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Aid Effectiveness and the Provision of TA Personnel: Improving Practice

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Drawing on the recent work of ECDPM on technical assistance (TA) and capacity development, as well as on the findings of related studies, this Policy Management Brief (PMB) argues that improving the effectiveness of TA personnel as an instrument for capacity development requires actions at two complementary levels:

- progressively shifting management responsibilities to the partner country and harmonising and aligning development agency¹ support behind country-defined strategies and systems
- improving the quality of support provided by TA personnel by adopting a 'capacity development
 perspective', within which TA personnel are seen as a potentially important ingredient in developing
 capacity, and ensuring that this perspective is applied systematically throughout the design,
 implementation and review of interventions

This PMB explains why these two dimensions are important, provides examples of emerging good practices and suggests what additional actions can be taken.

In doing so, the PMB takes the position that TA personnel should not be looked at as something intrinsically good or bad, but as a potentially important resource for supporting country-driven processes in the same way that expertise is mobilised in the private sector to improve performance. Thus, while a shift in thinking and practice with regard to the provision and use of TA personnel is needed, this does not mean that it is to be condemned outright, given the real value it can bring to development processes.

Technical Assistance (TA) personnel remain the most obvious and significant element of technical cooperation, and will certainly remain a key input to capacity development in the future. However, the provision of TA personnel has been the subject of significant criticism in terms of cost and limited impact.

For this reason, this PMB focuses on the provision of TA personnel and not on the wider discussion of technical cooperation (TC) that encompasses training, exchange visits, and the provision of equipment,

as defined by the DAC.² It builds on a study commissioned in 2006 by Australia, Denmark and Germany to contribute to the current discussions on aid effectiveness and capacity development. Drawing on the findings of three country studies (Mozambique, Solomon Islands and Vietnam), a workshop held in Maastricht in May 2007, as well as a review of the wider literature, the study offers insights on what works in relation to the deployment of TA personnel and examines initiatives and reforms being taken to improve practice.³



Technical cooperation - Back on the agenda

For the past half century, technical cooperation has been one of the most recognisable features of development cooperation and, for some development agencies it has represented the most common mechanism for developing capacity (see box 1). However, since the 1980s, the way TC has been provided has been the subject of much criticism - especially the provision of long-term expatriate personnel. While most of the criticism has had some validity, TC and the personnel associated with it have nonetheless made significant contributions in many countries and contexts.

Box 1. Defining terms: Technical cooperation

Technical cooperation is the provision of know-how in the form of personnel, training and research. It comprises activities that augment the level of knowledge, skills, technical know-how or productive aptitudes of people in developing countries, as well as services (such as consultancies, technical support or the provision of know-how) that contribute to the execution of a capital project. TC should include both free-standing TC and TC that is embedded in investment programmes or included in programme-based approaches.

Source: DAC OECD/DAC. 2007. Statistical reporting directives

The discussion of TC effectiveness has gained renewed relevance in recent years in light of the following:

- the aid effectiveness agenda reflected in the 2005 Paris Declaration, which calls for improved management and governance of aid around five core commitments;
- the increasing interest in and discussion about capacity development and the role of development agencies in supporting it, also included in the Paris Declaration as well as in other official documents.⁴

Aid effectiveness and technical cooperation

The 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness is important to the discussion on TC in general and on TA personnel in particular.

It clearly defines capacity development as the primary responsibility of developing countries, with development partners playing a supportive role through the delivery of TC services. In this respect, the Declaration's principles of ownership, harmonisation, alignment, results and mutual accountability are relevant to the provision of TC resources, especially TA personnel. The Paris Declaration also includes two specific indicators to impress on donors the need to harmonise and align capacity development support with country strategies, and to work through national systems rather than through parallel structures (see box 2).

Box 2. Paris declaration - Indicators 4 & 6

Indicator 4: requires 50% of TC flows to be implemented through coordinated programmes consistent with national development strategies by 2010, where *coordinated* is understood to mean the following:

- Capacity-development programmes support partners' national-development strategies.
- The partner country exercises effective leadership over the capacity-development programme, supported by development agencies.
- Development agencies integrate their support within country-led programmes to strengthen capacity development.
- Where more than one development agency is involved, arrangements for coordinating their contributions are in place.

