Australian National University

DEVELOPMENT BULLETIN 81

No. 81 November 2019 Editor: Pamela Thomas

LEADERSHIP FOR INCLUSIVE DEVELOPMENT

THEMES

- Dimensions of leadership
- A review of womens' leadership roles
- Leadership in feminist organisations
- Leadership for inclusion v inclusive leadership
- Individuals and the collective: new perspectives on leadership
- Leadership, patriarchy and deep structures
- Authority, power and leadership enigmas
- Leadership for the 21st century
- Is leadership for inclusive development possible?

Development Studies Network

The Development Bulletin

The Development Bulletin is the journal of the Development Studies Network at the Crawford School of Public Policy in the College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University. It is an annual publication. Each issue focuses on a topical social, economic and/or environmental development theme providing a multi-disciplinary perspective and a range of opinions on that theme and including discussion on current development activities, theories, impacts and research.

This issue considers the theme of leadership that is appropriate for development in the 21st century. In particular it focuses on leadership for inclusive development. Many of the papers here are based on a selection of presentations and their consequent discussion from the conference ”Leadership for Inclusive Development” convened in collaboration with La Trobe University, Melbourne by the NGO, Research for Development Impact (RDI).

Free download

This issue of Development Bulletin, together with 56 previous issues, is available for free download and can be freely copied and used on condition that the source is acknowledged. In addition to back issues of Development Bulletin, our website also has a collection of 87 papers on women and gender issues in the Pacific. Many of written by Pacific Island women.

Crawford.anu.edu.anh/rmap/development/dev-bulletin.php

or Google *Development Bulletin*

Contacts

Managing Editor: Dr Pamela Thomas
Development Bulletin
Resources, Environment and Development Program (RE&D)
Crawford School of Public Policy
The Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 2600, Australia

P 61 2 61258257
M 0412945655
E pamela.thomas@anu.edu.au

Cover photos

Front: UN Women/Tasfiq Mahmood

Back: © Erin Johnson for Room3/CBM Australia.
Aileen, a member of the Vanuatu Disability Promotion and Advocacy Association has not let her disability stand in her way. By setting up a small sewing business she provides leadership and encouragement for other women with disability.

DEVELOPMENT BULLETIN

Issue 81 November 2019

LEADERSHIP FOR INCLUSIVE DEVELOPMENT

This issue of Development Bulletin investigates the kinds of leadership that either encourage or exclude the opportunities for community involvement in planning and implementing beneficial change. The papers, reports and case studies provide insights into current research and thinking on the role of leadership in village communities, small town councils, sporting and cultural groups, national and international organisations and government at all levels. Most of the papers were selected from among those presented at the international conference 'Leadership for Inclusive Development', held at La Trobe University, Melbourne, July 12–13, 2019 under the auspices of the Research for Development Impact (RDI) Network, who also provided support for this publication.

ISSN 1035-1132
The Development Studies Network
The Australian National University
Canberra

Available for free download at Crawford.anu.edu.au/rmap/devnet/dev-bulletin.php
Or Google *Development Bulletin*

A collaboration between the Australian Council for International Development and Australian Universities

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

Australian National University

The Research for Development Impact Network

The Research for Development Impact (RDI) Network is a collaboration between the Australian Council for International Development (ACFID) and Australian universities. It functions as a network of practitioners, researchers and evaluators working in international development and exists to foster collaboration between these stakeholders. The Network promotes high quality and ethical development research, supporting translation of that research as evidence to be applied in effective policy and practice. The RDI Network vision is effective, equitable international development through evidence and collaboration.

The RDI Network began in 2009 as a partnership between ACFID Member NGOs and Australian universities, and has formerly been known as the Universities Linkages Network and the ACFID University Network. In 2016 the Network launched under its current name and embarked on a new phase in the era of the 2030 Global Agenda.

Working in close partnership with ACFID, the Network functions as a key cross-sectoral platform for shared learning and action in the international development sector. Strategic leadership and oversight of the Network is provided by the RDI Committee, comprising representative members of universities and NGOs equally. The Network is financially supported by the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT).

The Network is free and open to all practitioners, academics, students, policymakers and evaluators, anyone interested in research and evidence in international development. To become involved you can subscribe to receive our monthly newsletter by visiting the website www.rdinetwork.org.au.

The RDI conference (formerly the ACFID University Network conference) is the Network's flagship event and is one of the most anticipated events in the Australian development sector calendar. The conference is a valuable forum for genuine cross-sectoral learning and collaboration. This issue of the Development Bulletin includes some of the papers from the 7th RDI conference held in June 2019 at La Trobe University. The selected papers reflect the conference theme, '*Leadership for Inclusive Development*'.

Contents

Acronyms *iii*

Preface

Reflecting on leadership for inclusive development *v*
Philippa Smales

Introduction

Looking at leadership: Perspectives from the field 1
Pamela Thomas

Leadership for inclusive development 4
Chris Roche

Personal perspectives of leaders

Inclusive leadership in a fragmenting world 9
Fiame Mata'afa

Dismantling leadership myths, and transforming our practice 13
Srilatha Batliwala

How donor practice can better support local leadership 17
Dan Honig

Women's perspectives: Women leaders

Reflections on gender equality, international development practice and neo-colonialism 23
Juliet Hunt

Women's leadership: Bringing context to life 28
Elise Howard, Eselealofa Apinelu, Tagiilima Neemia and Janet Towaki-Bue

My body, my choice: Women's perspectives of defining reproductive freedom 33
Sabrina Laya Gacad

Meri lidas, sexual health and wellbeing: Supporting women leaders to navigate science, culture and religion for improved health outcomes in PNG 37
Rachael Tommbe, Michelle Redman-MacLaren, Kelwyn Browne, Nalisa Neuendorf, Clare Kokinai, Lalen Simeon and David Maclaren

Change from within: Supporting local leadership and including women's voices in responding to gender-based violence in Timor-Leste 42
Kayli Wild and Guilhermina de Araujo

Inclusive leadership for inclusive development

Leading from the intersections 45
Gillian Fletcher, Alice Ridge, Jen Blyth and Sophie Seck

Leadership for all: Is it culturally feasible? 53
Deborah Rhodes and Ernie Antoine

Women's leadership in business based on customary land: The concept of *wanbel* 58
Hennah Steven, Glenn Banks and Regina Scheyvens

Revitalising rural development in the Pacific: An *itaukei* (indigenous Fijian) approach 62
Suliasi Vunibola and Regina Scheyvens

Leadership and issue salience: A case study of how nutrition became a policy priority in Indonesia 67
Deviana Dewi

New approaches to leadership in Cambodia, Indonesia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sudan

Successes, challenges and collective leadership in the Cambodian WASH sector 73
Gaetano Romano and Shona Fitzgerald

Diaspora participation in leadership for inclusive reconstruction and development in Darfur, Sudan 78
Helena Grunfeld and Elhafiz Adam (Bassy)

Locally led development: Effects of participatory child and youth-led monitoring in Nepal 83
Prem Singh Shintan and Mukunda Adhikari

Promoting inclusive governance in Nigeria: The African Centre for Leadership, Strategy and Development 86
Ugochi Cynthia Abazie Abang

Inclusive Community Development: The One Village One Product Program in Pakistan 90
Seemab Khalid and Tahmina Rashid

Conference Report

International Metropolis Conference Report 97
Weije Hu, Stephanie Short and Farah Purwaningrum

Acronyms

ACTU	Australian Council of Trade Unions
ACFID	Australian Council for International Development
ADAB	Australian Development Assistance Bureau—replaced by AIDAB in 1987.
AIDAB	Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (1987–95)—under the Hawke government in 1987, renamed AusAID by the Keating government in 1995.
ANGOS	Association of Non-Governmental Organisations
ANROWS	Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety
ANU	The Australian National University
AusAID	The Australian Agency for International Development—replaced AIDAB in 1995 and in 2013 was absorbed into DFAT under the Abbott government.
AWID	Association of Women's Rights in Development
CBM	Christian Blind Mission
CEDAW	The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CHPs	Community Health Promoters
COFEM	Coalition of Feminists for Social Change
CMs	Community Mobilisers
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (OECD)
DCA	Diversity Council Australia
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Australia)
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
DLP	Development Leadership Program
DOH	Department of Health
DPOs	Disabled People's Organisations
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
EU	European Union
EWB	Engineers Without Borders (Australia)
FWCC	Fiji Women's Crisis Centre
GLOBE	Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (10 year research program in 62 countries).
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IDE	International Development Enterprises
INGO	International Non-government Organisation
IWDA	International Women's Development Agency
Johanniter	Johanniter International Assistance originating from Germany's order of St John
Malteser International	An international NGO of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals—eight international development goals for the year 2015 following the Millennium Summit of the United Nations in 2000, replaced by 17 SDGs.
MEL	Monitoring, Evaluation & Learning
M&E	Monitoring & Evaluation
MRD	Ministry of Rural Development (Cambodia)
NDHS	National Demographic and Health Survey
NGO	Non-government Organisation
NSWP	Global Network of Sex Work Projects
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PDF	Pacific Disability Forum
PICs	Pacific Island Countries
PNG	Papua New Guinea
QAF	Quality Assurance Framework
PSA	Philippine Statistics Authority
RDI	Research for Development Impact
RGC	Royal Government of Cambodia
SCE	Sanitation in Challenging Environments
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals—17 goals following the MDGs (up to 2015) and part of a wider Agenda for Sustainable Development for 2030 (UN General Assembly Resolution 70/1).
SEOs	Social Enterprise Organisations
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV) founded in the Netherlands in 1965.
SSE	Social and Solidarity Economy
TFR	Total Fertility Rate
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	United Nations Assistant Mission in Darfur (African Union/UN Hybrid Operation).
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNTFSSE	UN Inter-Agency Taskforce on Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
US	United States
USP	The University of the South Pacific
VAW	Violence Against Women
VRF	Vanua Research Framework
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WATSAN	Water and Sanitation
WEE	Women's Economic Empowerment
WGEA	Workplace Gender Equality Agency
WHO	World Health Organization
WID	Women in Development
WIL	Women's Leadership Initiative
WIO	Women in International Organisations (UN WIO Network)
WSP	Water and Sanitation Program (World Bank)

Preface

Reflecting on leadership for inclusive development

Philippa Smales, RDI Network

Leadership can mean different things to different people. Leadership can mean leading from the front and setting the example for others to follow. Leadership can also mean leading from behind, being there to support people, and when they falter or are unsure, being there to encourage them and to empower them to make their own decisions.

Leadership can also be demonstrated by organisations; an organisation can change the way it works and can lead the sector in a new way forward. Or in the development context, it may not lead at all—by finding an exit strategy, dissolving itself over time or shifting to a model of a locally led organisation in the countries where it is needed.

These different types of leadership are all important, but it is most important that leadership is inclusive. There is no point in leading unless someone is following or unless you are taking others with you. That is the idea of leadership that the 2019 RDI Conference was built upon. Leadership, particularly in international development, must be inclusive of people of different genders, different ethnicities, different faiths, different abilities; all people in society—otherwise development will be rife with inequalities. This is the idea of leading for the purpose of inclusion and social change. Leadership which addresses not just the technical challenges of development but also the power, politics, social and cultural dimensions that impact experiences of inclusion or exclusion. Leadership for inclusive development is about bringing everybody with you, leaving no one behind, as stated in the Sustainable Development Goals.

The conference explored these issues through sharing relevant research, experience and ideas between academics, development practitioners, government agencies and private sector organisations. It also explored and debated the new leadership challenges, ideas, and collaborations which are likely to be of importance to the sector in the future. We asked ourselves whether genuine leadership is 'lacking' or if it is a new kind of leadership that is now needed.

There was a strong emphasis during the conference on a couple of themes in particular, including different understandings and experiences of leadership in different contexts, organisational/institutional change and leadership, and how communities are leading their own way to social change and inclusive development. We were also privileged to hear personal thoughts on inclusive leadership from our keynote Fiame Naomi Mata'afa, Samoan High Chief and Deputy Prime Minister in the Samoan Government, and Srilatha Batliwala, Senior Advisor, Knowledge Building and Feminist Leadership with CREA (Creating Resources for Empowerment in Action), both of which are included in this collection.

The Institute for Human Security and Social Change at La Trobe University was a fitting host for the 2019 RDI conference, ten years since they coordinated the first Network conference in 2009. The Institute also has a long-standing interest in international development issues, has made significant contributions to development impact research through the Developmental Leadership Program (DLP), and has a strong ongoing relationship with ACFID and RDI Network.

I hope that this collection of papers inspires new ways forward for the sector and that they offer encouragement to ensure that however you lead, that your leadership is inclusive in its nature.

Looking at leadership: Perspectives from the field

Pamela Thomas, The Australian National University

This issue of *Development Bulletin* considers the critical role that leadership can play in supporting—or discouraging—inclusive development. The diversity of experience and opinions presented here provide concrete and explicit, but not always comfortable, examples of leadership for inclusive development. Although leadership is recognised as an important development issue that influences, and is influenced by, the social and economic structure of both donors and receivers of assistance, the papers here suggest that the extent of this influence is often not well understood by donors, governments, non-government or community organisations—and that top down leadership usually continues to support top down development approaches.

This is the 81st issue of *Development Bulletin* and the first that has leadership as its major focus. So, we were pleased when Research for Development Impact (RDI) suggested we publish an issue of the journal on the topic and include some of the papers from their excellent conference held in Melbourne in July 2019. This is a first for us and we hope it provides you with thought-provoking reading and a greater understanding of the complexity of effective leadership for inclusive development.

What was unusual about the RDI conference was the very wide range of presentations—from those given by Members of Parliament and internationally known women's leaders to recognised academics to leaders of NGOs. Included here are papers on individual rural village women who had begun a group to support people with disability and those leading a small agricultural cooperative; as well as medical doctors, ophthalmologists, nutritionists and reproductive health specialists who—together with wives of men training as church leaders—began a women's group in PNG to share information on reproductive health with village women and some techniques for sharing this information with their village neighbours.

What was particularly noticeable at the RDI conference, and is evident in this publication, is the strong focus on women leaders, women researchers and the number of women presenting at the conference. What also became evident was the ability of small, village-based women's group leaders to plan and engage in inclusive development.

Women and leadership

The Honourable Fiame Mata'afa, the Samoan Minister for Environment and Natural Resources and president of the Samoa National Council of Women, brings together the roles that culture and gender played in her accession to the very high-ranking Samoan title of Fiame—one of the country's most important leadership roles. When her father, the holder of the Fiame title died, as a young, single woman of 20 it was considered culturally inappropriate for her to hold such an important title. Having failed family consensus, the case went to arbitration in the Lands and Titles Court. While she had a genealogical claim to the Fiame title 'the Samoan judges of the court did not like me and expressed the view that I could not claim the Fiame title because I was young, female and unmarried'. However, the president of the court that day was a New Zealand judge. He vetoed the Samoan judges pointing out to them that their Constitution ensured the equal rights of women, including young women.

Fiame makes an important point for women 'when we have our rights, and when the laws are there to protect us, if we don't actually use our rights and the laws, then what's the point? We women have to take advantage of all that is made available to us'. This is echoed by Juliet Hunt who reflects on her 50 years work on gender equality in the Pacific. She states that while the number of women in leadership positions has improved over the years, progress overall remains limited.

While legislation or countries' Constitutions provide for equality between women and men, the 2018 progress report by ChangingAid Women's Collective shows that progress with taking gender inequalities seriously within the development sector continues to be slow. Sexual harassment and abuse are an inevitable outcome of these structural and damaging inequalities. Hunt believes that systemic changes in development leadership and activity will only occur if leadership takes the issue seriously, by ensuring ongoing dialogue on gender and other inequalities that affect our work. She feels that we have not progressed very far in reflecting or acting upon the key roles of civil society in the development process, nor in addressing our power and privilege as donors and how this plays out in the field. 'In these key areas, I believe there are signs we have gone backwards. My observation is that local ownership remains a missing or unappreciated ingredient in much development programming and that the concept of mutual accountability is not understood'.

Janet Towaki-Bue reminds us that there are considerable challenges for women leaders in the Pacific even in matrilineal societies. For example, there are parts of PNG where women and men can work together around decision making and women can become leaders within their families and communities, but there are always challenges—and aspiring leaders are often deterred by the personal and financial costs involved.

As Srilatha discusses lack of progress has sometimes been unexpected. By the 1990s it was evident that feminist organisations were in crisis as their founder-leaders were ageing but not letting go. Younger women were alienated and unable to adapt to new or neoliberal states and globalised economies.

The issue of reproductive health and women's ability to determine their own fertility is seen as an important issue in women's empowerment. The papers indicate a broad shift towards women's reproductive freedom through increased availability of safe, open spaces with access to accurate information on birth control and other reproductive health care services which promote family planning with families, peers and broader social networks. Gacad found an acceptable way of doing this in the Philippines, a largely Catholic country, was to combine reproductive health information with information on good motherhood.

Considering women's leadership in the small Pacific island of Tuvalu, Esealofa explained that leaders have to be strong as in a small island context there is nowhere to hide—everyone knows everybody and there is no 'hiding behind policies'. She has found good intentions do not always translate into meaningful action or positive change. In discussing the introduction of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) 'the process was too fast and contrary to long-established traditional understanding. This resulted in significant community backlash … it is now difficult to introduce law reform or have a serious dialogue addressing challenges experienced by women'. Esealofa maintains leadership training delivered without consideration of context, can lead women to believe there is something wrong with them. 'Programs may enhance women's capacity to exercise leadership but without accompanying efforts to address inequitable structures, mobilise coalitions that can progress reform, or change men's attitudes women are likely to remain outnumbered or exercise leadership from informal or marginalised positions'.

Considering the intersections

Discussing the very high prevalence of domestic violence in Timor Leste and the need for appropriate health services for women, Wild and de Araujo illustrate the need for services to be able to address not only domestic and sexual violence but also the situation of women at the intersection of gender, poverty, trauma, poor health and stigma. 'These challenges have often resulted in the most vulnerable people being left out of the development process.'

Fletcher et al. ask 'How can international development advance, when stepping up can mean stepping back'. They argue that ensuring development is locally led with no one left behind requires a balancing act that acknowledges and responds to intersecting drivers of marginalisation and exclusion and creates space for active, genuine participation of those who are marginalised and excluded. The example they provide of intersectionality includes those who are most likely to suffer from violence and sexual abuse. As disability research of Vallins and Wilson (2013) has shown, they are women—poor, uneducated, unemployed and with a disability. They are at the extreme margin—the poorest of the poor. Poverty and marginalisation can be the result of a variety of intersections.

Steven, Banks and Scheyvens' study into women's leadership in businesses on customary land in PNG illustrates a common but seldom recognised, situation for women. Their research considers the behind the scenes leadership of women in family businesses and the women's ability to utilise the traditional concept of wanbel or harmony, unity, agreement, and good feeling which is an important prerequisite for a successful business, but one that is almost always overlooked.

Inclusive leadership

The papers in this journal are inclusive of all walks of life, all areas of society and many different populations. We discuss the specifics of leadership within LGBT populations, people with disability, those in poverty, those in positions of power, those without power or influence and the involvement in community leadership of refugees and displaced people in Darfur, Southern Sudan. Grunfeld and Adam provide a first hand and horrifying picture of genocide and terror in Sudan and the growth of the refugee camps. Frustrated by the inability of the international community to end the conflict 'a group of Dafuris established WAREFUR International Organisation (WIO), which is striving for inclusive development and the reconstruction of destroyed villages and infrastructure.' The organisation emphasises that these activities must take

place within a governance structure that enables widespread participation by all, including women'.

Vunibola and Scheyvens discuss economic embeddedness and how community, culture and place influence leadership and successful community-based economic activity. In rural Fijian villages they researched the impact of the tradition of *solesolevaki*—where the community decides what agricultural work needs to be done and works together without expectation of individual reward. The community decides on the distribution of any benefits. *Solesolevak*i is represented as a food cycle integrating cultural and faith values.

Rhodes and Antoine question whether inclusive leadership is culturally feasible as leadership, power, inclusion, cultural values and development are all highly contested. 'Development' in one cultural setting can be seen as 'destruction' in another and power can be seen as corrupting or positive depending on your cultural values. Calls for gender equality, disability rights and participation of marginalised groups are consistent with cultural values that gaps should be minimised between those with and those without power, but at the other end of the spectrum, there are cultures that believe hierarchy is essential for stability. Discussing the very high levels of early childhood undernutrition in Indonesia and the intersection of this with poverty, lack of education and lack of information, Dewi shows how enlisting the support of those within the political hierarchy to discuss the national economic and political impact of inadequate nutrition in the first three years of a child's life led to childhood nutrition becoming a policy priority in Indonesia.

