When they face any problem in their own activities, they have no one to consult with in the volunteer network and will come to consult directly with the JICA office. This could cause extra workload for the VCs. Therefore, in Bhutan, the Chief Representative declined their proposal and insisted that they should have JOCV annual meetings at least twice a year.

7.3.3 Clustering of Volunteer Opportunities

JICA (2011) also refers to the increase in group assignment, saying that it could promote synergy among a few volunteers by mobilizing them to work on the common development agenda or the issues specific to the same geographic area (JICA 2011, 4). Farmer and Fedor (1999, 2001) found out that if more volunteers are deployed and they have more interactions among themselves, they could possibly contribute more to the goal achievement efforts. Hidalgo and Moreno (2009) also insisted that the network of volunteers and effective team building would significantly increase the retention rate of the volunteers. Group assignment had already been embedded in the JICA Volunteer Program (JICA 2002a). Since its first introduction in the mid-1980s, the project-type group assignment has been deployed in many JICA programs such as Chagas disease vector control (see Ueda's chapter in this volume), and mathematics education in Central America (see Hosono's chapter in this volume), and engage in greenery promotion cooperation in Nepal and Niger.

In addition to this traditional group assignment, JICA (2011) proposes the following two possibilities. The first was already indicated in Sect. 7.3.2 as either formal COP or ad hoc group formulation. In the meantime, the second one is the cluster formation in a target geographic area with a few volunteer assignments within the same cluster. They don't have to be a formal group assignment in a systematic manner. All the volunteers don't have to have the same technical or sector background. The point is that we need a few volunteers in close proximity. Then it is expected that they begin to interact with their neighbors and then produce new collaborations.

This was nothing new to the JICA Bhutan Office, either. Since the early 2010s, when we set a target area, we would start searching for a volunteer opportunity at a regional or district hospital there as a base for primary medical backstopping for other volunteers to be assigned later on. Then we could proceed to search for other volunteer opportunities in the same locality to make a small cluster of volunteer assignments. There were two such clusters in Bhutan. With one volunteer or two as nurse or midwife stationed at the regional or district hospital, we assigned other volunteers as schoolteacher to the schools on the periphery of the hospital. Soon the volunteers initiated the collaboration in the classroom delivery of health and nutrition education. The nurse or midwife volunteers visited the schools of the teaching volunteers. This collaboration was scaled up as these volunteers started visiting other neighboring schools in the same locality, even though there was no JICA volunteer there. Granovetter (1973) compared the innovativeness of the ideas emerging from two different types of networks: the loose personal network of people remote from each other; and the dense and close personal network of people staying very close to each other in a small community. Then he found that the first network could produce more innovative ideas. In the case of Bhutan mentioned above, volunteers stationed in different workplaces inside the cluster jointly produced innovative solutions which had never been thought of within a small community in different workplaces. The arguments of the volunteers in the above cluster seem to endorse his findings.

In his regression analysis based on the 2011 opinion survey, Yamada (2018b) compared the overall life satisfaction of the volunteers of JOCV between the individual assignment and the group assignment. He found that the life satisfaction of 297 volunteers under group assignments was significantly higher than that of 2,120 volunteers under individual assignments. We can thus conclude that the collaboration between volunteers in the same cluster can stimulate the vitality of each volunteer toward his/her primary assignment and enhance their life satisfaction in the cluster.

Every year the JICA Bhutan Office receives requisition forms for volunteer assignments from different districts. But in many cases, they had to express reservations. If there was just one volunteer in the particular town or area, their usual response was not affirmative. In the frontier districts, where JICA had no past and present volunteer assignments, they should start with their own due diligence to search for other volunteer opportunities in the same locality and see if they could build a new volunteer cluster at that point.[10]

[10] We should not look at the target cluster only through the lens of the Volunteer Program. If there are any other JICA-funded activities nearby, the volunteer could build a bridge to them using their personal network with them. Besides the Japanese contractor, consultants and experts, there are ex-participants to the JICA Knowledge Co-Creation Program (KCCP) courses across the country, such as officers at the community police, schoolteachers and principals, local government officers, gender focal persons, agriculture extension officers, etc.

7.4 Whole-Of-The-Office Approach in Bhutan: *Undokai* for Revitalizing the Community

The Whole-of-the-Office Approach is defined as the one that the country office would add value to the activities initiated by the volunteers, or that the country office would initiate the activities and invite the volunteers to cooperate in them. This section presents one case in Bhutan where the country office value-added to the initiative taken by volunteers.[11]

As mentioned in the previous section, the community of practice in physical education (PE-COP) had already existed among the HPE (health and physical education) volunteers in 2016. One of the main pillars of the PE-COP activities was an HPE festival, or *Undokai* in Japanese, at each of their assigned schools and the other HPE volunteers would cooperate with the host school and volunteer.

Japanese people grow up with a bunch of *Undokai* experiences. They usually spend 3 years in kindergarten, 6 years in elementary school, 3 years in junior high school, and another 3 years in senior high school. At every level, there is an *Undokai* and they experience up to 15 of these events altogether before they advance to college. In addition to the programs in the formal school education system, there are community *Undokai* organized by local residential welfare associations, and corporate *Undokai* organized by proprietors or labor unions. If you are a parent of school-age children, you are also expected to attend a few such events in a year: elementary school, junior high school, and/or community-based. These are good opportunities for parents to get to know other parents and community members. They are one of the most valuable tools to have stakeholders feel the sense of belonging to specific communities.

This event is full of attractive activities in Japan. There are not only individual athletic competitions, team athletic competitions, and cheerleading competitions but also non-competitive programs such as brass band performances and coordinated group gymnastics demonstrations. The event is not only for the limited number of high-performing athletes. Every single one of the students plays a certain role to show and is able to have fun.

It is a valuable opportunity for parents to see the development of the physical ability and cooperativeness of their own children and other children in their neighborhood. Parents also have to participate in the programs such as tag of war and obstacle race, sometimes together with their children. Poorly performing parents must bear the blame from their children in the same evening back at home. Many school graduates also come and voluntarily support such events as they often also function as a school reunion.

The HPE volunteers aimed at introducing this fun event to Bhutan. Based on their earlier decision in 2016, to use *Undokai* as their priority activity to collaborate with each other, they started first in the East. As of mid-October 2018, JICA volunteers had supported these events in nine places across the country, even at a school where

[11] Yamada (2018b). For a case in Bhutan in which the JICA country office took the initiative and involved volunteers in the program implementation, please see the column, "Winter Camp for Highland Schoolchildren" in this volume.

there was no volunteer assignment. They brushed up the events to the level that the host schools brought Bhutanese contexts into the concept originating in Japan. The zero-waste principle is strictly applied, and the organizers set up a clean-up interval from time to time during the half-day event. Gender sensitivity is also observed as the organizer prepares a special program for mothers and female schoolteachers. Principals from neighboring schools, who were also invited and witnessed the event, highly evaluate that it could enable mass participation: students, parents, teachers, and the local residents in the same community. It became a usual practice that other HPE volunteers, and their counterparts would gather at the host school and support the program management by the host teachers on the day of the event.

Meanwhile, the JICA Bhutan Office had another perspective. In 2015, with financial support from JICA, the Centre for Bhutan & GNH Studies conducted a nationwide GNH (Gross National Happiness) survey (CBS 2017). They found that out of the 33 indicators for each of the nine domains constituting the framework to measure the GNH in Bhutan, the indicators for psychological well-being and community vitality domains had deteriorated in the last 5 years.[12] In response to this finding, JICA had been taking a position that whatever events it might organize in the target community, it must bring a positive factor to address the community vitality issue.

Under the above circumstances, JICA had been seeing potential in the *Undokai* as mechanism to promote mass participation and strengthen the ties among the community members around the school. In the summer of 2018, an HPE volunteer of Katsho Lower Secondary School in Haa District visited the JICA office and brought his plan of hosting the second event at his school in late October in the same year. He joined this school as a JICA volunteer in January 2017. The way he led the HPE classes was well accepted by his students, counterpart and school officials. His school was very near the district center and has subsequently been designated as a model school in many pilot school education programs. Because of this proximity, together with his sociable nature, he has been well-recognized even by the district government officials. These factors helped him to introduce this event to his school in less than a year. He succeeded in hosting the first event in October 2017.

When he brought his plan of the second event to the JICA office, he had just wanted to improve the event management from the one he initiated a year before and make the second event a success. The main purpose of his visit to the JICA office was to request the key JICA officials to come and witness the event. After receiving the invitation, however, the Chief Representative proposed that it should be designed as an event to promote wider participation from the neighboring community.

The Chief Representative also visited Haa himself and convinced the school officials and dzongkhag (district) administration office to open the event to the community as well as to the tourists coming from other parts of the country. JICA had two ongoing programs in the district for the promotion of rural entrepreneurship and

[12] "GNH indicators for community vitality and psychological wellbeing deteriorating." *Kuensel*. 17 November 2018. https://kuenselonline.com/gnh-indicators-for-community-vitality-and-psychological-wellbeing-deteriorating/.

community-based sustainable tourism,[13] the Chief Representative intended that the next *Undokai* be a platform to bring together all the outcomes of the ongoing JICA activities.

The host school therefore prepared a special open event for the general participants. The dzongkhag administration coordinated with the other local stakeholders to set up four sales stalls for local entrepreneurs to sell their products, and to offer the village homestay program for tourists to watch or participate in the event.

The second event was held on October 27, 2018. From the JICA office, the Chief Representative, the Volunteer Coordinator, and other staff attended. From the HPE community, six JICA volunteers and their counterparts came to help with event management. Besides the HPE volunteers, other JICA volunteers working in different sectors also traveled all the way to attend it. In order to make it to the opening ceremony at 9 am, they stayed overnight in Haa Town or experienced farm homestay with local villagers.

Students at the Paro College of Education, who had been taking OJT in the Haa District, also gathered to help the organizer. The festival was graced by the Dasho Dzongda (District Commissioner), the District Education Officer, and the President of the Paro College of Education.

Gups (village chiefs), parents, and the local people from the nearby villages participated in the events and enjoyed them till the end of the festival. During the festival, the local entrepreneurs opened shops selling local products like *hoentey* (buckwheat dumpling), *khulay* (buckwheat pancake), *chimpa* (cow intestines stuffing), *juma* (sausage), yogurt, and homemade biscuits in the school playground. All the prepared items were sold out before the festival ended in the early afternoon.

Thus, the *Undokai* concept became a comprehensive event beyond the simple framework of volunteer activities. However, since then, similar events have not been held because of the departure of the JICA volunteer from the district, transfer of teachers to other schools, and more recently as a result of the restrictions on the large-scale gathering events in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the local people and the schoolteachers who experienced the event still remember it and hope that they can host similar events as soon as the situation gets back to normal. Transferred teachers also wish to bring *Undokai* to their schools and thus the concept has been spread out across the country. The JICA volunteers involved in these events also worked on documentation (Fujiwara 2018; Kozato 2018). Their papers will be a good reference once the school management decides to put it in their schools.

[13] Country-focused technical training program "Community Entrepreneurial Capacity and Rural Enterprise Development," and NGO-JICA partnership program "Community-Based Sustainable Tourism Development Project in Haa.".

Undokai at Katso Lower Secondary School (October 27, 2018).

Undokai at Katso Lower Secondary School (October 27, 2018). (continued)

Undokai at Katso Lower Secondary School (October 27, 2018). (continued)

7.5 Conclusion: The Whole-Of-The-Office Approach in the SDGs Era

In this chapter, we have argued that the country office is also part of the JICA Volunteer Program and that the program should be evaluated not only by the performance of an individual volunteer but also by the impact he/she creates as part of the collective action of the volunteer network that is frequently facilitated by the country office. JICA has not developed an alternative methodology that could complement the existing framework described in Sect. 7.2.1. At this point, we can only say that the existing framework of impact evaluation only deals with the performance of individual volunteers and is not enough to highlight the potential of the network of volunteers working together, and the role of the country office in network facilitation.

The focus on the network is more relevant in the era of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Since the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly[14] in September 2015, all the development partners have endeavored to show how their programs would contribute to the SDG achievement efforts by specifying which goals and targets they are linked to. The JICA Volunteer Program is not an exception. In the current format of the classified ad for the opportunity-seekers, JICA specifies which SDGs the volunteers would work on. However, this doesn't ensure that the Program will address the overarching principle of the 2030 Agenda, "No one will be left behind."

[14] General Assembly Resolution 70/1, *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, A/RES/70/1 (21 October 2015), https://sdgs.un.org/2030agenda.

For this to be ensured, the country offices must find a way to address the needs of communities whose demands are low but have a wider variety or those whose demands are high in volume but are scattered across the country. Historically, JICA has taken a project-based approach in the delivery of development cooperation using three major instruments: technical cooperation, grant aid, and concessional loans. Since it mobilizes huge financial and human resources, the project-based approach is designed to serve the large volume of demand in a concentrated area. In addition to these major instruments, JICA has the volunteer program as one of its instruments for small-scale intervention. With the volunteer program, JICA is able to respond to a wider variety of development needs.

If it wishes to increase the effectiveness of the result orientation, however, JICA should look at its volunteer program not only as the aggregation of individual volunteer activities but also as a network of instruments for development cooperation. Even within the network of volunteers alone, it would enhance the effectiveness of their individual activities as illustrated in Sect. 7.3 above. This would eventually lead to their individual satisfaction with their volunteer experience.

The COVID-19 pandemic from 2020 to 2021 has severely affected not only the economy and society in many countries but also the way the international development partners provide development cooperation. In March 2020, JICA decided to force all their in-service volunteers to take early leave and return to Japan. Although it resumed their foreign assignments in early 2021 for a few countries, it is expected that it would take a while for the program to return to full-fledged implementation. In the present circumstances, it's not enough to argue development effectiveness only within the framework of the volunteer program alone. Since the other instruments of development cooperation, such as expert assignments, technical training, and partnerships with various partners in Japan, based on the international movement of human resources, similarly came to a halt due to COVID-19, all the country offices must find a way to respond to emerging needs quickly and leverage the impact and effectiveness of their operations with the limited number of instruments at hand.

If JICA really aims to address small and fragmented development needs and hence ensure no one will be left behind in the post-COVID era, its country offices must shift their mindset from volunteer-based program design to problem-based program design, where they can play a more proactive role in quick program design and resource mobilization, including existing volunteers, as illustrated in Sect. 7.4. The Whole-of-the-Office approach seems to have entered a new phase.

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Appendix Essay 7: Winter Camp for Highland Schoolchildren in Bhutan

Koji Yamada and Kuenzang Dorji

Besides those initiated by the JICA volunteers (see Chap. 7), there are other types of activities initiated by JICA country offices that have volunteers playing a central role in planning and implementing them together with office staff. A unique example in Bhutan is the Winter Camps for Highland Children, hosted by the JICA Bhutan Office in January 2019 and 2020.

Support for the highlanders, who live in the mountainous areas at 4,500 m above sea level, is one of the flagship programs of the government of Bhutan. JICA has been frequently asked about the possibility of contributing to this agenda. Considering the small population of the area, however, it is difficult to apply the conventional project approach as it would incur a big capital investment. JICA also considered sending a volunteer to a school in the area, but soon found it difficult for expats to enter the restricted area facing China in the north. There are border issues between the two countries.

For the JICA Bhutan Office, support for the highlanders has been an issue to which they hadn't found a good solution for many years. But in 2018, they finally came up with a question: "What do the schoolchildren do during the long winter breaks?" Compared to the schools in lower areas, highland schools are closed much longer for winter breaks due to snow and severe low temperatures. They are closed from mid-November to late March. Thus, highland children may be left at serious disadvantage

in obtaining academic knowledge and skills, physical fitness, and esthetic sensitivity and creativity.

JICA soon learnt that highlanders would seasonally migrate to the low-altitude areas. In the meantime, schools in the lower areas are closed in December and January, and the educational resources, teachers, and facilities, are left idle for these 2 months. JICA also checked if there had been any existing program in the Ministry of Education or other local development partners that aimed at providing complementary academic sessions for highland schoolchildren. And they found that there had been no such program.

JICA decided to host the first winter camp on a trial basis, inviting children from the Lunana Primary School in Gasa district to a 1-week camp in January 2019 at the Technical Training Institute (TTI) in Punakha district, which was the destination of the people of Lunana for seasonal migration in winter. Lunana Primary School had 36 students from Class PP to VI and it was small enough for JICA to start with for the year. Even so, it may be the school located in the remotest place in Bhutan.

Once JICA collected information about the students' profiles, they called for proposals on which classes to teach from the whole JICA fraternity. There were a few JICA volunteers posted to individual schools as health and physical education (HPE) teachers or art teachers. While they could constitute the core group to organize a 1-week program, they also called their counterpart Bhutanese teachers to join in. JICA also called other volunteers and counterparts in different sector backgrounds. The JICA office staff were called as well to share their skills on a voluntary basis. Even the Chief Representative volunteered as a math and English teacher in the first session of the day for the whole week.

JICA also invited many local stakeholders to buy in, such as Gasa and Punakha district administration offices, TTI, and many other public and private entities. These local partners sent instructors to the camp or hosted the children's visit to their offices. Indeed, it became a big platform of collaboration.

Once the rough proposals were placed on the table, the designated staff and a Volunteer Coordinator communicated with a few active teaching volunteers for schedule arrangements. If they found vacant slots, they discussed how to fill them. Based on experience in their existing schools, those teaching volunteers proposed extra programs such as morning assembly and a dance performance at the closing ceremony.

During the camp week, there was a bus transportation service provided by the Gasa district administration to pick up students and bring them to the TTI. Once the students were dropped at the campsite in the morning, they proceeded to the wake-up exercise initiated by the core implementation group consisting of HPE and art teaching volunteers. While the core members initiated class delivery in the lessons such as HPE and art, other volunteers joined one after another for 1 or 2 days and hosted lessons such as math, music, penmanship, martial arts, and English and Japanese language. Whenever they were idle, they helped the other instructors and facilitated their smooth class delivery. The HPE volunteers taught dance performances every day. The students demonstrated the results of their daily practice at the closing ceremony.

Even though it was just a 1-week program, in the math class, for example, the students' performance in terms of speed of calculation dramatically improved. The instructor let them work on a 100-grid calculation of 1-digit addition every morning. Although most of them spent more than 10 min to complete the worksheet on Day 1, the best two students recorded less than 3 min on Day 7 and even the last one took only a few seconds over 10 min.

The students were accompanied by the school principal throughout the whole 7 days. He was another beneficiary to learn such unprecedented ways of class delivery, not only in mathematics and HPE but also in all other subjects.

The volunteers benefited, too. This was the first encounter with the highland children, and through the interactions with them, the volunteers learned the on-the-ground realities in the lives of highlanders. It was a totally new value addition to their experience in their daily life as a JICA volunteer. However, the teaching volunteers faced a new challenge in class delivery in the totally different conditions from the ones they had already experienced at the schools of their assignment. They could not communicate easily with the highland children. The children relied heavily on their local dialect and did not understand English well. They were taught by very few schoolteachers, who had to cover many subjects even though they were not always a specialist in the subjects they taught. The organizers provided school lunches every day but learned that the children would not even touch those food items which they had never seen before. In the highlands, it is difficult to catch fish or grow vegetables. As a consequence, the children took only rice and potatoes at lunch and did not even try to eat vegetables, fish, and meat.

All the participating volunteers learned that education might be one of the most critical areas in the support to highlanders. Also, they learned that the one-size-fits-all approach would not work for the education of children in the highlands because they were facing different cultural and social backgrounds and different school conditions from those in the mid-hills. It was a thought-provoking event for development practitioners because they learned that they should apply customized solutions, even in the measures for all the participants to stay in touch with those highland children after they completed their assignment in Bhutan. JICA volunteers said that they would not forget the 7 days with the children.

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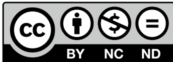

Chapter 8
Evacuation of International Volunteers Due to the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Case Study of Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers

Kumiko Kawachi

8.1 Introduction

In March 2020 international aid agencies decided to evacuate their volunteers from host countries as part of their response to the COVID-19 pandemic. The scale of this evacuation was unprecedented. On March 15 in 2020, the Director of the US Peace Corps, Jody K. Olsen announced the evacuation of all volunteers from their posts. At that time, approximately 7,000 Peace Corps volunteers worked in 62 countries (Peace Corps 2020, 2021). In the case of the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (hereafter, JOCV), more than 2,000 volunteers all over the world were also evacuated (JICA and JOCV 2020, 2).[1]

The COVID-19 pandemic was not the first time that the withdrawal of volunteers abroad from a host country had taken place, however. Both the US Peace Corps and JOCV have experienced several withdrawals from host countries. In the case of the Peace Corps there have been some particular factors contributing to such withdrawals, such as deteriorating safety in the host country (including the outbreak of civil war), the rise of anti-Americanism, or internal budget-related issues (Kawachi 2022, 88–90; Nisely 2018, 71–74).

The JOCV has also had to terminate its programs due to changes in the political climate of a host country. In the case of its programs in El Salvador for example, JICA decided to withdraw its volunteers in 1979 due to escalating violence linked to guerilla activities and social unrest. Under such volatile and dangerous conditions, the

[1] The Japan Overseas Cooperation Agency is an international volunteer program and part of the Official Development Assistance (ODA) provided by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA).

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JICA Annual Report of 1979 mentioned the reason for the emergency evacuation—it had become extremely difficult to protect the lives of its volunteers or effectively cooperate with the local population (JICA 1979, 291).

Nevertheless, while some governmental international volunteer agencies have experienced the evacuation of their volunteers in earlier times, there is a dearth of research on the experiences and the impacts on volunteer individuals who have been abruptly forced to leave an assigned place or country in this way. Among these few studies, Hirshon et al. (1997) focus on the Peace Corps volunteers who were forced to depart from their host country under emergencies such as an ongoing civil war. This study found that there are some differences in psychological impact between those volunteers who returned under regular circumstances and those who were evacuated under emergency conditions. For example, 25% of volunteers who return under regular circumstances from a project report "feelings of depression or feelings of disorientation," but approximately half of *evacuated* volunteers report these feelings. Also, it should be noted that the response rate for forcibly evacuated volunteers was much higher than the response rate for volunteers who have completed their regular term of service. This suggests that the evacuation in the middle of their service may have some impact on the mental state of the evacuated volunteers, and so it necessary to provide some support for them to overcome the experience.

On the JOCV side, the experiences of 91 JOCV volunteers who worked during the late 1980s insecure situation in Colombia were explored. In the case of this program the agency did not choose to evacuate volunteers from all posts in Colombia. Instead, it decided to continue the program while changing their host community and adhering to strict safety requirements for the volunteers. According to the article, while the safety of the Japanese volunteers was well secured, in some cases strict safety restrictions hindered collaboration with Colombian locals, which was a major challenge for the volunteers in building trust with them (Kawachi 2018).

The spread of the COVID-19 pandemic promoted attention to the impact on the operations of international volunteer agencies compared with those of past decades. Although not numerous, research and reports on issues of the evacuation of international volunteer programs have begun to be published since 2020. Shiraishi et al. (2020) examined the feelings and circumstances of five JOCV volunteers in the earlier period of the pandemic. This study found that the evacuated volunteers who had served their host community and institution only for a short period felt quite anxious about continuing their activities remotely. They felt that they had not yet established a network with the local community. So, the study suggested that JICA's proactive intervention should create an official system that would allow them and their counterparts to work online smoothly in the future.

The evacuation due to the COVID-19 pandemic differed from previous evacuations in some ways. First, unlike the outbreak of civil war or the deteriorating security situation in a particular country, the threat of the COVID-19 pandemic has been shared globally, so similar safety measures have been taken across the world. Secondly, regardless of the speed or scale of the spread of the infection, since all regions of the globe were affected by the COVID-19 pandemic at a certain point, none of the international volunteer programs had the option of relocating volunteers

to other host countries unaffected by the problem, as the Peace Corps and JOCV used to do as a way of coping with this situation in the past.