Indicator 6: calls on development agencies to 'reduce by two-thirds the stock of parallel project implementation units (PIUs)' by 2010 by 2010, where *parallel* is understood to mean the following:⁵

- Parallel PIUs are accountable to external development agencies rather than to country institutions.
- TORs for externally appointed staff are determined by the development agency rather than by the country agency.
- Most of the professional staff of parallel PIUs is appointed by the development agency rather than the country institution.
- The salary structure of staff of parallel PIUs often exceeds that of civil-service personnel.

Together, these indicators point to issues of aid management and governance and to the importance of countries taking charge of the way TC/TA resources are used. The Paris Declaration challenges development agencies to reform their provision of technical cooperation so that country partners play a more strategic role and provide greater leadership in relation to TC/TA. It also challenges development agencies to harmonise and align themselves behind country strategies and processes.

Capacity development and technical cooperation

Capacity development has been a subject of interest since the 1990s. Thinking and practice have evolved significantly, and although capacity development still has the reputation of being a complex and sometimes ill-defined subject, there is growing consensus on some of the fundamentals, as most recently captured in the DAC (2006) paper 'Working Towards Good Practice'. In particular, it is recognised that capacity development needs to be a country-driven process and that the role of external agencies is to support country processes (see box 3).

Box 3. Capacity and capacity development, as defined by the DAC

Capacity is the ability of people, organisations and society as a whole to manage their affairs successfully.

Capacity development is the process whereby people, organisations and society as a whole unleash, strengthen, create, adapt and maintain capacity over time.

Source: OECD/DAC. 2006.

The discussion on capacity development has necessarily drawn attention to the role development agencies can play in what is now recognised to be a mainly endogenous process, embedded in social and political contexts. This discussion begs the question as to what roles and functions TC in general and TA personnel in particular can play in supporting local change processes. But it has drawn attention to the need to enhance methods and approaches to capacity development and to recognise it as a distinct area of development practice, within which technical cooperation should be considered one of several possible inputs.

Two key issues arise from these policy perspectives:

- 1. An issue of aid management and governance: How should the provision of TA personnel be managed in the context of partnership?
- 2. A methodological/strategic issue: How can TA personnel make an effective contribution to locally driven processes of capacity development?

The management of TA personnel

Countries need to take charge ...

Development agencies still tend to take the lead in the design, procurement, supervision and reporting of TA personnel. The triangular relationship between development agency, country partner and TA personnel can easily undermine country ownership, working relationships and lines of accountability, and this needs to change.

In line with the Paris Declaration and the recommendations of recent studies, partner countries should ideally assume responsibility for the management of TA personnel in the same way that they are beginning to assume fuller responsibility for financial resources through sector and general budget support. They should take the lead on:

- determining needs
- · procurement and contracting
- · supervision and reporting

Partner countries expect to be given more voice and choice in decision-making on the selection and recruitment of TA personnel, and once deployed, TA personnel are expected to be directly accountable to them. However, they are sometimes less anxious to take over the procurement process because of administrative overload or lack of capacity and often welcome the assistance of development partners.

Why country management is important

There are good reasons why countries should be in charge of managing TA personnel. Country management will enhance country ownership and commitment, and contribute to greater effectiveness by:

- giving greater opportunity for matching supply and demand
- reflecting the priorities and interests of the partner country better and avoiding being donor-driven or imposed, which can often lead to unwanted or 'tolerated' TA
- helping to mitigate the perception of TA personnel as a free good, which would discourage critical appraisal of potential costs and benefits
- improving the transparency of the costs of TA personnel and, hence, increasing the opportunities for host governments to compare alternatives and make better-informed decisions
- normalising patron-client relations (which are distorted by having, in effect, two clients) and simplifying accountability relationships related to supervision, monitoring and evaluation

Towards country management of TA

Ideally, the involvement of development agencies in managing TA should be limited. This is what is envisaged in the 'procurement' approach to TA personnel management, as advocated by DFID and others. It is characterised by direct client procurement of technical assistance, using a budget or pool provided by development agencies. The personnel/service provider then has a direct relationship with the client.⁶

In practice, there are only a few situations where conditions are considered adequate to fully transfer the management function, although smaller steps can be taken to shift elements of management responsibility to the country partner. In most countries, there is a need to explore **interim solutions** that distribute responsibilities between the development agency and country partner so as to progressively empower the latter.

www.ecdpm.org/pmb20 Page 3

Box 4. Taking the country context into account

In some countries, such as Vietnam, the prospect for country-managed TA is good. For countries such as Mozambique, the goal is already established but it will take several years to realise, and it is unlikely that progress will be even across sectors and regions. In such contexts, pooling resources to mobilise/recruit TA personnel offers the potential for progressively shifting the responsibility for TA management towards country partners, provided the process is country driven. In Solomon Islands, where the preconditions for successful management of TA personnel are largely absent, interim actions, based on greater accountability of TA personnel to host country supervisors, are needed to help empower country partners.