Trust, knowledge, cultural acceptance and long-term associations

Fitzgerald and Romano of Engineers Without Borders (EWB) in Cambodia have, for some years, been involved in providing safe water supply in areas where the terrain makes this extremely difficult. Fitzgerald and Romano agree that the very long association EWB has had in Cambodia has been an important aspect to the success of their work. Like other authors here, they have observed that, to succeed, those working in development need to be there for the long haul, they need high principles, a deep understanding of enabling systems, trust, persistence and a presence over time. Fitzgerald and Romano also agree with Dewi that achieving political will is vitally important and, like Dewi, they suggest this can be enlisted by using international 'drivers' such as the SDGs and other UN agreements.

Finally, the issues raised in many of these papers—whether explicit or implicit—suggest similar approaches for achieving effective leadership for inclusive development. These approaches include: the acknowledgement of the embeddedness of culture and its influence on what is, or what is not, acceptable to the receiving community; an understanding of the deep structures that reproduce power relations; a long-term approach that allows the input of communities; and the need for trust, acceptance and presence over time.

Some of these papers also show that aid organisations—whether international, national, government, non government, or church-based—tend to replicate their own forms of leadership when determining the leadership structure of an in-country program. The key question remains—who is driving development?

Leadership for inclusive development: A conference overview

Chris Roche, La Trobe University

There is no shortage of books, journal articles, think-tank pieces, and blogs seeking to explain the growing levels of populism, nationalism, and xenophobia that seem to be proliferating across the world. Whilst there may be some disagreement about the causes of the problem and indeed what might be done to confront these forces, there seems to be a consensus that what we are observing is hugely significant.

There is also an interesting strand of recent analysis that seeks to explain what is going on by linking questions about our individual and collective psychology with broader structural and political dynamics (Evans 2019; O'Toole 2018). Fintan O'Toole's book, 'Heroic Failure: Brexit and the Politics of Pain' for example, is described as 'a short journey into what Raymond Williams called a 'structure of feeling': the strange sense of imaginary oppression' (O'Toole 2018:138). Alex Evans, creator of the Collective Psychology project[1], argues that we need to think about polarisation not just as a political issue but as a collective psychological and public health question, not least because many societies are exhibiting the classic signs of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) including anxieties, anger, irritability, and 'othering' i.e. scapegoating others.

At the same time there has also been a range of material published on identity politics; inclusion and diversity, which either seeks to explain the current situation in terms of how 'the demand for recognition of one's identity' can be seen as 'a master concept that unifies much of what is going on in world politics today' (Fukuyama, 2018: iii); or how bringing together intersectional interests has enormous potential to challenge inequality and exclusion (Appiah 2018):

> I was urging on us a general spirit, which is not to lock yourself into any identity: not to take it to be a determinism, a fate, but to think of it as something to use as a resource to build a human life, and a human life among humans—that is a life which we share: our town, our village, our country and the planet (Appiah 2016:17).

And within this swirling mix of psychology, politics, and identity there is an almost inevitable focus on leaders and leadership. How do they create, foment, and profit from anxiety and PTSD? How can they unify, heal, and mend what David Cameron once called 'our broken societies' (Driver 2009)? What might it take to think seriously beyond the nation state and make global public goods a central part of domestic politics? What kinds of individual and collective leadership are required if we are serious about inclusion and equality?

It is perhaps therefore not surprising given these growing concerns about where the world is heading and the desire to understand not only how we got here but what might be done about it, that a Research for Development Impact (RDI) Network and La Trobe University conference on *Leadership for Inclusive Development* held in Melbourne, Australia last June created such interest and attracted so many excellent papers, presentations, round-tables, and workshops. This paper seeks to draw out five key take-aways from this event.

1. Leadership is a collective and political process

Speaker after speaker at the conference noted the importance of seeing leadership as a collective process rather than based on individual traits and characteristics. Fiame Mata'afa in her keynote explained how this understanding of leadership is in her mind related to the Samoan collective psyche:

> We use the word 'we' a lot, the cultural, collective, communal 'we', and that 'we' means that we're always thinking about the greater good, about the community. We have an expression in Samoan, a proverb, that speaks to leadership and authority, and the proverb translates as, 'the path to authority is through service' (Mata'afa, 2019). Srilatha Batliwala in her keynote presentation also pointed out how feminists have for many years reacted against 'patriarchal models of leadership, which concentrated so much power in individual leaders (Batliwala 2019).

A political understanding of leadership helps unpack the processes by which reform and progressive change come about. As the Developmental Leadership Program[2] (DLP) has long suggested, this necessarily takes the form not only of mobilisation for collective action in different forms in different places and on different issues, but can also hinge on local understandings of which forms of leadership are seen as legitimate in the eyes of citizens (Marget et al. 2019).

However, as Batliwala pointed out, these collective processes also contain 'hidden hierarchies of power and influence' (Batliwala, 2019). Therefore, if we are interested in leadership for inclusive development, we need to interrogate not just the intent or objectives of collective leadership, but the power relations and inclusiveness of the leadership process itself.

2. Leadership starts at home

A theme that emerged was the idea that leadership for inclusive development could not just be about what happens 'out there', it also had to include questions of leadership within the families, organisations, universities, and development agencies that many of the conference participants were embedded in.

As Dan Honig suggested in his keynote, issues of motivation, autonomy, and trust for front line staff in development agencies are critical for effectiveness, particularly in volatile contexts and if they are working on

complex programs. He went on to argue that the processes of management and reporting in these agencies can shape these issues in fundamental ways:

> It seems to me organisational structure on the aid agency side connects most clearly to what is possible and not possible for local leaders in a number of spaces in the developing world (Honig 2019).

As such the leadership practices of the development agency itself are highly significant in determining if local leadership is going to be effectively supported. Particularly important he noted, drawing upon the work of Aghion and Tirole (Aghion and Tirole 1997), is giving front-line staff 'the power to use what they learn as they're engaging in practice*'* (Honig 2019).

Yet, as Batliwala asked, 'Why do social justice organizations focus on human rights, on inclusion and social transformation, ***only in the outside world, and ignore the world within the organizational boundaries***?' (Batliwala 2019, her emphasis). One powerful explanation she proposed was that organisations are products of the societies from which they emerge, and in turn often reproduce the inequalities and exclusion found within them. In particular she argued that:

> … in the case of feminist or social justice organizations, these inequalities can hardly be reproduced overtly— so they become submerged or hidden, in what is called the **'deep structure'** or **'deep culture'** of organizations (Batliwala 2019).

As such she argues that it is the norms, practices, and informal or hidden power of the deep structure of organisations that need to shift which requires dismantling a number of powerful myths, including myths that leadership is about power, authority and control, or about aggregating power rather than giving it away. Furthermore, Batliwala posits that alternative forms of leadership are about catalysing change in whatever spaces or relationships one finds oneself in, and in so doing 'unleashing the power not only within ourselves, but within those around us to create change' (Batliwala 2019).

3. Intersectionality needs to focus on the common processes that promote exclusion of diverse groups, NOT the identity of those groups per se

Another common theme raised in a number of sessions is that different interests might be bundled in order to build more powerful coalitions for change. If these coalitions are to strategically address questions of inclusion, then they need to be representative of diverse communities, particularly groups that have traditionally been excluded from civil, political, and economic institutions and decision-making.

However, as the final panel session of the conference noted that whilst it is important to overcome possible fragmentation of interests that allow more powerful actors to 'divide and rule,' there are a number of challenges when working across diverse groups including: negotiating different interests and values; addressing what Batliwala referred to as the 'powerless rage' that oppression, trauma, and structural violence can create; and the sheer weight of majoritarian opposition that such groups can confront.

Drawing on this experience working with the LGTPBI community, Adam Bourne of the Australian Research Centre for Sexual Health and Society suggested that one of the important ways to overcome tensions that a focus on identity can produce is by identifying the common forces and processes that promote exclusion and discrimination. As he noted, intersectionality is about identifying how different aspects of social and political processes of discrimination overlap, as well as identifying how interlocking systems of power impact those who are most marginalised, most often along the categories of gender, sexuality, race, and ethnicity. In this sense it is not for example race or gender per se that should be the focus of reflection and collective action, but rather the forces of racialisation or the processes of gender discrimination.

He suggested this sort of analysis can identity common social and political forces that might lead to more collective action. However, he also noted that this required achieving a difficult balance between:

- The need for urgent action on acute issues for some groups vs addressing the longer-term slog of policy reform and structural change for the common good;
- attending to the overlooked and most marginalised without pitting different interest groups against each other; and
- addressing the needs of different groups and the common issues they face.

4. Inclusive leadership in our region needs rethinking

There was a good deal of discussion about what kind of leadership the Pacific region needed to address the challenges it faces.

This was set up well by Fiame Mata'afa's opening keynote in which she reminded the audience of the long history of Pacific collective leadership in the colonial and post-colonial eras. She noted what Ratu Kamisese Mara said in 1970, 'the Pacific way is not a state, it's a process that recognises all of us who are here, the situation we are in, and where we want to go' (Mata'afa 2019). She juxtaposed this saying with the new narrative of the 'Blue Pacific' that recognises that Pacific Islanders are collective custodians of an ocean continent, rather than individual leaders of 'a scattering of islands' (Mata'afa 2019). She then went on to underline the critical issue of climate change and the importance of multilateralism as a means of addressing common problems.

> These are signs of fragmenting in our global collective. For countries like my own and the region, multilateralism, the agreements that we come to on a global level, are so important for us because as small countries, we have very little capacity to influence, to impact, to persuade, to bully anyone. When multilateral agreements are made, small countries appreciate what that

> does for us. When there is no agreement, it makes the pathway and the navigation towards development, peace, security, seem like a lost cause (Mata' afa 2019).

Finally, Fiame echoed what many were saying during the conference, that Australia and to some extent New Zealand needed to work in a more respectful manner with Pacific leaders. They need to recognise the sovereignty of Pacific states and see themselves as being part of the 'Blue Pacific'. This would not only lead to a more mature dialogue, but maybe then the survival of the people, islands and nation states under threat from climate change might be seen as part of Australia and New Zealand's responsibilities. The tensions that arose at the Pacific Island Forum discussions in August 2019 suggest that Australia has a long way to go in living up to this (Armbruster and Newton Cain, 2019).

Supporting inclusive and developmental leadership is possible but…

So, if we understand leadership for inclusive development to have these important political dimensions that play out at multiple levels, what are the implications for development agencies, NGOs, and other actors wishing to enable or catalyse such processes?

Dan Honig in his keynote eloquently argued that the organisational structures and processes of development agencies have an important effect on their ability to effectively support local leaders. He also noted that he was struck by the fact that 'some of the people working for donor agencies who seem to be doing the best work seemed to spend a lot of time fighting the institutions in which they worked' (Honig, 2019). Based on an impressive data set of 14,000 projects across nine organisations, 40 years, and a set of comparative case studies, he concludes that the returns on 'navigating by judgement' (i.e. putting more control in the hands of front-line staff), increased as the environment became more volatile and the projects they managed became more complex.

> When the road gets rough, those agencies that let the person sitting in the driver's seat drive are better able to adjust to the rockier road. But those agencies that are trying to control things from afar—that try to steer from a great distance, by remote control—are unable to adjust as effectively to more difficult environments (Honig 2019).

The degree to which agencies exert too little or too much control is shaped by their political authorising environ ment. Honig notes that 'insecure' development agencies often constrain field staff which becomes ingrained in not only reporting processes, but HR systems, procurement, and accounting procedures. But Hong suggests:

> …we should not let a move towards navigation by judgment, a move towards flexibility, a move towards more power in the field and in the hands of local leaders be framed as a move away from real accountability. Real accountability is what helps get the job done in a way that delivers the most benefit... (Honig 2019).

It was therefore refreshing to see several papers presented at the conference on how the challenges of developing alternative forms of monitoring, evaluation, and accountability are being pursued, as well as how research and evidence are being used to shift policy and practice. What these examples demonstrate is that questions of politics, power and indeed inclusive leadership have also permeated development agencies and their decision-making processes (Adams and Roche 2019). However, it is clear that within international development agencies, this recognition has not, as yet, had much impact on how monitoring, evaluation and research processes are designed and implemented (Carothers, 2016).

At the same time there is a growing recognition that the kinds of changes that supporting inclusive leadership seem to require are extremely challenging to put into practice given the broader political economy of the international development sector in general (Yanguas 2018) and Australia's aid program, in particular (Corbett 2017).

However, as the Developmental Leadership Program demonstrated in one of its presentations, the tools of thinking and working politically can be successfully applied to monitoring, evaluation, and research even when the political authorising environment is constrained (Denney and Roche 2019). For example, DLP's Gender and Politics in Practice Research on programs that have successfully supported gender sensitive and politically informed processes noted that development agencies might able to achieve more macro-level organisational transformations by focusing on 'micro-level organisational behaviours' (i.e.—how the organisation works on a day-to-day basis) (Honig and Gulrajani 2018:69). This in turn suggests that if leadership in development agencies can recognise and harness the transformative nature of everyday experience and interactions, there might be more scope to shift internal ways of working than is commonly acknowledged.

Conclusion

Leadership, rightly or wrongly, is currently seen as a critical issue not least because of the political and psychological anxieties we are currently facing. This can lead to demands for strong and indeed authoritarian leadership. This conference focused on very different forms and understandings of leadership and how they might contribute to inclusive development.

Firstly, leadership was generally understood as a collective, political and multi-level process, with deep psychological dimensions, something very different to the leadership promulgated by many business schools and leadership development courses. Secondly, many recognised the importance of leadership starting with the self and one's immediate relationships and environment. As Srilatha Batliwala put it, leadership is about 'mobilizing our inner power and the power within others to become co-architects, co-visionaries, and co-creators of open systems' (Batliwala 2019).

Thirdly, there was a lot of debate about the need to transcend differences in order to build more powerful and inclusive coalitions. It was suggested that one of the ways that this might be done is to focus less on questions of identity and more on the interlocking social and political forces that exclude, marginalise, and discriminate.

Fourthly, several participants spoke of the geo-political context of our region and referred to the challenges of collective leadership at a regional level. In particular, questions were raised about how Australia might play a more constructive and inclusive leadership role founded on greater respect for its neighbours, particularly on the issue of climate change.

Finally, it was noted that these understandings and practices of leadership are challenging for development agencies. These processes are messy, complex, and by definition locally-driven. They demand 'navigation by judgement' from their front-line staff, which is often at odds with policies and procedures that have been largely shaped by the political needs of the aid and development sector rather than the effectiveness of their programs.

Notes

1 See https://www.collectivepsychology.org/what/

2 See https://www.dlprog.org/

References

Adams, C and C Roche, 2019, Knowledge partnerships and leadership: Confessions of a research program, Presentation to the RDI Leadership for Inclusive Development Conference, Melbourne, 12–13 June 2019.

Aghion, P and J Tirole, 1997, Formal and real authority in organizations, *Journal of Political Economy*, 105(1) 1–29.

Appiah, K A 2018, *The Lies that Bind: Rethinking identity*, Profile Books.

Appiah, KA 2016, *Mistaken Identities: Creed, Country, Color, Culture,* Reith lecture No.4: Culture, transcript, BBC Radio 4, London. http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/radio4/transcripts/2016_reith4_Appiah_Mistaken_Identities_Culture.pdf

Armbruster and Newton Cain, 2019, 'Trying times in Tuvalu', Devpolicy blog, 20/08/2019 https://www.devpolicy.org/trying-times-in-tuvalu-20190820/

Batliwala, S 2019, Leadership for inclusive development—dismantling myths, transforming practice, Keynote Presentation to the RDI Leadership for Inclusive Development Conference, Melbourne, 12–13 June 2019.

Cairney, P 2016, *The Politics of Evidence-based Policymaking*, Palgrave Pivot, London.

Carothers, T and D Gramont, 2013, *Development Aid Confronts Politics: The almost revolution*, Brookings Institution Press.

Corbett, J 2017, *Australia's Foreign Aid Dilemma: Humanitarian aspirations confront democratic legitimacy*, Routledge, Abingdon.

Denney, L and C Roche, 2019, How can women's developmental leadership be best supported? Presentation to the RDI Leadership for Inclusive Development Conference, Melbourne, 12–13 June 2019.

Derbyshire, H, O Siow, S Gibson, D Hudson and C Roche, 2018, 'From silos to synergy: Learning from politically informed, gender aware programmes', DLP Gender and Politics in Practice Series, Development Leadership Programme, Birmingham.

DFAT, 2014, Making performance count: Enhancing the accountability and effectiveness of Australian aid https://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/Pages/making-performance-count-enhancing-the-accountability-and-effectiveness-of-australian-aid.aspx

DLP, 2018, 'Inside the black box of political will: 10 years of findings from the Developmental Leadership Program', DLP Synthesis Report, Developmental Leadership Program, Birmingham.

Driver S 2009, 'Fixing our broken society: David Cameron's Post-Thatcherite Social Policy'. In Lee S and M Beech (eds), *The Conservatives under David Cameron*, Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Evans, A 2019, 'Political rage should be treated like PTSD, The collective psychology project' blog 14 January 2019. https://www.collectivepsychology.org/political-polarisation-health/#more-187

Fukayama, F 2018, *Identity: The demand for dignity and the politics of resentment*, Macmillan, New York.

Goetz, AM 1997 (ed.) *Getting Institutions Right for Women in Development*, Zed Press, London.

Honig, D 2018, *Navigation by Judgment: Why and when top-down control of foreign aid doesn't work*, Oxford University Press, New York.

Honig, D 2019, Letting the pilot steer: How donor practice can better support local leadership, Keynote Presentation to the RDI Leadership for Inclusive Development Conference, Melbourne, 12–13 June 2019.

Honig, D and N Gulrajani, 2018, 'Making good on donors' desire to do development differently', *Third World Quarterly*, 39(1) 68–84.

Laws, E and H Marquette, 2018, Thinking and working politically: Reviewing the evidence on the integration of politics into development practice over the past decade, TWP Community of Practice paper. https://twpcommunity.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Thinking-and-working-politically-reviewing-the-evidence.pdf

Margret, A, D Ardiansa, Y Panjaitan, M Novitasari, C Mcloughlin and D Hudson, 2019, Social norms and women's leadership in Indonesia, Presentation to the RDI Leadership for Inclusive Development Conference, Melbourne, 12–13 June 2019.

Mata'afa, FN 2019, Leadership in a fragmenting World, Keynote Presentation to the RDI Leadership for Inclusive Development Conference, Melbourne, 12–13 June 2019.

Oliver, S, C Roche, R Stewart, M Bangpan, K Dickson, K Pells, N Cartwright, J Hargreaves, D Gough, 2018, Stakeholder engagement for development impact evaluation and evidence synthesis, Inception Paper, Centre of Excellence for Development, Impact and Learning, London.

Parkhurst, J 2017, *The Politics of Evidence: From evidence based policy to the good governance of evidence*, Routledge, Oxford.

O'Toole, F 2018, *Heroic Failure and the Politics of Pain*, Head of Zeus, London.

Yanguas, P.2018, *Why We Lie about Aid: Development and the Messy Politics of Change*, Zed Books, London.

Inclusive leadership in a fragmenting world. An edited extract of The Hon Fiame Mata'afa's address at the RDI Conference 2019

The Hon Fiame Mata'afa, Samoan Minister for Environment and Natural Resources, President of the Samoa National Council of Women

The Samoan word for hello, our greeting salutation, is *Talofa*. *Talofa* literally means let us share love, let us share love. This is an invitation for us to share recognition of each other, acknowledgement of each other, and to have a spirit of respectful interaction.

I begin by sharing about myself, because I think it is important that you understand my perspective on leadership. You will have heard the Vice-Chancellor introduce me—as a Samoan chief and a parliamentarian.

The word chief has connotations and conjures up thoughts of status, privilege, entitlement—and perhaps more positively—as exotic. I purposely wrote I was a chief on my bio because that is the basis of my leadership. Samoan society is based on a chiefly system, and chiefs are essentially the heads of extended families.

Chiefly leadership

My chiefly leadership happened unexpectedly, because my father died when I was 18, in my last year in high school. He was 53, and held three titles, including the title Fiame, which I now hold. When my father passed away, all his titles became vacant. In Samoa, there is no automatic succession of titles, father to son, or the daughter, or so forth. The succession comes within the circle of that very large extended family, and usually, families come to a consensus about who should succeed in title. If not, we have an arbitration process of the Land and Titles Court by which Samoan families can decide on their title holders.