In the case of the JOCV program, JICA offered an option to the evacuated volunteers waiting for redeployment to the same host country. This was a new approach that had not been seen in previous withdrawals of international volunteer programs. However, the global spread of the COVID-19 pandemic and the differences in the government measures used against it made it difficult for the majority of JOCV volunteers to return to their host countries. As a result, some JOCV volunteers waited for 2 years before going back to the host country. This was interesting because the two-year period is the same as the normal JOCV program deployment period. Thus, even with the possibility of returning to the same country, the waiting period was by no means short for JOCV members.

The evacuation of all international volunteers due to the COVID-19 pandemic was thus a situation that had never been experienced before. In light of this, the present study explores the evacuated JOCV volunteers' experiences from evacuation to reassignment, while also focusing on analyzing what motivated volunteers to keep alive their hopes for a reassignment. This study examines the flow of their experiences in four time periods: (1) before evacuation, (2) during the evacuation, (3) during their stay, and (4) after returning to the host country. This study also explored how the evacuation experience changed the mindset of volunteers in terms of being international volunteers.

8.2 Background Information on the Evacuation of JOCV Due to the COVID-19 Pandemic

8.2.1 Evacuation from Host Countries

In March 2020, JICA decided to evacuate all JOCV volunteers due to the spread of COVID-19. Under the agency's direction, 2,044 volunteers had returned to Japan by the end of April. The evacuation was unprecedented event for the agency, never before experienced since its inception.

Amidst all this uncertainty, JICA headquarters and overseas offices were required to respond quickly to unforeseen circumstances. A JICA staff member working at headquarters mentioned that host country measures to prevent COVID-19 had more rapidly progressed than the agency assumed in many cases (e.g., the imposition of national border closures and quarantine measures at airports). Since many JOCV volunteers were working in rural areas, coordinating safe travel to the capital was challenging due to new restrictions on crossing prefectural borders. Also, reserved flights were often canceled because of the sudden national border closures. With the situation changing from moment to moment, it was a painstaking task to bring the volunteers back from host countries to Japan. A JICA staff member working at an Overseas Office in Africa said that racial discrimination against East Asians also

became apparent and was one of the safety issues at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic. At the time, in some host countries, Eastern Asian-looking people became subjects of discriminatory behavior because the outbreak of COVID-19 was first identified in Wuhan City, China. So, JOCV volunteers were sometimes verbally abused on the street when they wore masks.[2]

On the JOCV volunteers' side, they also had to adapt themselves to the unexpected circumstances. The JOCV monthly magazine *Crossroad* presented the experiences of three evacuated volunteers whose term of service had come to end in Japan. In the article, all three interviewees regretted not having the opportunity to express their face-to-face gratitude to their colleagues, students, and neighbors in host countries. One volunteer believed that he would have to stay in Japan only for a short period and would soon come back to the host country. Because of that, he believed that he would be able to see them again, so he said goodbye to people in the host country only in a light-hearted way. In another male volunteer's case, he had been already informed by JICA that he might not be able to return there because he had only three months left to complete his assignment of service. He also could not say goodbye in person when leaving the host country due to the COVID-19-related curfew. The third interviewee, a female volunteer who worked in the Marshall Islands was neither allowed to stop by her community nor pack her belongings by herself because the first suspected infected person in that community was found just before the evacuation order was issued (JICA and JOCV 2021, 10–13).

8.2.2 *JICA's Support for the Evacuated Volunteers*

As soon as the volunteers were evacuated, JICA provided many support services for the evacuated volunteers. The agency offered opportunities to improve the volunteers' various skills and knowledge such as foreign language lessons and complementary technical pieces of training. According to a JICA staff member JICA's initiative was a managerial judgment that JICA as a whole organization would support the JOCV program to maintain and continue work under the COVID-19 situation, so various support systems and revised policies for the volunteers were developed swiftly.[3]

JICA staff members and Volunteer Coordinators carefully listened and responded to the evacuated volunteers' questions and concerns. JICA staff said, "there were more than 2,000 evacuees, so each of them had been in different situations and timing. Therefore, we thought it was important to provide explanations and responses tailored to everyone. To understand each volunteer's issues correctly, we spoke on an individual basis on the phone."[4] Some volunteers worried about when they could return to the host country (they expected to return as early as possible). The others were concerned with apartment rent, personal belongings, and bank accounts that

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[2] Two anonymous JICA official (2022, May 20), personal communication [ZOOM interview].

[3] Ibid.

[4] note #4, Ibid.

they had left in the host country. Others asked the JICA office whether it had explained their evacuation to their counterparts and colleagues because some of the volunteers were unable to talk to them before leaving the country.[5]

In addition to individual-based consultation and support, JICA organized seminars and consulting sessions for the evacuated volunteers to reduce their worries and keep them connected with the JICA and JOCV colleagues. For example, JICA Okinawa in the southernmost part of Japan has held online support seminars 10 times since May 2020 in cooperation with other associations. The participants commented that these helped to reduce their anxiety and boost their motivation (JICA and JOCV 2020, 10).

In terms of financial support for the evacuated volunteers, JICA extended the period of payment of items such as the waiting allowance. However, although JICA supported the evacuated volunteers financially, some of them had to give up waiting for reassignment due to various circumstances. In response to such circumstances, JICA also organized job-hunting-related seminars and provided some pieces of vocational training for their future career path (JICA and JOCV 2020, 7).

8.2.3 Selection of Status of the JOCV Program While Staying in Japan

From the end of June through July of 2020, the JICA offered their volunteers three options during the post-repatriation period. Option number one was to continue their contacts with JICA and be on standby to return to the host country under the "Special Extension of Waiting Period" ("*taiki kikan no tokubetsu enchou*" in Japanese). The volunteer who selected this option had to carry out the activities indicated by JICA during their stay in Japan (see Table 8.1). The second option was to discontinue the official contract (the volunteer was no longer bound by the Dispatch Agreement signed with JICA),[6] but keep their JOCV status throughout by going onto the waiting list, under a "Special Registration System" ("t*okubetsu touroku seido*"). These volunteers were granted the right to return to JOCV service within the three years limit. Also, while they were staying in Japan, they were able to back to work and school. The third option was to leave the JOCV program (Withdrawal or "*jitai*"). Those who had to choose this option included: (1) evacuated volunteers who decided not to wait to return to the host country and (2) evacuated volunteers who had completed two years of JOCV service in Japan, before or at the time when the questionnaire was taken (JICA and JOCV 2020, 7; Perold et al. 2021, 34).

[5] Ibid.

[6] The agreement is called in Japanese, *seinen kaigai kyouryokutai haken gouisho*.

Table 8.1 Three options given by JICA for temporary returnees (evacuated)

Option number 1	Option number 2	Option number 3
(1) Special extension of waiting period	(2) Special registration system	(3) Withdrawal
Taiki kikan no tokubetsu enchou (in Japanese)	*Tokubetsu touroku seido (in Japanese)*	*Jitai (in Japanese)*
Applicants for Special Extension of Waiting Period are required to carry out the following three activities: (a) Continuation of activities by fulfilling one's duty to the assigned post in the host country online; (b) Strengthening one's own capacity to resume the activities; (c) Participation in social contribution activities in Japan	The applicants under the Special Waiting Period System are no longer bound by the Dispatch Agreement signed with JICA. Therefore, while waiting to go back to the host country in Japan, they are allowed to go back their work or start a new job, or even go to school. With a maximum time period of three years, the applicants under this condition are granted the right to return to JOCV service	For those who selected withdrawal, training allowances and support for career development were provided, whether they had completed their term of service or not. The purpose is to minimize the disadvantage for those evacuated volunteers who seek future careers

Source Elaborated by the author based on JICA and JOCV (2020, 7)

The agency asked for their preference regarding their selection of status as a JOCV volunteer from these three options. The following two groups, (1) JOCV volunteers who were evacuated from the host country due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and (2) JOCV trainees of the third batch of 2019 who were scheduled to depart in 2020 March were those who were asked their preferences (a total of 1,600 individuals). As a result of the questionnaire, approximately 900 evacuated volunteers selected option number one, "Special Extension of Waiting Period" (JICA and JOCV 2020, 7).[7] In early August 2020, after the Dispatch Agreement was annulled, operations in line with the questionnaire began (e.g., operation of the "Special Registration System").

While the evacuated volunteers stayed in Japan, some of them continued to connect to their host country. For example, the evacuated volunteers and alumni who worked in Kyrgyzstan organized fun study events for children whose schools were closed due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Another example was a volunteer who taught Japanese in Papua New Guinea. He continued to teach Japanese classes at a university by providing learning instruction, correcting grammar, and giving advice on an e-mail basis (JICA and JOCV 2020, 8–9).

Some volunteers who selected option number one "Special Extension of the Waiting Period" continued collaborating with their counterparts and host communities remotely. The others began to support Japanese society during the COVID-19 pandemic. For instance, a volunteer worked as a Japanese language instructor to teach the language to foreign employees in a local Japanese company. The others

[7] The questionnaire by JICA is called *ikou chousa* in Japanese, see JICA and JOCV (2020).

started to support Japanese farmers who were suffering from a shortage of labor. The evacuated volunteers recruited their colleague volunteers to work together in Japanese farms (JICA and JOCV 2020, 8–11).

8.2.4 Reopening the JOCV Program

Since the fall of 2020, JICA has gradually reopened the JOCV program on a case-by-case basis. In November 2020, Vietnam became the first host country to resume the deployment of JOCV volunteers. Criteria to resume the deployment of volunteers are: (1) a low number of infected COVID-19 cases in the host country, and (2) readiness of the host institution and the local community to receive volunteers and start projects. Based on these preconditions, according to the *JICA kaigai kryouryokutai* official website (JOCV official website), JICA determined the schedule of deployment by project and by country.[8] As of the end of June 2022, the JOCV program has dispatched 427 volunteers including 33 senior volunteers, to 51 host countries (JICA 2022).[9]

JOCV resumed volunteer dispatch much earlier than the US Peace Corps. It was not until the end of 2021 that the Peace Corps officially announced that it was ready to deploy volunteers to Belize, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, and Zambia, and began redeploying its volunteers to host countries in March 2022. Zambia was the first host country to accept Peace Corps volunteers after the COVID-19 evacuation (National Peace Corps Association 2021; U.S. Embassy in Zambia 2022).

8.3 Research Design

8.3.1 Recruitment of Research Participants

To explore JOCV volunteers' experience of the 2020 large-scale evacuation due to the COVID-19 pandemic and their change of mindset as international volunteers, this study conducted a semi-structured interview with the JOCV volunteers who experienced the evacuation.

[8] JICA kaigai kyouryokutai. (n.d.). *Frequently Asked Questions*. JICA Official Webpage https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/application/seinen/qa/index.html.

[9] JICA Senior Volunteers were previously classified by age as 40 years old or older, but that rule changed for applicants in the fall of 2018. Currently, volunteers classified as Senior Volunteers are required to have a certain level of experience and skills, including at least 15 years of working experience. Some of the subjects of this study were senior corps members before this system was adopted, and their ages are relatively high, with many in their 60 s.

Research participants (JOCV volunteers who experienced the evacuation)for the present study were selected under the following conditions. First, JOCV volunteers who had left the host countries due to COVID-19 expansion between the middle of March through the end of April in 2020 and had kept JOCV status either under the "Special Extension of Waiting Period" or the "Special Registration System" were selected. The next set of conditions for research participants were those in force as of the middle of March 2022. These were, (1) they had already returned to the host country as a JOCV volunteer, or (2) they were in the middle of preparations to return to the host country as a JOCV volunteer very soon. The study does not include those evacuated JOCV volunteers who had decided to withdraw before the research was launched or those who had completed their term of service during their stay in Japan.

Under these criteria, research participants were recruited through cooperation with JICA headquarters, including the JOCV Secretariat. The JICA offices distributed handouts prepared by the author to explain the purpose of the study and research ethics. JOCV Volunteers who were willing to participate in the study directly contacted the author by e-mail. Finally, to gain a better insight into the large-scale evacuation and its consequences due to the COVID-19 evacuation, the author also conducted interviews with the two JICA staff who supported evacuating the volunteers at that time.

8.3.2 Interview and Schedule

All interview data for this study were collected between March and June 2022. The interviews for the JOCV volunteers were semi-structured and open-ended, and the author tried to make each interview a more natural conversational exchange. Interviews for the volunteers were arranged on an individual basis by following the interview guide (see Appendix). The average interview length was about 45 min, with some lasting more than one hour and a half. In terms of obtaining informed consent for participating in the study, the author sent a digital consent form. Before starting an interview, the author explained the purpose of the study and explained how the conversation would be anonymized and protect the privacy of the participants. After the interview, the author discussed with the research participants any episode they did not want to be cited. In the process of analyzing the interview data, some of the research participants were asked to confirm whether the author's interpretation was correct or if they had any new questions.

The interview questions for JICA officers were narrower in scope and two JICA officials were interviewed at the same time. That interview took place in the middle of May 2022.

8.4 JOCV Volunteers in the Study

8.4.1 Profiles of Research Participants (The JOCV Volunteers)

The total number of JOCV volunteers participating in this study is 15 including 4 senior volunteers who became JOCV volunteers after retirement.[10] Their host countries are in a variety of regions such as Africa, Asia, Europe and the Middle East, Latin America, and Oceania. The male–female ratio of volunteers is almost equal: 7 males and 8 females. The most common category of volunteer work among them is in education-related areas. They are responsible for instructing students and developing educational plans and materials for their assigned institutions. Also, they are assigned to the promotion of teacher education such as sharing teaching skills and operational techniques (see Table 8.2 for further information).

8.4.2 Volunteers' Motives to Apply for the JOCV Program

Okabe et al. (2019) presented six clusters of motives for joining international volunteering based on analyzing 1,507 JOCV volunteers' surveys. These are: (1) "curiosity;" (2) "business orientation;" (3) "development assistance;" (4) "quest for oneself;" (5) "change-oriented;" and (6) "altruism." The author examined which of the six clusters shown by Okabe et al. (2019) applied to the research participants in the present study. As a result of analyzing interview data from 15 individuals, seven of them were more likely to have the characteristics of a "curiosity" oriented cluster. According to the study (Okabe et al. 2019), the top two chosen motives by volunteers who were in the "curiosity" oriented cluster were: "to understand developing countries" and "to make use of [own] experience after returning home." Also, the relatively high participation rates of teachers and students were recognized in the cluster (1075–1076). In the case of research participants of this study, three of the seven were teachers before applying to the JOCV program.

Ena is one to fit this cluster and she explained her motives for applying to the JOCV program as:

> As a teacher by profession, I only knew about the school education field, so I wanted to broaden my point of view for my future work. I had an opportunity to visit a JICA event, and then I got to know about one form of joining in JOCV programs called "Participation with Incumbent Occupation."[11] Knowing this system was also a driving force in my decision to apply for the JOCV program. Also, I thought that going abroad and learning different

[10] The interviewees (evacuated volunteers) were recruited widely from around the world with the cooperation of the JOCV Secretariat. However, the number of volunteers who made or planned for redeployment was low at the time of recruitment, so the overall number of eligible volunteers for the study was not large.

[11] In Japanese, it is called *genshoku sanka seido*.

Table 8.2 15 JOCV volunteers profiles[12]

#	Name	Area	Gender and volunteer type	Category	Duration of stay in host country b.e	Duration of stay in Japan (stand-by)	Type of status
1	Taro	Latin America and Carribean (LAC)	Male	Sports	28 days[a]	1 yr. and 7 mos.	Stand-by
2	Hanako	LAC	Female	Education	3 mos.	2 yrs.	Stand-by
3	Keiko	LAC	Female	Enviromental education	1 mo. and half	2 yrs.	Stand-by → special registration
4	Nao	Europe and Middle East (EME)	Female	Youth development	1 mo.[a]	1 yr. and 7 mos.	Special registration
5	Hayato	EME	Male	Disaster prevention	7 mos.[a]	1 yr. and 7 mos.	Special registration
6	Taisei	EME	Male (Senior volunteer)	Non-destructive inspection	4 mos.(2019–20); 3yrs.(2015–18)	2 yrs.	Stand-by
7	Jiro	Africa	Male	Occupational Thetapist	1 yr. and 3 mos.	2 yrs.	Special registration
8	Sumire	EME	Female (Senior volunteer)	Support for people with disabilities	1 yr. and half	1 yr. and 7 mos.	Stand-by
9	Sakura	Africa	Female	Community development	6 mos.	1 yr. and half	Special registration

(continued)

[12] With regard to the regional classification in Table 8.2, the author chose to maintain the anonymity of research participants due to the small number of host countries in the Europe and Middle East regions. Thus, these two regions are presented in the same category. The anonymity of the regions was requested by the research participants. Also, the job categories are presented as a larger framework than the actual JICA categories.

Table 8.2 (continued)

#	Name	Area	Gender and volunteer type	Category	Duration of stay in host country b.e	Duration of stay in Japan (stand-by)	Type of status
10	Hiroshi	Asia	Male (Senior volunteer)	Computer	4 mos.	2 yrs.	Stand-by → special registration
11	Mika	Africa	Female	Community development	50 days[a]	2 yrs.	Special registration
12	Ryo	Oceania	Male	Speech-language pathologist	2 weeks[a]	1 yr. and 5 mos.	Special registration
13	Ena	Africa	Female	Education	6 mos.[a]	2 yrs.	Special registration
14	Maya	EME	Female	Music	2 mos.[a]	1 yr. and 2 mos.	Stand-by
15	Ken	Africa	Male	Education	2 mos.	First stay:11mos.; second stay:2 mos.	Stand-by

This table was created based on interview data by the author.
Abbreviation: b.e., before evacuation; mo., month; mos., months; yr., year; yrs., years
[a]The number of days or months spent in the host community before being evacuated
Some participants remembered the date and month when they entered the host community, while others remembered only the approximate date and month they arrived in the host country, so not all were able to indicate the precise date and month they entered the host community.

> cultures would be necessary for me to continue working as a teacher [in Japan]. I thought I could give back to the children what I had learned from my volunteer experience.[13]

Ena's motive for applying to the program was to understand different cultures and to use her experience of international volunteering for her future career. Hayato, who has expertise in security services and disaster relief, also had a similar motivation as Ena. He wanted to gain experience living overseas and prepare himself for future overseas operations in his career. He also joined the JOCV program "Participation with Incumbent Occupation."

The remainder of the eight volunteers' reasons for applying for the JOCV program were in line with the "development assistant" orientation. According to Okabe et al. (2019), the top two motives of those volunteers who were in the "development assistance" cluster were: "to help developing countries" and "to advance my career." Volunteers in the cluster tend to have had international experience beforehand such as traveling abroad and being involved in some international activities (1077).

Maya, who fitted into this cluster had lived for 10 years in a foreign country before applying to the program. She had always been interested in participating in development assistance type of activities. Originally, she had planned to apply for the JOCV program after her retirement, and it had been one of her life goals. However, the opportunity came much earlier than she expected.

Another volunteer, Keiko, has been involved in environmental activities both overseas and in Japan. She had been interested in helping promote environmental awareness in developing countries. The JOCV program could provide her with an opportunity to engage in a longer-term project, which is why she applied to the program.

The motives of evacuated volunteers in applying for the JOCV program were likely to match with the reasons quoted by the "curiosity" or "development assistance" clusters. Some of them have both types of characteristics. Also, those volunteers who applied to the program through the "Participation with Incumbent Occupation" route, mentioned that the adaptation of the system in their own workplace was a major boost to their participation. On the other hand, in the case where volunteers could not join the JOCV program under "Participation with Incumbent Occupation," they needed to quit their job. Those who quit their jobs to join the JOCV program were characterized by the fact that they had planned to quit after gaining skills and working experience with a view to joining the JOCV program, or that the opportunity came just the right time to leave their work.

[13] Ena (2022, May 27), personal communication [Zoom interview].

8.5 The Experiences of 15 JOCV Evacuated Volunteers During the COVID-19 Pandemic

8.5.1 Before Evacuation

In the case of JOCV volunteers, upon arrival in the host country they are required to receive a series of orientation sessions and training such as safety lectures and intensive language training. After completing these requirements in the capital of each host country, volunteers move to their host community and start to investigate situations in the workplace and problems that the community would like to find solutions for. Nevertheless, from the volunteer's perspective, many people felt that their life as an international volunteer only began when they enter the host community, rather than upon arrival in the host country.

As shown in Fig. 8.1, in the case of evacuation due to the COVID-19 pandemic, 8 of 15 volunteers were ordered to leave within three months of arrival at their host community. The shortest length of stay in the host community was approximately two weeks. Given this situation, some of the volunteers felt that their projects had just started or not yet started at all when they were ordered to evacuate.

The case of a senior volunteer, Taisei, is exceptional. Taisei had already completed his first assignment of service as a senior volunteer. In total, he served for 3 years from 2015 to 2018. After returning to Japan, he applied for the almost same position in the same country. He started his second assignment as JOCV senior volunteer in late 2019 and he had already met some colleagues related to his new assignment. Figure 8.1 excludes Taisei's first assignment of service (2015–2018), so his length of stay was only counted as four months. Another senior volunteer, Hanako, had lived in the same host country for five years. As with Taisei's case, Fig. 8.1 also excluded

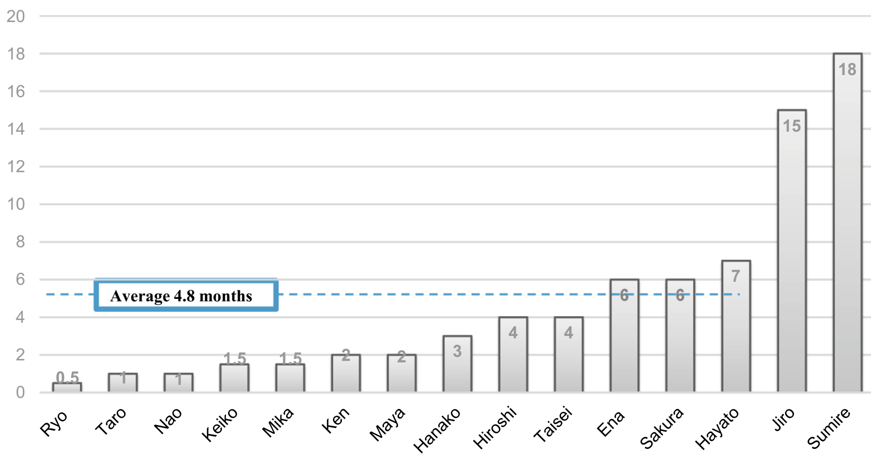

Fig. 8.1 Length of stay before emergency evacuation (months)

Hanako's previous assignment of service in the host country and counted her length of stay only from her second assignment which started in late 2019. In light of these circumstances, excluding the previous assignments, the average length of stay in the host community before the evacuation was 4.8 months.

Figure 8.1 was created based on interview data obtained by the author.[14]

8.5.2 Returning to Japan

As JICA officials mentioned earlier, race-based discriminatory behavior against East Asians in the host country was reported by JOCV volunteers at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic. Three volunteers in Africa encountered verbal harassment just before the evacuation. Mika walked down the street in the capital, and a stranger shouted at her "CORONA!" Ena was refused a ride on a public bus by a driver. Ken also encountered discriminatory verbal harassment while walking down the street, but Ken said that as far as he knew, some JOCV volunteers in other host countries had encountered more discriminatory behavior. One of them said that the timing of the evacuation may have been just in time, perhaps if it were late, the discriminatory behavior might have escalated.