Lessons from the 'Joint evaluation study of provision of technical assistance personnel' - see Land, T. (2007); Hauck, V. and M. Souto (2007); Baser, H. (2007) and Watson, D., N.M. Thong and J. Zinke (2007).

Interim solutions

Actions can be taken in relation to the design, procurement, supervision and accountability of TA personnel.

Let go, progressively ...

- Transferring responsibilities will require a pragmatic approach in adapting management arrangements to realities on the ground-including making an assessment of management and procurement capacity.
- It will require customised approaches. Country conditions vary significantly and what might be possible in one country might not be suitable in another.
- Being pragmatic should not be an excuse for non-action, and measures need to be in place to monitor progress.

... and, at the same time, strengthen capacities for TA management

- Taking steps to transfer responsibility means helping countries to develop the requisite capacity to assume that responsibility.
- It is crucial here to develop the capacity for managing human resources as a critical area of public service management, as well as public financial management and procurement. This emphasis on human resources management cannot be separated from the wider and more fundamental challenge of attracting, retaining, developing and rewarding personnel within the public service. This needs to be addressed in the context of public service reform.

Encourage full engagement in the design process

- A first step is to ensure that the design process (identification and formulation) is led by country stakeholders. They should be able to decide (1) if TA personnel are necessary and (2) the kind of role they should perform.
- Decisions about mobilisation and deployment ought to be a

- country responsibility, negotiated openly with development partners and based on full access to information.
- It would be helpful if development partners were more transparent about available options, costs and motives so that countries could make informed decisions about the alternatives available.
- A menu setting out the strengths and weaknesses of the different TA personnel options, as well as the cost implications, would be a step in the right direction.

Work towards local procurement

- The goal should be the procurement of TA personnel using national systems and procedures.
- In practice, deciding whether to use a donor or national procurement system should be based on a joint assessment of capacity.
- Country partners should, as a matter of principle, chair review/selection panels and be involved in developing criteria for selection and for appraising performance.
- In any situation, the selection of TA personnel should be under country leadership, even if contracting remains a development agency responsibility (as a temporary measure, so long as capacities have not been developed sufficiently in this area).
- More relevant and effective ways to interview personnel can also be explored, including more involvement of host personnel in providing inputs for exercises or questions used to preselect candidates.

Enable local supervision and reporting

- Once deployed, TA personnel should be unambiguously accountable to the host organisations they serve.
- Arrangements need to be in place that assure accountability to the host while recognising legitimate calls for accountability to the development agency.
- There are various examples of mechanisms that balance competing demands for accountability (see box 5).

Box 5. Accountability arrangements

DANIDA plays a primarily 'hands-off, eyes on' role, and tries to limit its participation in managing TA personnel to higher-level steering committees. It intervenes only in cases of emergencies or when there is a need to review priorities.

For GTZ, the personnel it deploys are accountable in the first instance to the GTZ project manager (as would be the case with any managing contractor) who, in turn, is accountable to the principal (BMZ) for results. However on day-to-day matters, the experts are expected to report to the agencies to whom they have been seconded.

Lessons from the 'Joint evaluation study of provision of technical assistance personnel' - see Land, T. (2007); Hauck, V. and M. Souto (2007); Baser, H. (2007) and Watson, D., N.M. Thong and J. Zinke (2007).

Facilitate country management through pooling arrangements

Pooling is gaining popularity as a mechanism for managing TA personnel (see box 6). It offers a number of potential benefits for increasing country participation, including:

- aligning development agency support around national processes
- providing a framework to discuss and explore capacity needs, consider appropriateness of deploying TA personnel and encourage greater financial transparency
- helping country partners to think more strategically about TA personnel and to link up with strategic and operational plans at the national, sector and sub-sector level
- offering a framework to address the Paris Declaration and to reflect on the meaning and implications of indicator 4
- providing an opportunity to move away from the use of parallel PIUs, the concern of indicator 6, by encouraging programmebased approaches and working through national structures

But pooling is not without its risks, and there are no guarantees that its potential benefits can be fully realised in all countries. Its effectiveness depends partly on the process being country driven as part and parcel of efforts to facilitate country leadership of the development agenda.

