Inclusive governance practice ECTOR

in CARE International's

Papua New Guinea programming



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It starts with equal

Author

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Cover page photo: Eve John, a local magistrate who received CARE training on conflict resolution. Simbari, Eastern Highlands, Papua New Guinea.

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Acronyms

ABG	Autonomous Bougainville Government		
AROB	Autonomous Region of Bougainville		
BCG	Bougainville Community Governance Project		
BG4E	Better Governance for Education Project		
BOM	Board of Management		
CARE	CARE International in PNG		
CG	Community Government		
COE	Council of Elders		
CSO	Civil Society Organisation		
DDA	District Development Authority		
DEIC	District Education Implementation Committee		
DEM	District Education Manager		
DPLGA	Department of Provincial and Local Government Affairs		
DSIP	District Services Improvement Program		
ICDP	Integrated Community Development Project		
JDP & BPC	Joint District Planning and Budget Priorities Committee		
LLG	Local Level Government		
LLGSIP	Local Level Government Services Improvement Program		
MP	Member of Parliament		
NGO	Non-Government Organisation		
PNG	Papua New Guinea		
PSIP	Provincial Services Improvement Program		
TFF	Tuition Fee Free		
VAS	Village Assembly Strengthening Project		
VA	Village Assembly		
VC	Village Court		
WDC	Ward Development Committee		
WDP	Ward Development Planning		
WSIP	Ward Services Improvement Program		

Executive Summary

This paper documents the approaches taken by CARE International in Papua New Guinea's most recent deliberate programming for improved governance in Papua New Guinea's Highlands region and the Autonomous Region of Bougainville. It looks at the experience and lessons of three projects to inform best practice in inclusive governance programming in the future. It also considers how CARE International in Papua New Guinea's work relating to gender equality and women's empowerment has contributed to the results of governance programs.

Whether or not CARE International in Papua New Guinea ("CARE" from here on) projects are formally inclusive governance projects with explicit gender inclusive governance aims, they now all aim for greater gender equality through the three domains of the Framework for Gender Equality and Women's Voice (Figure 1).

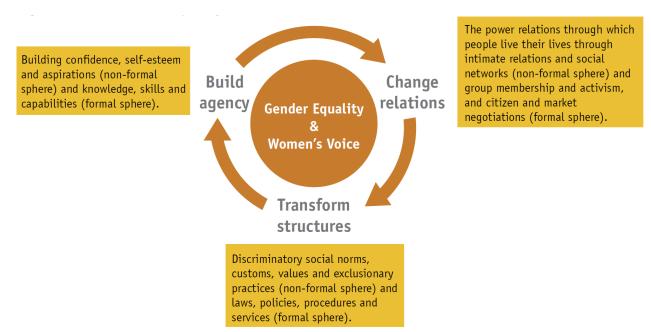


Figure 1. Framework for Gender Equality and Women's Voice

At the time the Integrated Community Development Project (ICDP) was designed, CARE had not fully developed its women's empowerment or gender equality frameworks¹. CARE began to strengthen its approach to women's empowerment and gender equity in 2011 with the drafting of an organisational Gender Strategy and the recruitment of a Gender Advisor.

CARE International's Theory of Change for inclusive governance work (its Framework for Inclusive Governance Programming (Figure 2) states: if marginalised organised and/or individual citizens are empowered, if power-holders are effective, accountable and responsive, and if spaces for negotiation are created, expanded, effective and inclusive, then sustainable and equitable development can be



Figure 2. Framework for Inclusive Governance Programming

¹ While there was a section on Gender and Diversity (2010:43) the project design documents did not include reference to gender equality domains of agency, relations or structures.

achieved, particularly for marginalised women and girls (CARE International 2016a:8). In this document each of the three projects are discussed in terms of their inclusive governance approaches and their women's empowerment work, whether or not the projects were originally explicitly designed around these frameworks. From this the ingredients most valuable for inclusive governance programming in PNG are considered.

There remain significant challenges in governance programming. There are governance factors at play that are beyond the scope of a single NGO to influence – for example, to track and improve the reliability of both development and function grants even reaching Districts and lower levels of government; and a continually and unpredictably changing legislative and policy environment. There is international recognition that inclusive governance work (or indeed development work in general) in highly complex settings such as PNG is necessarily incremental and requires flexibility and long-term commitment, and yet donor requirements rarely enable the level of flexibility in programming, nor funding timeframes necessary for the greatest gains to be made.

CARE's governance work enables citizens (the "grassroots") and government (representative as well as the civil service) to come together, disrupting negative or destructive cycles of distrust, inaction and disempowerment. CARE's work has built capacity (skills, knowledge and processes) and worked with the incentives, motivations or drivers for people (grassroots and government, women and men) to start coming together in non-adversarial ways, rebuilding (or indeed building) the social compact for the benefit of future development. CARE governance projects have collaboratively developed appropriate processes, tools and materials for training, reflection and implementation for more inclusive governance; materials that can be used by government (and that are sought by government) to help government systems of governance and collective community action to go forward even in the absence of intensive NGO led facilitation. The projects have sought 'good enough governance' rather than perfect governance. CARE's governance projects have sought to help people make the changes that are possible because of the help of CARE as an external, neutral and trusted organisation, and that can begin to enable more transparent, accountable and constructive cycles of governance.

The Integrated Community Development Project (ICDP) was a long-term complex and large rural development and government governance project that began with a design process in 2009, and implementation from 2010, eventually working across three districts in three provinces at varying degrees of intensity. A second five-year phase with a stronger focus on political governance work at District and LLG levels began in 2015², informed by experience in the first phase, recommendations from an independent evaluation conducted in 2014 and later by recommendations from joint district assessments commissioned by the project between 2015 and 2016. However, the project ended in mid-2016 when funding was cut due to changing donor priorities.

ICDP aimed to make sustainable and measurable improvements in the lives of communities living within disadvantaged districts of PNG. In phase one, to achieve this, it initially took an integrated approach to working with government and communities to sustainably improve governance hand-in-hand with sectoral service delivery. In phase two it shifted emphasis towards a greater focus on enabling and motivating government and political power-holders to be more responsive and equitable in resource allocation, towards greater community self-help through good governance processes.

Through iterative experience, the project (phases one and two) increasingly recognised that improving governance for improved development outcomes required multiple approaches. Overall, the project: fostered inclusive community engagement and collective action; addressed skills, knowledge and confidence gaps among community members as well as administrative and representative government; and worked at grassroots levels through to senior political representatives to identify legitimate incentives that could achieve positive shifts in governance practice – particularly for more equitable decision making and equitable development outcomes.

At the local level the project fostered community members' understanding of their roles, responsibilities, obligations and entitlements within their communities and as citizens of PNG. The project supported their capacity to work collectively locally (bonding social capital) and in inclusive coalitions beyond their own kinship and ward groupings (bridging social capital) – potentially giving them a stronger more persuasive political voice and creating a counter to the collective action challenges (Walton and Jones 2017) that are closely linked with patronage (or "big-man") politics and inequitable development outcomes in PNG (Allen and Hasnain 2010, Duncan *et al* 2017). The project worked with local communities so that they could experience the process and the results of local improved governance (including meaningful female participation) through development activities tied to a project cycle based on locally identified priorities.

At local through to district levels of representative government (Ward Development Committees, Local Level Government Assemblies and District Development Authorities³) the project worked on: improving skills and knowledge gaps; improving the quality and utility of the government's own governance and development planning tools and materials; establishing or supporting government structures required for government accountability mechanisms to exist (let alone function); and increasing bridging social capital between those at grassroots level and government. With Local Level Government (LLG) and District Administrations the project identified skills and confidence gaps that contributed to officers' lack of engagement with communities. Training and mentoring was provided so that District and LLG officers gained competence in nationally recognised community engagement and other participatory project cycle

² 2015 was a "design-implement" phase for ICDP II.