Although all volunteers in this study had departed from the host country by March 2020, the author found that the amount of time that volunteers could spend preparing for evacuation varied greatly due to differences in the COVID-19 measures and situations in each host country. Around the evacuation time, uncertain circumstances such as sudden border closures and flight cancellations were taking place. Some volunteers left the host community in as little as 24 h, while others took more than a week after receiving the evacuation order. Within a limited time, most of them needed to pack their belongings, stop by the workplace, and call their colleagues and students to explain their departure and the cancellation of the project. Some of them were instructed to withdraw money and discuss with their landlord about apartment-related matters.

Due to the uncertain situation, instructions from JICA overseas offices varied depending on the situation in the host country. A volunteer had received instructions from staff to pack only for a short business trip amount of luggage, so she left most of her belongings in her apartment. Others also packed for only for one-month trip.[15]

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[14] Volunteers who clearly remember when they entered the host area/placement indicated their length of stay in the host community/workplace. Those in this category are Taro, Nao, Hayato, Mika, Ryo, Ena, and Maya. For the other members, the graph shows the duration of their stay in the host country. During the interview, the volunteers with shorter stays tended to provide detailed information on the number of days that they could stay in the host community or assigned workplace before the evacuation. Volunteers who could stay in the host community longer simply provided the total length of stay in the host country.

[15] These examples of To-Do lists before the evacuation and episodes about how much belongings needed to pack for leaving are based on what the author heard during the interviews.

Evacuated volunteers, as well as staff, were naturally in a state of uncertainty as to how long the evacuation in the COVID-19 pandemic would last and what the correct response should be.

Some volunteers were able to return to Japan as planned, while the others' travel did not go smoothly. Hiroshi reflected that domestic travel in the host country was tough. Traveling beyond state borders by public transportation was difficult because of some restrictions related to COVID-19. Hiroshi ended up having a JICA car pick him up. Ken's group flight had a last-minute change, and the luggage of some volunteers was lost, and their belongings not returned for months. Ryo also encountered a minor problem at immigration in a third country due to a miscommunication with the inspector regarding COVID-19-related matters. In Sakura's case, she packed her luggage and left her community a short time after receiving the evacuation order. However, she needed to wait at a hotel for more than 10 days due to flight cancellations. Sakura commented that the staff at the JICA Overseas Office made her feel safe and anxiety-free because they provided the necessary information in a timely manner such as flight cancellation and the rules for the extension of waiting time.

When the volunteers received the evacuation order, none of them expected to have to wait in Japan for such a long time to return. Everyone expected that staying in Japan would be short. Hanako thought, "the stay in Japan would be little more than a business trip."[16] Most volunteers believed that return to the host country would be possible within one to three months. Even the volunteer who gave the longest estimation, expected to return to the host country within two to four months. Thus, all the volunteers believed that they could return to the host country within a few months when they received the evacuation order. At that time, the evacuated volunteers accepted the reality in a different way: (1) a feeling of disappointment; (2) a feeling of relief; or (3) a feeling of neutrality, neither disappointed nor relieved.

The following two volunteers—Taro and Hayato were very disappointed when the evacuation order was issued. Taro, who had only been in the host workplace for 28 days, expressed his feelings as:

> I was disappointed, discouraged, and wondered why. Why bother to return to Japan with so many infected people? [Here is not the place where COVID-19 infection is spread.] I was very disappointed.[17]

Hayato who had spent 7 months in his host workplace also said:

> When my evacuation was announced, I had been in a transition phase from worrying about the lack of [project or] activity to struggling with issues in the working operation itself. At the time of evacuation, I had just started having the confidence to make progress in my volunteer work in the host country, so it was very frustrating for me to return to Japan at that time.[18]

Sakura, who had been her host community for six months, had a different impression from Taro and Hayato. Contrary to the feeling of disappointment, Sakura was

[16] Hanako (2022, March 18), personal communication [Zoom interview].

[17] Taro (2022, March 16), personal communication [Zoom interview].

[18] Hayato (2022, April 28), personal communication [Zoom interview].

relieved when she heard about the evacuation. Some other volunteers also expressed the same feeling as her regardless of the length of their stay in the host community. Since Sakura was stuck with her project, she thought it would have been a good opportunity for her to return to Japan once. Other volunteers mentioned that they felt the project was not progressing because they felt that they could not get active participation from their counterparts and colleagues to move on to projects.

Along with Sakura, the other volunteers who expressed a feeling of relief regarding their temporary return to Japan, believed that they could return very soon, such as only one month later. The reason they believed this at the beginning of the evacuation was due to communication with JICA staff and rumors heard from JOCV colleagues.[19] All the senior volunteers in this study kept relatively stable feelings when the evacuation order was issued. Hiroshi said that he believed they would be able to return to the host country soon. Also, he added that the reason for the evacuation was not related to terrorism, so it encouraged him to expect to return to his host country quickly.

8.5.3 Staying in Japan

As time passed after the evacuation, the volunteers' positive feelings in terms of returning to the host country began to change. Under the circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic, Hanako and Jiro began to think that it would be impossible to return to the host country soon. Ena was in giving up mode in June 2020 when she heard that volunteers who participated in the JOCV program under the "Participation with Incumbent Occupation" project would be asked to return to their former workplace in Japan.

After the evacuation, JICA headquarters set the waiting period to 120 days (April 5 through August 2, 2020). This means that all evacuated volunteers' original dispatch agreements with JICA were annulled on August 2, 2020, no matter how long the remaining contract period might be.[20] That is, the evacuated volunteers who had the desire to continue working as JOCV volunteers needed to have a new contract with JICA irrespective of their situation. In the case of the 15 volunteers in the present study, their status was selected under either "Special Extension of Waiting Period" or "Special Registration System" (see more detail in Table 8.1).[21]

Five volunteers who chose the "Special Extension of the Waiting Period" in the summer of 2020, were continuing working with their colleagues of the host country

[19] According to some volunteers, the information related to estimated length of stay in Japan was heard through a phone call to a JICA staff member, so that they said that they also understood that it was not an official announcement. However, the rumor was shared more and more among their JOCV colleagues, and the source of the information was unknown, according to some interviewees.

[20] Two anonymous JICA officials (2022, May 20), personal communication [Zoom interview].

[21] In early August 2020, the JICA Dispatch Agreement signed before the pandemic, was terminated. Before this agreement was terminated, questionnaire and hearing (*Ikou chousa* in Japanese) were held in from the late June through July to ask their preferences in terms of JOCV. This "Special Registration System" was to be operated after August 2020.

from Japan. One of them was Taisei, a senior volunteer, who was a specialist in non-destructive inspection and had spent more than 3 years in the host country. He had already established a firm relationship with his colleagues and had proceeded with the translation work requested by them. However, his case was quite rare. The rest of them were trying to establish relationships in the virtual setting because they only stayed a very short time in their host communities and workplaces before evacuation. For example, Maya who was a volunteer music teacher in Europe and the Middle Eastern region continued to give virtual piano lessons to her students. At the same time, she was actively communicating with her colleagues and students using social networking services (SNS), and she uploaded photos of Japanese scenery to introduce its society and culture. She did not perceive her waiting time in Japan only as a negative, but rather as a valuable opportunity to reconnect with colleagues and improve her language skills. She planned a virtual concert with her colleague, and it was successfully recorded and shared on SNS.

Keiko, a volunteer for environmental education in Latin America and Caribbeans, was in the host community only for a month. Contrary to Maya, she mentioned the difficulties of collaborating virtually with colleagues and initiating projects on her own. She stayed only for a short time in the host community before the evacuation, so she did not have enough time to investigate the possible challenges that her workplace faced. She tried to collaborate with her colleagues virtually, but she felt that they seemed not to be actively willing to collaborate remotely with her. In April 2021, Keiko changed her status from "Special Extension of Waiting Period" to "Special Registration System," and started working in the city hall as a contract staff member.

The JOCV volunteers who waited to return to the host country under the "Special Registration System" stayed in Japan, and were allowed to return to their former workplace or started a new job. Some volunteers who returned to their former workplace were slowly returning to their pre-JOCV routines amid all the problems. On the other hand, Sakura, a volunteer for community development in Africa, chose to wait under the "Special Registration System" and was still unsure about her career path. She frequently wondered what she wanted to do and what she should have done until she started a new job in December 2020.

The actual stand-by time in Japan for the evacuated volunteers was therefore much longer than they expected. For instance, seven volunteers waited for two years, and four waited for one year and seven months. Even, the shortest needed to wait for 11 months (see details in Table 8.2).[22] Sumire, a senior volunteer, commented that the delay in getting COVID-19 vaccinated in Japan was one of the factors preventing senior volunteers from returning to the host country earlier. During the waiting time, some volunteers experienced rescheduling of notified returned plans due to the worsening condition of the COVID-19 pandemic in their host country.

A volunteer in area of sports assigned in Latin American region, Taro and Ken, a volunteer for primary school education in Africa, chose the "Special Extension of Waiting Period" status. Both had a strong desire to go back to the host country soon

[22] After 4 months, the volunteer had to return to Japan again due to the worsening situation in the host country.

and they were struggling with the stressful waiting time. Taro said, "To keep up my motivation to return to my host country, I decided not to seek a job in Japan." Taro added that he spent his time improving his skills only for his future JOCV assignment. Reflecting on this period of waiting in Japan, Taro said, "it was a full of painful memories."[23] Ken also described the time staying in Japan as "the most depressing time in my life" and he continued, "I was a hermit, watching movies without leaving the house. I felt unmotivated, but what I was thinking was all about my host country." When Ken chose "Special Extension of Waiting Period" status, he thought he could wait however long it took. But, when it came time to waiting, it was clearly a tough time. Half a year later he started teaching children at an elementary school on a small remote island located in the south of Japan, in Kagoshima prefecture. As he started working there with the children, he gradually recovered.[24]

8.5.4 Seminars and Language Lessons for the Evacuated Volunteers in Japan

While the volunteers were waiting in Japan, a variety of online training such as a series of lectures and seminars, foreign language lessons, and online gatherings were provided by JICA. Attending seminars and taking language lessons had been vital sources to maintaining the volunteers' identity as international volunteers. 14 of 15 volunteers had attended some online classes and seminars. In the case of a senior volunteer, Sumire, who worked supporting persons with disabilities in Europe and the Middle Eastern region joined an informal project under the initiative of a younger evacuated volunteer. Sumire met the evacuated volunteer at a JICA seminar focusing on issues of support for persons with disabilities. The team organized a collection of case studies showing the challenges and problems encountered by JOCV volunteers in their host countries. For the project, Sumire collaborated online with a team of younger volunteers. Collaborating and working online as a team had been a new experience for Sumire, and she learned many things from the online cooperative work. This experience became the mental support she needed to maintain her motivation to return to the host country.

The language lesson was well received among the evacuated volunteers. Mika, volunteer for community development in Africa, said that this opportunity kept her motivated to go back to the host country as an international volunteer. Ryo is an occupational therapist and volunteer on a Pacific Island and his taking some of the training courses and language lessons made him ready for his return to the host country. Through continuing the language lessons, he was able to maintain his identity of being a member of JOCV. Ryo said that he might have hesitated to go back to the host country if he had not continued taking language lessons.

[23] Taro (2022, March 16), personal communication [Zoom interview].

[24] Ken (2022, June 17), personal communication [Zoom interview].

While she was working in her host country on her first service assignment, Maya used English to communicate with colleagues. However, French and Arabic are widely spoken in her host country, so she felt she needed to learn Arabic to converse with people who are fluent in the language. She thought that it was an opportunity for her to learn Arabic while she stayed in Japan. After returning to her host country, she uses basic Arabic to communicate with her colleagues and students. This change made their relationship more friendly and smooth.

8.5.5 Volunteer Activities in Japan

The evacuated volunteers were also engaged in a variety of activities outside of the JOCV community. In the case of those JOCV volunteers' families and relatives who owned a store or farm, they helped in that business. Nao, who worked as a youth development volunteer, did not have a personal connection to any farms in Japan. However, she got information from a JOCV volunteer at an online gathering. She applied through the intermediary of the Japan Agricultural Exchange Council (JAEC) and worked on a strawberry farm from May 2020 until she returned to work as an English teacher at her previous workplace.

Other evacuated volunteers joined in some activities for promoting international understanding and supporting foreign residents in Japan. Ena who worked in Africa as a volunteer teacher utilized her network among elementary school teachers in Japan, and she gave lectures introducing her host country to promote cultural understanding in several elementary schools in Japan. Mika also stayed connected to the host country. She joined a project which a former JOCV volunteer organized for promoting a better educational environment for children in that host country. She knew about the project when she worked in the host country, but she joined the project after returning to Japan. In Japan, she provided learning support for children whose school was closed due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Regarding the timing of her participation in the project, she said "I came back to Japan with nothing to do for the host country, so I was wondering if there was anything I could do, I should try to do something for my host country, even though I am now in Japan."[25]

Other members supported foreign residents in Japan. Sakura found a newspaper article about recruiting volunteers for supporting children with foreign roots, so she visited the organization and worked there. In Maya's case, she helped accompany a foreign resident who needed to receive routine medical treatment. Maya also worked at a "*Kodomo Shokudo*" (Children's Restaurant), which provides free meals to children who are unable to have dinner with their families or whose households are struggling financially. A senior volunteer, Hiroshi, who worked as a computer engineer in Asia also joined a non-profit organization for promoting intercultural exchange. He was notified by JICA that his schedule to return to the host country was canceled so that he decided to start something related to intercultural exchange

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[25] Mika (2022, May 21), personal communication [Zoom interview].

in Japan. He found a post and applied for a volunteer position in that organization. In the organization, he started teaching the Japanese language to foreign residents and helped update the association's webpage. Also, by using his expertise in IT, he created a YouTube video to connect Vietnamese students in Japan with their families.

The above are just a few examples, but JICA staff mentioned in the interviews that JOCV has the potential to play an active role in addressing issues in Japanese society, noting that the evacuated volunteers proved to be actively working on domestic problems.[26]

8.6 Changes in Volunteers' Mindsets Overcoming the Long-Term COVID-19 Evacuation

Depending on the COVID-19 situation, the timing of returning to the host country varied among the evacuated volunteers. For those volunteers who were working under the "Special Registration System," the Secretariat of JOCV provided flexibility in scheduling their time of leaving from work in Japan. Among the participants in this study, Ken was the first volunteer to return to the host country in March 2021. Following Ken's case, all volunteers were back in the host country by May 2022.

The experience of evacuation due to the COVID-19 pandemic changed the evacuated volunteers in various ways. The changes can be classified into four: (1) improved practical skills including language proficiency and skills for making their project more effective; (2) change in approaches to people in the host country and their projects; (3) emotional growth and self-development; and (4) acquiring a critical perspective on the nature of international volunteering.

Most of the volunteers mentioned that improvement in practical skills made their second JOCV deployment proceed more smoothly. Those who returned to the same host workplace said that the effort involved in their language training in Japan made their reassignment easier than the previous one.[27] The JOCV volunteers' proactive attitude toward the improvement of language came from the experience they had in working in host countries. In their first assignment of service, they were aware of how lacking their language skills were. Since they had to leave their host countries due to the COVID-19 pandemic, they were also able to work on their own initiative to see what was missing in their personal skill sets for projects.

Another aspect is that they know the area they live in very well, so they know what to prepare. While staying in Japan, some volunteers stayed connected with local friends and colleagues through social networking services. In some volunteers' cases, this personal connection helped them to better understand their workplace's current situation and challenges after they returned there.

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[26] Two anonymous JICA officials. (2022, May 20). Personal communication [Zoom interview].

[27] Some of them were unable to return to their original assignments at the second assignment of service.

The long-term repatriation to Japan affected some volunteers' mindsets on how to approach the people in the host country and project, however. The cases of Hiroshi and Ken exemplify this. As an international volunteer, Hiroshi, who is a computer engineer, used to focus on achieving results in his field of expertise. However, after experiencing a long-term stay in Japan, he came to believe that building relationships with people in the host country was more important than delivering advanced skills to them. After returning to the host country, Hiroshi put his energy into learning the names of all his students, which was something he did not try to do in his first assignment. Also, he frequently showed up at local festivals and parties in the host community and even tried to work as a volunteer at anime-related events. Through participating in those activities, he has come to understand more about the local people around him as well as his students.

In Ken's case, upon returning to the host country, JICA's Overseas Office requested a change in his service assignment. Because of that, the job description for his assignment was at a more advanced level. Although he was a teacher for primary schools in his previous assignment, the new position for him is professional education staff. The professional education staff are engaged in administrative duties related to teaching the curriculum, learning instruction, and other specialized matters related to school education in many schools. He was a little worried about whether he would be able to manage the advanced requirements, but he determined to take on a new challenge and became more proactive in his work. The reason behind his change was his empathy for JOCV fellows who had no choice but to withdraw from the program due to their circumstances during the evacuation period. He described his feelings as:

> Five JOCV volunteers including me had worked in the country before evacuation. But I was the only one who was able to return. Others gave up on their dreams or wanted to return but could not. So, I try to do my best in my volunteer project for those who could not return. That is how I feel myself.[28]

Ken further said that the long anxious days of doing nothing made him think deeply about his feelings toward Africa, his weaknesses, and the possible action for improving his volunteer activities. He said that this painful time in Japan motivated him to change his attitude more actively after returning to the host country.

In similar stories to Ken, other volunteers also shared stories of their JOCV fellows who gave up on returning to their host countries. Taking together their stories, financial insecurity and uncertainty about their future career were usually behind their decision. The waiting period in Japan had been a very long time for some volunteers; some of them had waited for 2 years. Various factors such as financial situations, family matters, working circumstances, future career planning, and life change events such as marriage, also affected their decision. Even some of evacuated volunteers who had returned to their host country and shared the stories with the author also felt that they had to set a deadline to leave the JOCV program at some point.

Taro also chose the "Special Extension of Waiting Period" option and spent a year and seven months struggling with himself. In the same way as Ken, Taro also

[28] Ken (2022, June 17), personal communication [Zoom interview].

recognized his personal development, and he appreciated the support to him from his own family as well as the people around him. He explained how he had changed before and after the evacuation as:

> If I had known from the beginning that the waiting period would last so long, I could have done many things [in Japan]. But the long wait [without seeking a new job in Japan] was necessary for my personal growth. Before the evacuation, I thought I could do anything about myself, even though I really could not. During my stay in Japan, I realized how immature my teaching was. I also realized how much support my family gave me. Thanks to their support, I could survive the one year and seven months-long waiting time in Japan. It was a period that made me think deeply about what kind of person I should be.[29]

In Ena's case, there was a significant change at her workplace after she returned home. Before the evacuation, she felt that international volunteers were often regarded as mere manpower, and that there was little willingness to follow the volunteers' suggestions, move quickly and proactively, or learn new teaching methods from her. Upon her return, Ena was surprised to find that teachers were still using the teaching materials that she had created two years ago. On top of that, she was asked by her counterparts to teach the new teachers how to make teaching materials. Ena said that with the international volunteers in place all the time, the workplace may not have changed as much as it has now. Therefore, she says that the evacuation of COVID-19 has inspired her colleagues at the host workplace to think about how to work and learn effectively with volunteers.

As the previous paragraphs have shown, most volunteers feel that their experiences during the evacuation brought a somehow positive impact on their current volunteer project, but not all the volunteers in the study felt that way. In Hayato's case, unfortunately, the timing of the evacuation and long waiting time in Japan affected negatively on his relationship with his counterpart. His counterpart had received training experience in Japan and was a knowledgeable person. However, even before the pandemic, he was struggling with this relationship. Although Hayato proposed many plans and ideas, his counterpart lightly passed over them, saying, "I had already known that kind of things." Hayato had been struggling to build trust with his counterpart. Finally, after six months, his proposed project began to take off with his counterpart. However, just around that time, Hayato was unfortunately forced to evacuate from the host country due to the outbreak of the pandemic.

At the beginning of his stay in Japan, Hayato sometimes exchanged messages with his counterpart, and his counterpart shared the situation that all her colleagues were busy and working hard to prevent the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic. Hayato felt if he had been there, he could have become manpower to help their work in the host country. After 1 year and 7 months passed, Hayato returned to the host country. Then, he found out that most of the projects that they had planned were already almost completed. He made numerous attempts to propose new projects but was unable to gain agreement and support from his counterpart. He spent time rebuilding relationships again with his counterpart as he had done before the evacuation, but it was not easy. In Hayato's case, the evacuation deprived him of the time to share

[29] Taro (2022, March 16), personal communication [Zoom interview].

hardships and joys through work with his counterpart and colleagues. Hayato made the decision to shorten his term of service.

Even under normal conditions, the relationship with counterparts in the workplace is one of the main challenges faced by many JOCV volunteers. Hoshino (2008) states that JOCV volunteers and their counterparts should try to build a trustful relationship by accumulating time to share successful experiences together through exchanging ideas/opinions and organizing joint work (Hoshino 2008, 6). However, the physical remoteness brought by the COVID-19 pandemic made it difficult for many volunteers and their counterparts to work together and accumulate successful experience in their projects. Hayato's case in the previous paragraphs exemplifies the difficulties in building trustful relationships with a counterpart without "accumulating time to share successful experiences together" as Hoshino (2008) pointed out. After returning to Japan, most evacuated volunteers in this study only exchanged messages with their counterparts such as a quick greeting or checking each other about the COVID-19 situation in the country and did not talk about the project. As cited earlier, Keiko tried to contact her counterpart to make progress on some projects, but her counterpart responded not so actively about the discussion of the project plan. As a result, she changed her tactic and wrote about something outside of the project matters in her messages. However, after returning to the host community, she found out with surprise that her counterpart had already changed to another person at some previous time.

A senior volunteer, Sumire, also pointed out the importance of sharing updated information for the evacuated volunteers based on her own experience. Sumire wished she had known more about the latest situation at her workplace. Without any detailed information, she was not sure what she should prepare for her reassignment because the evacuation had lasted for such a long time. Sumire expected more active involvement of JICA to recheck whether there are any changes regarding each volunteer's job description and working environment before departure. She said that obtaining updated information is crucial to make their volunteer projects more effective and productive.

The evacuation experience also provided an opportunity for volunteers to reconsider the nature of international cooperation and the positioning of the JOCV program as an international volunteer. After returning to the host workplace, Maya had mixed feelings because some of her colleagues were more envious of her economic status as a Japanese international volunteer rather than her expertise. To her colleagues, Maya's two years of international volunteer work was proof that she must be financially well off. Colleagues envied Maya because she could do volunteer work in a foreign country for two years and during that time she would not have to worry about her finances. In addition to that, Maya once had some colleagues say something nuanced to her, "JICA asked us to let you volunteer here, so we accepted you here." Meanwhile, Maya also learned on Facebook that some of her colleagues had joined a demonstration demanding higher wages and improved working conditions. She also heard that some of the instructors in her workplace had difficulty making a living without teaching many classes. So, there was some concern in her mind that she might take away their jobs. With a better understanding of the local working conditions

and economic situation, Maya began to think more deeply about the complex and diverse impact brought by international volunteers and how international volunteers are perceived by some local people.