At the age of 20, having failed at a family consensus, all my father's titles went to arbitration. My claim to one of the titles, the Fiame title, was successful, so at the young age of 20, I became a chief, a *matai*. When we went to the courts for the arbitrations, I saw the gentlemen of the court didn't like me—by their body language, the way they spoke, and the way they interrogated me. They saw I was young, female, and it became obvious that being unmarried was also not in my favour.

The president of the court of the day was a judge from New Zealand, who vetoed the Samoan judges on the bench who held the view I could not claim this title because I was young, female, and because I was unmarried. The New Zealand judge told the Samoan judges that the Constitution of Samoa ensures the rights of this young woman.

Of course, other important criteria are taken into consideration, such as your genealogical claim, the level of support you have in your family, the knowledge that you are able to demonstrate of the history of your village, and of the country. I wish to make the point from a leadership perspective—especially for women—that when we have our rights, and when the laws are there to protect us, if we don't actually use our rights and the laws, then what's the point? We women have to take advantage of all that is made available to us.

Chiefly leadership and the collective

The Samoan psyche is a collective psyche. Samoans use the word 'we' a lot—the cultural, collective, communal 'we'—which means we are always thinking about the greater good, and our community. We have an expression in Samoan—a proverb that speaks to leadership and authority—which translates as 'the path to authority is through service'.

Although I became a matai very early, I spent seven years in the village after I received my title entrenching myself in my chiefly role. When you become a chief in Samoa, it is your job for life. For seven years I orientated myself to that particular

role, which was not easy at 20 years of age. But the wonderful thing about the collective is that people will recognise you for your role and your function. I was the ranking chief, not only of my family, but of my village. It was recognised as a role and function, which interacts with other people who equally have roles and functions.

My village and family gave me room to grow, and I was thankful that within my own family, there were elders within the village. I didn't need to stand on the fact I was the ranking chief, but I would often defer to the wisdom of those with more experience, and we had a respectful relationship in collectively operating our leadership responsibilities.

I believe our Pacific region also speaks to the collective. In the 1960s and in 1970s—when different countries in the Pacific started moving out of the post-colonial era and gaining independence—we started to form our collective in the Pacific, to share our development path.

In the 1970s, the then leader of Fiji, the Honourable Ratu Kamisese Mara, coined the phrase, 'the Pacific way', and said, 'the Pacific way is not a state, it's a process that recognises all of us who are here, the situation we are in, and where we want to go'. Counter to that narrative was the other narrative running about the Pacific—of small remote, dependent countries, and whether they were viable.

I don't think the collective is unique to the Pacific as it is a natural inclination for human beings to come together—to gather to gain strength.

This brings me to the issue of climate change—the issue that really requires a global response. Climate change is not just a Pacific issue, or an issue of a particular level of society, or an issue of poor people or rich people, black people or white people. Climate change is an issue for all of us because climate change is about our survival, and the survival of our planet.

More recently, a new narrative was introduced into our Pacific collective—the new narrative of the Blue Pacific—which recognises that collectively, we are the custodians of this ocean continent. We see ourselves as a continent, not as a scattering of islands, because the ocean knits us all together. I connect the collective to the leadership of extended family, where chiefs and leaders like myself do enjoy privilege and status, but our fundamental role is essentially that of custodians. We are the trustees and heads of extended families and look to the welfare of our families—distributing and sharing resources—and making the leadership call when warranted, after consultation with the family.

The Pacific collective is about a shared custodianship and a shared experience, because the Pacific ocean sustains us. Like other regional organisations, sometimes it's not easy to bring the Pacific together because of national versus regional—or even global—interests. The question is how to balance these interests to get the best outcomes from working in collectives?

Climate change, leadership and the collective

The Paris agreement on climate change was wonderful as all leaders came together, agreed and signed off on it, and the Pacific came away feeling something had been achieved. Then, from what I understand, even in Paris, it went down to the wire as everyone had to be pushed into an agreement. As India had difficulty joining the global momentum, all the other leaders came together to make the deal with India—a good demonstration of global leadership, with people working together. One year later, with a change of government in the United States (US), the US pulled out of the climate agreement.

These are signs of fragmenting in our global collective. For countries like my own and others in the region, multilateralism on a global level is important for us, because as small countries, we have little capacity to influence, to impact, to persuade, or even to bully anyone. When multilateral agreements are made, small countries appreciate what that does for them. When there is no agreement, it makes the pathway and navigation towards development, peace and security, seem like a lost cause.

Humans are an intelligent species—why would we let this happen again? Where do the global leaders think climate change is going? Who has the power to change the mindset of leaders seemingly driving us to a fragmented state that the world has experienced before? What kind of leadership do we need to begin to pull us back from that big black hole we are going to fall into if we're not making the decisions?

Inclusive leadership is about recognising all who are there. It also means that those who have the power to make the call understand that it is their responsibility to make that call. This is part and parcel of the responsibility of leadership. People who don't make that leadership call should not only be called out on it, but should be recorded, for history, that they failed in their inclusive and global leadership.

Climate change and the Pacific collective

When watching some YouTube discussions between Australian leaders about Australia's development, I noted they kept saying, 'but Australia is a small country, we can only do so much', and I was thinking this is stealing our lines, that's us. But when I look at Australian society—whereas my society is mostly homogeneous, mostly Samoans—Australian society is much more diverse. Australia's sense of who you are is more complex. Nevertheless, it is fundamentally important to have a discussion within every country about who are we. When we know who we are, we know how to navigate ourselves. With due respect, I would like to say that I think Australia is still working on that—which makes their relationship with the Pacific more difficult.

Just as Pacific island nations are working on the Blue Pacific narrative, we have to ensure we expand that

narrative to include New Zealand and Australia. We cannot continue the same way we have been, with the Pacific islands here, New Zealand and Australia there—like circles that don't overlap. If we are going to move forward in our relationship, we must have one circle, and really understand each other.

People—including Australia and New Zealand—keep on telling us, that we're not old enough, we're not capable enough to run our own relationships with China. Of course, these people and countries have relationships with China, but when it comes to us in the Pacific, we are told we need to be careful, and should remember they are our older brothers or sisters in the Pacific, and we have to be careful of those Chinese.

I want to make it very clear, all of these are sovereign countries, and—in respect of that sovereignty—we should be in dialogue with each other in a respectful and mature manner.

My country, Samoa, became independent in 1962. We knew we were a country even before then and I think we are now at a point where we need to have a more mature relationship, because quite frankly, it's been one of patronage in a way. Even now, there are questions about viability as, due to climate change, some countries might disappear altogether, then they'll say, yeah, we said they weren't viable anyway. What happens to those human beings whose countries disappear? People spend so much money on saving elephants, whales, and tigers, while I'm thinking, who is going to save the people in the Pacific—especially in low-lying atoll countries—who may well lose their land. When their land is lost, they will lose their place of belonging. Who saves them?

The relationship with Australia, and to some extent New Zealand, is more than 50 years old. We need to move onto a new footing, and discourse with each other in a more mature way. It's about the present, how we make our lives and commit to each other within our collective of the Pacific—of the Blue Pacific—that we can move forward more successfully.

The Hon Fiame Mata'afa in discussion with Dr Ceridwen Spark from RMIT. Below is an edited extract of the conversation.

What did you learn from your mother about leadership?

My first recollection of having a serious discussion with my mother was my first day at school. I went off on my first morning to school and I thought it was very good, but when I came home, my mother took me aside and she said to me, Naomi, I need to have a talk with you. I was watching you when you went to school, and I saw you walking around acting like you were a teacher, and you weren't sitting down with the other children. I said, well, the teacher let me. She said to me, do you know why she let you? I said, I know, 'cause I'm the daughter of the chief. She said to me, you are a daughter of the chief, but the point of going to school is to get an education, and tomorrow, I'm going to take you to a different school. The next day, she took me to a different school a few villages down the road.

My mum came to pick me up after the first day, and instead of marching around like a little chief, I was sitting on the teacher's lap. I'd gone from the first day at school of being the big *kahuna*, and to the next day, to being the outsider. That was a big learning experience about, not only who you are, but how you relate to people in different circumstances and socialisation. My mother was a bit like that throughout my life, she'd just pick me and give me little life lessons.

Can you expand a little bit on how your mother taught you that the relationships were important, and how to manage those?

My father had three titles, so that essentially meant three extended family networks. What I saw with my parents was this constant interaction within those three networks, people coming in, people going out, and because my dad had passed away very early on, it was really my mother and myself who continued on. My mother would sit me down, draw the picture, the genealogy, and this is how we connect, and it was always about relationship, and in making those relationships work. And as you all know and experience, relationships are only as good in terms of what you put into them.

At twenty, what was it like for you, learning to do leadership in the village with the other matais? And what did it teach you about power and politics?

There's nothing like survival to push you. When my dad died, our provider had gone, provider in all senses of the word, of the security, and our social status to some extent. Part of the decision to claim for his title was exactly that, it was essentially about survival. But it was also about a commitment to his legacy, and wanting to see that move forward.

It wasn't handed to me as I explained, it's open to the extended family. It was very contentious, and very competitive. There were 21 candidates for the particular title of Fiame. We all went off to court, and we all got interrogated through that process. Most of the other candidates were interrogated for half an hour and that was considered really long. For me, it was a whole day and a half. I don't think there has been any other time, including during my political career, where I have been so focused on anything. I was totally in the zone of that whole process.

We had this very lengthy interrogation in the court process. I could tell that they didn't like me. If it was left to the Samoan judges, I wouldn't have gotten the title, and it was really due to the veto power of the New Zealand judge who was there.

At the time, it was a very unusual thing to have happened for a 20 year old to have been given a title, and a title of that rank. And having been given the title, I had this very bizarre experience where I thought, alright, we've said all that, I'll go back to university and finish my degree. I was back in New Zealand a month later when I got a letter

from the Lands and Titles Court that some members of my family had taken me to court for being an absentee chief, and they wanted to remove the title. I wrote back and said, thank you very much, I'm not here on holiday, I've come to try and finish my degree, but I will be back at the end of the year, if they still want to take me to court.

I did get given the hard word by the Lands and Titles Court. They said, the court went out on a limb and gave you the title, so you should stay put. I've probably been the only chief in Samoa who has been told to stay put. But, if that's what it took, then that's what it took.

Speaking at the recent Just Transition conference in New Zealand, you said that it was good that, I quote, most members of the family had come to a consensus in relation to climate change. If the Pacific is a family, who or what is Australia? The spoilt cousin, the big bossy brother, and how is this reflected in our aid program?

Australia has stepped up in terms of its relationships with the Pacific, and Samoa, through its aid program. Quite a large part of the Australian relationship in the Pacific is the security cover that it offers. It makes investments, in various sectors, education, health, fisheries, which is a big thing in the Pacific.

I reflect back to my earlier comments about the Samoan salutation, recognition, acknowledgement, respect. Those are critical aspects of the salutation of love, but I think in terms of how we relate to each other, that's also where it needs to be premised. To recognise, to acknowledge they understand where we are and what we are. But most importantly, we need to interact in a respectful way.

I do think that we've had the relationship long enough where we can sit down at the table and understand where exactly we're coming from. I have to say to Australia—the bigger country—you've been given more resources. The old adage for those who are given, much is expected, is true. Australia has to play that role, it needs to own that role, but it needs to come from a place where there's a commitment to an investment in a community that they belong to.

New Zealand has set targets for 2050 to be carbon neutral, and we applaud the change in policy in New Zealand because it aligns with what the Pacific Island States have been working and activating and advocating for. Australia hasn't made that commitment. We respect Australia's sovereignty, but we hope—not only in terms of our regional relationship, but also the global responsibility—that it will make that shift as well.

Both Australia and New Zealand are revamping or reviewing their assistance programs in the Pacific—for Australia it's a step up, for New Zealand, it's a reset. I spoke with Prime Minister Ardern at the Transition conference[1] in New Zealand. When I asked the question about New Zealand's reset, she said, the reset is as much about what we are going to do in the Pacific, but more so, it's about our internal discussion about what we are. I alluded to it earlier where I said, when we know and understand who we are, then we can do the external. We project ourselves in that way.

It's a real opportunity for both New Zealand and Australia to have that internal reflection about many things, including their relationship with the Pacific islands.

Notes

1 The Just Transition Summit was held in New Zealand 9–10 May 2019. The Summit brought together diverse people and groups and was a chance for all to have their say in defining what a just transition to a low emissions future looks like in New Zealand. The Summit attracted over 550 people to facilitate discussion on a just transition and to hear from local and global experts. Speaker presentations as well as videos and transcripts of each of the sessions at the Summit are available at: https://www.justtransitionsummit.nz/programme/

Dismantling leadership myths, and transforming our practice

Srilatha Batliwala, Creating Resources for Empowerment in Action

I would like to start by looking at the theme of inclusive development from a feminist perspective. The feminist vision of social justice has always been more inclusive than others—especially over the past two decades. I make this claim for three reasons:

- First, despite the fact that over the centuries, many social justice ideologies embraced the notion of equality and inclusion—these notions always stopped at the doorstep of households—under the assumption that equality and justice among and between households was the deepest level that social justice needed to reach. Feminism opened the door, however, interrogating power in the most private and intimate spaces in which people negotiate their daily lives. Feminists recognised gender inequality as one of the deepest, and highlighted patriarchal power inside the home, in institutions like marriage and the family, within social groups like clans and castes, within racial and ethnic groups, and within religious institutions.
- Secondly, and most importantly, feminism was the first ideology to recognise the body and our sexuality as sites of power, discrimination, stigma, control and violence.
- Finally, over the past two decades, feminism began to interrogate exclusion and power in a more intersectional way, recognising how patriarchy operates with and through a range of other power structures including race, nationality, ethnicity, class, caste, religion, heteronormativity, and ableness.

These radical shifts have made feminist visions of social transformation (since I find inclusive development itself a rather limiting frame) deeper and more profound.

Ironically, this amazing journey of examining power and exclusion at deeper and deeper levels has been accompanied by a very ambiguous and complex journey in the search to create a concept and practice of feminist leadership. This has been especially true in contexts like South Asia.

Practicing feminist leadership

From the outset, feminists recognised that power is embedded in leadership, and generally speaking, 'power over'. Feminists in South Asia—as in most parts of the world in the 1970s and 1980s—reacted against patriarchal models of leadership which concentrated so much power in individual leaders, and also against the organisational structures based on this model—hierarchical organisations of leaders and subordinates, with bosses and their minions. And so, there were decades of experiments creating 'flat' organisations—collectives, loose networks, and what we in South Asia called Autonomous Women's Groups—to assert their autonomy from the state, the market, from donor agencies, and other civil society organisations (CSOs).

By the 1980s, these groups were, however, experiencing new challenges. Despite having no official leaders or decision makers, these groups were beset with complex yet hidden hierarchies of power and influence—based on age, experience, education, social and intellectual capital, longevity in the group, personalities, and a myriad other factors. The silencing or marginalisation created by hidden hierarchies often led to splintering of groups as disaffected members left to create their own groups, or were blocked by closed doors that people pretended did not exist.

By the 1990s, clear evidence emerged of a leadership crisis in feminist organisations as founder-leaders were ageing but not letting go. Younger women were alienated, there was lack of space to grow, and their politics, methods and strategies were often static and unable to adapt to the new challenges of neoliberal states, globalised economies, and rising fundamentalism. Younger feminists were building their own spaces and experimenting with new types of leadership structures including collective and rotating leadership and 'meshworks' (Escobar 2004:207–230)—open webs of activism and connections, with no centre or periphery—that people could freely enter and exit.

Fortunately, the 1990s was also a time when feminist organisational theory provided insights into both the hidden power dynamics within organisations and the need to challenge assumptions about organisations themselves. Today such insights seem obvious, but decades ago a theory was needed to name the invisible and tackle the seemingly elusive.

Insights into leadership and decision making

The first insight was that organisations are not rational entities that function according to their stated vision, mission and values, but in fact microcosms or mirrors of the societies in which we create them. Patriarchal, exclusionary, hierarchical societies therefore produce patriarchal, exclusionary, hierarchical organisations. However, these inequalities can hardly be reproduced overtly—particularly in the case of feminist or social justice organisations—and become submerged or hidden, in what is called the 'deep structure' or 'deep culture' of organisations (Rao and Kelleher, 2005:57-69).

Deep structures: What are deep structures? They are invisible but real sites and processes where we, the creators of these organisations, reproduce the power relations—the biases, discriminations, exclusions—that we say we are trying to change in the world outside. But of course, we do so in subtle, hidden or subversive ways that may even appear innocuous and 'normalised'. Let's take a brief look at what goes on in the deep structure.

There are informal, invisible decision making processes that underlie formal processes—'boys club' discussions in bars and sports clubs leading to formal decisions that those without access to such spaces cannot influence or control.

Informal norms such as working late or on weekends, subservient, unquestioning behaviour, sycophancy, personal favours for the 'boss'—are quite contrary to the formal processes yet indirectly encouraged and rewarded. Certain kinds of behaviour and norms are therefore being rewarded—with promotions, representational opportunities, recognition and praise—while other behaviours are subtly penalised by questioning and dissent, for example.

Hidden power groups: Another widespread deep structure phenomenon is the presence of hidden groups of power and influence in an organisation that may have nothing to do with the formal leadership structure of the organisation—the 'old boys club', the 'founding group', based on longevity in the organisation, informal connections to the formal leaders.

Finally, deep structures are where the personal biases of individuals are often expressed, even when these violate the formal policies of an organisation—homophobia, biases against or stereotypes about people of certain caste or ethnic or religious minorities, gender biases. Sometimes, these biases take seemingly innocuous forms—women know this well. The privileged male colleagues assume, for instance, that it's all in good humour to constantly remark upon a woman's appearance or dress or mood: 'you look so nice in this colour'; 'this haircut doesn't suit you'; or 'she's cranky today so must be that time of month'.

Power under: The second theory that has transformed our understanding of leadership, particularly in the world of feminist organisations, is called 'Power Under', developed by psychoanalyst Steven Wineman (2003). Wineman had treated survivors of severe trauma or persistent oppression—violence, torture, abuse—women survivors of domestic violence or sexual assault, survivors of the Rwandan genocide and Holocaust, people who had grown up in refugee camps. He found that these experiences created what he called 'powerless rage,' and that this rage, when unhealed, leads to the use of what he called 'power under'. Power under describes the destructive power of a victim to manipulate or sabotage situations or people who made them feel powerless; and the behavior of such survivors when they came into positions of formal or informal power—the belief survivors internalised that there are only victims and oppressors—therefore, the only way to avoid being a victim is to become the oppressor.

Building on Wineman's work, I theorise that not only do situations of acute trauma or violence create powerless rage, but so do any kind of long term, systemic experiences of powerlessness, oppression or victimhood. Almost everywhere, a majority of women—especially women from socio-economically and politically marginalised groups—feel this powerless rage. So even when women embrace feminism and create organisations to fight structural gender-based injustices, they often bring powerless rage to their leadership, and reproduce oppressive behaviour as leaders. And while we're at it, let's admit that this is also true for a large number of men and people of other gender identities from socially oppressed groups who assume leadership roles, even in social-justice organisations!

These theoretical and experiential revelations have helped us confront one of the most vexing questions of all: Why do feminist or social justice organisations—committed to inclusive development and social transformation—recreate oppressive forms of leadership and deeply pathological internal cultures? We know the answers now—at least a significant part of the answer—deep structures and power under.

Recognising the world within organisational boundaries

So it is time to move beyond this and ask a different set of questions instead: Why do social justice organisations focus on human rights, on inclusion and social transformation, only in the outside world, and ignore the world within the organisational boundaries? Are these organisations on some other planet? Are they run by robots in whom all forms of bias and discrimination have been programmed out? Why do we not see that the world within our organisations must mirror the very values, politics, and practices of power that we so passionately advocate in the larger world?

Is it not time for us to be the change (in Gandhi's famous words)? Why do we expect people to believe that another world is possible if we cannot create it, in some small measure, in these small, limited spaces under our control? If we cannot help people experience, within social justice organisations, a microcosm of a just, inclusive, sustainable world—of what that might actually looks like, feels like, how it works—why should people believe it is possible to create it anywhere else?

It is, indeed, time— but first, we must dismantle a series of myths that are getting in the way:

Myth No. 1: Because I lead a feminist organisation, I become a feminist leader; because I lead a social justice organisation, dedicated to inclusive development, I am a socially just, inclusive leader. This is far from the truth. Being a feminist or transformative leader requires us to confront, make visible and dismantle the deep structures of power within our organisations, and to create transparent, accessible and sustained mechanisms of accountability that expose and penalise bias and discrimination wherever they occur. I have worked closely with other feminist colleagues to create toolkits and pathways for those who wish to embark on this journey.