³ District Development Authorities are "not government" in that they cannot pass laws or impose taxation (The National, Monday 19th January 2015), however the District Development Authority Boards are made up of LLG Presidents, the MP (as Chair) and three appointees of the MP. Amongst other things, they are intended to control and make allocation decisions over the spending of District Service Improvement Program funds and can enter into substantial contracts as well as establish revenue generating enterprises (Government of PNG 2014).

skills⁴, as well as knowledge of bottom up planning systems, processes and how to apply them. The project enabled government officers to reach remote communities, enjoy their hospitality, gain a deeper understanding of local people's problems (and joys) and form relationships or connections and a sense of obligation and responsibility. This could be deeply personal based on a mix of indebtedness and appreciation for the hospitality provided, deeper insight into people's lives and a desire to reciprocate by endeavouring to ensure government services would improve. In the Pidgin vernacular, government officers had become *wantoks* – with the social and economic obligations that accompany this. With skills, knowledge, the confidence to apply their learning, opportunities to actually carry out the work and relationships built with people and communities, officers gained greater job satisfaction and pride in their achievements – all important in achieving greater responsiveness and accountability between government and citizens.

Towards the end of the project an Institutional Maturity Scorecard tool was piloted with District Administrations and the District Development Authorities (DDAs) to measure current capacities and governance practices, to target gradual shifts and to set in place mutually agreed ways of achieving positive change under formal agreements. This tool, used in a non-adversarial manner, was intended to provide a means for mutual identification of legitimate changes by the administration, but also by politically and financially influential local members (the chairmen of the DDAs), to improve governance for service delivery.

ICDP: Gender in governance programming

ICDP had a number of sectoral service delivery strengthening components (education, livelihoods, law and justice and small infrastructure). Over the life of the project, these sectoral components were increasingly underpinned by a government engagement component and a more deliberate approach to women's empowerment. In 2014 the project started explicitly examining what it was already doing across the three domains of the women's empowerment framework and adjusting its programming to more strongly incorporate women's empowerment. The approaches towards greater women's empowerment used through the different components during the life of the project are summarised below.

Building agency

- The timing and design of the training was adapted to allow for women's workloads and responsibilities. Livelihoods training approaches were adjusted to increase women's participation (including running women-only training).
- Selection criteria for participation in community-based training activities required inclusion and participation of women as a condition of men's participation.
- Women were inspired by female staff of CARE to see that they too could be leaders, teachers and trainers.
- Female representatives on Ward Development Committees, Local Level Government (LLG) Assemblies and Joint District Planning and Budget Priorities Committees (JDP & BPC) and District Development Authorities (DDA) were given additional targeted training and coaching⁵ (in addition to their training along-side male counterparts in workshops and courses).
- Ward Development Committee roles and responsibilities, LLG induction and training materials
 were prepared and used reinforcing the requirement for women to be represented on Ward
 Development Committees and LLGs. This enabled training participants to reflect on the traditional
 roles and responsibilities of men and women, gendered barriers to equal participation and what
 personal actions they could take to reduce these barriers.

⁴ Training targeted PNG's National Standard for Community Development Workers.

⁵ This occurred in the last 18 months of the project

- Ward development planning training materials were revised and completely re-written to be more appropriate to low literacy groups (benefiting more people generally but also opening up more opportunities for women to meaningfully participate) and to emphasise the importance and value of gender equality and inclusive processes.
- Women in communities were supported to participate in and lead in local community led development planning, implementation and monitoring.
- Support was provided for education facilities and services within a small distance of children's homes, allowing women and girls to more easily access and participate in non-formal and formal education opportunities (low female literacy rates and lower levels of education are barriers to women accessing formal leadership roles).
- Support for women and girls to access education opportunities locally by opening or reopening schools and literacy classes, increasing their literacy, numeracy and other practical skills, as well as experiencing learning environments that fostered self-confidence.
- Infrastructure developments such as footbridges improved access to services and social networks for men and women, but because the bridges reduced walking distances and perceived security risks women were more able to access services without the need or expectation of having male accompaniment (increasing gender equality in accessing services).
- Livelihoods manuals and guides were adapted to be more gender-sensitive.

Changing relations

- Socialisation activities prior to any project activity promoted the rights of women as equal partners in society, provided information on PNG laws and policies in support of gender equality and social inclusion and presented the tangible development benefits that accrue to families and society more generally when women and men are more equal.
- Community awareness and Ward Development Committee training promoted the importance and benefits of women's participation in decision-making to provide greater and longer lasting benefits to all (including men).
- Gender-balanced CARE facilitation teams worked respectfully and professionally together and were role models for women and men working together as equals. Male and female CARE staff modelled consultative and supportive behaviours with female and male counterparts in communities and organisations.
- Local NGO service delivery partners were trained and mentored in gender equity and diversity and its application in governance and development work and reflected on its application in their personal lives.
- Many training activities included components of reflection and analysis about agency, relations and structural barriers to gender equality and the effects of this for families and local development.
- Community awareness was conducted on the importance and practical benefits to men and boys of girls also accessing and completing formal education.
- Induction training for literacy teachers incorporated activities that reinforced the societal benefits of women in education and in teaching roles.
- Couples were encouraged to attend skills and functional literacy training together so both wives and husbands attended classes on cooking, sewing and teacher training (role-sharing). This also mitigated taboos (and fears and jealousies) surrounding women or men alone teaching other adults of the opposite sex.
- Sectoral activities in education and livelihoods encouraged men and women to take up skills and labour tasks that were traditionally perceived as being for only one gender. Women and men who gained such skills and husbands and wives who supported each other to gain and use these skills were celebrated through public acclamation, at community meetings and local shows/expos and other celebrations (for example School Book week and National Literacy Day).

• Training on gender, child rights and human rights and how to support these rights in Village Court practice was provided for Village Court officials.

Transforming structures

- ICDP advocated for local representation of women on school Boards of Management (BoMs), Village Courts, Ward Development Committees, LLGs and DDAs and continued to advocate for higher female membership in these bodies.
- The project promoted women's involvement in decision making and representation at least at, and if possible, beyond that mandated by government. The project aimed to normalise women's involvement in all areas of institutional governance.
 - Prior to the project the three target districts did not have Ward Development Committees.
 ICDP facilitated the establishment of the government mandated Ward Development
 Committees and promoted the requirement for at least two women on each Ward
 Development Committee. Through the project's collaboration with government, Ward
 Development Committees were established in all wards in Obura Wonenara District, in all
 wards of Gumine District and in all wards in three of the four LLGs of Menyamya District⁶.
 More than 160 Ward Development Committees were established for every ward in Obura
 Wonenara and Gumine Districts and more than half of Menyamya District). When
 established, each Ward Development Committee included two or more women members.
 - Ward Development Planning materials were revised to promote more inclusive planning and implementation, to avoid token female representation on Ward Development Committees (materials now promote 50/50 gender balanced membership).
 - In Obura Wonenara, ICDP facilitated the establishment and training of village courts and promoted the requirement for the inclusion of at least one female magistrate in each village court. In Obura Wonenara District, the project worked with the government to establish eight additional village courts in places that had never had access to village courts before. Each Village Court included a female magistrate and each Village Court took part in training on gender equality in law and their jurisdiction and processes to enable fairer access by women.
 - Training for LLG partners included reinforcement of the Organic Law on Provincial and Local Level Government (1995) and public Service Management Act (1997) stipulation for at least two women appointed to each LLG Assembly.
 - A lack of women with the literacy skills and confidence to participate and be supported by men in formal governance structures contributed to decisions to promote community selection of female trainee literacy teachers, female adult literacy students and sponsorship of female literacy teachers to gain elementary teacher qualifications and registration.
- Schools (formal and non-formal) were established in local areas enabling greater access to
 education for women and girls as they are more constrained than boys and men in their
 movements beyond the local area. Based on enrolment figures from June 2015, 7,681 children –
 including 4,136 males (54 per cent) and 3,545 females (46 per cent) were enrolled in schools or
 grades which only existed due to ICDP interventions.
- Equitable distribution of resources tools, seeds, fingerlings, knowledge promoted through training (though distribution of materials was kept to a minimum in any case).
- Women were prioritised in skills training for the mechanical maintenance of the group-owned coffee pulper machines.

⁶ ICDP began work in Menyamya in late 2012, initially focussing on two of the four large LLGs, a third LLG was later added and all four were to have been included in programming through ICDP Phase II.

Women's empowerment and gender equality

Overall, while changes in regard to women's empowerment are small they are, nonetheless, significant due to the difficulty of changing entrenched gender norms and due to the short amount of time in which CARE International in PNG (CARE) has been working to address gender issues in a systematic manner. It is also to be expected that women are first able to exercise agency within their own homes. Speaking out at community level is much more difficult, particularly in light of women's higher levels of illiteracy and lack of confidence.