In Maya's case, she learned the perspectives associated with international volunteering through her interactions with local colleagues. Another volunteer, Nao, learned about one of the limitations that the state-managed international voluntary service (hereafter, SMIVS) has to embrace. Nao worked at a facility in a refugee camp in her host country. She realized that the reality of international volunteers was different from what she had envisioned before experiencing her own evacuation. Due to her own experience of being forcibly evacuated from the host country, she learned that volunteers overseas such as JOCV volunteers can only work in a safe and protected environment. She understood the reality that the SMIVS had limited opportunities in terms of choosing working areas and the timing they could support. Nao recounted:

> [From my own experience of being evacuated to Japan due to COVID-19] During my time staying in Japan, I realized that volunteering abroad may not be for those who are in need or suffering [omission]. However, one of the social contributions that international volunteering can make is that volunteers who have worked locally can feel closer to the host country. In my case, too. The problems that are happening in my host country are no longer someone else's problem, they are my problem.[30]

As Hayato mentioned earlier, the timing of evacuation negatively affected his project, and Nao also thought that one of the limitations of volunteers in the SMIVS was not being able to stay with local people in a host country where unsafe situations are recognized, as in the case of the COVID-19 pandemic. As the experiences of the three individuals demonstrate, the evacuation experience also provided an opportunity for JOCV volunteers to reconsider the nature of international cooperation and the limitations of the SMIVS.

The evacuated JOCV volunteers, who had overcome a wide range of emotions and experiences during the standby period and after redeployment, were also faced with the challenge of having no one to share their experiences with. One of the participants in the study said, "I participated in this interview because I wanted to know about other evacuated volunteers' experiences and feelings."[31] Sakura was one of them, and she chose to serve as a JOCV volunteer for another two years. So, Sakura was to be in the JOCV program for more than two and a half years, which was longer than the usual length of the service. She said that the majority of her JOCV fellows have already moved on to the next step. Therefore, she sometimes had mixed feelings about whether she made the right decision or not, even after she returned to the host country. Sakura was one of only two evacuated volunteers who were able to return to the host country, and Ken, who served in another country, was the only evacuated volunteer who could return to his host country.

The study by Sato and Ueyama (2019) showed that volunteers who have multiple channels for seeking support tend to be highly self-reliant and able to achieve their

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[30] Nao (2022, April 22), personal communication [Zoom interview].

[31] Sakura (2022, May 16), personal communication [Zoom interview].

goals on their own. The authors recommended institutionalizing a platform for volunteers to interact with each other for those who live in remote areas, or who are reluctant to find an opportunity by themselves. Applying this to the case of evacuated volunteers in this study, the evacuated volunteers also had the same issue in which they were reluctant to find or felt they had no opportunity to share their situations and feelings after the majority of the JOCV fellows had already moved on to new career paths. Thus, the suggestion to set up a semi-official platform for encouraging horizontal connection on regular basis among the JOCV volunteers is beneficial when volunteers overseas run into some unexpected situations.

8.7 Lessons Learned from the Evacuation Due to the COVID-19 Pandemic

This study explored the evacuated JOCV volunteers' experiences and how the long period of stay in Japan influenced the mindset of volunteers in respect to their future involvement with the program. The majority of evacuated JOCV volunteers needed to wait for their redeployment for a long time, some waiting for up to 2 years. This study revealed the importance of continuous organizational support to keep motivating the volunteers for their future return to the host country. The provision not only of practical support but also emotional support was quite important for the evacuated volunteers. This is especially true for those members who had just started working in their host communities when the evacuation order was issued.

The study also found that the evacuated volunteers' emotional state varied depending on the time stage and the individual's situation. For example, at the time of actual evacuation, they perceived the reality of evacuation differently—some of them were quite disappointed with the decision to evacuate, but others felt relief, depending on how each of them felt about the progress of the project at the time of receiving the evacuation order. However, at that time, everyone believed they could return to the host country within a few months. The progress of the project seemed to have more impact on how each volunteer perceived the reality, rather than the difference in the length of stay in the host country.

In the summer of 2020, the JOCV Dispatch Agreement was annulled. After that, their daily life in Japan differed according to their chosen status: some of them went back to their original workplace or started a new job. The study found that the evacuated volunteer's social involvement or social contribution such as supporting foreign residents in Japan and working on farms made them keep connected to their JOCV identity and their motivation alive for a reassignment.

While the new activities allowed the evacuated volunteers to maintain their identity as international volunteers, the interviews revealed another challenge. With the passage of time, the evacuated volunteers were losing opportunities to reflect on their situation and share their experiences. At the beginning of the evacuation, they had an opportunity to interact with other JOCV fellows. However, in the latter half

of the waiting period, the number of evacuated volunteers who waited to return to the host country was decreasing. Due to the change of circumstances, sharing their feelings and anxieties with other JOCV fellows became difficult for the volunteers who continued waiting for the opportunity to return.

The importance of support for international volunteers who had to withdraw due to unexpected circumstances and the necessity of providing a shared space to promote recovery from depression were already suggested in the 1990s in the case of evacuated Peace Corps volunteers. In the case of those Peace Corps volunteers, they returned home due to the outbreak of civil war in the host country, so they did not have the alternative to go back to the same host country. Despite these differences, what emerges from the experiences of the evacuated JOCV volunteers due to the COVID-19 was that these had a similar impact to that of the experiences of the Peace Corps volunteers reported on in the study of Hirshon et al. (1997). The JOCV evacuated volunteers felt that they needed an opportunity to share their experiences to positively affirm their unexpected nature.

The present study sought to gain a deeper understanding of the volunteers' individual experiences while exploring what meaning and change the unprecedented COVID-19 evacuation experience brought to JOCV. It was impossible to cover all of their evacuation experiences because, as JICA staff noted: there are likely to be as many perspectives and opinions as there are volunteers. Also, the respective individual's circumstances, including family issues, financial situation, and career plans, affected the limited time they had available to wait for their return to the host country. However, as the interviews proceeded, it became clear that even though the experiences were often different, there were some common ones shared by the evacuated volunteers. Many of the volunteers, particularly the younger ones, did not talk much about evacuation. The reasons for this were that their experiences so far differed from the international volunteer experience they had initially envisioned, and this happened more often as time went on. So, they tended not to talk much about their experiences to their Japanese friends. Moreover, as time passed their JOCV fellow volunteers gave up on redeployment, and they had no fellow volunteers around them with whom they could share their experiences.

The evacuation itself was certainly a tough time for the affected volunteers. However, in the middle of the difficulties, they were trying to find out their own best way forward for future volunteer work. The evacuation was not only a trigger to change the volunteer's mindsets, but in some cases, even changed the mindsets of host communities. Some of the volunteers pointed out that they were able to achieve greater personal development from this experience, and others obtained a new and critical view of international volunteering.

Finally, one important limitation of the present study is that it only focused on studying those evacuated volunteers who could return to the host country. In future research, it will be necessary to include data obtained from volunteers who were not able to return to the host country to get a complete picture of international volunteers under evacuation due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Having said that, this study provides important and persuasive data on how volunteers and communities can cope with such situations. As the data show, the provision not only of practical support

but also emotional support is extremely important. This is as true for those volunteers who had just started working in their host communities when the evacuation order was issued as it is for experienced volunteers.

Appendix

Interview Guide

- What motivated you to apply for JOCV program? What were your work and activity at your assignment?
- When JICA announced the temporary evacuation of JOCV volunteers due to the COVID-19 expansion, what were the feelings and reactions of you? What was the reaction of people in your host community and workplaces regarding the evacuation?
- Please describe the evacuation process. What happened on the way from your host community to your home in Japan?
- How did you feel during your waiting period in Japan?
- How did you manage to maintain contact with people in the host country and workplace after returning to Japan?
- Did you hold any virtual meeting/lectures such as a ZOOM lecture with your co-workers during the waiting period in Japan? Yes → What were the reasons that the activities could be continued in the form of virtual meeting? No → What were the reasons that you could not continue/decided not to continue the activities online?
- Did you do any activities in Japan while waiting for reassignment?
- How has your experience with the COVID-19 evacuation affected your volunteer activities (after returning to the host country)?
- Did your experience with the COVID-19 change your views on international volunteer activities? What is the significance of participating in international volunteering for you? What does the international volunteer program bring to the host country?

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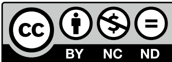

Chapter 9
The Role of JOCVs in the School Health Education Program in Ghana: From the Perspective of Host Organizations

Eriko Sakamaki

9.1 Introduction

This study analyzes the roles that Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCVs) play in development cooperation by focusing on the viewpoints of the counterparts who host them (hereinafter referred to as C/Ps). One of the characteristics of the JOCV program as a state-managed international voluntary service (SMIVS; See the introduction of this volume) is that JOCVs are basically assigned to public institutions on the basis of international agreements between Japan and their host countries on dispatching Japanese volunteers, and therefore many of their colleagues (usually C/Ps) are civil servants in the host countries. While C/Ps' duties as civil servants are to implement the policies and programs of the organizations to which they belong and to contribute to the formulation of new policies in doing feedback through implementing of current policies and programs, JOCVs are expected to work with C/Ps as their companions. A few questions arise from this working structure of JOCVs: What kind of roles do volunteers play in relations with colleagues who are public servants and those who are targets of policies; How do volunteers help their assigned organization and its superior organizations to implement and plan policies; What are the resources and capacities for those activities and what do C/Ps expect volunteers to do for their jobs?

To address these research questions this study adopts policy network theory. This is an analytical framework that captures the interaction among actors involved in the process of formulating and implementing policies. To clarify the relationship between JOCVs and C/Ps and analyze the roles of JOCVs in the network analysis, the perspectives of C/Ps will be examined as well as those of JOCVs. This approach is significant because the literature on international volunteering has previously focused on the volunteers' perspectives of their activities (for example, Sato et al. 2010 and

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Y. Okabe (ed.), *State-Managed International Voluntary Service*,
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Higashida 2021) analyzed from the records of the volunteers themselves), while few studies have paid attention to those of the hosts (for example, local colleagues and counterparts). The school health education program in the Republic of Ghana is used as a case study to illustrate this situation.

9.2 Analytical Framework

Policy network theory has been used mainly in Europe and the United States since the mid-1980s, and its characteristics are that the subject of research is a network, that this network deals with policy-related relationships, and that it is an analytical tool (Kazama 2013). This theory provides a "conceptual lens" (Allison and Zelikow 1999) and a descriptive model. Boin and Kuipers (2008) stated that it was a tool for mapping and understanding the interactions between the diverse actors that generate policy outcomes. In response, Kazama describes it as a tool that identifies the actors that are members of the network and the resources that each brings to the network, and analyzes the relationships that are built between the actors through their interactions (Kazama 2013, 5).

There are various concepts of policy networks discussed in the literature. According to Börzel (1998), these may be classified as the Anglo-Saxon conception and the Continent conception. The Anglo-Saxon type, a model of state/society relations in a given issue area, analyzes closed relationships called the "iron triangle," which consists of government agencies, parliamentary committees, and interest groups. In this model, policies are formulated, coordinated, and implemented for society within an iron triangle consisting of exclusive and limited actors, and the relationship with the target group can be said to be a one-way street. In contrast, in the Continent type, which has its roots in a bottom-up approach, the network formed around policy implementation is not completed by policymakers and implementers alone but consists of actors that include the targets for the policy. It is a more horizontal relationship. In other words, the interaction between policy implementation staff and the target group determines problem-solving ability in that policy area, and the public and private actors voluntarily bring their own resources to solve the problems found in a certain policy area (Kazama 2013, 2–3; Masaki 1999).

Using the continent policy network theory it is possible to examine how C/Ps interact with local people in many of the cases where JOCVs are deployed, and to determine what resources JOCVs use to engage in these interactions, illustrating this by using the case of a school health education program in Ghana. The image in Fig. 9.1 is a schematic depiction of this. In other words, the policy is implemented through interactions between C/Ps as policy implementers and people in schools and communities as target groups, and JOCVs are working to activate these interactions by utilizing the available resources. The term "resources" here refers to information, funds, technology, labor, and authority, and the ability to utilize these resources to solve problems is called "capacity."

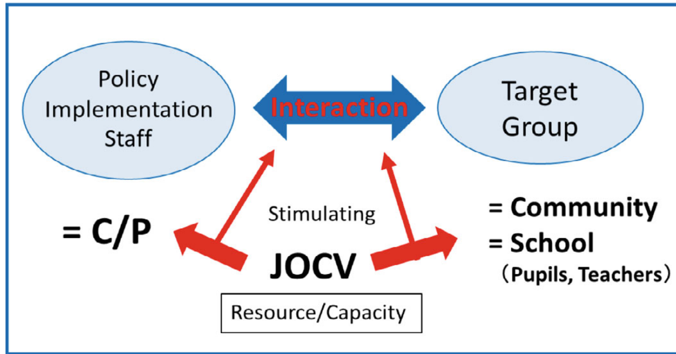

Fig. 9.1 Policy network. *Source* Elaborated by the author

The JOCVs approach is thought to work in a similar way to the existence of meta-governors in governance network theory, which is derived from policy network theory, that activate interactions between policymakers and target groups to change governance structures. In governance research, it is argued that governance, like markets, has "failures" and that "governance that makes governance work" is needed to overcome these (Sørensen and Torfing 2007). Such governance is called "meta-governance," and its bearers are called "meta-governors" (Kazama 2020).

Meta-governors are assumed to be administrative staff engaged in governance research, but essentially anyone who has the resources and capacities for meta-governance can do it. To activate interactions, the following actions should be taken: communicate the values to be realized and the objectives to be achieved to the parties concerned in easy-to-understand terms; provide an opportunity to start moving when they know what needs to be done but are unwilling to move; and provide an environment where the parties concerned can freely exchange ideas and build consensus through dialogues. When the parties involved are at odds with each other, provide conciliation and adjudication. Also, to change the governance structure, increase the number of participating groups, bring in people from outside with different perspectives, change the roles each plays, and question and reexamine previous values and goals (Kazama 2020; Gjaltema et al. 2019).

In the following sections the case of school health education in Ghana is analyzed from the perspective that JOCVs may play a role similar to that of meta-governors. This is achieved by characterizing the relationship between C/Ps and school/community residents as governance, with particular attention given to the C/Ps' perspective on JOCVs. The study reveals that JOCVs sometimes supported C/Ps and proposed that C/Ps should work on school health education by utilizing their own resources and capacities, sometimes encouraged schools and local residents, and sometimes connected C/Ps' activities beyond the boundaries of local organizations.

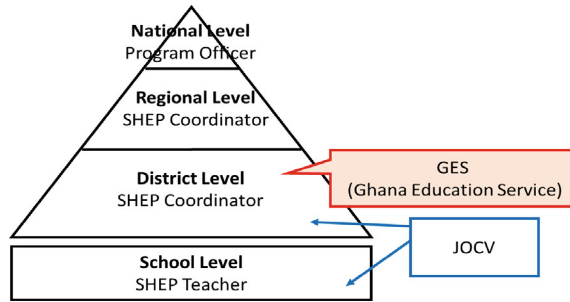

Fig. 9.2 Administrative structure of SHEP in Ghana. *Source* Elaborated by the author

9.3 The Case of SHEP in the Republic of Ghana

9.3.1 The Purpose and Implementation System of SHEP

The policy on school health in Ghana known as the School Health Education Program (hereinafter SHEP), has been implemented since 1992 for the purpose of creating an environment where children can easily concentrate on their studies with the correct knowledge and solutions regarding their health. Under the Ministry of Education, each administrative level has a person in charge of the SHEP, a program officer at national level, the SHEP coordinator at regional level and at district level respectively, and a SHEP teacher at school level. At district level, SHEP coordinators work in the Ghana Education Service (GES). GES is one of the seventeen agencies which work in collaboration with the Ministry of Education to facilitate the implementation of its policies and programs. JOCVs are mainly dispatched to GES to cooperate with SHEP coordinators at district level or to school to collaborate with SHEP teachers at school level (see Fig. 9.2).[1]

GES has seven departments, and one of them is the SHEP unit that implements the program. Since SHEP is a program in the fields of health in schools, the Ghana Health Service (GHS), which is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health, is in charge of medical technical support for GES, such as vaccination in schools. One SHEP coordinator is appointed to each district (216) and they devote about 80% of their business hours to the fixed tasks with budget that comes down from the national level. In the remaining 20% of their business hours, they can be engaged in the activities that specialize in the issues specific to their area, however, it is necessary to secure funding for these activities by themselves because the budget is not available. The SHEP coordinator in the GES at district level reports on every task and on-site activity to the SHEP coordinator at regional level, and those reports finally arrive at national level, to the program officer who formulates policies (see Fig. 9.3).

[1] The C/Ps of JOCVs working in school health were SHEP coordinators if their assignment was GES or SHEP teachers if their assignment was school.

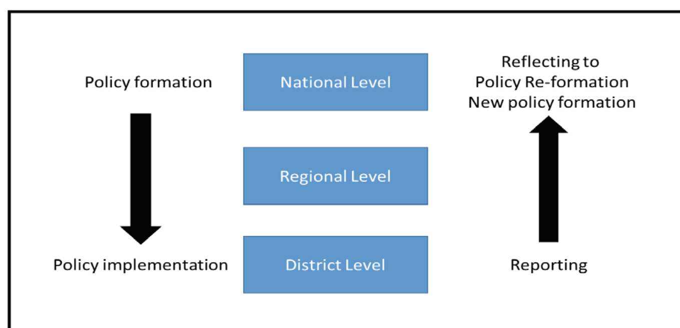

Fig. 9.3 Mechanism of policy formation and implementation. *Source* Elaborated by the author

As a C/P who cooperates with JOCV, there are also school-based health coordinators, who are called SHEP teachers for GES-SHEP coordinators who work at schools.

9.3.2 JICA's Training Program in Japan and SHEP Staff

Topic-based Training is a training program which the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) implements in Japan, inviting mainly civil servants from the developing countries (JICA 2022). This program is designed to enable the participants to observe Japanese initiatives in their respective fields with the consent of their respective governments, to use the information gained to formulate plans (action plans) that will contribute to the development of their countries in light of their own situation and implement action plans after returning home.

Training on the theme of school health has been conducted at the JICA Chubu Center for about 5 weeks every spring since FY2006. The trainees are in charge of technical cooperation projects in the health sector from ministries of health and education in 33 countries around the world, and some of them have worked with JOCVs.

A total of 18 people from Ghana participated in this training program from 2007 till 2018, mainly from the section which covers SHEP in the Ministry of Education and GES SHEP. Since the trainees were from different levels such as national, regional, and district, various action plans were drafted. For example, the establishment of school infirmaries was planned at a national level. On the other hand, the establishment of flower beds using a simple water supply system made from waste materials such as tires and plastic bottles, tooth brushing activities after school lunch, and awareness campaign of menstruation, etc., are drafted as plans at the district level. These action plans are often positioned as work for solving their own region-specific issues (the aforementioned 20% of business hours), especially at the district level. This means that although activity reporting is required, it is rarely budgeted for, and this means that trainees face difficulties in sustaining the activities.

9.3.3 Interviews with C/Ps and JOCVs

In taking up the case of the School Health Education Program (SHEP) in Ghana, the author conducted interviews for two weeks in Ghana in January 2019, and also in Japan in 2018 (where the topic-based training was held) for two days during the training period. The interviewees were ten C/Ps (including nine people who participated in the training) engaged in the school health education program and three JOCVs who also work for that program. The volunteers' reports, documents that were obtained in Ghana, and training-related documents are also referred to.

This study attempts to objectively analyze the role of JOCVs from the perspective of the active participants by conducting interviews that place more emphasis on C/Ps rather than JOCVs. Among the C/Ps interviewed for this study, the nine participants in the aforementioned training program in Japan (hereafter referred to as "returned trainees") include both those who have experience working with JOCVs and those who have not been involved at all. In addition to the returned trainees, those who have hosted JOCVs involved in activities related to school health in the GHS were also interviewed. Furthermore, the author interviewed JOCVs who were involved in some way with the returned trainees, as well as those who were not involved at all. The results of these interviews are described in the next section.

9.4 Result of Interview

9.4.1 Ms. A at National Level (Returned Trainee, No Involvement with JOCV)

Ms. A, a program officer mainly involved in policy formulation in the education sector, participated in JICA's training program in Japan. For the training, Ms. A and Mr. B (mentioned at 9.4.2), who also participated in the training, made an action plan to solve the garbage problem and implemented a pilot plan in a certain district of Ghana after returning from Japan. They aimed to expand the plan nationwide if a budget could be secured. Although Ms. A has not worked with JOCVs, she commented on JOCVs' activities, "I think JOCVs' activities, which I heard about in the report, are excellent in finding issues and are very realistic and practical. It is a good example of JOCV finding an issue in sanitation and then spreading it by making it into a local song to encourage children to learn good hygiene in a fun and correct way.“ Although she herself works at the national level, she thought that SHEP coordinators at the district level have TORs that make it easier to work with JOCVs. The reason for this is that the level and scale of the district-level action plan and JOCVs' activity plan match each other, and they have a good affinity.

9.4.2 Mr. B at National Level (Returned Trainee, No Involvement with JOCV)

Mr. B noted that JOCVs are important actors because they provide vertical and horizontal linkage such as the National and District levels, GES and GHS, etc., to Ghanaians (C/Ps) who have fixed positions and TORs and have no time to spare due to their daily work. On the other hand, he mentioned further documentation of JOCVs' activities as one of his expectations for JOCVs in the future. According to him, "Even though they go to the trouble of carrying out various activities, there are almost no records of them. If there are records of their activities, those can be shared and in some cases handed over to successors and local C/Ps, thereby creating continuity. In other words, it will lead to more sustainable activities.

Furthermore, Mr. B participated in the training together with Ms. A. The action plan for the training was on the garbage problem. Mr. B thought that the training was beneficial for SHEP coordinators at all levels, and in fact, he felt that the training in Japan provided him with the knowledge that he lacked at the school and district level initiatives, and which would be useful for policy formation in his own country. On the other hand, he thought that the training was particularly suitable for the district level, since the knowledge and action plans gained from the training would be useful in planning freely managed activities of the decentralized district level SHEP coordinators.

9.4.3 Ms. C at District Level (Returned Trainee, No Involvement with JOCV)

Ms. C had been working as a SHEP coordinator, but after 2018 she was transferred to a different department. She is interested in environmental sanitation, and when she participated in the training, she was impressed by the flower beds and fields in Japanese schools, so as an action plan, she took up the creation of flower beds using waste tires and a watering system using plastic bottles on the school grounds. When implementing her plan in four schools after returning from Japan, she realized that it was important to create a manual or other means to solve problems that belonged to the school after facing difficulties in its continuity of the plan when school teachers changed.

She was not involved with JOCVs in her work, but she knew about their existence through her acquaintances who had accepted them. For example, JOCVs had been working with nurses to devise ways for them to prescribe medicine at school. Based on this information, she thought that JOCVs could take the place of SHEP coordinators who are not always available at schools, and that they could work with SHEP teachers to keep them motivated and ensure the continuity of their activities. After returning from Japan, she considered submitting a request for a JOCV dispatch, but since she herself was moved to another department, she did not have the opportunity to work with JOCVs.

9.4.4 Ms. D at District Level (Returned Trainee, No Involvement with JOCV)

Ms. D is a returned trainee and prior to her visit to Japan she had conducted interviews with the PTAs of the schools in her area that emphasized the uniqueness of the activities. Therefore, she made an action plan for the brushing one's teeth promotion activity. This activity has been implemented in two schools, and although she received funds from the private sector for it, she is now facing the challenge of having to devise a way to make the activity sustainable due to the lack of funds to purchase consumable items (toothbrushes, toothpaste, etc.). In addition, since this activity is linked to the feeding program implemented by the government, there is a risk that it will be suspended if its implementation becomes unstable, so that solution needs to be considered.

She said that she knew about JOCVs and that other returned trainees were working with them, but she had no idea what they were.

9.4.5 Ms. E at District Level (Returned Trainee, C/P of JOCV)

Ms. E is a returned trainee and prepared an action plan relating to first aid and to the revitalization of the school infirmary. After returning from Japan, she conducted activities such as teaching SHEP teachers how to use the First Aid Box at schools in the area she is responsible for. She knew JOCVs during the training in Japan and requested JOCVs to be dispatched. First, she requested a school nurse teacher with a nursing license. According to Ms. E, the first JOCV provided peer education to the children and took the place of the SHEP Teacher. The recent fourth JOCV is creating health-themed games and providing health education to the children and teachers.