Myth No. 2: *Transformation begins with 'them', or 'out there'*. Sorry, wrong again. The journey of transformation begins with the self, with each of us looking within, confronting our own practices of power, our own biases, and submitting ourselves, with great humility, to self-examination and internal change. Be the change. Mirror the process, the struggle, the shift in practice—transform yourself, and others will soon follow. Do not leave yourself behind as you work to ensure that no one is left behind!

Myth No. 3: *Leadership is about power, authority and control*—about being in charge, being the boss. This is actually the lowest form of leadership—leadership with a small 'l'—and is in fact 'PL'—patriarchal leadership.

Truman said: 'a leader ... is a man or woman who can persuade people to do what they do not want to do, or do what they're too lazy to do, and like it' (Truman 1952:369–370).

Unfortunately, this is the kind of leadership that we may have grown up with and is all around us. It arises from the deeply hierarchical societies we live in, thus shaping our understanding of the concept of leadership. The word 'leader' may conjure images of someone sitting on top 'of the heap'—even if it is a dung heap! 'Leader' is thought of someone who controls others—the binary of leaders and followers, of leading and being led. So, it is not surprising that when we gain leadership positions, we mindlessly, unthinkingly, reproduce this model.

Myth No. 4: *Leadership can only be practiced from positions of authority and power*. This is what I will call 'dark leadership', based on oppressive power, authority and control. These leaders are practicing 'power under', afraid that the only way to be respected or heard is by oppressing and dominating others. They see only two roles in life—as the oppressor, or the victim.

We would do well to remember the words of Chinese philosopher Lao Tse: 'As for the best leaders, the people do not notice their existence. The next best, the people honor and praise. The next, the people fear; the next, the people hate.' Sadly, we seem to be increasingly governed by leaders who seek praise, whom the people fear, and many of whom the people hate!

Myth No. 5: *I am quite powerless, how can I lead?* Transformative leadership recognises and builds on a simple truth—no one is ever completely powerless. We all have power within us, our connection with this inner power is, however, easily and frequently broken. If we engage in conscious processes to reconnect with this inner power, we can unleash it with great effect, noting that inner power is never manifested as aggression or domination—it is a radiant, liberating force of change far greater than any dictator, army, or weapon seen in this world. Successful examples of transformative leadership using the power within, from the South Asian context and beyond, include these examples:

- The young daughter of the house challenging rules about her dress, where she can and cannot go, whom she may or may not interact with, or confronting parental biases against people of particular castes, communities, religions, sexual expressions.
- The women who gathered in parks and other public places across major cities in India, especially after dark, to claim their rights to be in such spaces free of harassment or violence, catalysed by a young woman leader who said 'we never ask for it'.
- The young Swedish schoolgirl Greta Thunberg mobilising tens of thousands of children around the world demanding the world's leaders take action to save the planet for them, and their children.
- The young lawyer filing a public interest litigation on behalf of the local slum-dwellers association, challenging the city's right to demolish their settlement to build a superhighway, though all his peers tell him he will fail.
- The housewife who starts an online petition, from her dining room table, against sexual harassment of girl children in schools.
- Shamim Akhtar—a middle aged widow in Pakistan—deciding to become a truck driver, and succeeding, against all odds and social pressures.
- The Dalit woman—a barely literate landless labourer—who mobilises her fellow workers to demand minimum wages from the local landlord.
- My grandmother, encouraging me to question and later break the gender rules that suffocated her intelligence and capability.

None of these people felt they were powerless—they recognised and activated their power within! For the truth is that leadership can be practiced from any role or space or job that we occupy, and true leadership is never about domination—it is about catalysing change, and unleashing the power not only within ourselves—but also within those around us—to create change.

Myth No. 6: *To exercise leadership, we must hold on to and aggregate our power, not share it or give it away.* The greatest leaders in the world—Gandhi and Mandela, the great gurus and spiritual guides and prophets of human history—knew the real secret: the more you share power with others, the more powerful you become. The more you give away power in the form of domination and control, and work instead on inner transformation, on building your power within, the more powerful you become. I have experienced this truth in my own life, as it is over 20 years since I occupied any position of formal leadership—but I know I am more powerful today than I ever was then, and am continually surprised by the fact that people see me as more powerful today than 20 years ago.

Dismantling these myths and rebuilding our understanding of leadership for social transformation—for feminist social transformation—assumes greater urgency at a historic moment where everywhere in the world, we see the emergence of leaders, regimes, and politics that reinforce a deeply troubling model of leadership, which is not inclusive, and far from transformative, and above all, profoundly patriarchal—the tough guy, the boss man, the one who brooks no dissent, who leverages our darkest fears and insecurities, enables violence against the 'other'—in short, deeply insecure men (and sometimes women) with frightful ideologies and agendas.

An AXIAL shift

I would like to share the challenge that Otto Scharmer, founder of the Presencing Institute, calls the need for an 'axial shift'—the need to move away from applying 20th century lenses to 21st century problems. Scharmer asks us to recognise that the axes along which our societies and polities are being polarised are no longer the 'left' and the 'right' or the 'progressive' and 'reactionary'. Scharmer proposes there are completely different cycles now at work:

- The cycle of what Scharmer calls 'absencing', based on the closing of hearts, the closing of minds and a closing of our will. Absencing builds on fear, anger, hate, and ignorance, through processes of de-sensing, blinding, blaming others. In other words, exclusion and destruction.
- The other cycle, which Scharmer calls 'presencing', is based on open minds, open hearts, and an open will, that builds on seeing, sensing, learning and clarifying, and above all, co-creating.

These are the two axes of closed systems and mindsets as opposed to open systems and mindsets. Transformative feminist leadership is and must be about mobilising our inner power and the power within others to become co-architects, co-visionaries, and co-creators of open systems. Nothing else will save us from ourselves, or save the planet for those who will inherit it from us. I conclude with the words of my dear friend and respected feminist activist, Hope Chigudu from Zimbabwe:

> [Transformative] Leadership is not about positional power, accomplishments, not even about what we do. It's about creating a domain [a space and process] in which human beings continually deepen their understanding of reality and become more capable of participating in … creating new realities. Leadership exists when people are no longer victims of circumstances but participate in creating new circumstances. (pers. comm.)

References

Escobar, Arturo 2004, 'Beyond the Third World: Imperial globality, global coloniality and anti-globalisation social movements,' *Third World Quarterly*, 25(1), 207–230.

Rao A, David Kelleher, July 2005, 'Is there life after gender mainstreaming?', *Gender and Development* 13(2), 56–69.

Truman Harry S, 1952, 'Remarks in Annapolis at a luncheon in the midshipmen's mess hall May 24', in Harry S Truman, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States 1952–53 Volume 8A,* 368–370, https://wist.info/truman-harry-s/32029/

Wineman S, 2003 'Power under—trauma and nonviolent social change', self-published open source eBook, http://traumaandnonviolence.com/files/Power_Under.pdf

Letting the pilot steer: How donor practice can better support local leadership

Dan Honig, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies

When thinking about how donors can better support local leaders, one of my first observations was what we mean by 'local leaders' when we think about their interaction with donors. We can imagine a representative of a developing country as a local leader, negotiating a grant or loan agreement with a development partner. We could think of sub-national recipient government officials in negotiation, too. But we also might imagine environments where local leaders are from civil society, or the community. Even in the community leaders' case, if an organisation has donor funding, it's going to have donor reporting, and the structures of that reporting are going to exert control, changing what local leaders can and cannot do.

My discussion is about how donors manage their activities and how they think about accountability. Ten years ago, when I was in Liberia as the Aid Management Advisor to the Minister of Finance, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was the President, and there was a reformer administration emerging from war trying to get things done. There were many things in need of rebuilding: donor projects sought to rebuild destroyed bridges; rebuild buildings; or build a central power grid as Liberia had no grid and all power was from generators).

For these kinds of projects, the way we conventionally approach development assistance might work quite well. Having clear plans with clear deliverables and benchmarks might allow us to drive things towards the results we seek. But of course, most things that are going to be critical to post-conflict Liberia are not so easy to approach. We could turn on the lights in the Ministry of Transportation but what about access to justice, or civil service reform, or the myriad other things that are not observable, verifiable, or countable?

One of the things that really struck me in that job as Aid Management Advisor was that donor projects seemed to be managed in very similar ways, whether the object was building a road or a justice system. And it seemed to me really unlikely that the 'best way' to manage an aid project was the same irrespective of the type of project.

It also seemed to me that some of the people working for donor agencies and who did the best work spent a lot of time fighting the institutions in which they worked and a lot of time managing 'up'. I found myself wondering what is going wrong inside the organisation that is leading to this kind of dysfunction?

So I decided to spend six or seven years trying to figure out what was going on inside donor agencies, the result of which is a recent book, *Navigation by Judgment*. And here's where I ended up.

Theory

If you're sitting at the top of a donor organisation thinking about the balance between top-down control and bottom-up empowerment of staff, or delegation to local leaders, there are no easy choices. Turks have a saying for this, *Aşağı tükürsen sakal, yukarı tükürsen bıyık*; that is, 'spit up you hit the moustache, spit down you hit the beard'. No choice is without costs, without downsides (see Figure 1*)*.

Figure 1: Top-down control versus bottom-up driving

Navigation from the top	**Navigation by judgement**
Management control	Agent initiative
Oversight	Soft information
Standardised behaviour	Flexibility
Extrinsic motivation (maybe)	Intrinsic motivation (maybe)
BUT: Distortions of performance measurement Loss of flexibility/adaptability	**BUT:** Fallible agent judgement

If we navigate from the top and we use tight top-down controls, we are going to get more management control, more oversight, and more standardised behaviour because we will be able to get dissimilar people in dissimilar places to do similar things using those controls. We are going to get less flexibility and adaptability when we control from the top and it is going to be much harder for those closer to the ground to adjust along the way. We might get more extrinsic motivation where and when we can accurately use pay for performance, but we are going to get distortions of performance measurement.

What do I mean by distortions? I mean what economics would call a multitask problem; you have somebody and you want them to do some things which you can measure well and some things which you cannot measure well (Holmstrom and Milgrom 1991). If you measure the things you can measure well, you will get more of those things, but you will get less of the other things. People will invest in the observable and not invest in the unobservable. In addition, Nobel laureate Jean Tirole and Philippe Aghion (1997) tell us that if we don't give people close to the ground the power to use what they learn as they're engaging in practice, they will not invest in gathering the information the organisation needs. That is, if I have a job, even a job I care about, but I know that making the costly investment to figure out what's going on in nuanced ways is a waste of my time—because I can't make use of whatever I learn—I have no incentive to learn anything.

On the other hand, if we navigate by judgment and empower those closest to the ground, we are going to get more agent initiative. We are going to get more use of soft information—things that agents can see and learn, but can't verify with numbers. We are going to get more flexibility. We might get more intrinsic motivation because people like having autonomy and feeling like they can make a difference in their jobs. But we're going to have to rely on fallible agent judgment.

What do I mean by fallible judgment? Well, in development there's often this image that the reason we might not want to trust agents is because we might have bad agents who want to do bad things. I don't think that is very frequent in the world, but human judgment is nonetheless inherently fallible. We *all* make bad judgments all of the time, despite the best intentions. I bet if you think about just the last few days, there's some bad judgment you made—you left too late for a meeting, or ordered something that was going to give you indigestion, etc. You are not alone; behavioural economics is arguably an entire discipline focused on all the ways that well-intentioned human judgment often goes awry. Human judgment is fallible and if we rely on it, we're going to have to accept the fallibility of the judgment.

So you can have both 'too much' and 'too little' control. But aid agencies weren't created last week; if there is kind of a balance to be had, why is that balance not in alignment already?

I have two answers to this. The first has to do with the nature of being a public agency and the nature of political authorising environments. When an agency measures its tasks and performance, it does so not just to improve performance, but also to demonstrate performance. That is, those numbers help justify funding, help prove to politicians that they get something for their dollars and yen and renminbi. When we use numbers for legitimacy seeking, agencies will employ a top-down, metrics-driven approach even when they don't think it's useful from a management standpoint, in helping deliver the project that we're trying to deliver.

Second, for any agency there's an error of too little control and an error of too much control. The error of too little control means that agents have discretion, have autonomy that they use, and sometimes make mistakes. We are going to see those mistakes and be able to adjust against them. The error of too much control means that the rules are going to prevent people from doing good things they would have done but could not do because the rules got in the way. We can't see good actions that could have been taken but weren't; we don't see the project gains that go unrealised because people were unable to take action that would have improved the projects. As a result then, organisations are going to react to the problem they see; they're going to focus more on the error of too little control and respond to any examples of mistaken judgments by further tightening control. This makes the problem of 'too much' control worse of course.

Four predictions: What agencies will do and when this will hurt their performance

1. Most organisations will err on the side of 'too much' control more often than 'too little'.
2. More insecure agencies will err more than less insecure agencies.
3. The more unpredictable the environment, the greater the returns to navigation by judgement.
4. The less a task can be pre-planned and effectively managed using outputs (#s), the greater the returns to navigation by judgement.

So, to wrap up the theory: most organisations are going to err on the side of too much control more often than too little. More insecure agencies—agencies that spend more time justifying themselves to authorisers—are going to be even *more* likely to make the 'too much control' error. The costs of this error are also going to vary, depending on the environment and the task. The more unpredictable the environment, and the harder it is to figure out what's going on using objective and verifiable data, the greater the returns are going to be of navigation by judgment and the more consequential the error of too much control. The agency that uses more navigation by judgment, and the agency that puts more control in the field is going to be better able to adjust to those more difficult circumstances. In addition, the less the task can be pre-planned or effectively managed using numbers—the more it's like building a justice system and less like building a road—the more we're going to see returns to navigation by judgment.

Quantitative empirics: Econometric analysis

So, of course, I set out to test all of this and to see whether these ideas were borne out in the data. First, I use econometrics, or formal quantitative data analysis. I built a data set of 14,000 projects across nine organisations, across 40 years, and 180 countries to examine the relationship between agency management practice—specifically, how likely an agency is to navigate by judgment—and performance. I found (see Figure 2 on next page*)* that agencies that have a greater likelihood of navigating by judgment see much less difference in their performance as environments become more unpredictable than do agencies which use more top-down control.

When the road gets tough, those agencies that let the person sitting in the driver's seat handle the controls are better able to adjust to the rockier road. But those agencies that are trying to control things from afar are unable to adjust as effectively to more difficult environments.

This pattern—the difference in performance between navigation strategies—is driven by what I call less verifiable sectors. It is not in building the drip irrigation system, it is agricultural water management, where we see the effect. It's not in building the road, it's in administration of the transportation systems. Remote control fails for nuanced policy tasks, where we don't have the ability to collect accurate numbers about what's going on.

Figure 2: Returns to navigation by judgement in countries of differential environmental unpredictability

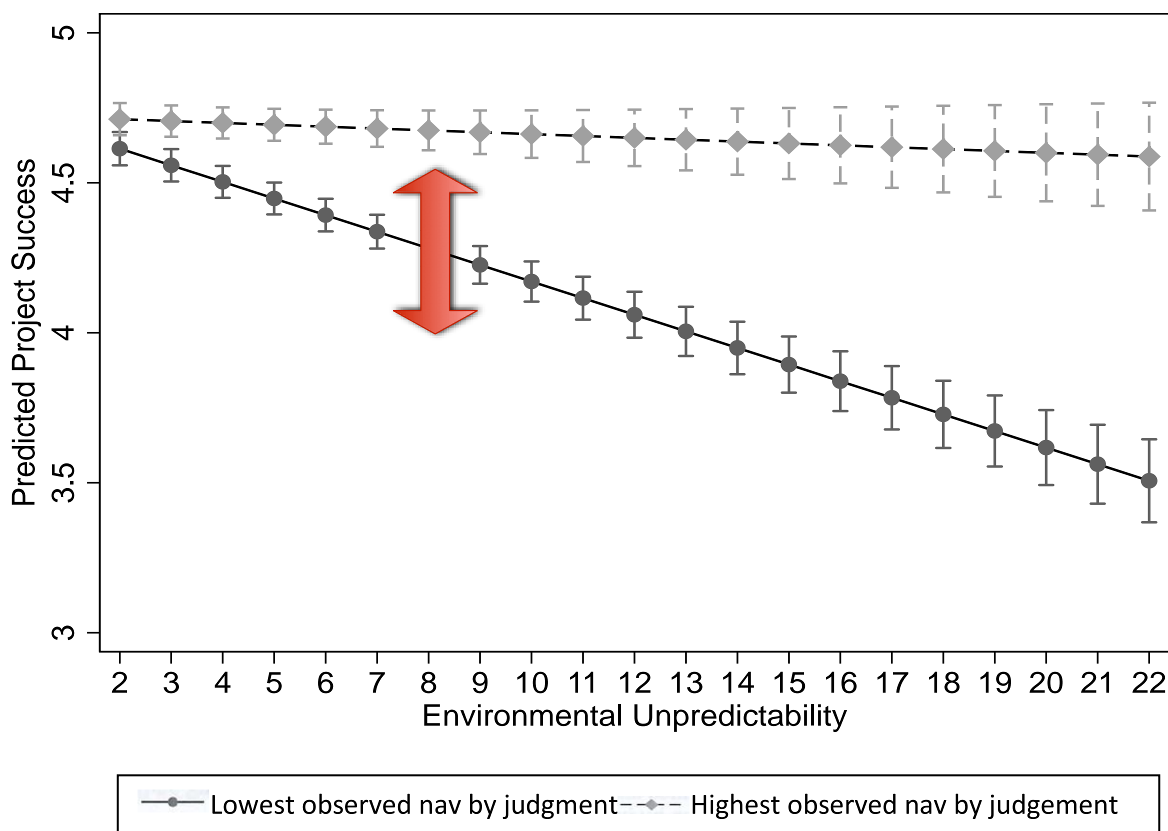


Figure 3: A comparison of a DFID and a USAID project in South Africa

	USAID Local Government Support Program Phase II (LGSP), 2004–2010	**DFID Consolidation of Municipal Transformation Program (CMTP), 2003–2009**
Goal	Improve municipal planning skills and operating systems to increase effectiveness, transparency, and accountability	Promote the development of effective and efficient municipalities
Primary Implementation Modality	Training Visits	Resident Advisers
Outputs (Official Language)	Train all staff on implementation of policy	Advisers 'advise/mentor [municipal] managers in achieving targets, plan and budget, unblock delivery obstacles and achieve institutional coherence'
How to Begin Delivering? (Official Language)	'Hands-on Mentoring Dates' for training on e.g. 'Credit control policies and implementation, and debt policy implementation'.	Advisers 'conduct an assessment of status quo and prepare a report' (which included a workplan)
Reporting (Official Language)	Success Indicator: 'All staff trained in Finance Dept and Municipal Secretariat' (in practice, count people at training)	Advisers 'implement their workplans and report on progress monthly and quarterly'.

Qualitative empirics: Case study

I tested the theory by comparing projects that are similar in scope and purpose that are managed differently from one another. I compare eight projects—or four pairs of projects—that vary with regards to how unpredictable the environment is and how verifiable the task. In each pair I compare a project from USAID—a quite constrained agency—and DFID—an agency much more likely to navigate by judgment. I'm going to highlight USAID's and DFID's efforts to build municipal government capacity in South Africa. Before I get to that, though, just a few words on the broader qualitative evidence. Interviewees implementing projects in the field for USAID often talk about Congress and reporting up the chain, much more so than do those implementing for DFID. USAID interviewees talk about arbitrary targets set at the top, and one interviewee describes USAID as 'an agency under siege' which 'make[s] you cautious'. Throughout the interviews, it is clear that political authorising environments and legitimacy-seeking loom much larger for USAID than they do for DFID.

So, to South Africa: Two projects—one from DFID, one from USAID—in South Africa sought to help municipal governments work more effectively in expenditure management, control of corruption, revenue systems, revenue planning, etc. Despite these projects being almost exactly the same size, located in the same broad geographic area, conducted over the same time period and having essentially interchangeable goals, they went about implementing in very different ways (see Figure 3 on previous page).

USAID runs its project through training visits. Trainers come out from the centre to provide day-long or two day-long sessions. DFID, on the other hand, hirers advisors who are embedded in communities for a number of years, who work with the local government structure in a way that is much more understanding of how local governments function and how local leaders in those communities are operating.