Continuing to promote and support women's representation on Ward Development Committees, supporting activities that demonstrate to men and women the practical benefits of women's participation and supporting easier physical access to formal education so that girls can more easily attend, will all contribute to greater positive change for women, their families and their various communities more generally.

Women's voice

Women are able to speak their mind at the household level. Women reportedly had full rights to speak at the household level before and this is still the case now. Only one community in Ward 21 (Gema) had reported that women had no rights at all prior to CARE interventions and now reported full rights to speak at the household level. They now are free to speak without fear and without just adhering to what their husbands say as before.

Only a few women tend to talk at community gatherings. These are typically women leaders and those who have attended trainings. Women expressed having no rights to speak at community gatherings prior to CARE interventions but have now witnessed change in this area evaluated.

Women's participation

Women participate fully at the household level but not at the community level. Not all women are able to participate in trainings. Those who attend trainings are selected by community members to attend these trainings. Community members select women who are vocal and whom they think will influence the community. One ward had reported this has now changed for them. More women in Ororingo (Ward 23) are now participating in trainings and school activities which was not the case prior to CARE interventions.

Women's contribution to decision making

Women who have attended trainings have noticed an increase in their influence in decision making forums. These women's opinions are respected and taken into consideration when making decisions.

Female members in four communities (wards 20, 22, 23, 33) expressed that they have always had some rights to contribute to decision making at the household level. Only one community reported having full rights to contribute to decision making at the household level both prior to and after CARE interventions. Though women contribute to decision making, men always have the last say and at times overlook opinions from the wife. Despite this, women are still happy as they are now at least able to voice their opinions.

Three wards (wards 22, 23, 33) said they had no rights at all before but this has now changed as

women are given space to contribute to decision making at the community level. Wards 20 and 21 reported having some rights prior to and full rights after CARE interventions. Men are now allowing more space for women to participate in decision making forums. These are especially women leaders and women who have attended trainings. With literacy and additional knowledge and skills gained, community members, including men, see that these can contribute to the development of the community.

From Waffi and Sabub, 2014: 34-35, Simogu Cluster Evaluation

ICDP: Inclusive governance

Governance activities are summarised in terms of the three domains of CARE International's Framework for Inclusive Governance Programming though the project (designed in 2009 and 2010) was not deliberately designed around the governance framework.

The second phase of ICDP had at its core the principles of good governance and women's empowerment (CARE PNG 2016a). In practice this meant: normalising the practice of good governance among partners and stakeholders; entrenching women's empowerment; monitoring and assessing in terms of progress on good governance principles and women's empowerment. The objectives of the project were designed to reflect the importance of governance to all aspects of integrated community development.

Marginalised citizens are empowered

ICDP worked in this domain through:

- targeting rural disadvantaged districts the most marginalised rural populations (isolated, low political voice and poor service delivery)
- targeting women and girls for additional support women are the largest marginalised group within society
- fostering and promoting inclusion and equality in dialogue
- providing information and socialising this knowledge (rights, responsibilities and the benefits that accrue)
- training people with the skills, knowledge and materials to engage in formal spaces with and as a part of, government and the State (for example WDCs, VCs, LLGs, DDAs, District Administrations)
- collaboration with communities and wards to plan and implement activities through participatory processes that encouraged inclusion and equality
- collaborating with government to revise the government WDP processes to amplify voice through endorsed systems for broader collective planning (WDC zone or cluster planning)
- facilitating formation of relationships between marginalised rural citizens and government (individuals and as service providers) – intensified by traditional notions of hospitality and reciprocity (using wantokism for the benefit of the less powerful)
- ensuring approaches and materials were appropriate in themselves and applied appropriately so that marginalised citizens were more likely to be able to meaningfully participate.

Power-holders are effective, accountable and responsive

ICDP worked in this domain through:

- using non-adversarial approaches between CARE and power-holders, but also fostered between power-holders and grassroots
- working with local through to National power-holders, but most intensively strengthening linkages at and between Ward, LLG and District levels
- engaging with political and administrative power-holders, engaging with traditional local leaders, and engaging with local service providers (including non-government)
- the provision of guiding materials and training in roles and responsibilities as well as how those roles and responsibilities were to be applied in practice (striving to clearly link concepts with practice and enabling reflection against this)
- identifying what aspects of governance for service delivery power-holders were willing to shift on and using this as a foundation for agreed change and activity support, whilst also advocating change in other areas (for example through tools such as an Institutional Maturity Index, formal agreements, conditional co-funding of projects such as footbridges)
- identifying opportunities to influence governance practice that could also positively connect with power-holder incentives – for example through the work to develop DSIP small grants programming partnerships (ICDP II) and through brokering DSIP and PSIP allocation in response to ward priorities and LLG priorities and LLGSIP directed to Ward plan priorities⁷
- identifying skills and knowledge gaps and working on these so that government officers were more confident to engage effectively (confidence that they wouldn't look foolish, pride in quality of work, pride in delivery of results, kudos and recognition)
- enabling government representatives and officers to reach and spend time in remote disadvantaged communities building direct relationships and attendant responsibilities
- acknowledgement and praise for equitable work done and support to share lessons (for example co-authorship and delivery of a paper at a Waigani Seminar in 2015 on public-private partnership between CARE and Obura Wonenara by an ICDP team leader and the District's MP)
- providing or collaborating on research and documentation for government and CSO development planning and to help improve responsiveness to marginalised or disadvantaged communities (for example Obura Wonenara, Menyamya and Gumine surveys/ baselines⁸).

Spaces for negotiation are created, expanded, effective and inclusive

ICDP worked in this domain through:

- agreement (wanbel) processes between CARE and communities, Memoranda of Understanding with Districts and Provincial Administrations
- community engagement training and practice for government officers (and NGO partners), establishment of Ward profiling and planning and WDCs co-facilitated by government officers
- public meetings and dialogue inclusive of women and processes that actively sought and valued the views of all (for example women, youth and people with disabilities)

⁷ Funds leveraged in response to bottom up planning, as of June 2014 (Hampshire *et al* 2014) were: K100,000 committed by Tairora Gadsup LLG for rehabilitation of Omaura health centre (from the LLGSIP); K500,000 to Marawka WDC for road upgrading (from the PSIP); K475,200 school subsidy for the four newly registered and operational elementary schools over three years: 2012-2014 (RECURRENT); K42,250.00 school subsidy for one re-opened and upgraded primary school: 2013-2014. (RECURRENT); K111,228 primary and elementary teachers' salaries: 2012- 2014 (RECURRENT); K250,000 DSIP contribution to ward plan priority footbridges; K500,000 PSIP contribution to ward plan priority footbridges; K10,000 Yelia LLGSIP contribution to Andakombi footbridge opening; K420,183.92 each year for staffing and running eight new village courts (Lamari and Yelia LLGS): (RECURRENT). In 2015 two Obura Wonenara LLGs also allocated K20,000 to each ward for upgrading education (elementary) facilities.

⁸ The baseline report for Kome LLG in Menyamya District was taken up by the Morobe Provincial Administration as a proxy for setting remote rural development priorities (pers. com. Morobe Provincial Administration Planning Adviser 2016).

- facilitating forums for collective discussion, dialogue, decision-making and coalition building (for example 2014 Symposium, 2015 Women's Policies and Social Accountability Forum, but also community conversations and WDP processes and participatory annual planning and reflection with partners)
- encouraging and supporting the reestablishment of regular meetings (for example LLGs that hadn't met in years, began meeting again and were trained in their roles and responsibilities and supported through the process of ward plan consolidation into LLG plans. CARE staff supported meeting procedures and acted as observers)
- establishment and support of formal government structures (WDCs, LLGs, village courts, school BoMs), meeting or exceeding requirements for female inclusion, and the development of effective appropriate materials and training of government to have the knowledge and skills to sustain these.