Box 6. Forms of pooling

Three principal categories of TA pooling can be identified:

- Full TA pooling: resources and control are fully transferred to the national partners, who both contract and direct TA personnel.
- Advanced TA pooling: national authorities manage the TA
 personnel both strategically and on a daily basis, but the
 contracting is done by one of the international development
 organisations providing financing. Country procurement
 and contracting is sometimes done through procurement
 agencies instead of development agencies.
- Loose TA pooling: the strategic direction of TA personnel is shared between the government and development agencies. Personnel are normally contracted individually by one or more development partners, often on a tied basis.

A fourth category might be termed emerging TA pooling. Here, the strategic direction of TA personnel is principally done by development partners in the absence of country capacity to manage strategically. Day-to-day management and supervision is done by the country. Personnel are normally contracted individually by one or more development partners, often on a tied basis.

Lessons from the 'Joint evaluation study of provision of technical assistance personnel' - see Land, T. (2007); Hauck, V. and M. Souto (2007); Baser, H. (2007) and Watson, D., N.M. Thong and J. Zinke (2007). See also Baser, H. and P. Morgan (2001).

Improving capacity development on the ground

Management not enough ...

If increased country participation in the management of TA personnel is a key determinant of TA effectiveness, then so too is a better understanding of the role of and opportunities for TA personnel (and technical cooperation, more generally) to support local capacity development processes. Country partners and development agencies alike need to improve practice on the ground (see box 7).

Country partners need to be able to:

- **set priorities** for capacity development that are linked to national and sector development objectives
- effectively diagnose the factors that constrain and enable capacity development, including an understanding of the underlying factors that encourage or impede public sector performance
- develop strategies for capacity development within which an appropriate role for development agencies, including provision of TA personnel, can be identified

As external interveners, development agencies need to:

- think carefully about strategies and methods for supporting what are usually complex, often politically sensitive and sometimes uncertain capacity development processes - and about the role of TA personnel in that light. What theories of change are informing practice? Is incremental or transformational change appropriate? What preconditions need to be in place? Where can TA personnel have the most impact? What kind of TA personnel are suitable? And alongside what other inputs?
- remain engaged at the field level and invest in and support capacity development as an area of specialised knowledge and practice, even as they hand over responsibility for the management of TA personnel to their country partners.

www.ecdpm.org/pmb20 Page 5

Box 7. Discussion: Why a better understanding of capacity and its development is important

- Capacity development is a complex phenomenon, and the contribution of TA personnel as necessary and sufficient ingredients for supporting it should not be assumed.
- Too often, provision of TA personnel has been the default setting without adequate analysis of alternatives or sufficient justification of the need. TA personnel can play many different roles in relation to capacity development, but these are not often well defined. For instance, is that role linked to developing capacity at the individual, organisational or societal level? And to what extent should an advisory function be accompanied with 'doing the job'?
- Having a clear intervention strategy, based on a thorough understanding of how processes of capacity development can be shaped by external inputs, should increase the chances of success and provide a basis for making a case for or against using TA personnel.
- But even so, there are limits to what any external intervention can achieve, especially in complex and politically sensitive environments.

Possible actions

Discuss and learn

- Encourage a more open debate and think more strategically about the use of TA personnel. Providing TA personnel should be treated as a strategic issue integral to the discussion on aid effectiveness, capacity development and public service reform and as an item for mutual accountability.
- Keep TA on the agenda. TA should be seen as a major aid mechanism on par with financial aid and thus considered in discussions on aid at all levels. It needs to be recognised for its strategic importance. The issue of TA personnel should be discussed in high-level forums between country stakeholders and external partners.
- Develop a common understanding of capacity and change.
 Development agencies, suppliers of TA personnel and
 country partners need to develop a shared understanding
 about capacity and change as a basis for diagnosing needs
 (considering the role that TA personnel can play in supporting country-driven processes) and for establishing well-conceptualised interventions.
- Learn from past experiences. There is also a need to understand what has worked and what can be built on in order to be effective in the future.