I filed Freedom of Information requests with both agencies and as a result, I can tell you quite a bit about the USAID project's details. For any date—10 years ago today, say—I could tell you if trainers went anywhere for the project. If trainers went somewhere, I could tell you how much the tickets cost if they flew, or how much they filed for mileage reimbursement if they drove. In some cases, I can tell you how big the room the training was held in or what the lunch orders were. I can show you sign in sheets and training materials. I can tell you almost anything you might want to know about a given training—except whether anyone learned anything. Or whether anyone did anything useful with the things that they learnt.

On the other hand for DFID, I can't tell you much. DFID's embedded advisors did inception reports and then were asked to report against those inception plans. So I can show you the quarterly reports but these reports just show someone's view on their success in accomplishing a plan they designed. As a form of control, it's the rough equivalent to a professor asking the students to compose the test questions then assess how good their answers were on the test questions they wrote. Bottom line: this is not a very tight form of control.

So in comparing them, we can see how relative extremes fared.

The USAID project, according to the Deputy Chief of Party, or the deputy head of the project, 'might not have made the most dent or impact'. One of the trainers talks about the training not contributing much: 'you go there, you don't have any authority. If people don't co-operate you can't say anything.'

The DFID project, on the other hand, is sometimes—but by no means always—effective. Relying on people's judgment means that people make different judgments. It is also possible that in some circumstances it would have been difficult for anyone to make an impact. But when I talk to those in the communities in which these projects happened, over and over, I had to remind them of the USAID's project existence. That never happened on the DFID project because everyone remembers their advisor and the time they spent in the community and can talk about what they did or in some cases didn't do effectively in their time there. DFID's assessment noted that successes were linked to good judgment calls and that 'although uneven in parts, [the project] included some highly positive examples in selected municipalities' and I agree. So comparatively, the DFID project was clearly more successful.

But it is, in some sense, a funny kind of 'more successful'. That is, it's not that the DFID project has no failures, it's that the USAID project had very little to show by way of success. *But the USAID project was set up in such a way that it never found this out.* The USAID project's lack of success is that it was set up in such a way as to not find out that it didn't succeed. So this might mean that *as seen by their respective political authorisers*, it might well be that the more successful DFID project needs to explain 'failure' and not the less successful USAID project.

Stepping back to the qualitative data as a whole, in three of the four case study pairs, navigation by judgment works better. I see evidence of flexibility and adaptability in the more navigation by judgment-laden projects. These projects also incorporate things that field staff perceive but can't verify. There's also more organisational learning, not least about the proper use of judgment. If you are never able to use your judgment, you are never able to figure out where your judgment has lead you astray. Judgment is a muscle; we need to exercise it to make it stronger.

Conclusion

Political authorising environments can induce sub-optimally conservative behaviour that constrains field agents. One key tool in this constraint is output measurement. Navigation by judgment is beneficial under some circumstances, for example when environments are relatively unpredictable and tasks can't be effectively managed with verifiable, quantifiable numbers. These conditions are present quite a lot of the time in development assistance, but by no means all of the time.

So let me turn to Australia for a few minutes. I claim no Australia-specific expertise but I did notice that DFAT's performance measurement framework is called 'Making Aid Count'. The question for me, then, is when is making aid count and counting stuff in delivering aid at odds with one another and what happens as a result?

We need to think about not just changing the rules of the organisation but changing the plumbing of aid organisations. What does it take for people to take risks, for people to bet on and use their own judgment? We need to take the HR, procurement, and accounting systems much more seriously.

We also need to think about shifting decision rights. Susanna Campbell in her recent book *Global Governance and Local Peace* (Campbell 2018) talks about how peace-building programs in Burundi end up being more effective when people close to the ground shift real veto rights to the local communities. When aid practitioners say 'we can't figure out what exactly is the best way of doing this, so we are going to rely on the community's judgment to figure out what's going on'. The trick in her story is that this happens without the knowledge of headquarters.

But, to come back to the local leaders with which this narrative began, we should think harder about when donors might do better by just letting go, by letting local leaders lead. When is a mountain of paperwork, of requirements, of guidelines—whatever good intentions their creators might have had—getting in the way of good work? It sure seems to me like the focus in interacting with local leaders is almost always focused on the potential pitfalls of 'too little control'. But surely here, too, there is the pitfall of 'too much control'. And if donors provided greater space to let local leaders lead, they, too, might see more of the change to which they're committed realised in practice.

In moving forward, we should not let a move towards navigation by judgment, a move towards flexibility, a move towards more power in the field and in the hands of local leaders be framed as a move away from real accountability. Real accountability is what helps get the job done in a way that delivers the most benefit. More generally, we need to think about when accountability is about more than accounting and when instead it's about making justification, and about creating a dialogue. Accountability is not just about numbers, something I think we in the development assistance community all too often forget.

References

Aghion, Philippe and J Tirole 1997, 'Formal and real authority in organizations', *Journal of Political Economy*, 105(1), 1–29.

Campbell, Susanna P 2018, *Global Governance and Local Peace*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Holmstrom, Bengt and Paul Milgrom 1991, 'Multitask principal–agent analyses: Incentive contracts, asset ownership, and job design', *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organizations*, 7, 24–52.

Honig, Dan 2018, *Navigation by Judgment: Why and when top-down control of foreign aid doesn't work*, Oxford University Press, New York.

Honig, Dan 2019, 'When reporting undermines performance: The costs of politically constrained autonomy in foreign aid implementation', *International Organization* 73(1), 171–201.

Reflections on gender equality, international development practice and neo-colonialism

Juliet Hunt, Independent Consultant

Reflections on the past

When asked to present a paper at a conference session titled 'The role of NGOs in promoting women-led solutions and women as change agents' a few questions came immediately to mind. Which women-led solutions and change agents—those located on the Australian side of the development equation, or *local* women? Should they play the same type of role, and how is this shaped by current development practice and the resurgence of neo-colonialism?

I came to the development sector in the late 1970s with a firm belief that local actors are absolutely critical to the success of development efforts. Indeed, this seemed self-evident. In the late 1970s and 1980s, the role of local civil society in setting the development agenda and the nature of our partnerships with local organisations was often a topic of reflection. In a few cases, we even tried to implement co-financing arrangements with other international donors, with the aim of minimising partner transactional costs due to different and inflexible donor design and reporting requirements.

I don't think that organisations or individuals I worked with were unique in these beliefs and commitments. The impacts of colonialism were fresh in our minds, with PNG gaining independence in 1975, the Solomon Islands in 1978 and Vanuatu in 1980. Some of our partners in the Pacific region were leaders and participants in independence movements, both women and men. In general, they were very aware of their right to lead and be heard—some were forthright in their feedback to donors—and it was not unusual for expatriates to be criticised if they were considered to be imposing development agendas and solutions.

Moreover, I assumed it was possible for women on the donor side to work together with those from developing countries to move funding institutions along the path towards gender equality. As the snail graphic in Figure 1 implies, there was an assumption we were pushing and pulling funding institutions in the same direction, and a commitment to do so.

Figure 1: Is your agency walking the talk on gender equality?

Source: graphic by Anne S Walker, International Women's Tribune Centre.

Progress at a snail's pace

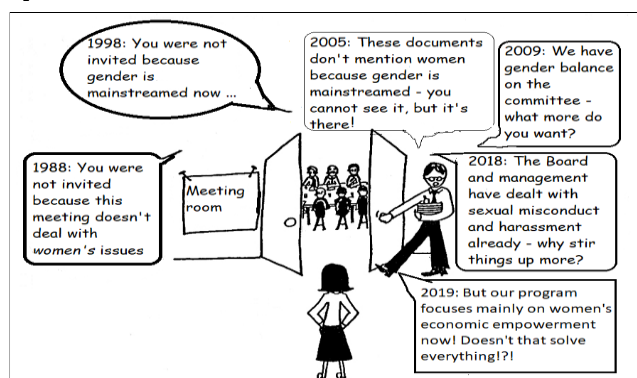
There is no doubt that we have made progress on gender equality—both in donor funding institutions and development programming over the last four decades. Nowadays, it would be hard to find an organisation without a policy of some sort on gender equality. The prevailing rhetoric has gradually moved from a pre-occupation with women's vulnerabilities to 'transforming' gender power relations.

There are myriad projects which have the stated aim of empowering women, and many agencies now raise funds in the name of women—although it is debatable whether this is a sign of progress.

There is even acceptance at the policy level that addressing violence against women and children is legitimate development work. This was rare in the 1990s and 2000s. However, I believe that an understanding of why and how this is linked to sustainable economic and social development remains superficial in practice. Most ANGOs followed the Australian government aid program into this field, with a few notable exceptions.

Organisational change processes on gender equality have been led by women change agents within donor organisations—many have done so in addition to their paid duties. Figure 2 gives examples of some of the challenges they have faced over the years and highlights three related themes I have observed.

Figure 2: Challenges of gender equality advocates in donor agencies



Source: Graphic by Anne S Walker, International Women's Tribune Centre, text for 1998–2019 by Juliet Hunt.

The first theme is the tendency for goal posts to shift, as development fads and preoccupations come and go. Yet, while each speech bubble in Figure 2 was written in the year noted in the graphic, some of these responses have disturbing longevity.

Second is the tendency for donor organisations with huge agendas—and now straitened financial circumstances—to revert to quick-fix or tokenistic responses and actions—rather than acknowledging and challenging the deeply held beliefs, biases and structures that underpin ongoing gender inequalities in donor workplaces and programs.

A third phenomenon is a culture of silence surrounding the challenges faced by women who try to address gender inequalities in ANGO workplaces and programs, even in organisations that show the greatest commitment on gender equality. It remains difficult for internal change agents to highlight ongoing gender inequalities when predominant donor culture is to tell a good story about the engagement of women in development, particularly when organisations use a focus on women as a key fundraising strategy, using the rhetoric of empowerment. (After all, neither ANGOs nor government have been particularly inclined to educate the Australian public about the very real complexities of overseas development efforts.)

The public revelations of sexual abuse and harassment in the humanitarian sector in early 2018 (AHRC 2018) should not have come as a surprise to donor senior managers—given the prevalence of sexual harassment and abuse in Australian workplaces[1] and internationally. It was only a matter of time until the #metoo movement would make its impact felt in the development sector (see Spencer 2018). ANGOs would do well to heed the recommendations of the *Independent Review into the Practice and Response of ACFID Members in the Prevention of Sexual Misconduct* (VIFM 2018). These recommendations point to the need for deep changes to internal culture, and to go well beyond tokenistic and short-term responses. Let us not forget that similar advice has been provided by women working in development organisations over many years.

Many of us in the sector are rather too prone to believe our rhetoric about commitments to social justice, which can tend to blind us to the sexism, racism, power and privilege that inhabits our own organisations, and indeed our work overseas. However, I do not think that the development sector is any worse than others in our community. On the contrary, I continue to believe that we are surely somewhat better, since most development workers in government and NGOs enter the field with a passionate commitment to social justice, and a genuine desire to do something good and meaningful with their working lives. Nevertheless, we must acknowledge that some of the most disturbing features in the dominant social, cultural and economic context are bound to be reflected in our own organisations, and sadly, also in our development and humanitarian work.

For example, while the number of women in leadership positions has improved over the years, progress overall remains slow. Australian Council for International Development (ACFID) annual reports show 66 per cent of ACFID member staff are women, compared with 42 per cent in CEO positions, with considerably less for faith-based ANGOs (Wood 2017). ACFID's *State of the Sector Report 2018* is a big leap forward in transparency on gender equality and other issues, and shows a poor report card on all indicators of women's leadership (Wood and Lans 2018). There can be no doubt that the non-profit development sector contributes significantly to the current gender pay gap in Australian workplaces, through two key drivers of gender based discrimination (women under represented across senior roles), and occupational segregation (the high proportion of women employed overall in the industry) (KPMG, DCA and WGEA 2019). Further research would be useful on the factors that inhibit women in middle management from progressing to more senior leadership positions.

If the 2018 progress report by the ChangingAid women's collective is any indication, progress at taking gender inequalities seriously within the sector continues to be slow internationally. Sexual harassment and abuse are an inevitable outcome of these structural and damaging inequalities. Hopefully, the recent compliance requirements of the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

(DFAT 2019) on preventing sexual exploitation, abuse and harassment will have a positive impact—but systemic changes will only occur if leadership takes the issue seriously, by ensuring ongoing dialogue on the gender and other inequalities that affect our organisations and our work. We should not underestimate how very difficult it can be for women—regardless of age and including those in middle management positions—to repeatedly call out the gender based discrimination they observe and experience. This can be an enormous personal challenge for a woman trying to have her voice heard, even in the most progressive organisations (Figure 2).

My greatest satisfaction as a development worker was to work closely with several national and local women's rights organisations, primarily in the Pacific. When two of these civil society organisations (CSOs) gained core multi-year funding from the Australian government aid program in the 1990s,[2] I hoped this would enable a range of other local voices to be supported to set and implement their own long-term agendas for change with flexibility and trust. While there were several factors responsible for this milestone, one was the preparedness of feminists within AusAID (the Australian Agency for International Development) to take a risk by backing women's rights organisations. These CSOs successfully met donor accountability requirements for financial management, planning, monitoring and evaluation (M&E)—in a way that was meaningful to and fully owned by them—and continued to receive multi-year funding. As a result, they achieved outstanding changes in attitudes and behaviour on gender equality and violence against women.

Much other positive change has taken place in the development sector—such as more realistic assessment of the complexities of social change processes. I have no doubt that Australian bilateral and ANGO aid has significantly improved many people's lives, and have observed some of these outstanding results across many countries in Asia, Africa and the Pacific.

Lessons not learned

Nevertheless, we remain a sector infatuated with the latest fads, a predilection for imposing 'solutions', and an obsession with confusing jargon and acronyms. Quite rightly, we have been required by donors such as DFAT and its predecessor AusAID to document lessons about effective strategies for overcoming obstacles and achieving sustainable outcomes on gender equality and other development challenges—but have we failed to put in place systems to remember and institutionalise our learning? Although I am only an occasional conference attendee, I know I am not the only one who walks away remembering research and discussion where the same or similar revelations were made in decades past.

While M&E has seen some positive changes, the approach often remains highly flawed—we have progressed to collecting sex-disaggregated data in most cases, but sometimes misinterpret what this data means, or fail to analyse it and assume this is the end point—rather than the very beginning. We cannot progress to sound methods for assessing changes in gender power relations until we really understand what these changes may look like in any particular context and program. This requires sound gender and social analysis, done locally in a participatory manner with those who have the most to gain or lose—and it should not be a one-off process.

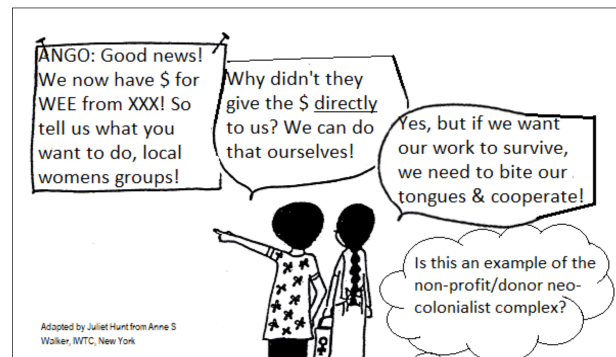
Finally, we have not progressed very far in reflecting or acting upon the key roles of civil society in the development process, nor at addressing our power and privilege as donors and how this plays out in the field. It is true that there is somewhat more talk about this over the last couple of years. Nevertheless, in these key areas, I believe there are signs that we may have gone backwards.

The challenges of the present: The non-profit/donor neo-colonialist complex

A telling example is that when preparing this paper, I was struck by a damning insight: if those same women's rights organisations that received core multi-year funding in the 1990s were to apply now for direct funding from the Australian aid program for the first time, I am not sure they would get the same substantive outcome. On the contrary, the funding architecture of Australian aid puts local civil society in competition with ANGOs and Australian companies. This is a one-sided competition—bound to favour those with the most power and privilege, disguised by a mantle of technical expertise—based on the assumption that local CSOs cannot or should not design or manage their own programs. It hardly needs mentioning that this undermines local women's leadership.

Figure 3 gives one example of how this works, and the frustration felt by some CSOs. Colleagues from five Pacific countries have shared several examples of similar frustrations over the last few years. The graphic focuses on women's economic empowerment (WEE), but could also refer to some current research agendas, projects to prevent violence against women through engaging with men, and several other donor-led initiatives.

Figure 3: What is the role of ANGOs in promoting women-led solutions and change agents?



Source: graphic by Anne S Walker, International Women's Tribune Centre, text by Juliet Hunt.

There are cases where local women's organisations are listed as key stakeholders or partners in a program design,

with very little or no consultation beforehand about needs, priorities or implementation arrangements. Once again I am drawn back to the past, where as a trainer in the 1990s, I emphasised the need for authentic participation and collaboration with local stakeholders as key elements of best practice project design. Perhaps this precept is still understood well—but does the need to get a design wrapped up by tomorrow win too often?

The non-profit/donor neo-colonialist complex tends to favour short term and 'innovative' projects, rather than investing in the long-term vision and foundational programs of women's organisations. In the words of the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID), it is an approach which tends to water the leaves, but starves the roots (Arutyunova and Clark 2013).

It is a sign of the success of advocacy efforts—by international, local and Australian women change agents—that DFAT, other international donors and so many ANGOs are now engaged in designing and implementing their own projects to address violence against women. The 'more the merrier' seems to be the analogy—but there are enormous risks if implementers do not understand the dynamics of eliminating gender based violence, and the need to fundamentally address gender inequalities as the core of that process—regardless of how uncomfortable that may seem culturally and organisationally.[3] There is also the danger of claiming behavioural and attitudinal changes from a three to five year project, without considering and acknowledging the foundational work that preceded their entry to the field.

Despite my comments here, I do commend the entry of as many other stakeholders as possible into the domain of preventing violence against women and their children—indeed, this is absolutely essential for us to foresee a future where this scourge is reduced. However, from the outset of this shift in funding priorities (and even more so today), I argue that all agencies engaged in this important work must make far more concerted efforts to ensure that sound gender equality approaches are mainstreamed into ALL their work and within their organisations—including by understanding how violence against women intersects with projects in various sectors. This is definitely unfinished business for ANGOs—a task they need to address with far more effort before they begin leading innovations in the elimination of violence against women in other countries.

There are many serious challenges facing local women change agents and leaders, too numerous to list here. However, the frustrations of negotiating through the plethora of agendas set by funding agencies is ever present. So too is the anxiety of wondering how to meet growing demands for crisis services on the same or shrinking budgets, while continuing ground-breaking advocacy and prevention work, in a context now overcrowded with donors who can neither communicate nor collaborate to co-finance organisations with proven track records—a criticism relevant to all types of donors, including multilateral, bilateral and NGOs.

At home, the challenges of working within the non-profit/donor neo-colonialist complex is a burden for some in the sector, but I believe the implications of this are not discussed seriously or often enough. As I reflect over the past 40 years, I believe that elements of neo-colonialism are even more prevalent now than they were in the late 1970s, although now they tend to be more shrouded in claims of expertise and the need for ongoing capacity building. It is true many partners lack the capacity to negotiate the maze of funding, design and M&E requirements required by donors of different types—but this is surely a problem that in large part sits with the donors, and with how we, as donors and expatriates, respond to it.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to review evidence of the impact of local women's organisations and feminist movements in contributing to changes towards gender equality, nor that of other CSOs in contributing to sustainable development outcomes; nevertheless, such evidence exists.[4] My observations suggest that we are not systematically considering this question in our reflections, research and evaluations. On the contrary, these processes tend to be pre-occupied with proving the impact of short-term projects to get further funding—and improve donor viability—rather than exploring which factors promote sustained changes over the long term.

Conclusion: Towards ethical parameters for development work

To what extent are ANGO funding priorities—or those of DFAT—determined or influenced by the input of local women's leaders and change agents? I admit I am side stepping the difficult question of which change agents and CSOs to support. Let us ask both questions, and how this influences the effectiveness of development practice and outcomes.

I believe all development actors—organisations and individual workers—need to articulate how our work can support and empower local civil society in the medium to long term as a key enabler for sustainable development. A first step may be to define exactly what local civil society is, particularly in relation to their primary accountabilities. It is debatable whether a national federated partner of an International NGO(INGO)/ANGO in-country currently constitutes local civil society on this primary measure. Having the power to set the development agenda, influence funding priorities, and the selection of methods or 'solutions' are other criteria worthy of consideration.