Figure 3. Female Village Court magistrate relaxing after Court

Better Governance for Education

The Better Governance for Education project (BG4E) developed following on from the education component of work under the ICDP. The project began implementing in Obura-Wonenara District (Eastern Highlands) from September 2016 and is due for completion in 2019. The goal of the Better Governance for Education project is that: Gender inclusive governance from communities to government improves education service delivery. The anticipated outcomes to achieve this are:

- 1. Communities are mobilised to support education outcomes for girls in the district education outcomes for girls.
- 2. Decision makers, administrative, political and sectoral are making gender-inclusive decisions to allocate resources more equitably.
- 3. Education service providers improve quality of education services through gender inclusive governance and improved teacher quality and materials.

Essentially working at three levels of engagement – communities, schools, and government decision makers, the project is designed to test, demonstrate and disseminate the potential of the project's inclusive governance for education approach to be replicated in other locations and service sectors. The project contends that increasing gender equality is essential and intrinsic to improving good governance.

The project aims to find a balance between:

- community mobilisation to demand services (and knowledge of how to do this through formal mechanisms)
- capacity building of service delivery systems and structures so that the members understand what to do according to established procedures (building linkages between communities and formal education governance structures in support of local education)
- leveraging politically controlled service delivery development funding for locally identified school/education priorities through collaborative implementation and counterpart funding.

BG4E: Gender in governance programming

"What BG4E especially has been able to demonstrate is the important role women play in supporting their children's education. It's training but also creating the spaces and experiences for communities to realize through actual practice, how governance outcomes can be improved with the inclusion and empowerment of women." (pers. com. Joy Waffi, former BG4E Project Manager April 2018)



Figure 4. Elementary teacher and students

A major barrier to women's active participation in formal governance structures and indeed in voicing opinions and ideas publicly at all, is low literacy levels^{9.} ICDP and partners baseline surveys in Gumine (Chimbu), Obura Wonenara (Eastern Highlands c.f Rogers et al 2010) and Menyamya (Morobe) all found that women felt that low literacy and poor spoken Pidgin and English resulted in low confidence to speak or contribute to public discussion (Waffi et al 2015). Further, they felt that men were more supportive of women voicing ideas if they were literate or had been formally educated. Literacy, education and language skills provided increased self-confidence and a greater social licence for women to participate more equally in public discussion and decision making. Women's literacy also means greater support is then available to her children in their studies. BG4E uses education as a sectoral lens through which broader governance and consequent development outcomes may be achieved (and modelled). Targeting increased female education in and of itself also tackles a major barrier to gender equality in governance processes that involve discussion, decision making and that result in local development.

Building agency

- The project targets women for various training activities – to increase their participation rates, but also to help redress the additional skills and knowledge barriers that women and girls often experience.
- The project provides female students with opportunities to practice leadership skills.
- The project collaborates with schools to facilitate public acclamation of girls who have continued in their education and to celebrate parents for supporting their daughters to enrol in and attend school.
- Women are supported to have a greater voice in the prioritising and planning of school projects.



Figure 5. Women participating in good governance training

⁹ Women's literacy levels across the country are significantly lower than that found amongst men (ASPBAE and PEAN 2011:6-11). In remote rural areas self-reported literacy levels of 21 per cent female literacy and 31 per cent male literacy are lower than the National average of 48 per cent (Rogers *et al* 2010). It should also be noted that self-reported literacy levels are usually higher than actual literacy levels; actual literacy levels are usually worse than self-reported figures indicate.

- Women and girls are targeted to participate in SLIP reviews (using community score card), with spaces for girls and boys to discuss and voice their ideas separately.
- Activity timing, location and other considerations such as allowing women to attend training with their young children and child carers allow for women's workloads and responsibilities.
- Female volunteer child literacy teachers have been provided with particular support to build their confidence and skills including through the provision of scholarships to upgrade secondary education qualifications through Flexible Open Distance Education (FODE) and scholarships to undergo teacher training.

Changing relations

- Husbands, sons and couples are targeted through interventions that promote their support for the
 empowerment of women and girls, particularly through gender equality and diversity workshops
 which end with participants planning what actions they can take to reduce the barriers to equality
 faced by women and girls and the steps they could take to support women and girls in education.
- Requirement that all gender training be attended with spouses so that both partners go through a shared experience of reflection and learning.
- Gender equity and diversity workshops specifically facilitate critical reflection to address barriers identified through baseline studies, socialisation discussions in communities and interviews.
- Public acclamation of men in support of women and girls in education youths/school students and parents/fathers.

Transforming structures

- Training requires attendance with spouses.
- Training emphasizes the importance and benefits of involving women in planning and decision making.
- Training includes reflection and practical activities that provide opportunities for women to demonstrate the benefits of their meaningful participation in organised structures and spaces.
 Women's membership in school Boards of Management (BOM) is required by the National Department of Education and the project advocates for this requirement to be met.
- Deliberate reflective processes following initiatives to allow organisational reflection on the changes they are making or not making, including the advantages or disadvantages of these processes.
- Women's participation is supported through the various BOMs, and Parent and Citizen committees and there is monitoring for their application of principles of gender equality and inclusion, giving members the opportunity to appreciate first-hand, the benefits of including women.
- Special events are planned for target communities for the end of project evaluation to recognise and celebrate changes taking place in structures. These will recognise change-leaders who have advocated for and made a change to group leadership so that women have greater voice and responsibility in decision making.

BG4E: Inclusive governance

The BG4E theory of change maps out pathways for change through activities for both governance strengthening and greater gender equality among: community stakeholders; service delivery decision makers (National and Sub-National Government and politicians); and the schools (including Boards of Management and school senior mangemange teams).

How activities and approaches within the theory of change map onto CARE International's Framework for Inclusive Governance Programming are summarised below.

Marginalised citizens are empowered

- Provision of conditional counterpart funding encouraging local groups to allocate local resources and actively seek government funding to match.
- The project works with remotely located rural communities where schools have not been receiving the level of government support required (such as supervision and in-service visits).
- The project strengthens the skills and knowledge of parents and citizens, boards of management, teachers and students to be able to work constructively together to improve the school learning environment and school governance.
- The project particularly focusses upon the inclusion of women and girls to increase their voice in those local governance arrangements that intersect with Education – through School Boards of Management and through Parents and Citizens associations.

Power-holders are effective, accountable and responsive

- The project works with local power holders (community leaders, Boards of Management, senior teachers, Parents and Citizens leaders) as well as District level power holders (through the establishment of a District Education Implementation Committee (DEIC)¹⁰) to strengthen governance linkages between them. The DEIC has a key role in individual school funding, advising on school funding for infrastructure¹¹.
- The project aims to incentivise responsiveness through both logistical support and counterpart funding to leverage support (personnel, funding, logistics) from government and other partners.

Spaces for negotiation are created, expanded, effective and inclusive

- Training is provided to school communities to gain knowledge and skills to connect to the correct government structures and mechanisms as well as manage their own development projects (enabling them to participate more in the development of the district).
- Reconnecting communities to the government by enabling district inspectors to travel out to hard to reach locations.
- Supporting school SLIP (School Learning and Improvement Planning) the project increases
 opportunities for effective upward and downward accountability in school governance (partly
 through using the community score-card approach and other tools for accountability). This
 enables the government and communities to meaningfully connect (to rebuild mutual
 accountability and community confidence in government) and increase opportunities specifically
 for women and girls to meaningfully participate in education decision making and planning.
- Building linkages between the District, LLGs, communities, and education service providers at the district and provincial levels – particularly including support for the establishment and support of a (government mandated) District Education Implementation Committee.

¹⁰ Where established, according to government policy, the District Education Implementation Committee's (DEIC) role is to approve School Learning and Improvement Plans (SLIP), ensure proper use of Tuition Fee Free funds by each school and verify school and enrolment data collected through every school census. The DEIC should consist of a church representative, Chief executive officer (i.e. the District Administrator) of the DDA, community representative, District Education Manager (DEM), and District inspectors. The CEO of the DDA will chair the DEIC with the DEM as overall district head of education providing a technical advisory role to the chair (CARE 2016b).

¹¹ Tuition Fee Free funding (TFF) has three components: 1. Cash Administration 40 per cent (paid directly to school accounts); 2. Infrastructure 30 per cent (held in Trust by District Treasuries and released to schools based in part upon instruction from the DEIC); 3. Teaching and Learning 30 per cent (teaching and learning materials, including consumables and capital assets, equipment and curriculum materials – centrally managed through the regions).