According to her, the good points of the JOCVs are that they are able to work in the field instead of the SHEP coordinators, who are busy with their own work, and that they are able to come up with innovative ideas. She also thought that the children react better when the explanation is led by the JOCVs, who are foreigners, than Ms. E and her Ghanaian colleagues. She was also especially impressed with the JOCV (whom she received) about their language ability, characteristics to attract children, and their communication skills with local people, all of which mean that they can conduct educational activities effectively.

9.4.6 Ms. F at District Level (Returned Trainee, Has Worked with JOCV)

In her action plan, Ms. F changed the concept of hygiene by changing children's water cups from shared to individual ones. As a result, the rate of absences of children due to physical illness caused by poor hygiene decreased. She knew about JOCVs during her training in Japan so that she asked her supervisor to request a JOCV assignment. As a result, a JOCV was assigned to Ms. F's section during 2016–2018. One of the most notable activities she mentioned was that the JOCV taught her how to create teaching materials for children and teachers with new ideas using local fabrics and objects, and also the importance of recording children's growth (It can be verified from JOCV's activity report that she emphasized children's growth records in her activity).

Although she also mentioned the challenge of JOCV's language ability, this was overcome by working with her and her colleagues. She shared the episode of the relationship with JOCV saying that it was cordial, so that JOCV often came to her house and cooked Ghanaian food and Japanese food together.

9.4.7 Ms. G at District Level (Returned Trainee, Has Worked with JOCV)

Ms. G, who participated in the training with Ms. F, became interested in personal hygiene after the cholera epidemic in 2012. Therefore, in the action plan, she decided to conduct hygiene awareness activities such as hand washing and has actually implemented these activities in 5 schools since her return.

With regard to JOCVs involvement, she hosted a JOCV who was a school nurse in 2016–2018. According to her, it was difficult for the JOCV to implement the initially expected activities using the health room because the health room had not been set up. However, the JOCV discussed what activity could be delivered and held workshops on the dissemination of cloth sanitary napkins in schools in its area of her jurisdiction. Since the workshops were favorable for local people, there were requests for the workshop from schools in other districts (According to the JOCV report, she reached out to 426 girls in 11 schools in 2016/2017 in total, and 604 girls in 15 schools in 2017/2018 in collaboration with the SHEP coordinator).

The impact of accepting JOCV into Ms.G's own activities was that it reinforced her own activities. According to Ms. G, "The JOCV followed up on my activities (teaching hygiene awareness) in 5 schools. Since JOCV took over the menstruation awareness activity in my program, the correct knowledge was shared among students and the teasing from boys stopped, and as a result, the number of girls absent from school due to menstruation decreased."

9.4.8 Mr. H at District Level (Returned Trainee, Has Worked with Several JOCVs)

Mr. H attended the training and his action plan focused on revitalizing the health room, teaching hand washing to children, teaching dental health, health observation in schools, and collaboration with GHS and others. Mr. H has experience working with several JOCVs and has interacted not only with the GES in the same department but also with JOCVs assigned to the GHS. After knowing that the JOCVs working in GHS were conducting hygiene awareness activities, he felt that the JOCV would work in relevant tasks beyond the boundaries of each department and thought that he could help in JOCVs' further activities.

According to Mr. H, JOCVs are good at creating teaching and learning materials with small devices (e.g., using origami, etc.). He also mentioned that the Japanese way of teaching which incorporates student practice makes it easy for children to learn and it is easy to take over to local teachers, so that many local people learned teaching skills and methods from JOCVs. On the other hand, there are some challenges due to the language barrier, which may lead to JOCVs' behavior being less attractive. There is also the problem of the activity's continuity because of the limits of JOCVs' two years program. With regard to the training session, he thinks that the participants should be selected who have the will (passion) to work. Based on his perspective, he pointed out that district level SHEP coordinators are appropriate participants because they are able to provide guidance to SHEP teachers and directly to children at health talks and other events, as well as directly and indirectly to the community.

One of the characteristics of returned trainees is that they have the opportunity to learn new things in Japan in the approximately two months training, but it is difficult to catch up with the latest information after they return back to their home countries. The JOCVs' characteristic, on the other hand, is that they can bring new knowledge every time another volunteer comes.

9.4.9 Ms. I at District Level (Returned Trainee, Has Worked with JOCV)

Despite her less experience as a SHEP coordinator, Ms. I was accepted for her characteristic of being hard working and she participated in the training. Due to the difficulties of operation and monitoring in school health room under her responsibility, she organized the action plan targeting not only schools but also including community members in hygiene awareness activity.

A JOCV had already been assigned to a school with a request to run and manage the health room before she participated in the training session. Since she supported the JOCVs in terms of language, she has been communicating with them when there are any activities. However, currently (when the interview was conducted), the JOCV is working in distant school, and she cannot meet her every time like before even if she wants to do an activity with her.

Ms. I had received many things such as information about Japan, new ideas that she did not know, and especially Teaching Learning Materials through support from JOCV (According to an interview with the relevant JOCV, she focused on “life style-related diseases” as a theme for their awareness-raising activities, and tried to introduce new knowledge by including content that was not yet well known in local society). On the other hand, she mentioned JOCVs’ improvement of English communication skills through working together, “The JOCVs we hosted were shy at first, but they became more and more sociable. Now we eat the same food and do activities together.”

9.4.10 Ms. J., GHS Director (Not a Returned Trainee, But C/P of JOCV)

She accepts a JOCV at GHS but does not work with JOCVs because she is a director and the supervisor of JOCV. Ms. J understands the volunteer to be someone who respects Ghanaian culture and lifestyle and is fluent in the local language.

What Ms. J thinks of the JOCV through her activity report is that she communicates and works together with staff engaged in similar and common tasks not only in GHS but also in GES and assembly when implementing SHEP activities in schools. She is an important actor for GHS staff, who are busy with their office work in order to keep up-to-date with the latest information on villages and schools. Therefore, she recognizes the JOCV’s constant reports via verbal and visualized information (such as posters) as a very meaningful contribution (According to the interview of the relevant JOCV, since her colleagues in the GHS have their own duties and it is difficult for them to go to the field together, the JOCV used to visit schools and communities in the area actively and report what she has seen to them). She also expects that JOCV in the future to prepare the document written in English, a common working language, as a resource to be used when the new JOCV comes in the future or when reporting to the supervisor.

9.4.11 JOCVs Who Worked at GES (Working with Ms. I, Returned Trainees)

The main mission of this JOCV was the operation and management of the school health room. At the time of the assignment, the school health room was just a room and didn’t play its role at all, so the JOCV traveled with other JOCVs who are engaging in school health, delivering awareness activities together. They set lifestyle-related diseases as a theme of their activity. According to her, “Since infectious diseases are widely known topic in local level, but lifestyle-related diseases are still not, we wanted to provide new knowledge. We set Junior High School students (12–19 years

old) as a target, and thanks to the teachers' support in terms of language, we could raise awareness among not only students but also teachers:

> At the very first moment of my activity, when I was working with the SHEP teachers only, I sometimes suggested things I wanted to do to them, and I always ended up being disappointed with their response, "Well, do it yourself," because they didn't get involved to my activity. In contrast to those SHEP teachers, Ms. I was very motivated to work. Ms. I asked me to work with her by saying, "I'll do this! I need your help!" which widened my activity.

At the time of her appointment, there was a different SHEP coordinator who was personally good but not active in school health. However, Ms. I is more active and does her job whether there is a JOCV to help or not, therefore, the JOCV is expecting her successor to work with Ms. I as well.

9.4.12 JOCVs Who Worked at GES (Ms. E's Colleague)

Her main activities are teaching hand washing to school and community members, conducting malaria prevention awareness activities, and appearing on radio programs to give health talks. She finds it difficult to collaborate with her GES colleagues because they were all busy with their own work, so she actively travels around rather than stay in the GES office where she was assigned, to get to know the local reality. As a result, she met the manager of an NGO that supports children and they ended up working together.

9.4.13 JOCVs Who Worked at GHS (Ms. J is C/Ps)

The main request for her was to improve the data of infectious disease, but when she was assigned, she was not actually asked to do that work, and initially realized that there was a discrepancy between her assumptions and the current situation of her assignment. Since she wanted to work in the field, she planned to travel with Community Health Officers (CHOs). However, it was difficult to work with them because there were no CHOs in her assigned area and her GHS colleagues did not budget for their activities.

Then she decided to conduct health talks at schools as her main activity. There was some chance to work with the SHEP coordinator when the topic was closely related to the coordinator's job, but she needed to steadily search for people who can work with her, "I went to a lot of places in order to expand my network. In the process of getting to know each other, I could get to know various people. One of my concerns about my activity was that the actors such as GHS, GES, the Environment Office, and so on are working in close area (or sometime overlapping), but they are all working independently. What a waste! This is why I tried to connect them beyond the boundaries of departments and organizations!" she said.

In addition, since it is difficult to capture the local reality if the respondent was only working in the GHS office, she went out actively from the office to collect local voices and situation. After observing local areas, she reported and shared the information to GHS colleagues who find it difficult to go into the field. She used several ways to transmit the information effectively to them, such as postings in the GHS office using pie charts and photos to explain the activities in the village, and reporting verbally to the supervisor, and so on.

9.5 Analysis

As a result of the interviews, it was found that JOCVs offered their resources and made use of their capacities in working on the interaction between the C/Ps (the policy implementers) and the target groups in the policy network. This section analyzes what kinds of resources the JOCVs provided and what kinds of capacities JOCVs had in the context of policy network theory from the perspective of the C/Ps (or volunteer's hosts) that are also policy implementers.

9.5.1 C/Ps' Perspective on JOCVs' Resources and Capacities

The C/Ps or staff of host organizations, regardless of whether they were or were not directly involved with JOCVs, commonly favorably valued JOCVs' activities. To put this in the context of policy network theory, they valued the usefulness of the resources and capacities provided by JOCVs in addressing issues with local residents and schools.

First, the C/Ps were able to learn about the resources that the JOCVs provided, namely important skills that were new to them. Ms. F, for example, mentioned that the JOCV she hosted taught her the importance of recording children's growth. In addition to this example, Ms. I mentioned that the JOCV she hosted brought up lifestyle-related diseases in health talks, which was an important but still unfamiliar issue in Ghana.

Furthermore, JOCVs also introduced a new method for C/Ps to use in the field. JOCVs used the knowledge and methods learnt in Japan and demonstrated them with their creativity, such as combining and devising what was available in the local situation. In this sense, it can be said that this resource of skills was integrated with the JOCVs' capacity for creativity.

One of the best examples is that JOCVs took the role of creating teaching materials and learning materials as an assistant of C/Ps. Ms. F mentioned that the Teaching Learning Material which JOCV created using local fabrics and materials helped her in her own work. Also, Ms. G noted that the workshops on cloth sanitary napkins and the health talk with correct knowledge, which they conducted together at the initiative of JOCV, contributed to the students' attendance at school. While some

may criticize the C/Ps for only using the JOCVs human resource to create teaching materials, C/Ps appreciated the support they received for their work by creating visually new and inventive teaching materials, and estimated JOCVs' contribution using their resources and capacities to cover C/Ps' shortcomings.

Second, the JOCVs had the capacity to jump organizational boundaries and connect different organizations. C/Ps who are office workers, work within a vertically organized structure, so that it is generally difficult for GES staff to ask GHS staff for help in their personal activities. However, despite the fact that JOCVs are assigned to a specific section, they can work as "foreign volunteers" with relatively no organizational regulations constraining them. If they think it is a good idea to connect horizontal organizations when they are looking at doing some activities or even during an activity, they can do that without any hesitation. For example, in the case of JOCV, for which Ms. J, Director of GHS, serves as C/P, connects GES, GHS, and Assembly staff to generate synergy between them. With this JOCV contribution, Ms. J appreciated that "JOCVs jump over barriers which we cannot." In this regard, Mr. H also noted the case of JOCV who belonged to GHS working together with GES, because JOCV was able to move freely beyond the boundaries of the organization. A JOCV also mentioned in her reports as well. She reported on her contribution to SHEP through the collaboration and cooperation with community-based NGOs, rather than being confined to her personal relationships at her post. These were the case studies that highlight JOCVs flexibility and their ability to jump over barriers and carry out their tasks without being trapped in existing organizational structures.

Finally, C/Ps who are busy with office work value the resource of information from JOCVs who are active in the field. C/Ps, in other words, civil servants, have the important task of compiling reports on their work. Those reports on the various activities conducted by JOCVs that focus on activities in the field are important information for them. In this regard, there were some requests about the documentation of activity reports from JOCVs, which could also be an indication of the C/Ps' consideration that this information was valuable.

To sum up, the host C/Ps evaluated highly JOCVs' resources and capacities. JOCVs played the role as a meta-governor who activated the relationship (governance) between C/Ps and local residents by using their resources and capacities. In other words, JOCVs supported C/Ps, local residents and local students, thanks to their capacity of the creativity and of combining knowledge and methods that were new resources to the people in host communities. Also, their flexibility and ability to jump organizational boundaries in pursuit of their objectives helped JOCVs to support C/Ps. Thus, JOCVs stimulated the interaction between C/Ps who were the policy implementation staff and local residents and enhanced their functionality.

9.5.2 C/Ps' Perspective on What is Missing and Possible Complements to JOCVs

Even though JOCVs were using its resources and capacities as meta-governors to activate the relationship between C/Ps and local residents, C/Ps did not necessarily fully applaud JOCVs' role. They also pointed out shortcomings and problems with JOCVs. First, the language skills are often discussed as the difficulties that JOCVs face due to their language skills, and in this survey, several C/Ps pointed this out as well. C/Ps who hosted JOCVs who were fluent in the local language regarded this point as their understanding of their culture and lifestyle, which in turn was valued as a high contribution to the destination of the activities conducted by the JOCVs. On the other hand, the C/Ps who had hosted those JOCVs still not fluent in the local language said that they were shy, perhaps because of their language difficulties, and that they initially had difficulty communicating with them. However, the C/Ps said that by involving JOCVs in their works or following up with JOCVs, they were able to work together and cover JOCVs' inadequate language skills, which also allowed JOCVs to demonstrate their other skills (the ability to create teaching materials).

Being able to speak the language fluently used in the assigned country is important in terms of cultural understanding and brings an advantage when seeking to enhance program activities. However, as the above episode clearly shows, even if JOCVs are not good at speaking the language, there are cases where they understand each other through being close to the C/Ps, helping and being helped by the C/Ps, and this results in a mutually beneficial activity. It can be said that the role of JOCVs as meta-governors could be complemented not only by their resources and capacities, but also by the actions of the C/Ps who are supposed to be the target of their activities.

In contrast, how did the JOCVs try to cover their language disadvantage? Each JOCV had a different approach, but the common finding was that they tried to contribute by observing the local situation and workplaces in detail to see what they could do, and by trying to incorporate perspectives and methods that were not available in the C/Ps, despite their language disability. They also tried to contribute to the community by introducing perspectives and methods not found in C/Ps. For example, there was a case in which a lifestyle-related disease that was not yet in the spotlight in Ghana (but still important) was taken up as a theme for conducting awareness-raising activities, contributing to the transfer of new knowledge to the Ghanaian people. The language disadvantage has instead led to more collaboration with C/Ps, which in turn has led to the transfer of this new knowledge not only to the local people and schools, but also to C/Ps. In some cases, JOCVs contributed to the creation of educational materials, which C/Ps also appreciated, by focusing on supporting C/Ps by creating easy-to-understand materials that appealed to the visual sense and had clear targets and objectives. These are one of the case studies that shows the way JOCVs can ameliorate their language disadvantage.

Second, the C/Ps raised the issue of continuity. Basically, JOCVs stay 2 years in an assigned field.[2] In addition, the direction of their activities is determined by their own interests and areas of expertise, so it is not always the case that the next JOCV will take over the activities of the previous volunteer. Therefore, it is often the case that the C/Ps' desired ongoing activities are not carried out. In this regard, the C/Ps suggested the following ideas to cover the problem of continuity: collaborate and work together with returned trainees and establish an information sharing system on the part of the C/Ps to continuously follow up the activities of the JOCVs.

In terms of collaboration/cooperation with returned trainees, these are more likely to understand JOCVs who are Japanese (or foreigners) than local people who know nothing about Japan (or other countries) because they have had opportunities to learn new things about Japan and other countries during their several-weeks stay in Japan. In addition, it is difficult to catch up the latest information after training in Japan, but this is complemented by every two-year assignment of JOCVs. In other words, in general, assuming that C/Ps have no training experience in Japan, the problem of continuity may seem difficult to solve if we focus only on the relationship between JOCVs and C/Ps, however, by including returned trainees, they may be able to bridge the gap between JOCVs and C/Ps and alleviate the continuity problem.

Sharing information in the form desired by the C/Ps will enable the continuity of activities on C/Ps side through JOCVs' sharing information, collaborating, and working together in the form desired by C/Ps rather than finding continuity by having JOCVs continue their activities from generation to generation. However, a sense of ownership and responsibility for the C/Ps' activities will also be important for this purpose.

Although the ideas put forth by these C/Ps have not been proven to be totally effective, they will lead to C/Ps accepting and considering the issue of continuity as their own problem, rather than viewing it solely as a problem for JOCVs. And this, too, would have the potential to complement the role of the C/Ps in the JOCVs as meta-governors.

9.6 Conclusion

This study analyzed the case of JOCVs engaged in a school health education program in Ghana using the conceptual lenses of policy networks and meta-governors. As a result, this study revealed how JOCVs used their resources and capacities to activate interactional relationships between C/Ps and community members and students, by focusing on the C/Ps' perspective, which previous studies did not pay much attention to. It also examined how C/Ps could complement JOCV's activities.

In Ghana, health and education policies formulated at the national level are implemented at the district level, and reports on the status of implementation lead to policy

[2] While this does not apply to different programs such as short-term dispatch, the survey covered long-term dispatch (two years in principle) JOCVs and their C/Ps.

reform and the formulation of the next policy. The system is designed to ensure that reports on the implementation status are used to inform the next policy. However, in addition to these top-down activity plans, the SHEP has an activity plan framework (20% of working hours) that can address issues specific to the area at the district level to enhance policy implementation, and whether the activities produce results depends on the interaction between policy implementers and the target population. While the C/Ps of JOCVs, the policy implementer, makes various proposals for community-specific issues and promotes the action plan, local residents and school officials who are the target group of the activities, help to identify issues by providing information and other resources.

This study has discussed how JOCVs have activated the interaction between the two by using their resources and capacities to reach out to both the C/Ps and the communities. As a result, the JOCVs' role in the network of SHEP implementation can be said to correspond as meta-governors in governance network theory. Then, what exactly are the resources and capacities that JOCVs can have? As learned from the interviews with the C/Ps, the resources include information and skills that are new to local people, as well as the various on-site information sets obtained through observation of the sites and contact with local residents, school staffs, and students. The capacities are the ability to connect different organizations with each other, which can be described as the flexibility and ability to jump over barriers without being confined by circumstances. We can also point to the ability to convey the new information and skills mentioned above, that is, the ability to utilize knowledge and methods acquired in Japan and to devise and provide them in combination with locally available items elsewhere.

The role of JOCVs as meta-governors and their resources and capacities, as revealed by the analysis, are embedded in the way they live their lives in the local community. They are fostering trust, mutual respect, and mutual understanding through living in the local community, such as cooking and eating together with local people, including C/Ps and school personnel, shopping, spending time with friends, and attending weddings and funerals. These JOCVs' volunteer style, working and living together with the local people, has been emphasized from the beginning of the JOCV program and has been described as a characteristic of JOCVs that distinguishes them from MOFA/JICA staff and technical cooperation specialists/experts. This characteristic also forms an important foundation for the JOCVs' function as meta-governors in the governance network.

Furthermore, the role of JOCVs as meta-governors is complemented not only by their resources and capacities, but also by the actions of the C/Ps who are supposed to be the objects of their activities. The analysis revealed the cases in which C/Ps covered the difficulty of JOCVs' local language fluency, and it also indicated the possibility of mitigating the problem of continuity, which is a traditional JOCVs' problem, depending on the way C/Ps are involved.

Those C/Ps who had participated in JICA's training programs in Japan, showed a greater understanding of what individual JOCVs wanted to do and how JOCVs thought about it than other C/Ps, as a result of their much greater knowledge of JICA's projects and JOCV program through the training. Furthermore, in the SHEP discussed

in this study, C/Ps are more likely to respond to the JOCVs' efforts because of the similarity and affinity between the action plans implemented under the leadership of the SHEP coordinators and JOCVs' activities. C/Ps with training experience in Japan can be expected to further complement the role of JOCVs as meta-governors.

It should be noted, however, that the C/Ps do not always cover the deficient aspects or problems of the JOCVs. Rather, JOCVs often have the problem that the C/Ps are not involved in their activities as a reality. Even in this survey, JOCVs expressed several concerns such as, who should be the C/P and why do the C/Ps not go with them into the field. The C/Ps, however, did not seem to be aware of this point.

This might be considered a result of the difference of position between C/Ps and JOCVs. C/Ps accept JOCVs as part of their daily work and are not necessarily working to fulfill what JOCVs want to do. In particular, C/Ps who are civil servants have more of an office worker mindset, and the nature of their work makes it difficult for them to visit the field frequently, as mentioned in the interview. However, this attitude of C/Ps is puzzling to the eyes of JOCVs, who place great importance on on-site work.[3]

Although this difference in position with the C/Ps cannot be easily resolved, in light of JOCVs' role as meta-governors, it will be necessary to involve C/Ps constantly who have relationships with local residents in the activities. To this end, it is essential to connect C/Ps to the field, even if indirectly, by providing feedback to them on field activities in the form of written reports, as was pointed out in Sect. 9.5 in this chapter, in a manner consistent with the C/Ps' duties.

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[3] This difference in position with the C/Ps may suggest that affected JOCVs should find another person (e.g., staff of a local NGO) who can work together with them in the field, as the JOCV been interviewed this time actually did, without being particular about working with the C/Ps.

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Appendix Essay 8: Japanese Volunteers in the Philippines: A Story of Friendship and Human Connection

Maita P. Alcampado

> Small acts, when multiplied by millions of people, can transform the world. Howard Zinn.[4]

As close neighbors, the Philippines and Japan's bilateral relations began when Japan joined the Colombo Plan in 1954.

The enduring partnership between the Philippines and Japan is anchored on its shared long history, dating as far back as the pre-colonial times, and its shared values of close family ties, respecting elders and the regard for customs and traditions, to name a few.

While JICA started its operations in the Philippines in 1974, the first batch of volunteers was dispatched to the Philippines in February 1966. This makes the Philippines one of the first five countries to receive Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV). For 58 years now, around 1,692 Japanese volunteers have been deployed to the country, making the Philippines one of the top 5 host countries in the world.

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[4] Howard Zinn. 1994. *You Can't Be Neutral on a Moving Train: A Personal History of Our Times*, Beacon Press.

The aim of JICA's Volunteer Program is to provide technical assistance to developing countries at the grassroots level through the Japanese volunteers. With the volunteers living and working with people in the community for the duration of their tour of duty, the dispatch of the volunteers does not only mean sharing their technical skills with communities, but also strengthening the friendship and mutual understanding between Japan and the Philippines.

For the period of 2012–2019, I was privileged to be assigned as one of the Volunteer Coordinators for JOCVs in the Philippines. This assignment was a very enriching and eye-opening experience. Working with different Volunteers from various professional backgrounds and fields and interacting with their counterparts all around the country gave me a unique opportunity to observe how the Japanese Volunteers make a difference in the lives of our community partners.