My observation—and I would be happy to be proved wrong—is that local ownership remains a missing or unappreciated ingredient in much development programming, and that the concept of mutual accountability is also not well understood. Both principles require acknowledgement of power differences, including the ongoing nature of neo-colonialism in all its strategic, economic and climatic forms, as well as its organisational forms. Our development actions are located within all these expressions of regional power and organisational and personal privilege. What I have recently begun to call the non-profit/donor neo-colonialist complex works very well to subvert our recognition of power differences. However, it is naïve to expect Pacific partners to view official and ANGO development assistance

in isolation from this pervasive framework, which progressively looms larger.

Yet valuing local knowledge, ownership and mutual accountability require more than our reflection and acknowledgement. It requires listening and behaving differently, and fundamental changes in the nature of our relationships with women's movements and other CSOs. As Australia and other 'developed' nations pursue policies that inevitably contribute to existential threats to our Pacific and other neighbours—and as some ANGOs become progressively squeezed for funding opportunities—a restructure of the sector, its received wisdom and *modus operandi* should be considered. Perhaps we are seeing the beginnings of this in the most recent round of staffing cutbacks in some ANGOs.

As we shape the future of development assistance in this evolving context, I believe we need to reflect on the ethical parameters of our work. Local knowledge and ownership and mutual accountability are signposts worthy of consideration:

> A shift towards genuine localisation and capacity-building of national actors requires those with control over and power within the humanitarian system to relinquish some of our power, resources and expert status, and be led by national and local women's rights organisations and actors (COFEM 2017:3).

Notes

1. The ACTU 2018 survey of sexual harassment in the workplace found that 64 per cent of women and 34 per cent of men had experienced sexual harassment at the workplace. The most recent survey by the Australian Human Rights Commission 2018 (8–9) found that 85 per cent of Australian women have been sexually harassed at some point in their lives; 23 per cent of women experienced sexual harassment at work in the last 12 months, and both women and men aged 18–29 are more likely than older age groups to experience sexual harassment at work (45 per cent); however only 17 per cent made a formal report or complaint.
2. The Fiji Women's Crisis Centre (see http://www.fijiwomen.com/about/our-history/)and the Vanuatu Women's Centre (https://www.facebook.com/vanuatuwomenscentre/).
3. For example, see the Equality Institute 2019 *Global Scoping of Advocacy and Funding for the Prevention of Violence Against Women and girls*, www.equalityinstitute.org; and Our Watch 2015 *Change the Story: A shared framework for the primary prevention of violence against women and their children in Australia*, Our Watch, VicHealth and ANROWS (Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety).
4. This was very briefly reviewed in Juliet Hunt 2019 'Evidence and ethical parameters for supporting women-led development agendas and change agents' PowerPoint presentation at the Research for Development Impact Conference 2019, available from: www.researchgate.net/publication/335404738_Evidence_and_ethical_parameters_for_supporting_women-led_development_agendas_and_change_agents

References

ACTU (Australian Council of Trade Unions) 2018, *Sexual Harassment in Australian Workplaces: Survey Results*, www.actu.org.au/media/1385284/a4_sexual-harassment-survey-results_print.pdf, accessed 4 October 2019.

Arutyunova, Angelika and Cindy Clark 2013, *Watering the Leaves, Starving the Roots: The status of financing for women's rights organising and gender equality*, Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID), Ontario, Canada.

AHRC (Australian Human Rights Commission 2018), *Everyone's Business: Fourth national survey on sexual harassment in Australian workplaces*, www.humanrights.gov.au/our-work/sex-discrimination/publications/everyones-business-fourth-national-survey-sexual, accessed 4 October 2019.

ChangingAid 2018, *Sexual Harassment, Abuse and Exploitation in the Aid Sector: Progress Report*, www.changingaid.org/surveyresults.html, accessed 4 October 2019.

COFEM (Coalition of Feminists for Social Change) 2017, 'Finding the balance between scientific and social change goals, approaches and methods', *Feminist Perspectives on Addressing Violence Against Women and Girls Series*, 3, COFEM.

DFAT (Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade) 2019, Preventing Sexual Exploitation, Abuse and Harassment Policy, https://dfat.gov.au/international-relations/themes/preventing-sexual-exploitation-abuse-and-harassment/Pages/default.aspx, accessed 4 October 2019.

VIFM (Victorian Institute of Forensic Medicine) 2018, *Shaping the Path: Independent review into the practice and response of ACFID members in the prevention of sexual misconduct,* VIFM, Melbourne.

KPMG, DCA (Diversity Council of Australia) and WGEA (Workplace Gender Equality Agency) 2019, *She's Price(d) Less*, https://home.kpmg/content/dam/kpmg/au/pdf/2019/gender-pay-gap-economics-summary-report-2019.pdf, accessed 4 October 2019.

Spencer, Danielle 2018, *Sexual Harassment, Abuse and Exploitation in the Aid Sector: Cowboys and conquering kings,* ChangingAid, www.changingaid.org/cowboysandkings.html, accessed 4 October 2019.

Wood, Terence 2017, 'The gender woes of Australian NGOs', Devpolicyblog, www.devpolicy.org/gender-woes-australian-ngos-20170213/, accessed 4 October 2019.

Wood, Terence and Raewyn Lans 2018, *ACFID State of the Sector Report 2018*, ACFID, Canberra, 5, 53–54.

Women’s leadership: Bringing context to life[1]

Elise Howard, Australian National University; Eselealofa Apinelu, Attorney General, Tuvalu;
Tagiilima Neemia, Ministry of Finance, Samoa, and Janet Towaki-Bue, Department of Health, Papua New Guinea

Introduction

Regional bodies and donor partner organisations have made a number of public commitments and invested heavily in supporting women’s leadership across Pacific Island countries.[1] Such support for women’s developmental leadership has a political intent—the pursuit of transformative change through networks and coalitions which can create shifts in power structures and resource allocation (Leftwich 2009). Implicit in the rationale for investments in women’s leadership is the assumption that women will be able to take on the burden of gender equity work and transform structures and social norms to bring about positive change.

Women have demonstrated they have the capacity to serve as effective leaders in politics, public sector administration, and regional organisations. At grassroots levels, women’s movements have been credited with elevating women’s issues to national agendas (George 2012). Yet women continue to be outnumbered and exercise leadership from the margins of institutions. There remains a large leap from enhancing women’s leadership capacity to substantive shifts in power structures.

Leadership program participants, and women in particular, have a limited voice in existing evidence on how to foster and support women’s leadership to bring about real change. The authors of this paper are working alongside or participating in developmental leadership training as part of the Women’s Leadership Initiative (WIL). Drawing on the authors’ own contexts and lived experiences, this paper responds to author Sara Ahmed’s call ‘to bring theory back to life’ (2017:10) and gives weight to the legitimacy and validity of women’s first-hand perspectives. While not speaking on behalf of all women, we highlight the strengths and knowledge that women bring to leadership programs, the diverse contexts that women operate within, and offer some considerations around appropriate forms of support for aspiring and established women leaders.

First hand experiences of women’s leadership in three different contexts: Tuvalu, Papua New Guinea, and Samoa

The three different viewpoints presented in this paper are a synthesis of a women’s leadership panel at the 2019 ‘Leadership for Inclusive Development’ Conference (RDI 2019). The views presented by Eselealofa Apinelu, Attorney General of Tuvalu; Janet Towaki-Bue, Midwife and Sister-In-Charge in Papua New Guinea’s (PNG) healthcare system; and Tagiilima Neemia, Principal Data Analyst in Samoa’s Ministry of Finance—show how diverse societal and political contexts shape women’s leadership approaches. Eselealofa’s experiences in the micro-state of Tuvalu, with a population of approximately 11,000 people living on 26 square kilometres (Tuvalu Central Statistics Division 2017), contrast with Janet’s experiences in PNG, the largest and most culturally diverse nation in the Pacific. PNG’s population of eight million people belong to over 800 different language groups and mostly reside in rural areas (World Bank 2016). While Tagiilima’s perspective in Samoa—a nation of 196,000 people residing across nine islands (Samoa Bureau of Statistics 2017)—shows women’s progression in non-traditional sectors such as information technology may provide entry points for women’s leadership—which must be considered within the context of traditional power structures and biased views of women’s capabilities.

Experiences of women’s leadership in Tuvalu: Eselealofa Apinelu

Tuvalu’s small population means that we have no choice but to be a part of the global community. International pressure on domestic policy is high and national policy is geared toward international and local demands. Our policies are mostly inclusive and aim for everyone to benefit from development—regardless of occupational status, gender, age or ethnicity.

In a small island context, there is nowhere to hide. Apart from laws that govern how leaders should perform, everyday scrutiny from the people—including on matters not related to one’s formal leadership role—provides additional accountability. As such, leaders have to be strong—you have to be able to constantly justify your position, your opinion and your decisions—not only in parliament or office but also in everyday activities. Whether you are fishing, taking your kids out or gathering food, people know who you are and that you are a leader. There is no hiding behind policies—politics is personal in Tuvalu.

When we introduce something new—especially in relation to women’s leadership—we need to work with the people who have been there before us. We need to listen well to the people who are affected and put our minds to moving forward together, which may not fit well with donor partners’ schedules or government agendas. Good intentions do not always translate into meaningful action that creates positive change. When the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was introduced, the process was too fast and contrary to long-established traditional ways of understanding. As a result, there was significant community backlash and in Tuvalu it is now difficult to introduce law reform or have a serious dialogue addressing challenges experienced by women without concerns being raised about CEDAW. Outside ideas and influences can impose unnecessary difficulties in Tuvalu.

In the context of Tuvalu—where we all live close to each other—leadership training programs that target

specific groups can create divisions. I am fortunate to have been given opportunities, yet there are many Tuvaluan women who have not had the same opportunities. Does that make them any less worthy? Why can't training programs be designed and made available to everyone in a small country? Why are training programs concerning challenges that women experience usually limited to training only women? Such an approach could create a perception there is something wrong with women that requires their continuous training? The flip side would be a perception that men's leadership must be ideal, as they were not required in these trainings.

We cannot move forward without the involvement of all parts of the system we live in. It is time to stop teaching new systems or ideas but instead utilise leadership knowledge that already exists in our local context. Our local context in terms of culture is, however, not perfect. Culture has advantages and disadvantages. Leaders must enhance the positives and discuss the negatives or the negatives will reappear as bigger problems. Culture is part of our lived experiences, and cannot be erased overnight.

Women's leadership or being a woman is not the problem. The real challenge is systems of governance developed and maintained by leaders who, to date, consist predominately of men. Changing institutions can be more challenging than addressing leadership issues. Any meaningful solution for addressing challenges to women and the marginalised in society requires dialogue that includes both men and women. We need dialogue about the impact that existing institutions have on women and men. Is it so difficult to consider changing laws to ensure equal representation of men and women in parliament? Parliament, after all, is not part of Tuvaluan custom and it is time to separate the two totally different systems. Until laws are amended to mandate that parliament must be conducted according to Tuvaluan *Tu mo Faifaiga* (or customary practices), there is nothing to stop parliament from changing laws to ensure equal representation of women and men in parliament. The change does not have to take place only when more women are in parliament. A change simply requires strong leaders committed to addressing issues affecting women, children, and the marginalised in society.

When I return to Tuvalu, I would like to work with people to seriously consider how to better enhance the governance system. I would like to see law reform to guarantee women's representation in Parliament. Tuvalu's culture is inclusive. We succeeded in ensuring the islands of Tuvalu have equal representation in parliament regardless of the number of people on an island or within an electorate. This is a clear departure from western understanding—initially embedded in our independent Constitution—where representation was based on island population. The same inclusive sentiments can surely be extended for women's representation in parliament.

Paying attention to context means understanding that one size does not fit all. Leadership is about meaningful change, continuous adaptation, reinventing yourself, and being relevant. What could be more relevant in our current context then ensuring that the women and men of Tuvalu who toil daily to make our nation a better place to live be equally represented in parliament!

Experiences of women's leadership in Papua New Guinea: Janet Towaki-Bue

Papua New Guinea is a large, culturally diverse nation. Growing up in a matrilineal society, women were represented equally in decision making, particularly among families and clans. When I moved to other parts of the country and with my experience of working with women, I realised the cultural differences nationwide and the way that they affect women. Traditionally in almost all parts of the country, men have been regarded as the leaders and decision-makers, as heads of the family, clans, or tribes. This perception is an influential factor in the way leadership is demonstrated in the public and private sectors in the country.

I personally believe, however, there is change taking place in many of these societies, especially as more women become educated and rise up in their own fields of expertise.

Nonetheless, it is a big task to be a women's leader in PNG. Some women have been leaders in politics and women are also leaders in different contexts—depending where women are situated. When it is a space or group of only women—women can step up and be leaders—but when men are involved it is different. Traditionally, men will lead and women are not given a space. In matriarchal areas, women and men can work together around decision making and women can become leaders within their families. In other areas, men may be ready to change and secretly support their wives. If they help with the housework, for example, they make sure no one in the community can see. There will always be challenges for women's leadership—having children and being married cannot be ignored. There will always be barriers. That is a part of life.

Aspiring women leaders can be deterred by the personal costs of being a leader. In the Pacific, we lead a collective lifestyle and leadership comes with stress and obligations. Leaders are held to high standards and there is no rest. We live among extended family and need the support of partners, families, and the community as a whole if we want to become leaders. It's not just about men supporting women to be leaders. Women also need to support each other. Sometimes the biggest problems can come from other women trying to bring you down. An individual leader will not be able to bring about change alone—they must work with their male and female colleagues. A woman alone cannot bring about change—we need to work with women and men together.

Leaders need to find a balance between their obligations to community, their constituency, and their own physical and mental wellbeing. We can do this by showing others how to move forward. Developing leadership is a process and teaching others about leadership is another way to learn, it helps to reflect on our own point of view, our values and what can be passed on to others. When I help others it helps me, and I now think about how to reach others?

There is a divide between city and rural people in PNG. People who live in the city are easy to reach and receive greater opportunities and access to training, yet there are people in rural areas who show potential to be leaders. They are with people every day and know the issues, but are removed from the policy makers who prescribe solutions. PNG needs a fairer distribution of leadership programs. One way to do this is to make the most of the women who have already been trained. Support women to train other women to become leaders.

In my line of work, I have noticed that small things can make a difference. Reproductive health and family planning education—where we teach women about their own bodies—has traditionally been directed at women. Women need this education to be able to make informed decisions, however, even if women are well educated, they can still struggle to be a part of decision making in the homes. If their husbands want more children or control the finances, women may not have a choice in how many pregnancies they have or in spacing their pregnancies. Women with many children are prevented from participating in life outside of the home. Women's lack of financial independence means they do not participate in decision making and lack empowerment in other parts of their lives.

Experiences of women's leadership in Samoa: Tagiilima Neemia

In Samoa we have a system of chiefs that we call the *matai* system. Men and women can be *matais* in communities, but men mostly hold those titles. A *matai* title is needed to run for parliament or to be involved in decision making in communities. The title is an honour and is the golden ticket to leadership opportunities within communities and parliament, but can also be financially costly because it brings community obligations.

There's a saying in Samoa based on a legendary story—*E au le ina'ilau a tamaita'i* (women can complete a task if given). In Samoa, there is a culture of respect for women and I believe women have great potential and when given opportunities can do wonders. They may not always succeed the first time, but that is a way of learning. Men will generally have the upper hand in decision making but if you hold a professional position and play a role—people need to respect that position.

In the family, villages, and community the norm is that men make the decisions. Women can be involved in decision making in the community if they hold *matai* titles. However, I believe that if you just persevere and keep going, real change and decision making power can still be acquired even without the title. For women, being a leader is complicated—women come with packages—with children to think of, and family obligations. It is one thing to be a leader, but women leaders also have many responsibilities. Generally, men just go to work, come home and expect dinner to be ready, the kids bathed, and homework done. Sometimes I think it is better to stay single—children are an investment, but husbands can be a burden.

Men sometimes use *matai* titles in the workplace to enhance their power. As women, we need to know the context in how to approach these men, to talk respectfully and engage with them. Respect also comes through leading by example—people need to see you walk the talk. Women need to know they should not give up easily, they must know how to keep going and pushing and they will gradually earn respect from colleagues and peers. I can challenge my boss's decisions, but I need to make sure this is based on what I know and what can be done.

Information technology is a male dominated environment, but this is changing. Technology changes rapidly and so do the people who work with it. I am studying cybersecurity as I want to break new ground for women and remove the need for Samoa to import this expertise from elsewhere. I believe that leadership comes through making your mark—and I can make my mark by becoming an expert in a field lacking in Samoa and across the Pacific.

In my workplace, I know I am being judged not just by men but also by women. Because of my small size, they think that I am young. I know they look at me and wonder if I even know what I am talking about. I have been on a leadership course and learnt about my self-development, but the first thing I am worried about when I return home is whether men will even listen to what comes out of my mouth.

The challenge in working in male-dominated sectors is that there is a lack of women role models. Finding the right networks, support and advice is difficult. Connecting with other women gives me confidence. Women's leadership training can provide networks, but they need to be practical and useful networks. I need to connect with people who can give me direct tips that relate to my field and connect me with relevant projects. When I return home, I will not have the same resources as in Australia, so I need to make the most of my time now to connect with relevant networks.

My motto for leadership is leading by example. Never give up. Nothing is perfect. Put it into practice. Reflect back and see where you've improved and identify what you need to work on. Sometimes what you learn is not relevant to your context, so you apply what is relevant and what is helpful in your home country. You need to make sure that what you plan to do contributes to development. Leaders need to be open-minded to other people's perspectives. Have the ear to listen. Everyone brings different backgrounds and different perspectives.

What does this mean for supporting women's developmental leadership in diverse contexts?

Developmental leadership literature highlights the importance of responsive approaches that consider the politics and context of leadership development (Leftwich 2009). The diverse contexts shared in this paper highlight that women's leadership depends on where women are situated. Some contexts are enabling, women are respected for their knowledge and women can draw on a range of experiences to inform their leadership, while in other

contexts women are not given a space. At times, women may be able to access opportunities to bring about change, while at other times biding time may be a better option. Women's influence is neither static nor, once achieved, cemented. There will be ebbs and flows also affected by broader factors such as political contexts, the rise of conservative movements, or economic prosperity (George 2012).

Women may need to find unique entry points and pathways to leadership which may come from unexpected places. Demonstrating knowledge and/or becoming the first person to be qualified with a specific and useful skill set can provide a leadership pathway. Yet women also need sponsorship to access opportunities that will help position them as leaders to make their mark. The connection with relevant networks and power-holders, gate-keepers, and decision makers who have the power to create change is the key to these opportunities. As Tagiilima highlighted, networks created through leadership programs provide great support and are helpful to women's motivation. However, to *make their mark*, women need to connect with influential decision-makers who can open pathways and opportunities. These connections are key to increasing women's power to pursue change.

While traditional Western conceptualisations of leadership may emphasise the individual, out-in-front, masculine and heroic leader (Sinclair 2014), the points of view expressed in this paper show women's leadership is not an individualised experience. Women bring family and community commitments to their leadership. Janet and Eselealofa both point out that in the Pacific, women are living a collective lifestyle and as Tagiilima highlights, 'as a woman you come with a package'. When women seek to exercise leadership while gender norms remain unchanged, their leadership stands out as an exception rather than the normal way of doing things (Howard 2019). The stories here show what it means to be the exception from the norm—women carry the burden of navigating other women's and community commentaries, appeasing mothers-in-law and husbands, and managing family responsibilities on their leadership journey. Women need to work hard at harnessing support from people in all parts of their lives. As Eselealofa highlighted, 'culture has advantages and disadvantages … it cannot be erased'. Bringing about shifts in social norms by working with—rather than against—culture takes time, and requires great understanding and listening. Making the most of women who are already established as leaders and working with women and men together is an important part of creating change.

Finally, as Eselealofa also highlighted, leadership training programs delivered without consideration to context can lead women to believe that there is something wrong with them. The 'fixing women' approach maintains the burden on women to create change. Ahmed (2017:5) refers to this as a fantasy of equality:

> … women can now do it, even have it, or they would have had it if they just tried hard enough, that individual women can bring sexism and other barriers…to an end through sheer effort or persistence or will.

Programs may enhance women's capacity to exercise leadership, but without accompanying efforts to address inequitable structures, mobilise coalitions that can progress reform, or change men's attitudes—women are likely to remain outnumbered or exercise leadership from informal or marginalised positions.

Women's lived experiences have a legitimate place in informing approaches to support women's leadership. Women who come to the Women's Leadership Initiative are humble about what they have to offer, and some take time to recognise that they are already leaders. Yet women's individual experiences and contexts are fundamental to informing their leadership approaches. Knowledge about effective ways for donor partners to support women's developmental leadership remains limited. Giving women greater voice to reflect on what it will take to create shifts in power and change that is appropriate to their context can inform donor supports. In addition, it is important to invest in broader efforts to increase the places and forums where women can exercise leadership, so women can increase their representation in mainstream institutional environments and influence agendas from within.