Village Assembly Strengthening Project and Bougainville Community Governance Project

In two separate but linked projects over five years, CARE has directly influenced government officers and community leaders during a period in which Bougainville's local government was being transformed. The period has also been a lead-up to the Region's anticipated 2019 referendum on independence from Papua New Guinea. CARE's contributions have strengthened local governments' organisational capacity and promoted an inclusive approach that incorporates the contributions of women and youth.

The Village Assembly Strengthening (VAS) Project (2012-15) aimed to increase the capacity of this vital local level government. Village Assemblies existed prior to the Project but were mostly comprised of male chiefs, with only the Ward Chairman and the Village Recorder active. Women, youth and other representatives were not generally included. By addressing gender inequality and youth issues, the VAS Project ensured that these representatives were in place and their voices heard. The VAS approach followed several steps: developing a 'model' Village Assembly (VA); setting up VA Working Committees; identifying youth priorities; organising a women's governance forum; and providing training in village record-keeping and profiling. This pilot Project increased leaders' knowledge of the Autonomous Bougainville Government's structure, the Bougainville Peace Agreement and the principles of good governance. Such principles in particular resonated with leaders who compared concepts like transparency and accountability with their own practice. To support the trainings and meetings, community facilitators were trained and worked alongside CARE staff.

Following the VAS Project, the Department of Community Government approached CARE to design a project that would help with the roll out of the new Community Government Act. In response, in September 2015 CARE commenced implementation of an anticipated four-year Bougainville Community Governance Project (BCG). The goal of the project was that: Community Governments (formerly called Councils of Elders] are practicing governance that contributes to the peace, security and prosperity of Bougainville. It drew on lessons from both the ICDP governance programming in the Highlands of PNG and from the Village Assembly Strengthening Project. This new project aimed to capitalise on the imminent finalisation of legislation for Councils of Elders to be reconstituted as Community Governments (roughly equivalent to LLGs elsewhere in PNG) with legislated equal representation of women and men (CARE PNG 2015). These Community Governments may be among the few or only representative government assemblies in the world which require such equal representation, mandated by law.

The original design for the BCG project was planned for two implementation phases. Phase 1 – from July 2015 to June 2017 – involved CARE developing and trialling a Capacity Development Program in four pilot Districts of Bougainville. CARE would lead implementation throughout this phase, while the Department of Community Government staff would acquire the skills to take over the facilitation of the Capacity Development Program. Phase 2 – from July 2017 to June 2019 – involved the Department of Community Government rolling out the Capacity Development Program to other Bougainville Districts. CARE's role would be to advise, monitor and support.

Based on the information available at the time of its design, the BCG project assumed that the Community Government Act would be passed mid-2015. The eventual year delay of its passage – until June 2016 – had a major impact on the implementation of Phase 2. In fact, because of the legislation's timing – and therefore delays in the Community Government (CG) elections and the filling of Community Government administrative positions – much of the project could not be implemented as originally envisioned and was adapted accordingly to focus on further transition and preparation capacity building activities. Then, changes in donor priorities removed funding and the project was closed in mid-2017 before the planned objectives could be achieved.

VAS and BCG: Gender in governance programming

Both projects contributed to gender transformation by addressing change in the three domains that comprise CARE's Gender Equality Framework. To increase women's agency specific skills were developed, leadership supported and confidence built. Relations were addressed in trainings with male colleagues and in impressing upon male leaders the importance of women's contributions to good governance. Finally, the systems and structures of leadership, epitomized by the Ward Assemblies and Community Governments, were strengthened, with an inclusive governance approach that depended upon the contributions of women and youth. The VAS project focussed upon participatory training and awareness raising. Under the BCG Project principles of good governance were incorporated into training that explicitly included principles of equality and inclusion and their application in local community development initiatives by the Ward Assemblies¹².

Under the VAS Project women's participation was integral to the design process, as well as through implementation and evaluation. There were training and mentoring activities to target increased women's participation, voice and support by men. By the end of the project, while significant barriers remained, the project resulted in (c.f. Jacka 2014) greater women's involvement in leadership through Village Assemblies (roughly equivalent to Village or Ward Development Committees). Prior to the project, the 'Village Assemblies' in the project target area (typical of wider Bougainville) mostly consisted of a chairman and a village recorder. Representative positions for women, youth and others were generally unfilled. Through the activities of the project village assemblies increased their membership and representation, ensuring women had some voice in local leadership. This helped to pave the way for women to become Council of Elders (CoE) members (later Community Governments). Women from project areas who contested selection to join Councils of Elders attributed this to their experience in Village Assemblies giving them greater confidence to speak in public, initiate community led activities, and because they felt that they had gained greater support from male leaders for their active participation.

Despite the challenges, by the time the BCG Project closed in 2017 much had been done. A baseline survey had been conducted, 42 community facilitators were trained and 18 community projects were completed. Sixty-five VA/Ward profiles had been completed in four districts. Four training modules had been written and endorsed by the Autonomous Bougainville Government (ABG) and 841 community leaders trained. Topics included inclusive and equal participation in decision making and mobilising resources for community development. At the end of the project, training materials and processes were transferred to the ABG Department of Community Government.

Women's participation in training activities was high. This was attributed to: men's participation being conditional upon equal participation of women; flexibility in training timing to allow women to work around their workloads and responsibilities; awareness raising of the benefits of equal and meaningful participation of men and women in all training activities; facilitation of training by male and female facilitators; working with people to identify and build from their own cultural examples of women and men's participation in leadership and governance – and reflection on the barriers; and advocacy for women in leadership (CARE PNG 2017).

¹² In recent years the titles and governance arrangements for structures for lower levels of representative government have changed: Village Assemblies and Councils of Elders have become Ward Assemblies and Community Governments respectively

VAS and BCG: Inclusive governance

The BCG Project design (CARE PNG 2015) saw the desire to promote accountability, transparency and other principles of good governance as implicit in the emerging ABG framework for bottom-up – top-down planning. In working with the Department of Community Government and District Administrations, CARE's Bougainville Community Governance Project aimed to draw out principles of good governance and encourage participants to consider how they could apply good governance and effective project cycle management to their daily work.

Marginalised citizens are empowered

The VAS and BCG worked towards this domain through:

- targeting communities in the Autonomous Region of Bougainville in the post-conflict era to contribute to rebuilding as an increasingly effective autonomous region and be better prepared for possible independence
- targeting women and youth to meaningfully participate in Village Assemblies and projects
- targeting women to be better prepared and able to meaningfully participate on Councils of Elders and then Community Governments
- providing awareness of legislation and policy for citizen engagement in government and service delivery
- providing awareness of women's equality and rights and responsibilities as citizens
- developing and providing appropriate materials to enable engagement with and as a part of



Figure 6. Village Assembly planning discussions in Bougainville

government – and to expand on local understandings of governance and apply these in self-help activities.

Power-holders are effective, accountable and responsive

The VAS and BCG projects worked towards this domain through:

- establishing formal agreements with Village Assemblies/Ward Assemblies and Councils of Elders on the terms of engagement
- providing training and mentoring to Village Assembly/Ward Assembly members and representatives to the Councils of Elders/Community Governments to be effective leaders and representatives
- linking from lower levels to higher levels of government Ward Assemblies, Community Governments and Districts as well as ABG Department of Community Government
- aiming to provide training to Community Government and District levels of government administration and representative government to better deliver government services
- developing governance (including equality, participation, inclusion) and project cycle training materials, roles and responsibilities materials to strengthen linkages between the ABG and District and Community Governments (post-project these materials have been used by the government in annual planning and preparation of CG personnel).

Spaces for negotiation are created, expanded, effective and inclusive

The VAS and BCG projects worked towards this domain through:

- the establishment of Village Assemblies in part of Tinputz District
- support to newly constituted Ward Assemblies (formerly Village Assemblies) (completing ward profiles from 64 Wards across four Districts)
- supporting the transition to and establishment of Community Governments with community awareness of the new Community Governments Act and women's equal participation in the Community Governments
- development forums held with targeted Community Governments and Village Assemblies.