In 2013, just a year after starting work with JOCVs, two catastrophic natural disasters occurred in the Philippines, the Bohol Earthquake in October and the Super Typhoon Yolanda in November. Subsequently, I witnessed the empathy, sense of community, and friendship that the JOCVs offered when JICA was doing round-the-clock relief operations. Volunteers assigned in Bohol joined JICA in distributing shelter relief items. They also inspired their counterparts to join the relief operations. While in the aftermath of Super Typhoon Yolanda, the JOCVs together with JICA Philippines Staff, visited elementary schools in Leyte to spend time with the students and to cheer them up with educational presentations and games. With the funds raised through their efforts, the JOCVs also distributed hygiene kits and toys.

When JOCVs are asked why they decided to be a Volunteer, many of them said that they want to help. Unknowingly, their two-year assignment was also a journey of self-discovery. Because of different working environments, principles and culture, they have encountered various challenges. Yet, with the consideration, support and trust of their counterparts, the Volunteers have been inspired to see their assignment through and remained steadfast.

I remember one Volunteer who first introduced the concept of the fabrication laboratory (FabLab) to the Philippines. The FabLab concept was quite new to the Philippines. Setting it up would involve a lot of resources and funds of the partner agency were limited. At the start, it seemed impossible to establish. However, with the perseverance of the Volunteer, the trust, confidence and determination of the partner agency and the collaboration of all stakeholders, the first FabLab was inaugurated in May 2014. From that 1st FabLab in 2014, the number has grown to about 36 FabLabs in 2021, all set up with the support of the Philippine Government.

I also recollect several volunteers fondly. There were the group of Volunteers who came from different fields such as design, agriculture, disaster management, among others and like any other volunteer dispatch, some of them had their fair share of difficulties including adjustments due to language barrier, cultural differences or work environment. Nevertheless, despite encountering initial challenges, they all thrived and exceeded expectations. There were also the group of Volunteers who were able to immediately integrate into the community, establish strong ties with counterparts and succeed in their activities despite meager resources. Some of them even returned to the Philippines like one volunteer who built a dormitory for youth

with intellectual disabilities. The volunteer inspired the youth to become productive and rise above their disabilities. Japanese visitors in study tours in the Philippines visit the place and support the souvenir crafts of the persons with disabilities.

Regardless, Volunteers showed resilience and determination, and when their assignment ended, their counterparts appreciated their contributions, leaving wonderful lessons on self-determination and human connection.

I think, at the end of their assignment the Volunteers realized that volunteering is a rewarding two-way process. As they were able to help and support the community, in return, their interaction with local people and the experiences and challenges they faced, in the course of their volunteer work contributed greatly to their growth as more capable and well-intentioned human beings.

JOCVs teaching schoolchildren the Japanese morning greeting at the start of the activity. (*Visit to elementary schools after Super Typhoon Yolanda*).

JOCVs assisting in the distribution of plastic sheets (*JICA Emergency Disaster Relief Operations for the Bohol Earthquake*).

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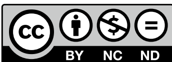

Part III
Conclusions

Chapter 10
Breaking the Iron Cage: Understanding Legitimacy Claims for State-Sponsored International Voluntary Services

Anthony Fee, Benjamin J. Lough, and Yasunobu Okabe

10.1 Introduction

International volunteering is an expression of voluntary service performed across national borders with the intention of contributing to society (Sherraden et al. 2006). It encompasses a great diversity of organizational forms (Lopez Franco and Shahrokh 2015) ranging from unskilled, short-term, and supply-driven "voluntourism" to skilled, longer-term and demand-driven "international development volunteering" (IDV) like that used by Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV).

Unlike most forms of international volunteering, IDV focuses on matching skilled professionals with a volunteer partner organization that has a demand for their expertise (Jinwen 2015; Lough and Tiessen 2018; Schech et al. 2015). For this reason, IDV can be an important contributor to global development outcomes such as those linked to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and hence is often funded as part of donor nations' foreign aid and development agendas.

Being situated within a system of international development cooperation, state-sponsored international voluntary services (SSIVS), such as JOCV, the United States Peace Corps, and World Friends Korea (WFK), often face competing pressures to achieve both development and domestic outcomes. As other chapters in this volume demonstrate, IDV can contribute to positive "downstream" impacts achieved by volunteers through the long-term development of partner organizations and the

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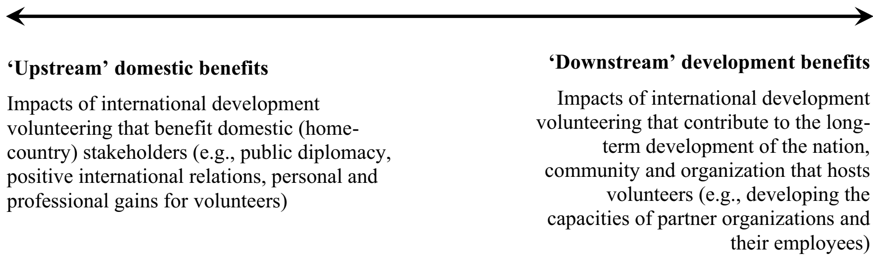

Fig. 10.1 Distinguishing between the different outcomes of international development volunteers

communities that host them (see chapters of Hosono, Ueda, Yamada, and Sakamaki), as well as "upstream" domestic benefits to the donor state via outcomes like public diplomacy, positive international relations, or enhancing the human capital of volunteers (see chapters of Onuki and Sekine). These different demands, illustrated in Fig. 10.1, can create tensions for SSIVS programs, which may struggle to reconcile downstream development outcomes with domestic agendas of their government funders.

This chapter examines tensions in this upstream–downstream dynamic. We first précis the operating context of the development ecosystem that creates tensions for SSIVS within this landscape. We then apply the lens of institutional legitimacy theory (Meyer and Rowan 1977) to explain why espousing upstream benefits of their value propositions may create problems for SSIVS programs based on competing demands on legitimacy. From this, we introduce a simple model that offers four options for how SSIVS programs might reconcile these divergent demands. We conclude by arguing that SSIVS programs that choose a certain option like JOCV may benefit by imagining the distinctive value proposition of IDV as a mutual and reciprocal process that can simultaneously balance valuable up- and down-stream outcomes. While this chapter is theory-oriented, we sometimes use the case of JOCV, considered to be representative of other SSIVS programs, to illustrate our argument.

10.2 The Historical Context of International Volunteering in the Development Ecosystem

The foundations of contemporary IDV programs can be traced to the middle of the twentieth century and the post-war establishment of global organizations and frameworks intended to promote economic stability, development, and peace (Lough 2015; Sobocinska 2017). In the 1960s SSIVS programs emerged in countries like the USA, Norway, and Japan as structured mechanisms to help match skilled professionals from a donor home country with a role in a partner organization in a "recipient" host country. These programs arose, therefore, in the context of global efforts to redress structural poverty and to instill self-reliance and capacity in the world's least developed nations.

In this chapter, SSIVS is conceptualized as international voluntary services sponsored or managed by the state or governments. Their qualification as "state-managed" is important because it implies that state policies and controls are reflected in the program. However, state sponsorship alone does not necessarily entail direct state intervention in the program. In this sense, SSIVS programs are a broader set of programs that include state-managed international voluntary services (SMIVS) programs, the focus of most chapters in this volume (defined in the introduction chapter). Some programs, such as JOCV, US Peace Corps, The Norwegian Agency for Exchange Cooperation (Norec), and WFK, are SSIVS initiatives sponsored and managed by the state, and hence can be more narrowly categorized as SMIVS. In contrast, other programs like Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO), Australian Volunteers International (AVI), and CUSO International are only partially funded by the state and are managed by an independent board of directors.

For governments, several features make IDV an attractive addition to their official development assistance (ODA) arsenal. In particular, volunteers' local knowledge and relationships with host communities allows these programs to distribute a localized and decentralized form of "smart aid" that promotes grassroots development and local ownership (Ataselim 2014; Joseph and Gillies 2009). Consistent with this strategy, some SSIVS programs have directed their identities and energies "downstream" at building capacity within partner organizations and the host communities that they serve (Howard and Burns 2015). The policy and operating landscape of these programs has been heavily influenced by various trends in development practice that include structural reforms, economic marketization, and resource efficiency, among others (Murray and Overton 2011). Other SSIVS programs, like JOCV, have traditionally been more circumspect in demanding development outcomes, with expectations of volunteers' ability to achieve sustainable development outcomes less categorical. For these programs, the need to demonstrate upstream benefits—for instance, diplomacy benefits of mutual intercultural exchange and understanding, volunteers' personal and professional development—have been salient, and in some cases central to the program's goals (Okabe's chapter in this volume).

Upstream-downstream tensions have come to the fore in recent years as SSIVS programs have increasingly experienced demands from government funders to professionalize their operations, embrace competitive funding, improve transparency and measurable impact, and align strategic activities with government priorities (Eagleton-Pierce 2019; Howard and Burns 2015). In this context, although governments have always used ODA to serve multiple interrelated domestic and international objectives, SSIVS programs are being asked to demonstrate progress more explicitly toward a broader suite of outcomes emphasizing both donor- and recipient-country benefits. The reasons for this are complex and vary by program, driven in part by changing government priorities. Consequently, programs that have downstream development outcomes at their center are increasingly being asked to incorporate domestic priorities, while those with upstream domestic outcomes as their foundation are being encouraged to demonstrate downstream development impacts. In these

contexts, IDV program's "future funding base … may be dependent on their ability to meet multiple—and sometimes divergent—priorities of governments" (Lough and Allum 2013, p. 914).

We argue that these dual objectives can create tensions for IDV and SSIVS programs seeking to retain their legitimacy in the eyes of the many stakeholders that they serve, notably the field of international development, a field which encompasses myriad interconnected transnational and intergovernmental agencies, international and domestic NGOs, and other private organizations involved in development practices. The field has complex historical legacies and some resistance to programs seen as promoting "selfish" upstream benefits. In the next section, we seek to explain this tension for SSIVS programs by drawing on institutional legitimacy theory.

10.3 How SSIVS Programs Develop Priorities Through Legitimacy Seeking

We propose that SSIVS programs wishing to achieve both domestic and development impacts can encounter tensions arising from the threat to their credibility as legitimate development actors. The importance of maintaining credibility within the development sector can be explained using *institutional legitimacy theory*.

This theory, associated primarily with works of Meyer and Rowan (1977) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983), posits that organizations operating in comparable contexts tend to morph toward adopting similar sets of socially endorsed practices that are responsive to perceptions of important stakeholders (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Theoretically, "isomorphic" pressure for conformity arises because organizations seek to attain and retain their social legitimacy (Meyer and Rowan 1977). In this context, the term "legitimacy" refers to an entity's acceptance by relevant stakeholders and institutions within a particular setting by demonstrating attitudes and practices that are viewed as acceptable within the group (Bitektine and Haack 2015; Suchman 1995; Suddaby et al. 2017).

Applied to SSIVS programs, although their legitimacy to operate hinges on evaluations by myriad overlapping stakeholder groups, we propose that their social acceptance as genuine development programs within the institutional field of international development actors creates pressure on SSIVS and other IDV programs to emphasize downstream impacts. In short, the sector's dominant ideological stance results in isomorphic pressure on SSIVS programs to embrace values, enact activities and focus their energies on outcomes such as redressing social and economic injustices; outcomes that are perceived as acceptable within the expectations and norms of this operating context. This focus is reinforced through well-established professional practices and globally endorsed principles such as those found in the SDGs, which provide unifying beacons for this institutional landscape, and recognized through the existence of metaphorical labels like "Aidland", a term used to describe the shared cultural and psychological landscape of the actors inhabiting the field (Mosse 2011;

Schech 2017). These pressures stand in contrast to the logic underpinning programs that direct efforts primarily toward domestic benefits—where goodwill benefits (e.g., donor country public diplomacy) outweigh tangible development outcomes, and where helping volunteers to develop professional experience and expertise is more important than the application of those expertise toward SDGs.

To explain these pressures, we draw on institutional legitimacy theory (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) and the experiences of JOCV, a program with historical legacies ensconced in international development. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) propose three main means through which isomorphic pressures are reinforced: *coercive* mechanisms via formal and informal pressure to comply with political or regulatory priorities, *mimetic* mechanisms in the form of organizations imitating, role modelling or benchmarking the practices of others within the institutional field (Heugens and Lander 2007), and *normative* mechanisms such as formal education or professional associations which enculturate standardized practices and values.

Applied to international development cooperation, practices and norms have evolved around firmly held and widely shared institutional norms that are established and reinforced normatively and mimetically. At least three features of IDV programs' relationship with the sector support this view: (a) their historical roots, which place them firmly in the international development sector, (b) their desire to "professionalize" their operations within this sector in which most actors are professional development practitioners (not volunteers), and (c) their desire to demarcate their activities from other forms of unskilled or semi-skilled supply-driven international volunteering. We briefly discuss each and illustrate these by considering their relevance to JOCV.

a. *The Historical Roots of IDV Programs in International Development*

The historical roots of many SSIVS programs, including JOCV, position them firmly in international development cooperation (Lough 2015) with an interest in cooperating with host countries to achieve greater economic and social development. The discourses and practices of many of these programs have been underpinned by commitments to redress global inequalities and past colonial and wartime practices. This was fortified by widely shared ideological attitudes compounded by the strong association (at that time) of voluntary service with notions of sacrifice, selflessness, and altruism which, while simplistic, tended to suppress recognition of personal or donor benefit. As a result, acknowledging nation-building outcomes, such as volunteers' own professional development, could be seen as directly conflicting with the humanitarian values that underpin these programs' self-appointed *raison d'être* (Georgeou 2012; Lough and Allum 2013).

Consistent with efforts to demonstrate programmatic contributions to the SDGs by development organizations, many IDV programs have placed a heavy emphasis on measuring "development impact" (Allum 2017), which inevitably converges on downstream outcomes. Indeed, many reforms shaping the institutional field in recent decades—such as greater accountability for measuring impact, a focus on return on investment, and a demand for strong local partnerships—served to reinforce this unilateral downstream focus.

In the case of JOCV, since its establishment in 1965, the program's official objective had been two-fold (Okabe 2016): development cooperation (downstream) as well as volunteers' personal development and their contributions to Japanese society (upstream). However, it has undergone periods with different emphasis. For instance, a shift occurred with the introduction of the 1974 JICA Act, which stipulated that the program had development goals but made no reference to upstream objectives. The Act explicitly stated that JICA, JOCV's funding and managing agency, "shall undertake the following operations, including the JOCV program, to promote and encourage youth activities overseas … with the purpose of cooperating in the economic and social development of the developing countries by working together with the people from local communities." While in practice JICA still continued to pursue the upstream benefits after the enactment of the law, this legal shift meant, from a retrospective view, that the JOCV program started to prioritize downstream benefits over upstream ones, a policy change that coincided with a trend among Western IDV programs at that time.

Subsequently, JICA has progressively emphasized volunteers' downstream contribution. It finally removed "youth education" from JOCV's purposes in 2015, concluding that nowadays young Japanese people have many opportunities to visit foreign countries at their own expense. Having said that, however, JICA did not abandon JOCV's upstream benefits completely. Rather than denying the effectiveness of JOCV in contributing to volunteers' human capital, JICA now focuses on another traditional upstream benefit of the program—returned volunteers' contribution to Japanese society (Okabe and Mitsugi 2018). In this sense, JOCV's dual objectives continue.

b. *IDV Programs' Desire to Professionalize Their Operations*

A second contributor to a desire to establish and maintain legitimacy comes from normative pressures arising from IDV's standing within the field as a professional activity. These demands to professionalize may be particularly acute for IDV programs due to the voluntary nature of their service in "an industry increasingly dominated by … high finance, large-scale programmes, and professionalism" (Devereux 2008, p. 361). SSIVS programs' desire to focus more overtly on downstream development impacts, therefore, can be viewed as efforts to position their work—performed by highly skilled but "non-expert" volunteers—more strongly within the sector's professional and moral foundations. Evidence of movements to professionalize IDV program's operations exists in associations like the International Forum for Volunteering in Development (*Forum*), a global network comprising 28 IDV programs with various histories, which includes JICA as a member. *Forum* claims to represent "a *collective* voice and *unified* identity in the values and principles that underpin volunteering for development" (emphasis in original), and through which "exclusive forms of knowledge" (Lopez Franco and Shahrokh 2015, 22) are circulated, including research papers, reporting practices of members, annual conferences, and global standards of practice (Allum and Onuki 2019; Forum 2019). Consistent with this, *Forum*'s website reports that it exists:

> To share information, develop good practice and enhance cooperation across the international volunteering and development sectors. It promotes the value of volunteering for development through policy engagement, mutual learning and by sharing innovative and good practices.

Collectively, these moves to strengthen professional acumen suggest a desire by this community of IDV programs for legitimacy attached to their perceived moral contributions to communities in need and, in part, acceptance from the wider development sector of their role as professional development agencies (Suchman 1995).

The evolution of the JOCV program has emphasized the need for professionalization over time. Prior to volunteers' overseas deployment, for instance, they are mandated to undergo an extensive residential group training course of around 70 days. This rigorous training regimen covers a diverse range of topics, including proficiency in the local language, understanding international cooperation principles, familiarity with the conditions in the host country, and a comprehensive health management course that includes essential safety protocols. Volunteers stationed in host countries actively participate in regular study meetings organized in collaboration with JICA country offices. These gatherings serve as platforms for the exchange of insights, experiences, and valuable information about their respective missions and activities. Moreover, within JICA country offices, a crucial role is played by professional staff members holding the position of "Volunteer Coordinators" (VC). These dedicated individuals shoulder primary responsibility for managing the logistics of the JOCV program, ensuring its smooth and effective operation (see Yamada's chapter in this volume on the elements of some of these features).

c. *IDV Programs' Desire to Demarcate their Activities from Unskilled and Semi-skilled "Supply-driven" International Volunteering*

Related to the preceding features, the growing awareness of questionable impacts of supply-driven, short-term volunteering models (e.g., voluntourism) has provided incentives for some programs to demarcate themselves from these other forms of international volunteering, and in doing so embed their practices more strongly within the formal development ecosystem. Supporting this, Howard and Burns report a "growing re-emphasis on skills transfer" designed to differentiate IDV from unskilled volunteer tourism, which tends to emphasize the convenience and benefits to volunteers (2015, p. 8) and which is criticized for reinforcing inequalities and stereotypes (Perold et al. 2013). Some individual IDV programs have publicly criticized the limitations of supply-driven, unskilled international volunteering (Devereux 2008), while others have re-emphasized the development credentials of their model to demonstrate "how and why (IDV) can be a particularly strong vehicle for development" (Howard and Burns 2015, 10). This view was endorsed formally in *Forum*'s *Global Standards for Volunteering for Development*, which defines "impactful volunteering" as "deliver(ing) measurable and sustainable improvements for poor and marginalized communities that align to a country's national development agendas and to the SDGs" (Forum 2019). Such initiatives may be viewed as active efforts to differentiate IDV from supply-driven models of volunteering and so can help prevent negative

"legitimacy spillover" (Stevens and Newenham-Kahindi 2017), which may otherwise weaken a program's claims to normative legitimacy within the development sector.

This trend is not as prominent within the JOCV program as in other sending countries, due to the relatively lower popularity of voluntourism in Japan combined with the program's inherent emphasis on short-term volunteering opportunities. It is noteworthy that JICA, the state authority that funds and manages JOCV, employs a strategy to maximize the benefits of short-term volunteers, including university students. To facilitate a more comprehensive learning experience and a deeper understanding of developmental issues and realities in host countries, JICA dispatches short-term volunteers to partner organizations (aka counterparts) where long-term JOCVs have been actively engaged in the communities. This intentional pairing allows for collaboration and knowledge sharing between short-term and long-term volunteers (Fujikake 2018). Importantly, this strategy underscores JICA's approach of not seeking to isolate the JOCV program from other forms of international volunteering but rather aims to integrate unskilled university volunteers into the broader development mission of the JOCV program. This integration is designed to ignite the short-term volunteers' interest in development issues, potentially motivating them to pursue longer-term volunteering commitments or to consider future careers within JICA, the central Japanese government, UN organizations, NGOs, and similar entities in the field of international development.

In short, we posit that the IDV community—including SSIVS programs like JOCV—operates within a set of institutional practices and assumptions that are central to their legitimacy. An essential part of this is the institutional field's dominant focus on downstream impacts. Viewed this way, government donors' demands for accountability for upstream objectives—for instance, to develop volunteers' international perspective for the benefit of the home country—can be perceived by those within the sector as a mildly coercive imposition to focus "disproportionately (on the) high levels of benefits" extracted by volunteers, which starkly contrast normative and mimetic pressures from sister organizations within their field (Lewis 2005, p. 20).

It is these contradictions—achieving legitimacy within the institutional field by demonstrating downstream impacts while fulfilling funders' desire for tangible upstream benefits—that create strategic tensions for programs seeking to balance both. This tension has salience to many SSIVS programs including JOCV as it navigates a changing policy framework laid out by its government donors.

The following section introduces a framework that outlines a range of strategic options to explain how individual IDV programs might respond to contrasting legitimacy pressures, and considers the particular case of SSIVS programs.

10.4 Explaining Different Legitimacy Responses

We suggest that the way individual IDV programs respond to competing legitimacy demands is likely to revolve around their handling of two main issues. The first is the extent to which they are open to the multiple and contrasting legitimacy concerns of donors and development beneficiaries (i.e., a "pluralistic stakeholder strategy") or whether they focus primarily on objectives and outcomes linked to a dominant stakeholder group (i.e., a "primary stakeholder strategy").

The second issue revolves around the extent to which an IDV attempts to fully embrace the interests of stakeholders in an integrated way that aligns the concerns of multiple stakeholder groups with its operations and values—what we call an "aligned legitimacy response"—or whether it resolves to prioritize legitimacy with some stakeholders, and so proffer what might be viewed as superficial concern to other stakeholders—characterized here as a "discordant legitimacy response".

Weighing these considerations leads an IDV program to four possible response orientations broadly mapping to the four illustrative quadrants in Fig. 10.2 and discussed in more detail below.

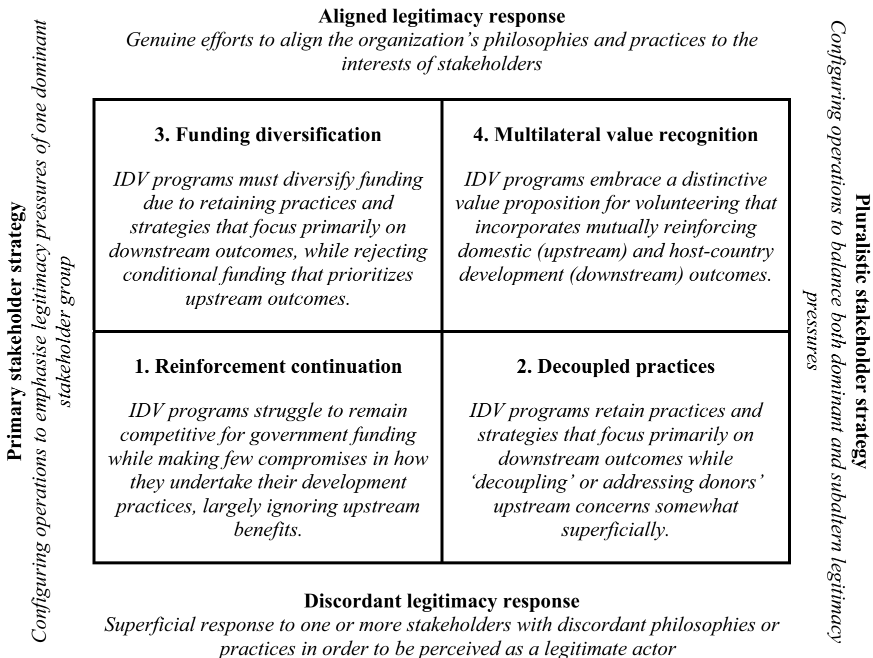

Fig. 10.2 Framework for understanding IDV programs' responses to pressures from competing stakeholder groups

1. ***Reinforcement Continuation***

The first possible response orientation involves an IDV program's refusal to modify the emphasis of its development practices. In this scenario, the program continues to covet and deploy donors' funds as a prominent source of their operating expenses but maintains a clear focus solely on either downstream development or upstream outcomes. Despite donors' interests in IDV programs measuring and demonstrating alternative (upstream or downstream) benefits, under a *reinforcement continuation* strategy these demands remain largely unrecognized by the program. As a result, a program embracing this orientation may struggle to continue attracting funding from donors that maintain different objectives.