Ensure good design

• **Diagnose needs** on a proper basis, including an appreciation of the external context (sector dynamics, readiness for reform, drivers of change, etc.).

- Adopt flexible and iterative approaches. Partners should identify ways to build greater flexibility into programme operations in order to accommodate emergent needs and changing demands. This is especially important in complex and politically sensitive environments where the momentum and direction of reform can quickly change.
- Determine the right mix of 'direct' and 'indirect' approaches.
 Approaches need to take account of different capacities on the ground. Where capacities are stronger, more indirect approaches may be warranted, but where capacities are weaker, direct approaches can be more appropriate (see box 8). Often, a mix of direct and indirect approaches works best. The appropriateness of the approaches used needs to be monitored over time.

Box 8. A continuum of approaches

Doing for: At one end of the spectrum are development agencies that employ agents to *do* the work *for* them in order to achieve results on the ground as expeditiously as possible. This approach is mostly prevalent in emergency or reconstruction situations where local systems and procedures do not exist, or where local systems and governments are weak, skilled nationals in short supply and fiduciary systems failing or not developed at all.

Direct: A second approach is more participatory, to the extent that development agencies engage with country partners through consultation and joint planning to implement agreed-upon activities. This is usually in the framework of an identifiable project located either inside or outside a local institution. Development agencies supply resources and remain by and large responsible for project management. TA personnel play a key role in implementing project activities but are expected to engage in some form of capacity development through interactions with national staff and country processes.

Indirect: In this approach, development agencies engage with country processes and support endogenous initiatives and ideas. Local actors remain in charge of the change process, where TA personnel facilitate and accompany country participants in their learning, adaptation and selforganisation. This approach is built on a full understanding of country processes, politics and culture. Development agency control and direction is exercised with various degrees of intensity but with a view to taking a distance and putting country partners in charge.

• Clarify terminology. Development agencies and country partners should be clearer about the actual purpose of deploying TA personnel, in particular whether a role is genuinely advisory or in-line. Being clear about the purpose enables more accurate terms of reference to be drafted, ensures a better match of potential candidates to the job and helps establish more transparent performance expectations.

In practice, TA personnel generally perform more than one role, sometimes by design, sometimes by circumstance.

There are a number of roles for TA personnel:

- to develop capacity by providing advice, facilitating change processes and sharing knowledge, etc.
- to perform tasks in lieu of locally available personnel without necessarily transferring knowledge or developing capacity
- to manage projects and/or supervise development agency budgets
- to work for the development agency as a sector expert

Deploy the right kind of personnel

- Country partners consistently underline the importance of the substantive skills and knowledge that TA personnel bring.
- That said, the value of interpersonal skills (including cultural sensitivity) is likewise emphasised.
- Process skills are essential when TA personnel are expected to act as change agents or process facilitators.
- There are situations where national TA personnel are preferable to international, but in other situations, a combination of the two adds considerable value.
- Access to networks of expertise (peer exchange and professional contacts) and information resources helps to support learning over time.
- Proper induction and on-going support of TA personnel is an essential step in the process of managing TA. This is an area that has not received the attention it deserves.

Develop an appropriate framework for monitoring and evaluating the contribution of TA personnel

- Such a framework can have a significant influence on how TA personnel perform.
- Performance should be assessed in terms of the roles and functions TA personnel are expected to perform. It is, however, critical to avoid making TA personnel responsible for overall results because this encourages them to take over and disempower country partners. It can also lead to an emphasis on achieving tangible and measurable results at the expense of investing in less tangible but equally important process and learning tasks.
- The M&E system should balance the demands for accountability and learning. An opportunity should be created to explore and test alternative evaluation methodologies for understanding how change happens.⁸
- Development agencies should also share their respective understanding of 'effectiveness' as a basis for developing a common framework of analysis.
- The issue of monitoring and evaluation is linked to the earlier discussion on the role of partner countries in the management and governance of TA and the implications this carries for wider questions of ownership and accountability in the aid relationship. In this regard, encouraging accountability to the country partner rather than solely to the development agency can contribute to strengthening national accountability mechanisms.

Summing up

The Paris Declaration offers an important agenda for change that can provide impetus at the country level for country stakeholders and development agencies to improve the way technical cooperation - and TA personnel in particular - is provided.