The importance of quality training, guidance and implementation materials

The success of inclusive governance activities is affected by the quality of the materials used in training, workshops and in guiding community and government partners to implement improved governance in practice. CARE Governance programming has produced materials that have been designed to match what future users need but also match what they would be able to continue to use independently. This means producing materials that can be picked up, reproduced and used, even in the absence of an external facilitating organisation such as CARE and making sure the materials are relevant to the work of the people who might continue to use them. Some of the key materials produced and used by the three projects are highlighted below.

Integrated Community Development Project

Under the Integrated Community Development Project (ICDP) various tools and materials were developed across components of work in governance, education, law and justice and livelihoods (for example small-holder coffee and backyard fish farming). Only those specific to the activities for government and community governance strengthening are outlined here.

The materials first used by ICDP for government mandated ward development planning were difficult to follow and implement. These materials had been developed by the Democratic Governance Transition Phase project under AusAID and piloted in Bogia District in Madang Province. An early revision by ICDP improved the manuals so that ICDP trainers found them easier to use, and these manuals were endorsed by the Department for Provincial and Local Government Affairs (DPLGA).

Another revision increased the emphasis upon women's equality and inclusion but disrupted the conceptual sequencing of topics in the training so that the training became complicated to follow. In

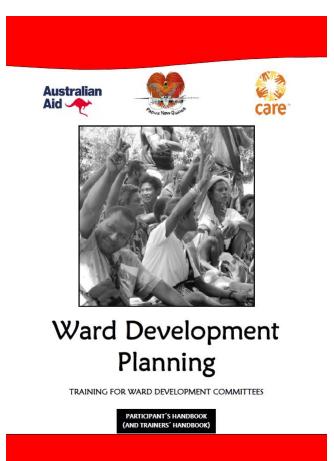


Figure 7. Ward Development Planning manual cover

2016 the final completely revised and rewritten version for Ward Development Planning was developed. The revisions were completed in collaboration with the DPLGA and then endorsed after ICDP ended. The manual (and annexed WDP forms) is now used in public servant training at the Institute of Public Administration (Pers. com. Acting Secretary DPLGA).

The Ward Development Planning manual (Figure 7) and annexed materials now:

- has simplified but accurate and precise language (English and Pidgin mixed¹³)
- consistently emphasises the importance and value of gender equity and diversity in WDC membership and ward development planning
- more generally incorporates gender equality and inclusion throughout rather than having a series of 'gender' sessions which had previously confused participants by disrupting the logical flow of training
- includes explicit reference to good governance principles (accountability, transparency, participation, equality, legitimacy and responsiveness) and their practical application in ward development
- breaks topics into small steps to make training facilitation and learner understanding easier and makes more consistent use of adult learning principles
- has a revised ward planning process. It has been changed to:
 - 1. emphasise local prioritisation and action as the most important use of ward planning (rather than principally to obtain external resources)
 - 2. enable clusters or zones of wards to collaborate in planning and prioritising to increase their political voice and enable collective planning for action for shared services and resources.

¹³ ICDP originally sought to have the official manual available in Pidgin, but this was resisted by DPLGA and so a compromise of simple mixed English and pidgin was adopted.

The revised Ward Development Planning manual and the ward planning government formats now have the potential to be picked up and used by anyone who can read - it does not require specialist trainers (although that is still optimal). Accompanying the revision to the Ward Development Planning manual and annexes (formats for ward profiles, ward priority plans, ward project plans), the project also developed fliers and posters for wards, LLGs and Districts to share, distribute or display on local notice boards. These materials were:

- Faiv Yia Wokabaut **Bilong Wod Priority Plen** (five-year ward development planning cycle).
- The Ten (twelve) Commandments of Leadership (government leadership requirements under PNG law - written in Pidgin and English).

written in Pidgin and English).

- The Work of a Ward **Development Committee** (Pidgin and English, including a WDC code of conduct. See Figure 8).
- Tripela pasin bilong gut gavnans, and Tripela moa pasin bilong gud gavnans (Principles of good governance: Transparency, Participation, Responsiveness, Accountability, Legitimacy, Equality -
- Wok Bilong Olgeta Manmeri Wanwod (responsibilities of ward residents written in Pidgin and English).
- Wok Mak for Ward Priorities Planning (steps in ward development [ward priority] planning some in Pidgin, mostly English). Similarly, ICDP reworked competency-based community development worker training materials (initially developed under SPSN) for training government officer counterparts to better engage in participatory ways with communities, be better able to share and disseminate government information and be better prepared for managing a participatory project cycle for DSIP funded activities. All training and workshop materials used during ICDP were shared with government counterparts in hard and soft copies. In an environment of continual disruption, dysfunctional systems and high turn-over of government personnel, having materials and processes that can be picked up by government and easily used by the uninitiated is exceptionally important.

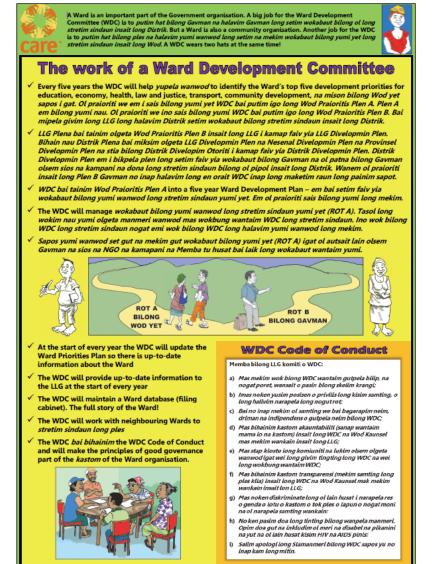


Figure 8. Example of material produced for sharing at ward level

In late 2015 and early 2016 ICDP developed an Institutional Maturity Scorecard tool for use with District Development Authorities and District Administrations (a small part is shown in Figure 9). The tool was developed based upon the interview questions asked originally during the Joint District Assessments commissioned by the project (see Wiltshire *et al* 2015 - 2016), from international literature on institutional maturity index tools used elsewhere and discussions with Districts about factors they saw as important for improved functioning and governance for service delivery.

The purpose of the tool was to measure current capacities and governance practices, to target gradual shifts and to set in place mutually agreed ways of achieving positive change under formal agreements. This selfscoring tool, used in a non-adversarial manner, was intended to provide a means for mutual identification of legitimate changes by the District Administration, but also by politically and financially influential local members (the chairmen of the DDAs), to improve governance for service delivery. The tool was applied in Obura-Wonenara District in early 2016, but the project was brought to an early end before the tool could be applied further.

3. How does the District Development Authority function?

	ority Board Compo	sition	Score	Source of verification/how do we know?			
	positions are filled	score 2)					
	quorum of positions	is filled -i.e. at least half + 1 (score 1)					
currently filled?	ss than quorum is fil	led - half or less (score 0)					
Comment on which position	ns are currently fille	d, which are vacant, and why:					
How many DDA A	members usually a	ttend (score 2)					
members usually		nds -i.e. at least half + 1 (score 1)	-				
attend the DDA		ally attends - half or less (score 0)	_				
meetings?		, , ,		<u> </u>			
DDA Functionality Maximum score: 4 Total score:							
DDA Functionality Waxim	iniscore: 4	Total score					
Management functions, o	perations and accou	ntability structures	_				
		induinty structures	Score	Source of verification/how do we know?			
How often has the DDA	At least each qua	·	Score	verification/how			
formally met (with	At least each qua Two to three time	rter (score 2)	Score	verification/how			
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Figure 9. Institutional Maturity Scorecard sample page

Better Governance for Education Project

Under ICDP the Eastern Highlands Provincial Division of Education (PDoE) included a community score card tool into the external review phase of School Learning and Improvement Planning. This tool continues to be used and promoted under the Bougainville Community Governance Project (BCGP) project with the PDoE.

Other materials being used and developed by the project include:

- Revising the Gender Equity and Diversity (GED) workshop manuals to reflect the ways they have been adapted in practice by facilitators for a rural education context. A revised GED manual will be more specifically applicable to an education context and for rural community settings as well as for use with and by government partners.
- Preparing simple guiding materials to help teachers incorporate practical actions to increase gender equality in lessons and classroom teaching, as well as to guide the schools in ways to improve school culture in support of gender equity.

- Preparing a guide for District Education Implementation Committees (DEIC) on gender equality in their roles and responsibilities as members of the DEIC and practical ways of supporting gender equality in education activities in the district. The project will be seeking NDoE endorsement of these guiding materials so that they might be taken up in other district settings in PNG.
- Complementing the DEIC guide (above), the project will be developing and implementing an Institutional Maturity Scorecard for use with the DEIC.