Reinforcement continuation indicates a preference for the legitimacy reinforcement of a dominant field: either organizational peers in their institutional field, or donors more interested in reaping domestic upstream benefits. It thus suggests a degree of legitimacy "capture" by a dominant stakeholder group. For some IDV programs, this may reflect the strong isomorphic pressures that are incumbent on the program's historical foundations linked to the international development field.

This positioning is likely to succeed best in contexts where one stakeholder's accountability demands may lack strength or continuity, as evident in fluid government policy settings or indications of limited commitment from within government for the priorities associated with one set of outcomes. It may therefore represent a long-term strategy to outlast trends in government funding in order to stay true to the program's core (unilateral) beliefs.

This strategy may also succeed when legitimacy claims among other stakeholders compete to the degree that one set of stakeholders' demands diminish, such as where the program has established support for their activities from a stakeholder group that asserts some leverage over the other. This might include, for instance, domestic constituents asserting pressure on government donors for the program's position. In such cases, the program may seek to nurture and assert its own moral legitimacy with these competing stakeholder groups to weaken or modify demands from the other. Potential actions include openly questioning the merits of governments' public diplomacy or development-oriented interests, or discrediting these views with domestic constituents or other competing interest groups; in other words, by weakening the legitimacy claims imbued in their donors' interests.

2. ***Decoupled Practices***

IDV programs using this approach recognize the complexity of their stakeholder relationships and try to address the concerns of multiple groups; however, they do this in a way that preferences one set of outcomes while giving only superficial attention to others (i.e., paying "lip service" to either downstream or upstream outcomes). Such an approach is underpinned by oppositional attitudes that, for example, view measuring benefits of one outcome as a burdensome but necessary evil. Consequently, programs with this orientation would activate responses to demands in ways that are insincere and separated from their core practices and philosophies. In legitimacy theory, such

an approach is known as "decoupling", whereby organizations disconnect "illegitimating" practices from institutional demands (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Decoupling can allow an organization to retain legitimacy among dominant stakeholders through a genuine commitment to one set of demands while offering only "symbolic" deference to others. Thus, while a program deploying this approach may internally recognize IDV's possible contributions—both upstream and downstream—the potential of being perceived as self-serving or too strongly associated with a certain agenda leads them to satisfice but not seriously embrace accountability demands.

Programs that decouple their activities and outcomes tend to succeed at maintaining legitimacy by leveraging the ambiguities and inconsistencies that exist among different groups of stakeholders. Taking advantage of these, programs can reconcile their internal expectations with external communications by disconnecting one set of benefits (domestic or development) from their core measures of accomplishment and performance (DiMaggio and Powell 1983); for instance, by taking notional steps to measure and report on these impacts while separating this from their core monitoring and evaluation activities, and by limiting how such reporting is disseminated. Through this, programs with this orientation conserve the *status quo* by offering only notional compliance with either upstream or downstream outcomes.

3. ***Funding Diversification***

IDV programs employing this approach direct their legitimacy efforts toward a dominant stakeholder group and actively (and authentically) disavow contrasting claims from other stakeholders with competing interests. In this way, rather than ignoring or decoupling practices to placate demands seen as being unnecessary burdens, programs resolve the tension of competing legitimacy claims by aligning only with donors whose values and interests are consistent with their philosophical view. Thus, programs with this orientation overtly reject notions of domestic benefits from donors or legitimacy claims from other development organizations. Instead, they seek to operate within the legitimacy of a single stakeholder group. They thereby rebuff accountabilities that are incompatible with their core vision. This strategy may require programs to source funds from donors with fewer accountability demands or with views more aligned to their unilateral philosophy and objectives.

This approach is most likely to succeed in contexts where organizations focusing solely on down- or upstream objectives can access a range of funding options, a condition that makes it challenging for SSIVS programs reliant on government support. It may necessitate devoting more resources toward sustaining relationships and nurturing legitimacy with multiple funding bodies and associated stakeholder groups, and toward communicating and advocating the "purity" of their philosophical stance. A program assuming this position may also seek to differentiate itself from other IDV programs that—in the program's view—compromise its mission's impacts by bending to the wishes of donors.

Like the two preceding response strategies, this orientation assumes that contrasting legitimacy claims are a zero-sum game, and that the demands for one set of benefits detract from gains in other areas. In effect, responses represented by

the first three quadrants in Fig. 10.2 each reassert a program's value proposition as unilateral.

4. ***Multilateral Value Recognition***

The final possible response orientation available to IDV programs involves organizations enacting philosophies and practices that seek to recognize and *authentically address the interests of multiple stakeholder groups* (i.e. donors, development sector actors, partner organizations and host communities) by configuring a value proposition that achieves multilateral legitimacy. As such, it is the only option that seeks to reconcile up- and down-stream benefits into a distinctive value proposition. Embracing multilateral value recognition requires programs to separate their practices from other professional actors in Aidland and from supply-driven volunteering by articulating a clear rationale for why and how the IDV model can represent a (more) mutually beneficial development intervention. Organizations doing this must acknowledge nested loyalties by accepting that "legitimacy accounts are not inherently restricted to any fixed set of gatekeepers" (Deephouse and Suchman 2008, p. 55). While these loyalties may compete, raising the question of "legitimacy for whom?", the challenge for programs deploying a *multilateral value recognition* approach is to make these competing loyalties mutually reinforcing by building on IDVs' particular ability to nurture mutuality with recipient communities and partner organizations that genuinely value the program's contributions to donors' interests. It is this approach that, we believe, best suits JOCV's current mission.

The alignment between this approach and the core mission of JOCV has been examined in Okabe's (2016) distillation of JOCV's history. As detailed in this article, JOCV is uniquely positioned to draw a substantial pool of applicants owing to its dual objectives encompassing both development cooperation and youth education and development. The program extended invaluable opportunities to young Japanese individuals, not merely for the sake of cultural competence and experiencing life abroad, but also to actively contribute to the well-being of communities in host countries. This strategic approach—though it was a product of political compromise reached between stakeholders—serves as an example to IDV programs wishing to recognize and foster multilateral interests by engaging in development interventions that are mutually beneficial.

To this point, JOCV's current mission encompasses both upstream and downstream objectives. At its core, the JOCV program is dedicated to bolstering self-help efforts in the communities with which volunteers work. It positions local people and organizations as the key protagonists in the development process, with volunteers serving as collaborators rather than central actors. This unique dynamic empowers volunteers to engage in a two-fold process: they can glean valuable insights and knowledge from local people, partner organizations, and communities, while simultaneously making meaningful contributions to advance JOCV's broader development objectives.

Configuring multilateral interests requires strengths-based approaches that value local knowledge and two-way learning. It also necessitates transparency about expectations on local partners to make valued contributions through their impacts on individual volunteers, project efficacy, and program impact. The strongest way for actors in the field to recognize multilateral value is through establishing and curating genuinely equal partnerships with downstream stakeholders, notably partner organizations and the "recipient" communities that host their work; thereby overtly valuing these partners' contributions to IDV programs. This is notable because, while development principles are predicated on notions of "partnership", these standards are often limited or insincere in practice, and frequently carry minimal genuine operational or strategic gravitas. This, in turn, draws greater attention to the genuine reciprocal partnerships that lie at the center of IDV's value proposition. We expand this point in the discussion in the following section.

10.5 The Distinctive Value Proposition of International Development Volunteering

In considering the features that might differentiate IDV from other development interventions, we contend that IDV's core philosophy of nurturing collaborative and equal interpersonal relationships between (skilled) volunteers and counterparts provides a development model more strongly oriented to mutuality and reciprocity than others within the institutional field. An important feature of this is the potential of IDV to construct enduring reciprocal relationships that cultivate, value and recognize the contributions of partner organizations and host communities. Two features are worth highlighting here.

First, we suggest the long-term person-to-person partnerships in IDV enable reciprocal engagements between individual actors (volunteers and counterparts) and organizations (IDV programs and partner organizations) that, when managed effectively, nurture the respect, equality and mutuality that can best facilitate two-way (rather than one-way) benefits. IDVs' community-embeddedness (e.g., volunteers working and living in host communities for extended periods) opens opportunities for an authentic form of solidarity and "insider" association that is lacking in most development partnerships. This relational positioning not only enables culturally congruent knowledge and feedback to enhance the programs' effectiveness in delivering development projects, but also provides a stronger platform for two-way learning and understanding through authentic reciprocal exchange. The mutuality imbued in these relationships is an important contributor to many of the upstream outcomes reported in earlier chapters (see chapters of Okabe, Onuki, and Sekine respectively) and other published research (Fee and Gray 2011), such as enhancing volunteers' professional expertise, cultural acumen, returned volunteers' contribution to their society, and awareness of the intricacies of development and geo-political landscapes. These contributions, when recognized and celebrated, can demonstrate

a more genuine valuing of local strengths and contributions at a level rarely seen in otherwise market-based development interventions.

A second important consideration of the value proposition of IDV programs is reducing the harm, disempowerment, paternalism and dependency often associated with unilaterally focused activities: either via unskilled volunteering programs exploiting host communities for the benefit of volunteers and donors, or via development projects that assume unilateral benefit from North to South and/or sideline or ignore partners' strengths and contributions. Functional long-term partnerships for development or diplomacy require "fair" benefits to both parties. Celebrating partner organizations' contributions can help to equalize the power relationships—with greater local ownership and recognition that these partners are legitimate stakeholders and contributors (see Hosono's chapter on local ownership for capacity development and Ueda's chapter on how local people's sentiment can enhance their ownership and legitimacy). In contrast to many alternative models of development, IDV can be legitimately valued with a proposition that is a more equitable, ethical, and sustainable form of development cooperation—but only to the degree that multilateral benefits are embraced.

The notion of gaining mutual benefit is a shared sentiment among international development volunteers from many IDV programs in many countries. It is a sentiment expressed by numerous JOCV volunteers and other IDVs who have completed their service. Their remarks often echo something along the lines of: "I went to the host country with the intent to teach, guide, and help people. Yet, in return, I found myself being helped by them, and learning invaluable lessons from our shared experience", and "I learned more than I taught" (see Sekine's chapter in this volume). While not evidence of genuine *multilateral value recognition*, these types of comments suggest the potential of mutuality via balanced and fair relationships between volunteers and locals, and between host communities and partner organizations.

As these examples suggest, rather than posing a threat to the legitimacy of IDV programs like JOCV and the viability of the IDV model, the new managerialist landscape for monitoring and evaluating both upstream and downstream outcomes offers programs the chance to leverage the unique features of IDV that may allow it, more than other forms of genuine development, to achieve these mutual benefits. The following section explores how programs can adapt their organizational strategies to best achieve *multilateral value recognition*. Acknowledging the tensions and conflict associated with institutional change, we suggest that these strategies can help pioneering programs promote institutional change while still maintaining legitimacy with multiple stakeholder groups.

10.6 Organizational Adaptation Strategies

A necessary antecedent for IDV programs interested in understanding their competing legitimacy positions is a critical awareness of the constraining nature of the dominant logic of the contesting institutional fields—the development sector's belief

that development contributions are unidirectionally downstream, and some government decision-makers view that volunteering is a mechanism of public diplomacy rather than true development.

Drawing on imagery by the early twentieth-century sociologist Max Weber, legitimacy theorists have used the metaphor of an iron cage that organizations "construct around themselves" when responding to the powerful forces of isomorphism; forces that "lead them to become more similar to one another" and so "constrain(s) their ability to change further in later years" (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, pp. 147, 148).

A "one-size-fits-all" approach is problematic within the complex operating environments that IDV programs navigate. Nonetheless, although IDV programs asserting value propositions that are unilateral may have rational aspirations, we see pragmatic, moral and resourcing challenges associated with the first three quadrants in Fig. 10.2, representing more discordant legitimacy responses and singular stakeholder strategies. In addition to having questionable ethical foundations, the decoupling or devaluing of upstream contributions inherent in discordant legitimacy responses (options 1 and 2, Fig. 10.2) have a high potential to alienate partner organizations and threaten legitimacy claims from subaltern stakeholders. Meanwhile, a singular emphasis on up- or downstream outcomes (options 1 and 3)—while feasible in the short-term—reflects a form of legitimacy capture by dominant stakeholder groups (i.e., donors and/or transnational aid organizations), which may come at the expense of other stakeholders with equally valid claims (e.g., partner organizations and recipient/host communities). More pertinently, they circumscribe just a portion of the ultimate value of IDV as a person-centered, localized, "smart-aid" approach that promises mutual and reciprocal benefits to both sending and hosting countries. *Funding diversification* strategies (option 3), while strongly principled, are likely to involve a substantial organizational reconfiguration associated with securing consistent donations from private foundations, corporate sponsorships, member contributions or other less-common sources.

IDV programs wishing to embrace a *multilateral value recognition* strategy must structure their operations, manage relationships, and measure impacts to reinforce, improve, and ultimately demonstrate these benefits. For organizations wishing to make this adaptation, we suggest two complementary procedures are fruitful: (i) configuring operations to (re-)position these multilateral interests as the central feature of their value proposition and operational practices, and (ii) instigating active efforts to inform and advocate for the acceptance of this multilateral value proposition within each institutional field.

For these programs, reporting hierarchies (e.g., embedding measurement of both up- and downstream outcomes within central monitoring and evaluation units) and processes (e.g., maintaining direct accountability measures on partner organizations for their contributions to volunteers' human capital) may be more readily adapted than features like organizational culture and strategies, which may be especially prone to isomorphic tendencies (Ashworth et al. 2009).

IVCOs' niche position within the institutional field of international development makes introducing organizational change challenging; however, it may afford individual programs like JOCV freedom to deviate from the field at large and, through this, to energize normative pressures within the sub-field of IDV without necessarily threatening their legitimately as complementary actors within the development ecosystem. More pragmatically, the model serves as a practical tool for IDV programs both to understand these tensions inherent in their current operational landscape and to pinpoint adaptation strategies that might lead to a more complete value proposition while also retaining institutional legitimacy. Remaining tethered to dominant stakeholders may harm, rather than protect, IDVs' long-term interests by reinforcing attitudes and behaviors counter to the organizations' effectiveness (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). We suggest that it is through recognizing these dimensions—i.e., "seeing" the iron cage that they have created—that IDV programs can weigh up the potential benefits of their strategic responses.

Advocating for the acceptance of a multilateral value proposition within the institutional field, IDV programs can work at the intersection of their desire for legitimacy reinforcement and their desire to contribute optimally to both development cooperation and diplomacy/education. This may involve actively changing the institutional constraints that limit their effectiveness (Seo and Creed 2002). For example, globally dispersed fields like that of international development may be diverse and multilevel, often fragmented by linguistic, cultural, and geographic distances. Consequently, it may afford IDV programs more flexibility to diverge from norms without incurring "punishment" from the field. In other words, while work practices can shape institutional fields over time, marshaling a critical mass of acceptance within the field may require coordinated effort from IDV programs, including other SSIVS programs. Although not all their members are State-funded or -managed, sector-level bodies such as *Forum*, the International Association for Volunteer Effort (IAVE), or the Coordinating Committee for International Voluntary Service (CCIVS) may assume a leadership role to shift the dynamics of institutionalized norms and reinforce the valuing (or at least acceptance) of new practices and expectations within an organizational field (Greenwood et al. 2002). As a part of coordinated efforts by IDV programs, JICA—the agency overseeing the JOCV program and a member of *Forum*—can be expected to participate in that leadership and to demonstrate its efforts to realize an authentic form of *multilateral value recognition*.

10.7 Conclusion

This chapter has applied institutional theory to explain why JOCV and other contemporary IDV programs may encounter tensions arising from a funding landscape that creates accountability demands to achieve both upstream (domestic) benefits for donor countries and downstream (host country) development benefits. From this we posited a model of four strategic orientations based on how IDV programs might choose to respond to these legitimacy challenges. By identifying a range of responses

to manage these various legitimacy demands, this model provides theoretical cartilage to connect and explain competing pressures for legitimacy, accountability and effectiveness encountered by IDV—and especially SSIVS programs.

More research is needed to assess the effects of these strategic positions on programs' legitimacy with diverse stakeholders. The most pressing empirical need may be cost–benefit analyses of the four orientations identified, including the ethical implications of each. The difficulties articulating tangible downstream development impacts are well recognized, and such challenges are likely to confront organizations wanting to replicate these measures of upstream impact that emanate from the types of partnerships that IDVs nurture. Thus, garnering field-level legitimacy may require programs to develop innovative tools to adequately measure (and report) the many amorphous impacts. In this, we see a strong role for researchers and practitioners to collaborate with IDV programs, volunteers, partner organizations and host communities in identifying what and how two-way outcomes manifest through the IDV model of development cooperation.

Given the likely benefits of IDV programs' positioning within *multilateral value recognition*, studies articulating a theoretical platform to explain how such offerings might be curated, and practical insights into how programs' operations might be configured to maximize multilateral benefits, are needed. Related to this, although some IDV programs have sought to carefully distinguish IDV from less-skilled forms of volunteering, they have invested comparatively little effort in articulating how volunteers provide added value distinct from other development organizations. While a smattering of primarily academic studies exists (see Burns et al. 2015; Lough 2016), more research is needed to emphasize the added value of interpersonal human engagement in development cooperation—but also in the oft-neglected areas of diplomacy, peacebuilding, and competency training of volunteers. For programs like JOCV that appear keen to embed multilateral value recognition within their operations, this seems an important first step.

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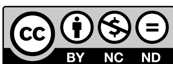

Chapter 11
Conclusion: Contributions, Advantages/ Disadvantages, Legitimacy, and State-Society Relations

Yasunobu Okabe

This book has explored the significance and possibilities that state-managed international voluntary services (SMIVS) have, through a case study of JOCV involvement. Specifically, it has addressed two issues inherent in SMIVS, their downstream/upstream contributions and the advantages/disadvantages of their programs.

This concluding discussion summarizes what each chapter directly and indirectly contributes on these two issues and draws scholarly and practical implications from this. Also, based on this summation, the present chapter considers the other issues related to SMIVS and JOCV discussed in the introduction: Are SMIVS programs, like JOCV, legitimate in the sense that NGOs have managed most IVS for downstream purposes by sending out volunteers with expertise? What are the impacts of SMIVS on state-society relations? Do they mean the state's dominance of IVS?

These issues can be summarized as contributions, advantages/disadvantages, legitimacy, and state-society relations. After examining them this chapter offers a prospect of JOCV as SMIVS. Is state management of JOCV sustainable? Will the JOCV program continue to be an international voluntary service or transform into another form of aid scheme? These questions are addressed in the last section.

11.1 Contributions by JOCVs

In this book, the four chapters of Part I directly deal with contributions by JOCVs. While the chapters of Hosono and Ueda show that volunteers do impact on downstream benefit and development cooperation, the chapters by Onuki and Sekine deal with the upstream benefit for Japanese society and how JOCV activities impact on the volunteers' own development.

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Hosono's chapter provides a deeper understanding of international volunteers' contribution to capacity development (CD) in host countries using case studies of JOCV activities. His cases covered NERICA (New Rice for Africa) dissemination, the One Village One Product initiative, hospital service improvement, and mathematics education. Additionally, his appendix essay analyzed the case of the provision of water to communities in Africa. His chapter articulates the view that JOCVs contribute to the CD of people by using their characteristics associated with volunteerism such as "the direct contact with communities through living and working at the grassroots" and "the reciprocity of exchanging skills and experiences." Volunteers exploit these characteristics as strengths for interacting with stakeholders, playing the role of the facilitator of collaboration, catalyzing their CD, and scaling it up.

Social capital (SC) matches CD in the analytical concept of downstream contribution by voluntary service. Ueda's chapter demonstrates that JOCVs bring about the formation and increase of social capital in host communities, thereby motivating people to change their behavior. This is shown in her case study of JICA's programs for the prevention of infectious diseases: Poliomyelitis in Bangladesh and Chagas disease in Honduras. The development of SC occurs because volunteers instilled norms and trust among local people and affected the people's sentiment like happiness, a sense of achievement, and pride (Ueda's appendix essay further presents how negative sentiment of Japanese volunteers affected their activities). The key is the behavior of JOCVs as companions of colleagues during their fieldwork. Volunteers and locals travel together everywhere, speak the same language and share common successes and failures.

Interestingly, it can be seen that these behaviors described in Ueda's chapter are equivalent to the characteristics of volunteerism that Hosono introduced. In other words, when international volunteers are worthy of the name, CD and SC can effectively work in their host communities. Likewise, the chapters of Yamada and Dorji and Okabe refer to the function of CD and SC in interacting with volunteering. Sakamaki's chapter touches on one of the volunteering characteristics: accompanying their counterparts (C/P) or local partners at the grassroots level (details of their chapters are mentioned later).

Sekine's chapter explores the characteristics of volunteerism from the perspective of volunteers' awareness: their common feeling of "I was taught many things by the locals." Generally, JOCVs are supposed to integrate with people in host countries. A model volunteer is assumed to do so. This basic stance of the program is not only a requirement from JICA officials but is the general image of JOCVs that has been cultivated and promoted for a long time. Through an investigation of JOCVs working in the Pacific Islands, Sekine points out that in trying to become a model volunteer they face unexpected difficulties and the reality of the Global South and then lose enthusiasm. Despite their discouragement, however, they gradually discover diverse values including happiness, workstyles, and attitudes toward development and modernization. Volunteers referred to this experience with the expression "I learned a lot more than I taught." Applying the gift theory of Marcel Mauss, Sekine explains that what was returned to (learned by) JOCVs was in essence the model volunteer itself that was included in the gift (volunteering), and that this JOCV-like

reciprocity, which meant a kind of mental change, was a necessary emotion for volunteers to become aware of the model volunteer's characteristics of integration with locals and overcoming difficulties.

This study thus provides the important implication that JOCV-like reciprocity contributes to their personal development in respect of deeper cultural understanding and heartfelt respect for others' sense of values. It also suggests that this kind of contribution is peculiar to long-term IVS like JOCV and therefore it cannot be replaced by short-term IVS, much less international student exchange programs.

Onuki's chapter tackles another upstream benefit, the contribution by returned JOCVs to Japanese society, using an online survey and statistical analysis. As their post-return social actions are likely to be internally motivated, she examines the relations between personal values/personality traits/demographic information, and the number of days they participated in volunteering. The results reveal that returned JOCVs who value independent thought and action such as creativity and exploration, as well as excitement, novelty, and challenge in life (i.e., high in "openness-to-change" value) contribute more days of volunteering in the domains of education and international development. For personality traits, higher Extroversion and lower Neuroticism and Conscientiousness are weakly related to volunteering. For socio-economic variables, older returned JOCVs with lower personal incomes are more committed to some domains of volunteering. Drawing the implications of this for practice, Onuki recommended that recruitment activities and advertisements might target returned volunteers "who believe in changing themselves, others, and societies for better, as well as those in search of change, such as job seekers in career transitions." Accordingly, "contents of advertisements or messages can be tailored to match the openness-to-change value …to attract suitable candidates" (Ueda's appendix essay on the information technology (IT) project in Bangladesh also presents the case of the contribution by returned JOCVs to Japanese society).