But, as with any broad international agenda, it has its short-comings, and implementation needs to be pursued with pragmatism. The recent DAC survey on the monitoring of the Paris Declaration⁹ has, for instance, highlighted some of the difficulties that stakeholders have encountered in interpreting the indicators. There has been particular concern levelled at indicators 4 and 6, where country stakeholders have struggled to define what is meant by 'coordinated' approaches and 'parallel PIUs' (see earlier box). Others have questioned whether these indicators in themselves can encourage partners to devise better approaches to capacity development.

The Paris Declaration can certainly serve as a tool to launch a more critical examination of the role development agencies and partner countries should play in supporting local capacity development processes. As proposed in this PMB, two aspects are considered critical:

'Countries should progressively take charge of TC management . . .'

Partner countries should become responsible for the management of TC, and the personnel associated with it, in the same way that they are beginning to assume fuller responsibility for financial resources through sector and general budget support.

Development agencies need to progressively shift management responsibilities and control to their country partners. This needs to be a gradual process that takes account of partner-country capacities.

"... but management is not enough"

Partners need to explore ways to improve the practice of capacity development on the ground. This should be based on a more informed understanding of capacity development and the role TC can play in supporting local processes of change. There is a need, in particular, to be more strategic about the use of TA personnel, and to consider the deployment of TA personnel within the broader framework of planning and managing human resources. Finally, one needs to recognise that TC, and in particular the provision of TA personnel, cannot be a substitute for fundamental reform of the public service.

The onus is on stakeholders at the country level, building on the current momentum generated through global commitments to aid effectiveness, to take the discussion forward through national fora and to identify solutions that best fit the local context.

www.ecdpm.org/pmb20 Page 7

Policy Management Brief 20, November 2007

Notes

- 1 In this PMB, development agency is used to refer to multilateral, bilateral and non-governmental development organisations.
- 2 See OECD/DAC. 2007. Statistical reporting directives, paragraphs 40-44.
- 3 Land, T. (2007); Hauck, V. and M. Souto (2007); Baser, H. (2007) and Watson, D., N.M. Thong and J. Zinke (2007).
- 4 See OECD/DAC. 2006.
- 5 This understanding is based on the amendments were proposed by the OECD Secretariat at the Joint Venture on Monitoring the Paris Declaration on 21 September 2007 (OECD/ DAC. 2007. Draft Summary of the eighth Meeting of the Joint Venture on Monitoring the Paris Declaration. Working Party on Aid Effectiveness, Accra, Ghana, 20-21 September 2007. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.
- 6 See, in particular, OPM. 2003.
- 7 For instance, national TA personnel are likely to be more culturally aware, having greater experience with local organisations and language. But compared to highly experienced international TA personnel, they might lack substantive experience, as well as the independence and political neutrality that is critical in certain situations.
- 8 It is very difficult to combine the learning function with accountablity. It might be necessary to have two parallel systems.
- 9 OECD/DAC. 2006. Survey on monitoring the Paris Declaration-Overview of the results. Paris: OECD.

Recent Work on Technical Cooperation and TA Personnel

In recent years a number of studies aimed at improving the quality of TA have been commissioned:

- ActionAid. 2006. Real aid: Making technical assistance work. Johannesburg: ActionAid
- ADB. 2007. Performance of technical assistance. (Special Evaluation Study OED). Manila: Asian Development Bank.
- Baser, H. and P. Morgan. 2001. The Pooling of Technical Assistance: An Overview based on Field Experience in Six African Countries. ECDPM Synthesis Paper.
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- Land, T. 2007. Joint Evaluation Study of Provision of Technical Assistance Personnel: What can we learn from promising experiences? ECDPM Discussion Paper 78. www.ecdpm.org/dp78
- Hauck, V. and M. Souto. 2007. Provision of Technical Assistance Personnel in Mozambique. Between 'doing the work' and a 'hands-off' approach. ECDPM Discussion Paper 75. www.ecdpm.org/dp75
- Baser, H. 2007. Provision of Technical Assistance Personnel in the Solomon Islands. What can we learn from the RAMSI experience? ECDPM Discussion Paper 76. www.ecdpm.org/dp76
- Watson, D. Minh Thong, N. and J. Zinke. 2007. Provision of Technical Assistance Personnel in Vietnam Cooking pho, peeling potatoes and abandoning blueprints. ECDPM Discussion Paper 77. www.ecdpm.org/dp77



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