Bougainville Community Governance project

Through the Bougainville Community Governance Project (BCG) project, training materials for governance and leadership, community governance in practice, inclusive and equal participation for community development materials were prepared for use with Community Governments and wards in Bougainville. These materials drew upon revisions to the Ward planning materials developed under ICDP, VAS materials, as well as community development workers project cycle training materials developed under SPSN, developed further through ICDP and under the Inclusive Development in Post Conflict Bougainville Project (a World Bank and ABG project). The materials, endorsed by the Bougainville Department for Community Government, were designed with:

- simple accurate language
- incorporation of gender equality and social inclusion emphasis throughout
- reference to and training on principles of good governance explicitly linked to how to manage participatory community development for improved development outcomes
- step-wise lay out to make training and learning clearer and easier
- emphasis upon local abilities and resources to lead local development and secondary emphasis upon seeking external assistance from Government or others.

Under the BCG project a guide on the legislated requirement for equal male and female participation in Community Governments was produced (Guidance Paper on the Support of Women in Bougainville's Community Governments). This was endorsed by the Autonomous Bougainville Government's Department for Community Government. Together, these training and guiding materials are being used by the ABG to assist the newly formed Community Governments to function and understand how to operate with good governance.



Guidance Paper on the Support of Women in Bougainville's Community Governments (DRAFT)

June 2017







Figure 10. Cover of Guidance on the Support of Women in Bougainville's Community Governments. The picture shows swearing in of the first female Ward representatives for Bougainville's new Community Governments, Buka District.

Lessons and challenges

CARE's governance projects demonstrate that, given skills, confidence, connections and logistical support, government officers in the Districts not only can but want to carry out their duties. Similarly, there are elected representatives who are looking for ways for their term of office to produce a valued development legacy and are looking for ways to implement more effectively. Working with a 'neutral' party such as CARE can help elected representatives work in ways that break from traditional norms and expectations of what a 'good leader' must be (that is they should be partisan, preferentially benefiting kin and their supporter base) and can increase citizen's desire and ability to work collectively to seek equitable and inclusive governance from government – and locally. However, there are challenges to achieving incremental positive shifts in inclusive governance practice from governance programming.

An overarching challenge is having the time required to implement initiatives which are dealing with intricate and complex governance contexts. A part of achieving sustained improvements in inclusive governance is having the time for changes in practice to become the norm rather than the exception. Depending upon the degree of governance change and sustainability being sought, most inclusive governance work necessarily requires a commitment to multiple election cycles. There are opportunities with each election cycle to engage early with new political leaders and senior administration officers (when they are optimistic and energetic) and to help them identify what they can do in their new roles that will reflect well on them and also produce more equitable results – and how CARE can assist.

In addition to having sufficient time, it is internationally recognised that programming must be sufficiently flexible. Programming needs to be able to adapt to a changeable and shifting working context. There is no such thing as a blue-print for improved governance. It is important to be able to capitalise upon changing opportunities to positively influence governance practice, to be able to respond effectively to the changing motivations and incentives at play among both power-holders and citizens. Thinking and working politically requires program design and funding to allow or indeed encourage changes in course.

If programming is sufficiently flexible, it can adapt and respond better to the very unpredictable and changing legislative and policy environment of PNG. Some examples include:

- the Community Government Act in the ARoB (anticipated in 2015, but passed in 2016)
- the District Development Authority Act 2014 (without accompanying guidance for how this affects roles and responsibilities of LLGs, District Administrations)
- the removal of LLGSIP from the National budget since 2017 and inclusion of WSIP in the National budget since 2017 (but with no guidelines about how wards should access, use or acquit these funds)
- the introduction of District Education Implementation Committees (again without guidance as to their specific roles and responsibilities)
- changes in policy for Tuition Fee Free (TFF) disbursement to schools in 2016 (so that schools now only have direct control over 40 per cent of their funds but have not received clear and consistent instruction on how they should access the remaining 60 per cent controlled at District and regional levels)
- 2015 education reforms in curriculum and structure from 'outcomes-based education' to 'standards-based education'
- 2016 changes to the qualifications required for enrolment in elementary teacher training (now requires grade 12 rather than grade 10)

- ongoing delays and uncertainty for LLG elections which should have been held in 2017 and which now may be held as late as April 2019
- longstanding unpredictability of the timing and amount of SIP and function grants disbursed to Districts and LLGs each year.

There are limits to the level at which any single organisation (such as CARE) can or should operate. CARE's governance projects have demonstrated that effective, though incremental, governance improvements that are valued by communities, politicians and public servants can be made at District and lower levels. Greater impact could be achieved if truly complementary governance activities were implemented at National and Provincial levels. Equally, greater impact could be achieved if multiple Districts were supported together to incrementally improve governance for equitable development – contributing to a critical mass for change.

Features of CARE in PNG best practice in inclusive governance

Good governance is defined by CARE International as the effective, participatory, transparent, equitable and accountable management of public affairs (CARE International 2016a:6). As noted earlier, CARE International's Theory of Change for inclusive governance work states:

- if marginalised organised and/or individual citizens are empowered,
- if power-holders are effective, accountable and responsive, and
- if spaces for negotiation are created, expanded, effective and inclusive, then
- sustainable and equitable development can be achieved, particularly for marginalised women and girls (*ibid*:8).

Key ingredients of CARE International in PNG's inclusive governance programming are summarised below.

Marginalised organised	Power-holders are	Spaces for negotiation are
and/or individual citizens	effective, accountable and	created, expanded,
are empowered	responsive	effective and inclusive
 Targeting of remote	 Targeting power-	 Logistical support to
disadvantaged	holders from	bring government
populations (low political	community through to	representatives to hard-
voice)	District levels	to-reach locations
Targeting of girls, women and youth for additional support	 Jointly setting agreements and plans of action to collaborate to bring about change 	 Logistical support to bring remote area local leaders to meet with government
 Provision of skills and	 in mutually agreed	 Establishment or
knowledge Practical application of	matters Skills training –	support of formal
skills and knowledge in	particularly in relation to	structures that are
activities and formal	support for sustained	mandated to include
structures	functioning of	women

governance structures **Opportunities for** Support to formal and skills in project reflection structures to practice cycle delivery and inclusive good community Access to education, governance engagement literacy and experience in training settings Facilitation of additional Provision of easily (important for all, but forums for dialogue and usable guiding and especially important for targeting women to be training materials girls and women) able to attend these corresponding to mandated processes to Celebration, acclamation • better enable clustering and acknowledgement or wider groups to act for those who break collectively; that more barriers or support for strongly emphasise others to do so local self-help; and that Provision of easily more strongly promote • usable guiding and meaningful inclusion of training materials women corresponding to Research into the local mandated processes to political economies, better enable clustering power analysis and of wider groups to act socio-economic collectively; that more surveys and progress strongly emphasise local monitoring of activities self-help; and that more and feeding this

Figure 11. CARE International in PNG inclusive governance programming

strongly promote

women

meaningful inclusion of

Internationally there is increasing recognition of the balance needed between political incentives and capacity building in designing governance strengthening initiatives (World Bank 2017). CARE International notes two main considerations in shaping governance interventions:

information back to

power-holders

1. the extent of the openness to state-citizen engagement (political will)

2. the capacity of the state apparatus to respond to citizens' demands. (CARE International 2016a:16)¹⁴.

The situation for much of PNG is of low openness and low capacity, though with great variability depending upon the location and levels of government governance examined.

CARE's governance programming responds to these challenges through technical (capacity building) inputs as well as implementing approaches that promote change that takes the political economy as the starting point from which to build incremental governance change. CARE PNG's governance

¹⁴ Similarly, in keeping with this increasing international recognition that approaches to improving governance are not just technical but political too, CARE also recognises that the same may be said for addressing gender inequality (CARE International 2016 b:9).

programming recognises that inequitable, non-transparent or non-accountable governance practices for service delivery and development may be reflections of power-holders' struggles to do what they can within dysfunctional systems and working within the leadership traditions expected of them by citizens. Leaders may be more partial in their dealings than they would otherwise be because that is what they understand to be the legitimate role of a leader – an understanding reinforced by their citizen supporters. CARE PNG's governance projects recognise that in some locations, working with people to identify ways forward and subsequently developing guiding materials, skills and knowledge on processes, on roles and responsibilities, rights and entitlements, is both capacity building and responding to the political economy.