Notes

1 This paper represents personal views of the authors and does not reflect official policy or position of their organisations

2 For example: The Women's Leadership Initiative, an AU$5.4 million Australian Government initiative over five years (2017–22) that aims to promote women's leadership and build a future generation of elite women leaders in PNG and the Pacific region; components of Pacific Women valued up to AU$320 million over 10 years (2012–22) to improve political, economic and social opportunities of Pacific women (supporting 14 Pacific countries to meet commitments made in the Pacific Leaders' Gender Equality Declaration); the Pacific Women's Parliamentary Partnership Program; and components of the Pacific Leadership Program valued at AU$15 million over 2014–17. See https://dfat.gov.au/geo/ pacific/ development-assistance/ Pages/gender-equality-pacific-regional.aspx

References

Acker, J 1992, 'From sex roles to gendered institutions', *Contemporary Sociology*, 21(5), 565–569.

Ahmed, S. 2017, *Living a Feminist Life,* Duke University Press, Durham.

George, N 2012, *Situating Women: Gender Politics and Circumstance in Fiji,* ANU Press, Canberra.

Howard, E 2019, 'Effective support for women's leadership in the Pacific. Lessons from the evidence', *Department of Pacific Affairs Discussion Paper 2019/01*, Australian National University, Canberra.

Leftwich, A 2009, 'Bringing agency back in: Politics and human agency in building institutions and states', *Synthesis and Overview Report, Research Paper 06*, Birmingham.

Research for Development Impact (RDI) 2019, 'Leadership for inclusive development' (#4LID), 2019 RDI Conference, 12–13 June, La Trobe University, Melbourne.

Samoa Bureau of Statistics, 2017, *Population and Demography Indicator Summary*, available from http://www.sbs.gov.ws/index.php/population-demography-and-vital-statistics

Sinclair, A 2014, 'A feminist case for leadership', in J Damousi, K Rubenstein and M Tomsic (eds), *Australian Women, Past and Present,* ANU Press, Canberra.

Tuvalu Central Statistics Division, 2017, *Tuvalu Statistics at a Glance,* https://tuvalu.prism.spc.int/, accessed 30 September 2019.

World Bank, 2016, *The World Bank in Papua New Guinea,* http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/png, accessed 30 September 2019.

My body, my choice: Women’s perspectives of defining reproductive freedom

Sabrina Laya S. Gacad, College of Social Work and Community Development, University of the Philippines

Access to information about family planning and contraceptives, compassionate health service delivery, and feminist community organising facilitate the organic emergence of women leaders who take an active role in promoting women's reproductive freedom in poor areas in urban Manila. Critical to this reproductive freedom is the definition of good motherhood—founded on a progressive understanding of sexuality—that is slowly eroding traditional restrictions to reproductive health and sexuality that persist in impoverished communities in the Philippines today.

Reproductive health is a contentious issue in the Philippines. In 2012, the country enacted the Responsible Parenthood and Reproductive Health Law (Act No.10354) that mandates government health facilities to provide free contraceptives to adults and implement an age-appropriate, comprehensive sexuality and reproductive health education program. This law has since endured constitutional challenges from the pro-life sector—the latest one a temporary restraining order on supposed abortifacient contraceptives—that was only lifted in 2017.

As of the 2015 Census, Manila had a population of 1.78 million and is home to two of the country’s most densely populated, poor communities—Tondo and what is known as the Baseco Compound in the Port Area—which have a combined population of almost 700,000 (PSA 2015). In 2017, the Philippines had a total fertility rate (TFR) of 2.7 children per woman, an improvement from the 1993 TFR of 4.1 children per woman (PSA 2017). The country has also seen an upward trend in the use of modern family planning methods from 25 per cent in 1993 to 40 per cent in 2017 (PSA 2017). Despite this, teenage pregnancy remains an urgent issue in the Philippines, as adolescent birth rates remain high and the decline in the proportion of unintended births remains low (Likhaan and ARROW 2019). Less than half of sexually active teenagers use modern contraceptives and unintended adolescent pregnancies are seen to limit young women’s options in augmenting their husband’s or partner’s income for their families.

The current definition of reproductive freedom refers to the ‘control of whether and in what circumstances women bear and rear children’ (Jaggar 1988:318). Around two million poor women of reproductive age have an unmet need for modern family planning in the Philippines (DOH 2017). Women with an unmet need for family planning lack reproductive freedom. A key solution to reversing this trend is to provide them with accurate information about modern family planning methods and help them implement their choice of birth control through direct service delivery. The deeper meaning of ‘reproductive freedom’ lies in women's access to and intentions for using birth control.

Likhaan Center for Women’s Health (Likhaan) is a not-for-profit, non-government organisation operating in five areas in metropolitan Manila and in three areas outside the metro area. The centre promotes information and awareness about sexuality and reproductive health and provides direct health services. The centre also has a women's rights and gender empowerment advocacy arm that engages communities, civil society networks, academic institutions, government bodies and other stakeholders. Likhaan operates with a professional medical staff of doctors, nurses, and midwives, as well as two levels of community organisers to drive demand for their reproductive health services. The first level is the employed community mobilisers (CMs)—staff deployed to communities to conduct education sessions, promote Likhaan’s clinic services, and seek out women in need of reproductive health services. The second level is the Community Health Promoters (CHPs) or beneficiary volunteers who receive training on sexuality and reproductive health issues in order to support clinic operations and promote Likhaan’s services in their respective neighbourhoods. It is mainly through the network of community mobilisers and health promoters that Likhaan can create community leaders able to create shifts in community attitudes around family planning, birth control, reproductive health and sexuality. The second tier of community organising allows Likhaan to not only amplify reproductive health efforts in densely populated urban areas, but allows the organisation and individual members to contribute to the steady erosion of stigma against the use of contraceptives, reproductive health and sexuality.

Feminist standpoint methodology

The feminist standpoint argues that women should be given epistemic superiority or authority (Doucet and Mauthner 2007, Jaggar 2014) as their lived experiences incorporate their awareness of how dominant gender norms and social structures contribute to their oppression and inform how they navigate their way to their liberation (Collins 2014, Harding 2014, Jaggar 2014). This methodology thus makes way for knowledge creation that is more inclusive and complete of women's realities.

The methodology also requires strong knowledge of the power imbalance between researcher and respondent, and the recognition that the researcher’s own views can influence the conduct and analysis of the research. In several instances, I have found myself confronted by the desire to impose my feminism on the respondents’ narratives, as I saw the ‘good mother’ role as oppressive and unrealistic. Upon further discussions with women respondents, it became clear that being a ‘good mother’ presents women with a sense of

purpose in their families and communities that must be honoured if their experiences were to be fully understood.

The feminist methodology incorporates two elements for social transformation. The first is to shift community attitudes around the use of contraceptives as an opportunity for women to assert control over their own bodies, and the second is to create a change in the structure of the relationship between mothers and their children—from one of a hierarchy in favour of the parent—towards a more equal relationship founded on solidarity among women or sisterhood. These elements are designed to build a strong collective of women at grassroots level who can promote sex positive reproductive health and sexuality discussions, and chip away at traditional norms and disinformation being spread about contraceptives, reproductive health, and sexuality.

This study draws from one-on-one, semi-structured interviews with nine beneficiaries of Likhaan Center for Women's Health, and two community health promoters or volunteers. All respondents were selected by Likhaan community mobilisers. Their educational levels varied from completing primary education to attending some years, or completing, secondary education. The number of children per woman ranged from two to eight, and there were also sole parents and women with children from different partners. The information from interviews was summarised into themes that were presented to five CHPs in a focus group discussion.

Good motherhood and reproductive freedom

According to respondents, being a good mother means being able to guide their child to becoming a productive member of society. This include a proper education all the way to college; ensuring their children's physical health, nutrition, proper grooming and hygiene; and providing for material needs and more capricious desires for treats, toys, and leisurely activities.

All respondents described their childhood and adolescence as having lived in poverty in the province or in slums with bare minimum amenities, having experienced hunger, making do with hand-me-down clothes, and extending the use of footwear past reasonable depreciation. Respondents describe having witnessed their parents make sacrifices, as well as collective family efforts to maintain a vibrant and happy atmosphere at home. They have a deep desire to escape poverty, and view unplanned pregnancies as a factor preventing them from having a more comfortable life.

Being a good mother is anchored in respondents' desire to give their children a life better than their own. Younger mother respondents explained their motivation for using contraceptives was to achieve birth spacing—allowing them to focus their time, energy and attention to their children at different stages of growth. Mothers who found out about birth control later in their reproductive years say they use contraceptives to avoid pregnancies altogether, and wish that they had learned about contraceptives and family planning much earlier in their lives.

The good mother role requires women to prioritise their children and family above all else—practically abandoning all personal desires. When women were asked if there was one thing they wanted for themselves, their common response was to see their children happy, healthy, and successful in fulfilling their aspirations. A number of mothers talked about wanting to have a better home to live in or finding an alternative source of livelihood through employment or microenterprises, all of which would be dedicated to improving their children's chances in life. As the women described it, the good mother role was something they wholly took upon themselves, and modern family planning methods allowed them to better fulfil this role and create radical improvements in their families' wellbeing.

Contraceptives as the renegade choice supported by sisterhoods

Likhaan's female beneficiaries see contraceptives and family planning as appropriate only for women who have already had at least one child. Women respondents described taking contraceptives to enforce their reproductive freedom even against their husbands' will or agreement. It was common for respondents to consult husbands or male partners before making major decisions that affected the family—including taking contraceptives. In the women's narratives, their partners' responses ranged from mild hesitation due to prevalent misinformation about deleterious side effects of contraceptives—to vehement opposition with the threat of violence. According to some respondents, their partners associated the use of long-acting contraceptives with promiscuity. To enforce their contraceptive choice, women had to employ strategies that ranged from negotiating and appeasing their partners' concerns to deliberately misleading them to think they were not on any form of birth control.

For all respondents, it was clear that birth control was their way of asserting control over their own bodies. They particularly cited their lived experience of the pain and difficulty of child bearing as a reason why they decided on their own to use birth control. Birth control thus becomes a woman's renegade choice.

In order to make this 'renegade' choice, women needed strong allies and support—precisely the role of Likhaan. According to women beneficiaries and volunteers, developing familiarity and friendships with Likhaan community mobilisers and health promoters in their neighbourhoods encouraged them to make the decision to use birth control. One respondent in particular cited how the use of a progestin-only implant was normalised in her community upon seeing different women wear armbands that aided the healing process post-insertion. According to the same respondent, seeing other women implement their contraceptive choices publicly strengthened her decision to use an implant. Women who face the threat of domestic abuse described how Likhaan comforted them by promising confidentiality, and informing them that their choices will always be reversible should they change their mind about using contraceptives.

Beneficiaries and volunteers alike explain what also drew them to Likhaan is the compassionate and non-judgemental attitude of the staff—who made them feel welcome to seek reproductive health support—in stark contrast to public and private health facilities whose staff have been known to talk down to patients and chastise women for having too many children.

The spaces and informal networks of women Likhaan creates form the elements of a self-sustaining sisterhood that empowers women to assert autonomy over their own bodies. These networks continue to grow as more women take the lead in bringing others into the informal sisterhood in support of their birth control choices.

Two-tiered leadership development among community women

Likhaan has a two-tiered impact on leadership development among community women. The first level refers to the organic leadership that emerges when mothers are provided with factual information about birth control and adequate support to implement their decisions. The second level refers to the training and development process that Likhaan's CHPs undergo.

Organic leadership emerges among Likhaan's beneficiaries when they engage their communities to promote the use of birth control and contraceptives to their peers, families, and other women with children in their immediate social circles.

In their narratives, the women's key reason for promoting contraceptives with other mothers is their sense of compassion and solidarity—acknowledging that all mothers go through similar difficulties in pregnancies and parenting—and any option to improve their situation must be shared with everyone. The women also commonly describe pity and compassion for young children on the streets, and cite that as another reason to promote contraceptives among their peers. In discussing birth control, they promote Likhaan clinics as the best facility to receive compassionate, non-judgemental reproductive health services, and would offer to accompany their family or friends to the clinic.

Likhaan has a more programmatic approach in harnessing women's power through training and development of CHPs—whose main reason for volunteering is a deep desire to help other people in their communities. Likhaan provides CHPs workshops and trainings on sexuality, reproductive health, gender-based and domestic violence, and women's rights. Volunteers are also trained to speak with members in their communities and navigate difficult conversations with sceptics and conservatives.

The combination of valuable information and the development of interpersonal skills allow women to gain a deeper sense of self. Their affiliation with Likhaan's brand of compassionate care also gives them a greater sense of purpose. Women see these as privileges that must be given back to their respective communities—therefore taking an active part in promoting birth control and Likhaan's services among their neighbourhoods and peers—even when not on volunteer duty.

In densely-populated communities where personal and private affairs are often talked about among peers and neighbours, having women beneficiaries and volunteers advocate for birth control is the best antidote to misinformation and gossip about sexuality and reproductive health.

The shift to better motherhood

Perhaps Likhaan's most critical contribution to promoting women's reproductive freedom is seen in initiating the shift to better motherhood. While the traditional role of the good mother rests on the woman's ability to raise children into functioning and productive individuals—who will most likely contribute to the perpetuation of gender norms around productive and reproductive work and ignore sexuality altogether—CHPs have pointed out that Likhaan's training introduced them to a progressive view of sexuality that led them to a better understanding of their adolescent children.

CHPs are also taking the lead in engaging their adolescent children about sexuality and reproductive health as a means to improve their relationship with their children and to ensure that their children develop a healthy attitude about contraceptives, sexuality, and reproductive health and bodily autonomy—thus giving them better chances in life.

Likhaan beneficiaries and CHPs both agreed that the challenge with raising children today is their curiosity or predisposition to sexual experimentation—partly due to the prevalence of sex in popular and social media. They see an unplanned pregnancy as an abrupt change to their adolescent children's lives. The best-case scenario of an unplanned pregnancy brings temporary shame to the teenage girl's family—with parents on both sides giving up dreams for their children getting a good education as the young couple take to low-skilled, low-paying jobs to raise money for a family. The worst-case scenario of a teenage mother left by her partner brings both shame and an added burden of raising another child to her family.

To prevent unplanned pregnancies, a rather startling response from some Likhaan beneficiaries was the command and control approach that included strict curfews, restricting dating to home visits, and monitoring text messages and social media accounts. Among the strategies that CHPs said they employed at home was to expose their children to their work as Likhaan volunteers, discussing sexuality issues openly and approaching relationship discussions lightly in the form of banter and jokes. They also actively promote Likhaan's adolescent reproductive health activities to their children, and encourage their children to make their own decisions about using contraceptives. According to the CHPs, they also decided to talk to their children about sexuality and birth control as a means of practicing what they preach—to establish credibility as Likhaan volunteers in their communities. This continues to fit the good mother role with new skills and knowledge that women receive being relevant to child rearing and immediately put into practice at home.

Conclusion

Likhaan, its beneficiaries and volunteers, are leading in the broader shift towards women's reproductive freedom by providing women with safe, open spaces to access accurate information on birth control and other reproductive health care services and by promoting family planning with families, peers, and broader social networks.

In terms of developing feminist leaders for reproductive freedom at the grassroots level, there are two critical elements that emerge from Likhaan's operations:

1. An open, safe space for women to find sisterhood and solidarity in the implementation of their reproductive health choices; and
2. education and skills development related to understanding sexuality and reproductive health and communication.

In terms of feminist theorising, the importance of good motherhood in the lives of women in urban, poor areas is critical to understanding the pathways to reproductive freedom and empowerment, as well as improving delivery of family planning and reproductive health services. Therefore, it is important to explore the concept of good motherhood *vis à vis* reproductive freedom with other communities of women across the country, as well as women with different abilities.

With Likhaan's support, CHPs lead in upskilling their roles to be better mothers—that acknowledges the role of parents in the progressive understanding of their children's sexuality and reproductive health. Replicating Likhaan's practices in other areas can create a broader shift in community attitudes and practices around sexuality, and aid in preventing unintended pregnancies among adolescents.

Finally, in terms of women's empowerment and leadership, Likhaan's two-pronged strategy for increased reproductive freedom involves creating a sisterhood of leaders to promote information about family planning, birth control, and women's ownership of their own bodies—and engaging CHPs to lead the change in community attitudes around sexuality and reproductive health through their children's generation. This two-tiered approach to leadership in women's reproductive freedom has become the key to eroding patriarchal traditions that control women's bodies and sexuality, and holds the potential to break the intergenerational cycle of poverty.

References

Brooks, A and SN Hesse-Biber 2007, 'An invitation to feminist research' in SN Hesse-Biber and PL Leavy (eds), *Feminist Research Practice: A primer,* Sage Publications, Inc., CA, 53-82.

Collins PH 2014, 'Learning from the outsider within: The sociological significance of black feminist thought' in AM Jaggar (ed.), *Just Methods: An interdisciplinary feminist reader*, Paradigm Publishers, Boulder, Colorado, 308–320.

Doucet A and NS Mauthner 2007, 'Feminist methodologies and epistemologies' in DL Peck and CD Bryant (eds), *The Handbook of 21st Century Sociology*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, Inc., CA.

Harding S 2014, 'Borderlands epistemologies' in AM Jaggar (ed.), *Just Methods: An interdisciplinary feminist reader*, Paradigm Publishers, Boulder, Colorado, 331–341.

Jaggar AM 1988, *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*, Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, NJ.

Jaggar AM 2014, 'Feminist standpoint theory: Social location and epistemic privilege' in AM Jaggar (ed.), *Just Methods: An interdisciplinary feminist reader,* Paradigm Publishers, Boulder, Colorado, chapter 9.

Likhaan Center for Women's Health Inc. (Likhaan) and the Asian–Pacific Resource & Research Centre for Women (ARROW) 2019, *Analyzing Data and Policy Trends in Adolescent Pregnancy and Contraception in the Philippines,* https://arrow.org.my/publication/analyzing-data-and-policy-trends-in-adolescent-pregnancy-and-contraception-in-the-philippines/, accessed 29 September 2019.

Department of Health (DOH) 2017, *Initial Progress Report January to June 2017 Accomplishments, Executive Order no. 12, s. 2017: 'Zero unmet need for modern family planning' through the strict implementation of the Responsible Parenthood and Reproductive Health Act*, https://www.doh.gov.ph/sites/default/files/publications/EO%20No.%2012%20-%20Zero%20Unmet%20Need%20for%20MFP%20Initial%20Progress%20Report-min.pdf, accessed 31 July 2019.

Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) 2017, *2017 Philippines National Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) Key Findings*, https://www.dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/SR253/SR253.pdf, accessed 31 July 2019.

Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) 2015, *Population of the National Capital Region (based on the 2015 census of population),* https://psa.gov.ph/content/population-national-capital-region-based-2015-census-population-0, accessed 31 July 2019.

Meri lidas, sexual health and wellbeing: Supporting women leaders to navigate science, culture and religion for improved health outcomes in Papua New Guinea

Rachael Tommbe[1], Michelle Redman-MacLaren[2], Kelwyn Browne[3], Nalisa Neuendorf[4], Clare Kokinai and Lalen Simeon[5], and David MacLaren[6]

Introduction

As women of PNG, we (RT, CK, LS & NN), know our Papua New Guinean sisters are overwhelmingly resourceful, highly skilled and socially connected leaders in their home environments. With a population of over eight million people who speak more than 800 languages (Muhlhausler and Romaine 2003), an estimated 85 per cent live a subsistence lifestyle in rural village settings where it is women who are predominantly responsible for agricul tural production that provides food for their families (Mikhailovich, Pamphilon, Chambers, Simeon and Zapata 2016; UNDP 2019). In this hyper-diverse, middle-income Pacific Islands nation, the opportunity for education and training is not equitably distributed. Most cultural groups are patrilineal, and educational opportunities for many girls and women is limited; almost a third less girls compared to boys complete high school and under 60 per cent of women in PNG are considered literate (UNESCO 2019). This lack of educational opportunities impacts almost all aspects of women's lives, including their position in society.

Education enhances the individual and collective power of women in PNG (Spark 2010). Training can result in a woman in a village setting being known as a *meri blong save* (a knowledgeable woman) (Redman-MacLaren 2015). Education is considered so valuable that even proximity to education brings proximal power (Redman-MacLaren et al. 2017). Women who are spouses of professionals such as health workers, teachers, accountants and pastors are often sought out as wise women leaders.