This study has a further implication, one that is related to personal development. If volunteers' personal values can be changed through volunteering as Sekine's chapter indicates, that change may affect returned volunteers' attitude toward their post-placement civic engagement. In other words, the two upstream purposes—the contribution back to Japanese society and personal (and professional) development—are closely connected. In fact, such an understanding of their purpose is seen in a recent official document from the JOCV secretariat. Summaries of the advisory council's policy dialogue on the future directions of the JICA volunteer program in 2020[1] indicate that the international volunteer program including JOCV has the task of responding to domestic demands for generating human resources for globalization and local societies to live together with foreign nationals. In this context, it is worthy of note that forcibly evacuated volunteers due to the COVID-19 pandemic actively engage in social actions at home including international exchanges and support for foreign residents (see Kawachi's chapter).

[1] The documents are available on the following websites: https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/outline/publication/report/pdf/newera_01.pdf, https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/outline/publication/report/pdf/newera_02.pdf.

In sum, this book demonstrates that JOCVs do contribute to the downstream and upstream impacts, using various academic theories and methodologies. This result may not be so surprising for readers who already know the achievements of other IVS volunteers like AVI, USPC, and VSO. Before concluding that this is so, however, we should recall the following points that the introduction to this book laid out. Historically, quite a few stakeholders of JOCV and scholars have doubted that their volunteers can achieve downstream benefits, and also have had theoretical and methodological difficulties in evaluation and measurement. Moreover, while practitioners used to consider the upstream benefits the most important, little scholarly attention has been paid to these benefits. By considering these points we are better able to understand the significance of the studies in this book.

11.2 Advantages and Disadvantages

The four chapters of Part II explore what state management is, approaching the advantages and disadvantages of SMIVS with discussions on various issues. While Okabe's chapter articulates the weaknesses and strengths of the JOCV program theoretically, those of Yamada and Dorji, and Kawachi deal with the specific advantages of JICA such as the roles of country offices and safety and security management, respectively. Finally, Sakamaki's chapter investigates how local counterparts (C/P) viewed JOCVs' pros and cons.

Part I earlier demonstrated the JOCVs' contribution to upstream and downstream benefits. So, what enabled them to successfully make contributions? Okabe's chapter shows that the JOCV program's weaknesses in legitimacy or disadvantages (state management, multiple purposes, and weak expertise) had their historical origin in its foundation as SMIVS. However, these disadvantages paradoxically turned into strengths or advantages, which helped volunteers to achieve both of them: (i) the state management enabled all stakeholders—not only the JICA-MOFA regime, but also the returned volunteers' association, the LDP, and local government—to cooperate with each other for the better performance of JOCV; (ii) the multiple and incoherent purposes of the program met the wide range of Japanese young people's interest and motivation and increased the number of volunteers; and (iii) JOCVs, motivated by their weak expertise,[2] attempted to respect local people' voices in order to grasp their real needs, and created social capital to connect local people and outsiders who had the necessary knowledge and skills (Yamamoto's appendix essay looks back on her days as a JOCV and narrates how she blended into her host community and workplace in Cameroon).

[2] The weak expertise means a tendency for JOCVs to be less professional than technical assistant experts and to have less years of experience behind them. Some volunteers like science/mathematics teachers, nurses, and engineers have a high level of expertise in their jobs. I am grateful to Akio Hosono for his suggestion.

In their chapter, Yamada and Dorji focus on an advantage of state management, specifically the roles of JICA's country offices, by arguing that when volunteers and the country offices were properly brought together, the JOCV program could work effectively. Their chapter demonstrates this relationship, relying theoretically on the framework of CD and empirically on the analysis of opinion survey data and the case of Bhutan. Curiously, in the case study, the authors coined a "Whole-of-the-Office Approach" to explain what they practically challenged as the then Chief Representative and Program Officer of the Bhutan office. This is a programmatic approach combining volunteers with other support programs, including the advisory and mentoring support extended by the country office. When some JOCVs decided to hold HPE (health and physical education) festivals, which had their origin in the *Undokai* events of Japan, at each of their assigned schools, this was taken to mean involving other volunteers and office staff members. Yamada and Dorji's appendix essay on the winter camps for highland children also presents the case of collaboration between volunteers and the country office (Alcampado's appendix essay introduces the voice from local staff of country office in the Philippines).

Another advantage of state management, the promotion of safety and security, is highlighted by Kawachi's chapter. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, JOCVs working overseas were compelled to return home in 2020 and were no longer dispatched to host countries. JICA naturally made the decision to evacuate during that situation, clearly indicating that it was responsible for volunteer safety. This was an advantage of the SMIVS in itself. Yet, for the volunteers themselves, the long period of stay in Japan made it difficult to keep their motivation for future return to host countries, because they had to wait for their redeployment for one or two years, and therefore some of them went back to their original workplace or started a new job. Referring to the similar experiences of evacuated U.S. Peace Corps volunteers in the 1990s, Kawachi stresses the importance of continuous organizational support to keep motivating volunteers and also to keep them connected to the JOCV identity through social actions in Japan. Indeed JICA, even if not perfectly, did attempt to meet their need for the practical and emotional support. This kind of support can be considered an advantage of SMIVS.

Sakamaki's chapter focuses on the perspectives of local counterparts (C/Ps) of JOCVs. As volunteers are generally posted to public organizations according to agreements between the Japanese government and host country governments, their C/Ps are often public service workers. This is unique to SMIVS like JOCV and makes it possible for volunteers to cooperate with public workers in charge of development policy implementation, sometimes even with those who have the experience of participating in the JICA training program. In her interviews with the C/Ps who worked for JICA's school health education program in Ghana, Sakamaki heard their views on the pros and cons of JOCVs. For the C/Ps, Japanese volunteers were the ones who provided resources that they lacked like knowledge, skills, and methods of health education. Additionally, they had the capacity to jump organizational boundaries and connect different organizations (recall the social capital discussion in the chapters of Ueda and Okabe).

The cons of JOCVs, too, were raised by the Ghanaian C/Ps: the volunteers' unsatisfactory language level and the discontinuities in activities from generation to generation. First, although it is not true of everyone, the difficulty in language and communication may be peculiar to Japanese volunteers, who are not native speakers of worldwide languages such as English, Spanish, and French. That is why JICA provides foreign language courses during the pre-dispatch training period. Second, the discontinuity between the generations is an old and extensive problem. Sakamaki explained that the JOCVs of the next generation would not always take over the activities of previous volunteers, due to their limited period of service and the differences in their interests and expertise. Therefore, the C/Ps' desired ongoing activities were not carried out.

To sum up, state management underpins JOCV's advantages. The JICA-MOFA regime with close stakeholders, multiple purposes, and weak expertise of volunteers are derived from state management practically and historically. Being SMIVS enabled JOCV to take the "Whole-of-the-Office Approach" and to manage the safety and security of volunteers during the pandemic. SMIVS also made it possible for JOCVs to work with C/Ps who engaged in the public policy implementation for development. Likewise, JOCV's disadvantages came from state management. Its three-fold weaknesses in legitimacy had their historical roots in that JOCV was born under the SMIVS model (it will be detailed in the next section). The other disadvantages like the difficulties in language and the continuity of activities seem to be the volunteers' own problems. Yet, if we take into consideration JICA's responsibility for the pre-departure training and the volunteer assignment, those disadvantages should be understood as originating from SMIVS.

11.3 Legitimacy

Are state-managed IVS like JOCV legitimate? The legitimacy of IVS has been recognized as an issue that can arise from the competing demands to achieve both upstream and downstream (domestic and international) purposes in the Western literature. These upstream–downstream tensions have become conspicuous in recent years as IVS programs have been increasingly demanded by government funders to embrace competitive funding, improve transparency and measurable impact, and align strategic activities with government priorities. Consequently, IVS programs that have downstream development outcomes at their center are increasingly being asked to incorporate upstream impacts like volunteers' personal development. However, the international development volunteering community, which has essentially focused on downstream impacts through legitimacy seeking, can perceive the government donors' demands as a mildly coercive imposition to focus on the accountability for upstream purposes. This is causing a legitimacy problem (See the chapter of Fee, Lough, and Okabe).

By contrast, the literature on JOCV including works in Japanese has not squarely addressed this issue of legitimacy. Practitioners and scholars have paid little attention

to it. While the Western literature on IVS concentrated on the legitimacy of purposes, Okabe's chapter acknowledges that the JOCV was subject to a three-fold weakness in social legitimacy: organizations, purposes, and expertise. It is generally believed that legitimate IVS should be managed by NGOs or CSOs, not the state, aim at downstream impacts, not upstream benefits, and recruit and send volunteers who have knowledge and experience. But in fact, JOCV is managed by the state, has both downstream and upstream purposes, and sends non-professional and unseasoned volunteers.

Okabe argues that this three-fold weakness (state management, multiple purposes, and weak expertise) paradoxically became the strength of JOCV, and that this offers a solution to the three legitimacy problems. However, from a theoretical perspective, the second legitimacy problem remains unsolved. The remainder of this section seeks to offer a reasonable solution to this problem.

JOCV is weak in the legitimacy of organization sense due to its state management. To this problem Okabe's chapter offers a solution in the understanding that state management improved the JOCV program's effectiveness with respect to up/downstream impacts. In other words, even if it looks problematic from the legitimacy perspective, it could be considered rather rational from the utilitarian perspective. This rationality argument is also helpful for finding a solution to the legitimacy problem of weak expertise. In his chapter Okabe explains that being motivated by their weak expertise, volunteers attempt to respect the voices of local people in order to grasp their real needs, which are critically important for creating and understanding developmental impacts.

With regard to legitimacy of purpose, a more detailed explanation is needed. JOCV's pursuit of both upstream and downstream impacts has not been regarded as a tension between them, and apparently caused no problems of legitimacy. Why were stakeholders not aware of it, then? First, they recognized it rather as an issue of the program's priority. As discussed in the Introduction, due to the difficulty in achieving development objectives they preferred the volunteers own personal development to other missions. Second, since its foundation the JOCV program has been identified as an ODA scheme of the Japanese government rather than an IVS program, and therefore the JOCV secretariat and JICA did not share its concerns about legitimacy with the international development volunteering community.

This lack of awareness, however, cannot solve the problem entirely. It is still necessary to provide a theoretical explanation for the significance of JOCV's multiple purposes. For this, the Chapter of Fee, Lough, and Okabe gives a helpful suggestion. At its core volunteers in the JOCV program are supposed to support the self-help efforts of local people and their organizations. This philosophy positions the locals as the key protagonists in the development process and volunteers as collaborators (or catalysts) rather than as central actors (Katsumata's appendix essay focuses on self-help efforts of local people in the field of sports. See also Hosono's chapter). This unique role-playing empowers volunteers to engage in a two-fold process: they can learn useful insights, knowledge, and a sense of values from local people, partner organizations, and communities, while making meaningful contributions to social and economic development in such communities. In this dynamic two-fold process,

giving and receiving, teaching and learning, contributions to the locals and volunteers' personal development, and downstream and upstream impacts happen simultaneously and continuously (See also Sekine's chapter). Consequently, these two processes are integrated into reciprocal engagements between volunteers and counterparts that can facilitate two-way benefits. Thus, when following the philosophy of bolstering self-help efforts, reciprocal engagements naturally encompass upstream and downstream impacts. At this point, worrying about the legitimacy of purposes may be nonsense though, because when volunteers pursue the downstream purpose, it is accompanied by the upstream one.

In summary, the legitimacy in organizations, purposes, and expertise are not problematic in the case of JOCV. Taking the rationality and significance of legitimacy into consideration, weak legitimacy is not a serious problem. This conclusion may be applied to other SMIVS programs that have similar features to JOCV.

11.4 State-Society Relations

As the introductory chapter noted, state-society relations cannot sufficiently explain the establishment of JOCV. Then, if we reverse the nexus of cause and outcome, what implication can we draw from this? Here interesting and relevant questions arise: What are the impacts of SMIVS like JOCV on state-society relations? Do they mean the state's dominance of IVS? These questions are relevant to the essence of SMIVS. Here the term "voluntary sector" is used interchangeably with "society" and "civil society."

Western literature has been cautious about the state's intervention in the voluntary sector (society). The state-society relations theory basically assumes a dichotomy or zero-sum relationship between the state and the civil society, illustrated by "strong (weak) state, weak (strong) society" (See the Introduction to this book). The origin of the IVS studies can be traced back to this theory. When previous studies argue that most established IVS programs rely on government foreign aid budgets and that governments provided support to IVS programs (Schech et al. 2015; Moore McBride and Sherraden 2007), we can see that they assume the state-society dichotomy. Recently in the neoliberalism era, the Western literature is more concerned with the state's dominance of IVS. For example, Georgeou (2012, 47–52) criticizes the fact that since the 1990s Western donor states have deepened their ties with NGOs through funding and regulations on governance in order to pursue their own interest and objectives, thereby dominating NGOs. Further, Georgeou and Haas (2019) point out that states might intervene through funding or through legal frameworks in the activities of volunteering for development (V4D), and warily said that the ultimate form of state intervention was to set up their own public V4D programs like USPC.

Undoubtedly, the JOCV program set up by the state is categorized into that ultimate form of state intervention in IVS. But does this imply the state's dominance of IVS in Japan? Our answer is negative. To begin with, apart from JOCV, many NGOs have sent Japanese volunteers abroad for upstream/downstream purposes.

They are sometimes funded by the state, yet they manage IVS programs independently from the state (e.g., JICA and MOFA). These NGOs are represented by, for example, the International Cultural Youth Exchange Japan Committee (ICYE Japan, 1958-), The Organization for Industrial, Spiritual and Cultural Advancement (OISCA International, 1961-), Japan Silver Volunteers (JSV, 1979-), Never-ending International workCamps Exchange (NICE, 1990-), and Habitat for Humanity Japan (2001-) (OVAC 2022, 648).

The state's dominance is not confirmed in the volume of dispatched volunteers as well. As the comprehensive data of NGOs is difficult to collect, we need to pick up each NGO's data. For example, JSV sent over 5,300 middle-aged volunteers with skills overseas from 1979 to 2023 (about 120 people/year on average).[3] ICYE Japan has sent volunteers abroad, and also hosted those from foreign countries since 1958, and the total number of the volunteers dispatched and hosted by the organization amounted to over 1,000 for over 60 years.[4] OISCA International sent 1,298 people for short-term volunteering (mostly less than one week) from 2015 to 2019 (about 260 people/year on average),[5] while the main task of the organization is the capacity development of young people in Asia and the Pacific through operating training centers in/outside of Japan.[6] NICE dispatched 4,879 short-term volunteers and 630 mid/long-term volunteers abroad from 2015 to 2019 (1,102 people/year on average).[7]

Comparing with the volume of JOCVs—the total number of volunteers (over 45,000) and the annual average number from 2015 to 2019 (1,106)[8]—we find that NGOs' international volunteers were in no way inferior to JOCVs in number. On the other hand, many IVS by Japanese NGOs are not long-term programs like JOCVs but short-term ones, such as voluntourism, workcamps, and study tours for the purpose of international friendship, learning about development, and the advocacy of development aid. Since the early years of the twenty-first century this tendency has been strengthened by Japanese university IVS programs, which send their students abroad for short-term volunteering (MOFA 2013).

Thus, the JOCV program as the ultimate form of state intervention does not mean the dominance of IVS in Japan, but rather it indicates that JOCV shares this with NGOs, whether intentionally or not. On the one hand JOCV dedicates itself to long-term IVS for development, and on the other hand NGO-managed IVS work for short-term IVS mainly for friendship and learning. This division of labor suggests complementarity between the state and NGOs in IVS. Complementarity is a concept of "mutually supportive relations between public and private actors" (Evans 1996, 1120). Sociologist Peter Evans argues that "Governments are suited to delivering

[3] JSV website and the author's calculation. https://jsv.or.jp.

[4] ICYE Japan website. https://www.icye-japan.com/about/#about.

[5] Calculated by the author from the OISCA website. https://oisca.org/projects/volunteertours/

[6] OISCA International website. https://oisca-international.org/who-we-are-or-about-us/message/.

[7] Calculated by the author from the NICE website. https://www.nice1.gr.jp/files/user/NICE_2019_Activity_Report.pdf.

[8] Calculated by the author from the JICA website. https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/outline/publication/results/jocv.html.

certain kinds of collective goods which complement inputs more efficiently delivered by private actors" (Evans 1996, 1120). This complementarity can work effectively when governments (the state) and private actors (NGOs) have contrasting properties of public and private institutions.

Drawing on this concept, we can clearly explain the impact of SMIVS like JOCV on state-society relations. The case of JOCV demonstrates that SMIVS can complement NGO-managed IVS that provide short-term programs mainly for upstream benefits, through delivering long-term IVS for downstream (and also upstream) goals. As Part I of this book examined the effectiveness of JOCV in achieving these goals and Part II showed JOCV's advantages, it is apparent that SMIVS is suited to providing benefits that complement inputs delivered by NGO-managed IVS.

Finally, it is noteworthy that returned JOCVs have activated the voluntary sector and civil society in Japan through their post-placement careers. After returning home, some worked for NGOs (See Onuki's chapter), and sometimes even established them, just like Masako Hoshino, who was a first generation JOCV and cofounded the Japan Volunteer Center (JVC) in 1980 in order to support refugees from Indochina.[9] Other returned volunteers joined the JOCV secretariat, JOCA (returned volunteers' association), municipalities, and universities, thereby engaging in the voluntary sector and civil society (early returned volunteer Ito narrates his long journey of development cooperation in his appendix essay.)

11.5 The Future of JOCV as SMIVS

The previous sections overviewed the arguments of each chapter in order to demonstrate the JOCV contribution to upstream and downstream benefits, its advantages and disadvantages, and its legitimacy, and drew implications for JOCV's impact on the state-society relations in Japan. Based on the discussion in this book, this final section ponders the question of the future of JOCV. Will JOCV continue to be managed by the state? Will JOCV remain unchanged as a volunteer program or be transformed into another form of aid?

The first question is worthy of serious discussion, because we cannot rule out the possibility that the state of Japan might cut back, if not stop, the JOCV program and commission it to NGOs to reduce costs and pursue more efficiency in the present neoliberal era (in 2010 the then government actually did cut it back). Despite this possibility, however, it seems that no NGOs can afford to take over the long-term IVS that JOCV provides now, as seen above. More importantly, the Japanese government and the leading governing party LDP have a firm intention to keep managing JOCV.

For example, the Japanese government revised the Development Cooperation Charter in June 2023, eight years after the last revision. Like preceding ones, the new charter situates JOCV in the context of Japan's ODA, saying "JOCVs, who live and think together with local people, are a bridge between Japan and developing

[9] See JVC website. https://www.ngo-jvc.com/en/about-jvc/.

countries at the grass-roots level. Japan will continue to promote them as Japan's distinctive cooperation" (MOFA 2023, 16).[10] MOFA also recognizes JOCV as an effective tool of soft power and exploits it for public diplomacy (See the introduction to this book). Therefore, JOCV will continue to be an SMIVS program in the future.

The second question arises due to JOCV's vague volunteer-ness, which is not a problem of legitimacy but of volunteer image. This vagueness is reflected in wording of JOCV in Japanese. Whereas it is named Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers in English, curiously no word "volunteer" appears in the original Japanese name, *Seinen Kaigai Kyoryoku Tai*, which literally means "youth overseas cooperation corps."[11] This is so, even though there is *borantia*, a Japanese term equivalent to volunteer or volunteering. Although the term volunteer (or *borantia* in Japanese) was not well known in Japanese society when JOCV was created in 1965, it "has been circulating in social welfare circles since the 1960s and began to appear in Japanese dictionaries in the 1970s" (Nakano 2005, 3). Certainly, the term volunteer is not seen in the name of USPC, either. Yet, they are called "Peace Corps volunteers" (PCV). Unlike them, current and returned JOCVs traditionally have been called *Kyoryoku Taiin* or simply *Taiin*, which mean "cooperation corps member(s)" or "corps member(s)" respectively, both of which imply no volunteers.

This kind of wording has been seen on many occasions. Speaking from personal experience as a former senior researcher at JICA Ogata Research Institute, the author used to hear the JOCV Secretariat staff say "*taiin*" to refer to JOCVs. On another occasion, when participating in a JOCV recruiting seminar in the summer of 2023 in Japan, the author noticed that few term volunteer (*borantia*) was mentioned there. Instead, *taiin* was almost always mentioned. Returned volunteers introduced themselves as (former) *taiin* to participants in the seminar. JOCV brochures show this tendency of wording well. By the author's count, the term *borantia* appears only seven times in the latest version of the brochure in Japanese, by contrast the term "volunteer" appears 50 times in the latest one in English.[12]

Whatever they call JOCVs, officially and undoubtedly the program is an international voluntary service and *taiin* are volunteers. However, the avoidance of the term *borantia* may contribute to preventing the general public from having an incorrect image of JOCVs as not so competent youth. Controlling the image of JOCV matters in Japanese society where people widely consider that public services should be

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[10] Prior to this revision, in 2019, JICA reviewed its volunteer programs including JOCV and reorganized them into JICA's volunteer program (*JICA Kaigai Kyoryoku Tai*), which now has four types of programs: JOCV (pillar program), Senior Volunteers, JOCV for Nikkei Communities, and Senior Volunteers for Nikkei Communities (Here Nikkei means Japanese descendants in Latin America). https://www.jica.go.jp/english/activities/schemes/volunteer/index.html.

[11] It would be interesting to ask why Japanese policy makers avoided the term 'corps' in its English name, despite the USPC's influence on its establishment. Probably the then policy makers and the U.S. government did not want the JOCV program to be looked upon as a partner of the USPC (Okabe 2014). In the 1960s several governments in the Third World had hostility toward USPC to such an extent that they expelled its volunteers from their countries (Sobocinska 2021, ch. 9).

[12] The two brochures are available on the following website (Accessed 15 January 2024) https://www.jica.go.jp/volunteer/outline/publication/pamphlet/index.html.

provided by the central government or municipalities and that services by volunteers and NGOs are not so impactful as governmental works (Szczepanska 2023). A social survey conducted by the Ministry of Education (MEXT) in 2003 indicated the people's image on volunteering. 90.2% of respondents answered that it was necessary for creating a better society and 80.4% replied that everyone should participate in it. On the other hand, however, almost 50% of respondents seemed to construe volunteering as not so important: "anyone can freely join it" (49.4%), "an easy activity that anyone can do" (46.7%), and "it looks fun" (41.2%).[13]

These views that regard volunteering as an easy and unimportant activity may affect the public image of IVS, causing people to doubt the JOCV's capacity and motivations. Therefore, it is a rational strategy for JICA and JOCV to use the terms *Kyoryoku Tai* and *taiin*, instead of *borantia*, so that they can project a better image of human resources who can contribute to downstream benefits in the Global South. Then, based on this vague volunteer-ness, will JOCV transform into another aid scheme instead of IVS?

Despite the unfavorable image of international volunteering as an aid scheme, JOCV will remain unchanged as a volunteer program. As the chapters in this book demonstrate, JOCV can contribute to downstream and upstream benefits thanks to its characteristics as an international voluntary service program. JOCVs' altruistic motivations, their feeling of "I learned more than I taught," the strength of weak expertise, their contribution back to Japanese society, their collaboration and networking with stakeholders, their role as a catalyst, and their respect for local people's sense of value, are all possible and effective, because they are volunteers.

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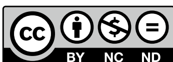

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