In situations where systems are just not functioning to 'deliver' services or development, some powerholders (such as MPs) welcome certain capacity building or technical initiatives because these interventions can make it easier to deliver on development demands and manage expectations by citizens (and increase the MP's standing, reputation or status). An external but trusted actor such as CARE and its partners, act as a circuit breaker of poor governance practices within which both citizens and government actors have become trapped. This is how the MP for Obura Wonenara District (Eastern Highlands Province) saw CARE's support for establishing the government's bottom up planning system:

> "I first became involved with CARE International in PNG as an ordinary Ward Development Committee member in my ward ... It was back in 2010 since CARE started rolling out Ward Development Planning Process in the three LLGs in my District and I was very impressed as an ordinary community member participating in the participatory process knowing that it's the only way forward for effective service delivery.

> After a year and I was elected as Open Member for the District and trialled out the bottom-up planning approach with CARE International in PNG and it worked out well as I thought it would be...

> I tried to change the situation around [from the situation under the previous MP which hadn't used bottom-up planning processes] and try to air out everyone's voice and give projects to where the need is and it is only through the Ward Development Planning process that CARE International in PNG helped to roll out in all LLGs in my District with support from Officers in the District. This was a public private partnership in service delivery." (Mehrra Minne Kipefa, MP for Obura-Wonenara interviewed by ICDP Field Officer Colin Esoke, August 2015)

In PNG people rely on traditional social security provided by their own kinship groups and the more influential or wealthier leaders from those groups. People's experience gives them little reason to trust in the State and access to external resources is limited. Identifying and understanding people's motivations and in what ways they would see any advantage from coming together in larger coalitions is key to addressing collective action challenges¹⁵ for demanding accountability and responsiveness and enabling the (re)building of the social contract.

¹⁵ Walton and Jones (2017) examined contrasting District Development Authorities in two very different provinces (Gulf and East New Britain) and believe that these demonstrate that "Despite efforts of policy makers to institutionalize principal-agent theory inspired systems of government [for example DDAs], we argue that state-society relations have meant that the potential for corruption is a part of a collective action problem in some places and a principal-agent problem in others. The applicability of these theories is determined by the degree of alignment between cultural and social values and administrative norms, which have been shaped by historic, political and economic factors."

Encouraging demand by fostering or strengthening coalitions and social infrastructure, increasing people's knowledge of their rights and responsibilities, supporting local governance structures and practical activities so that people experience, learn and adapt through local practice are all key (also see Haley 2008, Reilly *et al* 2014, Walton and Jones 2017, Duncan *et al* 2017). However, they all need to be counter-balanced with the ability and willingness of power-holders to respond. An external and trusted actor such as CARE then has a role *"[s]ince, by definition, collective action problems are not easily soluble by the actors directly concerned...The direct participants... may be locked into relationships which suit no one's long term interest but from which escape is impossible for lack of trust, awareness or institutions of cooperation"* (Booth 2011:10).

CARE experience in PNG is that it is a slow, but worthwhile, process to influence governance and women's empowerment changes in government. The process needs to be iterative (c.f. Andrews *et al* 2017), celebrating small and big wins, aiming for "good enough governance" through each step of the partnership (Grindle 2005). At the same time as CARE governance projects influence improvements in government governance, they foster local development activity drawing upon local resources and abilities. In this way people learn through practical experience the benefits of women's empowerment with good governance. In so doing: changes can gradually become convention (Pidgin: 'kastom' – literally 'custom'); local positive development does not stagnate (at the same time increasing the prospect of gaining external assistance – Hasnain *et al* 2011); expectations of responsive government are not raised prematurely; and people have time and experience to develop a stronger sense of what they can rightly expect of government over time and how some of them may even contribute to or be part of government.

On modest scales, CARE governance projects have acted as 'circuit breakers', fostering cooperation, changing the ways that government interacts with the grassroots and vice-versa and reducing collective action challenges. It has done this through:

- establishing or reinforcing government governance systems to function better (for example Village Assemblies, Ward Development Committees, Village Courts, School Boards of Management, DEICs, parent and citizen committees, Local Level Government Assemblies, Community Governments/Councils of Elders, District Development Authorities and Administrations and bottom-up and top-down planning)
- reinvigorating government service delivery (for example through Village Courts and schools and also through influencing DDAs and District Administrations for service delivery)
- increasing people's knowledge of government systems and how to use them
- fostering people's understanding and sense of belonging to something 'bigger' (the Ward, the Village Assembly, the LLG or Community Government, the District, the Province or the Nation and its formal normative structures)
- enabling grassroots to practice and learn the utility of governance processes for development outcomes, including greater and more equal inclusion of women (for example on WDCs, VAs, LLGs and CGs, but also in participatory dialogue processes)
- physically bringing government officers and representatives and grassroots together.

People in project areas commonly explain that CARE's role has been to shorten the distance or to pull together government and grassroots (Pidgin: 'sotim rop' – literally shorten the rope). At the heart of CARE's governance programming has been the strengthening of the social contract between grassroots and government. CARE's projects have been a circuit breaker enabling the fragile and tentative beginning of a renewed social contract. The process of building the social contract has as its foundation the commonly held PNG social norms of hospitality, friendship and reciprocity (elements of the 'wantok' system). CARE has enabled government and grassroots to sit together and become wantoks. CARE has enabled government partners (representative and administrative) to perform better – to actually have

something to offer the grassroots that they value and towards which they can also contribute. CARE has given women and men the information they need, to know how they fit as part of the Nation and how they can have a say.

Similarly, CARE has also enabled greater women's equality and are subtly and incrementally changing the 'social contract' between men and women. CARE's professional field teams of female and male staff demonstrate how PNG women and men work effectively, respectfully and happily together. They follow principles of accountability and transparency, inclusion and equality in their field practice. They deliberately seek the voice of women and encourage the support of women by men. CARE's programs establish forums (formal and informal) where it is standard practice for women to speak as well as men and celebrate those people who have taken steps to break down gender barriers. Women who have become leaders or increased their leadership status (for example women who were elected as Ward Councillors, or to Community Governments) attribute their leadership success to their experience of being actively included and heard through CARE sponsored activities (including the establishment of government structures such as Village Assemblies and Ward Development Committees).



Figure 12. Male and female CARE field staff and local leaders discuss the day's work

Increased collective inclusive capacity and determination amongst the grassroots to practice and seek improved governance for equitable development

Reduced distance, increased bridging and bonding social capital between government and grassroots Increased government powerholders' abilities and willingness to improve governance practices for responding equitably to local development needs

Figure 13. Key features of CARE International in PNG's Inclusive Governance Programming – grassroots and government as wantoks

CARE International in PNG's governance projects have worked with local governments to establish or strengthen formal structures at the grassroots and have introduced training, awareness and project cycle activities drawing on traditional and local assets and resources. These structures and the processes for their functioning, provide opportunities and licence for men and women to behave differently, change gender norms for greater equality and practice governance principles (such as inclusion, participation and equality). CARE support to decision making structures, training activities, project cycle activities and other forums, has drawn on and expanded the best aspects of the wantok ethos; people, women and men, government and grassroots, working together and developing a sense that they owe each other respect, good will and help – that they are allies in achieving better service delivery and development outcomes.

The projects discussed here found that, given skills, confidence, connections and logistical support, government officers not only can but want to carry out their duties as servants of the public. Similarly, there are elected representatives who are looking for ways for their term of office to achieve valued development results and looking for ways to implement more effectively in very difficult and complex working environments. Equally, given the opportunity, local people want to know that they are important, they are part of a greater social project and that they have a voice in achieving inclusive and equitable development. Through inclusive governance programming CARE International in PNG has been helping these parties to break down the vicious cycles that prevent them from setting and achieving their shared objectives.

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Our long-term aid programs provide food, clean water, basic healthcare and education and create opportunities for people to build a better future for themselves.

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We have 70 years' experience in successfully fighting poverty, and last year we helped change the lives of more than 80 million people around the world.

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