Pacific Adventist University (PAU) is a faith-based university located just outside PNG's capital, Port Moresby. It has students from across PNG and other Pacific Island countries and provides family friendly, on-campus accommodation for married students, so families can accompany the student for the period of study. When they return to their villages or are posted to remote communities, the female spouses of mature-age students at the Koiari Park campus of PAU are regularly approached to provide advice across a range of issues, including on sexual health and wellbeing. They are seen as powerful women because they are married to an educated person, and/or have lived in a *ples blong save* (a place of knowledge/learning). In the cultural context of PNG (including wantokism), people with power hold great responsibility and are expected to provide advice and resources when requested (Nanau 2011; Narokobi 1983).

In response to the need for information about sexual health, female spouses of mature-age students at PAU requested training from authors (MRM and RT) during a sexual health study in which they were participating (Redman-MacLaren et al. 2017). The request included access to up-to-date, accurate information that would enable them to capably respond to requests for advice about sexual health and wellbeing. The women identified a need to learn more about sexually transmitted infections (including HIV and AIDS), sexual practices, sexual hygiene and sexual decision making/autonomy as well as parenting and responses to violence. Families and communities expected these women to have knowledge about a broad range of issues. The women wished to prepare for leadership roles they were expected to fulfil when posted with their husbands to remote, resource-limited villages of PNG. In this paper, we report our response to this request through the development and evaluation of a training package for *meri lidas* (women leaders).

Development of the *meri lida* package

Systematic scoping review

To ensure the *meri lida* training package incorporated best practices that were culturally and spiritually situated, we initially conducted a systematic scoping review (Neuendorf et al. forthcoming). Through this review we evaluated existing evidence about sexual health and wellbeing training with women in Pacific Island countries and territories, and identified characteristics, effectiveness and relevance of the evidence. In addition, we spoke to a number of NGOs and public servants in the PNG Ministries of Health and Education to understand previous training experiences and source relevant training materials for the context.

Drawing on the evidence sourced during the review four of the co-authors spent five days in face-to-face discussion and collaborative writing, examining the content of evidence and previous implementation of sexual health and wellbeing training. Authors reviewed training package

1 School of Health Sciences, Pacific Adventist University, PNG.
2 College of Medicine and Dentistry, James Cook University, Cairns.
3 Rural Primary Health Services Project, PNG National Health Department.
4 The Cairns Institute, James Cook University.
5 School of Humanities, Education and theology, Pacific Adventist University.
6 Deputy Vice Chancellor, Pacific Adventist University.

content and experiences of delivery for adaptability and relevance to the PNG context and to the identified participants of our proposed workshops, the *meri lidas.* The authors also drew upon their cultural, spiritual and professional knowledge and experience of practicing in Pacific contexts. The team consisted of a senior nurse educator (RT), sexual health nurse and educator (KB), social worker (MRM) and Papua New Guinean anthropologist (NN). The remaining authors reviewed the module for suitability, including senior education lecturers from PNG (LS and CK) and a Pacific public health specialist (DM). The PAU-based team members (RT, CK and LS) belong to the Seventh-day Adventist faith community, and the remaining authors have extensive history and experience of working with Christian churches in PNG and other Pacific Islands (Tommbe et al. 2013).

The *meri lida* training package was mapped out visually on a whiteboard and butchers' paper enabling changes to content and sequence as literature was more closely reviewed and authors' experiences shared. The design of the training package incorporated adult learning principles of interaction, discussion, role-plays and questions and answers. The team developing the training package had extensive experience facilitating adult learning, health promotion and communication for health in PNG and other Pacific contexts. Discussion was held on the best adult learning principles to apply for each topic, drawing on experiences and evaluations of similar packages. The request for specific content came from the participants themselves, even so, the authors were cognisant of the potential personal discomfort that may exist when the topics are actually raised in a workshop setting. To normalise feelings and thoughts of discomfort when discussing human sexuality, several interactive activities were developed to mitigate potential discomfort, and to demonstrate how the discomfort could be used as further learning and empathy for others. For example, a short session on reconciling potential internal conflicts with official church teachings with the reality of the thoughts and actions of people who may come to the *meri lida* for advice or information. This topic also linked into the self-care module which included an acknowledgement of 'transference' when confronted with topics on human relationships, that is normalising the introspection that can sometimes take over when hearing others stories that are personally relevant or mirror in some way the helpers' own experience.

Developing the modules

A module was developed about the sexual health status of people in PNG informed by current data available from the National Department of Health Information System. This data snapshot included current sexually transmitted infection (STI) syndromes reported across provinces, the reported violence and sexual assaults, the contraceptive coverage, antenatal clinic attendance, supervised delivery attendance, as well as the estimates for the HIV epidemic in PNG. Topics in this snapshot also included results from the recently completed bio-behavioural study of female sex workers and men who have sex with other men (Kelly-Hanku et al. 2018). Using photos and diagrams a module on sexual and reproductive anatomy for women, men, male to female transgender and female to male transgender was also developed as these questions were asked of the authors in other workshop settings.

Facilitating the training

The training was facilitated by RT, KC and KB over two days, 8–9 October 2018 using the *Strongim Meri Lida* Facilitator's Guide and Participant Workbook. Thirteen women participants attended the training at the PAU library conference room.

Process in recruiting the participants

Most participants were spouses of SDA church pastors who were studying a Master of Leadership and Development or Master of Philosophy degree. The majority of women were from PNG, although four women were from other Pacific Island countries. The women's level of education varied from no formal education to college or university education. Four women were teachers and office workers, with the remaining women working in the home.

Recruitment of the women participants began with a request through the University's Student Services Department. A general invitation was sent via email to all male married students to convey the invitation to their spouse to participate in this sexual health training. From our previous experience involving male spouses in the invitation phase ensures men are informed about training offered, and are more likely to support their wives' participation (Redman-MacLaren 2015). Following this invitation, facilitators (CK and RT) went to residential 'villages' on campus where married students live and verbally invited women to attend the training. During this invitation phase, an information sheet about the study was distributed to women face-to-face or via email where they were invited to confirm their attendance if interested.

The training

Over the two days of training, several topics were facilitated (see Figure 1, next page).

Facilitator's observation on participation

The participants showed great keenness in learning throughout the two days of training. This was reflected in the numerous discussions, role-plays, presentations displayed and many questions asked including those they had never asked anyone before. The women commented on topics they would never usually discuss openly. The *meri lida* training ended with a celebration during which participants received certificates of participation and a shared meal. The program was shared with families and ended on a high note with appreciation expressed by the male spouses.

Figure 1

Day one topics	Summary of the topics
1. Introduction	The historical development of the package and how the package can contribute to sexual health knowledge among women in local communities.
2. Defining *meri lidas* and their roles in the communities	An understanding of the various identities that women have: *meris lidas* roles in family, church and community as first responders to sexual health needs and related situations.
3. Self-Awareness (Who am I?)	Activities to help participants answer questions about self 'Who am I?' and reflect on the multiple identities each women has.
4. Framework for action: Enacting the *meri lida* role	Identify five elements in the practice frame-work for *meri lida's* role in the community. The framework explains the key steps that *meri lidas* take in addressing sexual health issues in the communities.
Day two topics	**Summary of the topics**
5. Basic communication skills	Basic communication skills for supportive conversations about sexual health and wellbeing. Role-plays for active listening skills to enable advocacy for community members. Communicating sexual health issues differs with different groups and contexts including age, gender, religious denomination, education level.
6. What is sexual health and wellbeing?	Definition of sexual health and wellbeing terms. The significance of these terms, in relation to general health and wellbeing. Labelling of sexual and reproductive anatomy of men and women.
7. Snapshot of sexual health in PNG	Statistics and trends of sexual health in PNG. Rates of HIV, STI, contraception, and sexual violence discussed.
8. Gender roles in PNG	Differences between gender roles in PNG. Using role plays, *meri lidas* identify the roles of men and women in PNG in the past, currently and potential roles in the future.
9. Referral pathway for sexual health issues	A *meri lida* does not work in isolation, but as a first responder in a network. Specialists should be referred to when the problem is beyond their capacity to assist.
10. Self-care of *meri lida*	*Meri lidas* may get exhausted in the process of listening and trying to help others. Therefore, an understanding of their own strengths and weaknesses and identify what type of support a *meri lida* needs to empower her in the role.

Evaluation of training

Two weeks after the training ended an evaluation was undertaken by author NN at PAU. The evaluation involved 11 participants in two focus group discussions, and individual interviews with the three facilitators.

The participants involved in the evaluation acknowledged that the *meri lida* training was useful in developing and providing:

- Individual participant knowledge on sexual health and wellbeing information;
- a process of response to address issues that arise in their respective communities;
- information on how to handle difficult situations;
- a process of referral (if required);
- necessary information to identify particular sexual health and wellbeing issues in their respective communities;
- individual communication tools;
- information on mindfulness as *meri lidas* in their respective communities; and
- an opportunity to identify networks of support in their respective communities.

A prominent response from the participants of the *meri lida* training was that individual women felt they had gained more confidence after undertaking the training, including confidence in their individual abilities and capacity, in their positions as information bearers and in the community where they were recognised as leaders. The training provided individual women an environment to self-actualise, acknowledge and empower their position and role as a *meri lida*. As one participant stated: 'This workshop has given me courage.'

During the closing celebration, the participants' husbands expressed positively that the *meri lida* training was vital for this group of women, particularly upon their return to home communities. Each participant expressed positively that they had gained new and useful information regarding sexual health and wellbeing. However, both participants and facilitators recognised that more time would have enhanced the delivery of the training package.

The flexible mode of delivery allowed key information to be shared while also affording time to respond and react to specific content questions from participants. The use of *Tok Pisin* in these instances (and knowledge of such by facilitators) was vital in clarifying particular content and concepts within the training, and in response to specific

content questions. Locally relevant resource materials including relevant imagery and appropriate language was requested. In addition, future training should incorporate more specific information about STIs (signs and symptoms), personal hygiene, reproduction, marital relationships and wellbeing, and talking to children about sexual health.

Men requested training

Following the *meri lida* training a request was received from men on the PAU campus to also have some training about sexual health. This request was responded to by Deputy Vice Chancellor and author LS who arranged a sexual health nurse and educator, author KB, to facilitate a three-hour men's sexual health session at PAU on 26 November, 2018. Fifty-eight men attended of whom 40 were married. There was a high demand for sexual health knowledge and enthusiastic participation from the men including many questions across a broad range of male and female sexual health and wellbeing issues.

Lessons learnt and where to next

Empowerment of women and girls is essential if the 17 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals are to be achieved, including Good Health and Wellbeing (Goal Number 3) and Gender Equality (Goal Number 5) (United Nations General Assembly 2015). The *meri lida* training empowered women and they reported that the training gave them the *courage* to openly discuss sexual health needs with their adolescent children. In addition, women felt more comfortable discussing sexual health issues and needs with their husbands. This feedback from women who participated in the *meri lida* training suggests basic sexual health knowledge can strengthen and empower women to lead sexual health and wellbeing education and awareness in their family, changing the dynamic of family life within communities. There is potential for these women to help prevent major health challenges in PNG, including HIV and unplanned pregnancies—two of the greatest risks to sexual and reproductive health for women globally.

Sexual health education is in demand in PNG, as evidenced by our *meri lida* training experience. In the *meri lida* work, requests for sexual health and wellbeing knowledge spanned a range of women—from highly educated to women with little or no formal education. This is consistent with previous HIV research we have conducted across a range of health, education and church settings in PNG (Browne et al. 2011; Kokinai 2014; MacLaren et al. 2013; Redman-MacLaren et al. 2017; Sohenalo'e et al. 2014). The women's limited knowledge of female and male anatomy, reported challenges in negotiating sex, and a desire to learn more about discussing sex with children are consistent with existing evidence (Redman-MacLaren et al. 2017) and point to major sexual health knowledge gaps amongst women in PNG.

Women want to learn more about sexual health topics so they can disseminate factual information to the public and assist community members with sexual health issues in an appropriate manner. This desire was evident when participants requested printed materials and other resources during and after the presentation. Given PAU is a *ples blong save,* there is potential for it to become an education hub for *meri lidas*, and provide short training workshops for women who wish to continue learning in areas of basic sexual health education and wellbeing.

The training program also created interest among the husbands of the participants and led to a request for a sexual health program tailored for their needs. The need to support men's health was also evident from feedback received by study participants. These findings are consistent with our previous sexual health research and subsequent responses through men's health workshops (Redman-MacLaren 2015), and Pacific-wide strategies responding to identified needs (Secretariat of the Pacific Community 2014). A follow up sexual health needs assessment is required for this group to provide information sessions or trainings accordingly.

The development, implementation and evaluation of the *meri lida* training demonstrated there was limited knowledge about sexual health and wellbeing among women spouses at a university campus in PNG. However, a two-day training course did increase women's ability to support family and community members around sexual health and wellbeing. There is potential for the *meri lida* training process to be improved and then expanded in delivery through existing church women's groups and community-based systems. The research team is now working to expand a Papua New Guinean-led *meri lida* training process to empower *meri lidas* to address sexual health and wellbeing issues in their rural and remote communities and to disseminate appropriate sexual health information to their families and communities.

References

Browne, K, D MacLaren, M Redman-MacLaren, W McBride, R Tommbe and T Mafile'o 2011, *Willing and Able: Talking about sexual health during male circumcision reserach in Papua New Guinea,* paper presented at the 20th World Congress for Sexual Health, Glasgow, Scotland, 12–16 June 2011.

Kelly-Hanku, A, B Willie, DA Weikum, R Boli Neo, M,Kupul, K Coy, A Hakim 2018, *Kauntim mi tu: Multi-Site Summary Report from the Key Population Integrated Bio-Behavioural Survey, Papua New Guinea,* http://www.aidsdatahub.org/sites/default/files/publication/PNG_Kauntim_mi_tu_Multi-Site_Summary_Report_from_the_Key_Population_IBBS_2018.pdf

Kokinai, C 2014, *Seventh-day Adventist Education System Response to HIV and AIDS in Papua New Guinea: A case study*, Pacific Adventist University, Port Moresby.

MacLaren, D, R Tommbe, TM Manineng, F Fregonese, M Redman-MacLaren, WJ McBride 2013, 'Foreskin cutting beliefs and practices and the acceptability of male circumcision for HIV prevention in Papua New Guinea' *BMC Public Health,* 13(1).

Mikhailovich, K, B Pamphilon, B Chambers, L Simeon and JR Zapata 2016, 'Exploring the lives of women smallholder farmers in Papua New Guinea through a collaborative mixed methods approach', *Cogent Social Sciences,* 2(1), 1143328.

Muhlhausler, P and S Romaine 2003, *Tok Pisin Texts: From the beginning to the present*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Philadelphia.

Nanau, G 2011, 'The Wantok System as a socio-economic and political network in Melanesia', *Journal of Multicultural Society*, 2.

Narokobi, B 1983, *The Melanesian Way*, Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, Institute of Pacific Studies University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji.

Redman-MacLaren, M 2015, *The Implications of Male Circumcision Practices for Women in Papua New Guinea, Including for HIV Prevention*, James Cook University, Townsville, Australia.

Redman-MacLaren, M, J Mills, R Tommbe, D MacLaren, R Speare and WJH McBride 2017, 'Implications of male circumcision for women in Papua New Guinea: A transformational grounded theory study', *BMC Women's Health*, 17(15), 3.

Secretariat of the Pacific Community 2014, *Pacific Sexual Health Well Being Shared Agenda 2015–2019*, www.spc.int/hiv/index.php?option=com_docman&task=cat_view&gid=182&Itemid=148

Sharp, T, J Cox, C Spark, S Lusby and M Rooney 2015, *The Formal, the Informal, and the Precarious: Making a living in urban Papua New Guinea*, https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/32429.

Sohenalo'e, C, C Kokinai, U Api, R Tommbe, D MacLaren and on behalf of the SDA Responses to HIV in PNG Study team 2014, *'Our Church is against condoms but you use it for your protection': How health workers, teachers and church leaders balance religious belief and professional ethics when responding to HIV in PNG*, paper presented at the Partnerships with PNG seminar series, Cairns, Australia.

Spark, C 2010, 'Changing lives: Understanding the barriers that confront educated women in Papua New Guinea', *Australian Feminist Studies*, 25(63), 17–30.

Tommbe, R, DJ MacLaren, ML Redman-MacLaren, L Asugeni and WJ McBride 2013, 'Researching male circumcision for HIV prevention in Papua New Guinea: A process that incorporates science, faith and culture', *Health Research Policy and Systems/BioMed Central*, 11(1), 1–8.

UNESCO 2019, 'Papua New Guinea', http://uis.unesco.org/country/PG

UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) 2019, 'About Papua New Guinea', www.pg.undp.org/content/papua_new_guinea/en/home/countryinfo.html

United Nations General Assembly 2015, *Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld

Change from within: Supporting local leadership and including women's voices in responses to gender-based violence in Timor-Leste

Kayli Wild and Guilhermina de Araujo, La Trobe University

Women subjected to violence are often at multiple intersections of inequality. Difficulties in accessing them as research participants and bringing their voices to improve policy and practice have resulted in the most vulnerable people being left out of development processes. The findings in this report have been drawn from careful research with 28 survivors of domestic and sexual violence in Timor-Leste and highlight the importance of supporting local leadership, negotiating the politics of ownerships, and including the concerns and priorities of people with lived experience of the issues.

Women's perspectives matter

Domestic and sexual violence are significant public health and human rights issues that disproportionally affect women in all corners of the globe. In Timor-Leste, 38–59 per cent of women have experienced violence from their intimate partner, and around 75 per cent of both men and women have experienced physical and/or sexual abuse as a child (GDS and Ministry of Health 2018; The Asia Foundation 2016). The immediate and longer-term impact on women and children's health has been well documented, with exposure to domestic violence linked with depression, suicide, death, injury, disability, sexually transmitted infections, unplanned pregnancy and low birthweight (TAF 2016; Taft and Watson 2013; Garcia-Moreno et al 2005). Children exposed to violence often have emotional and behavioural problems, poorer learning outcomes, higher risk of death, and are more likely to continue cycles of violence into adulthood, as either perpetrators or victims (Holt et al. 2008).

Given the extremely high prevalence of domestic violence as well as survivors' higher level of need for health services, a substantial proportion of women and children attending health services will be experiencing violence at home. The World Health Organisation (WHO), the World Medical Association and the International Confederation of Midwives have all outlined the importance of health providers being able to identify signs of abuse including: respond with empathy; enhance safety; and support women to find further help. As a core competency of medical and midwifery practice, training on domestic and sexual violence is important at the pre- and in-service levels.

When developing training materials and designing service improvements, it is vital that they are shaped by the perspectives and needs of those that they are targeting. Women's lived experience with the system and their perspectives on appropriate services can lead to more effective strategies for health system improvement and better use of limited resources. However, given the short timeframes and restricted budgets usually allocated to the development of guidelines and training packages, it is very difficult to generate meaningful dialogue and conduct rigorous research that creates space for end users to be heard. These issues are compounded when addressing domestic and sexual violence because these women are often at the intersection between gender, poverty, trauma, poor health, and stigma. These challenges have often resulted in the most vulnerable people being left out of development processes. We argue, however, that failing to take their experiences and perspectives, their fears and hopes, and the complexity of their contexts into account can result in a missed opportunity to contribute to meaningful change that makes a difference to their lives.

Aims: Supporting health system responses to violence against women

Our aim is to support health system improvements in responding to violence against women and children. To understand the issues from multiple perspectives we first

interviewed midwives, as the primary providers of health services to women in Timor-Leste, about their current practice and needs in supporting survivors of violence. The results highlighted the need for pre- and in-service training, support from senior staff including doctors and health managers, and an enabling health system that includes a private place for consultations, enough time to talk with each client, national guidelines, and closer links with referral services (Wild et al. 2019).

Because education and training provide the foundation for a country's health care services, we focused first on developing a pre-service course for nursing, midwifery and medical degrees in Timor-Leste. We established a working group consisting of Australian and Timorese universities (La Trobe University, Universidade Nasional Timor Lorosa'e (UNTL) and Instituto Superior Cristal) and a domestic violence advocacy service (PRADET), and applied for funding to develop and pilot the course. With funding from WHO and a Rotary Global grant we set about

adapting WHO's draft curriculum for Timor-Leste. Using the WHO curriculum was important because it provided the international evidence to help structure the course. But we knew we needed to contextualise, and re-structure the content in order to develop learning materials that brought deeper meaning and understanding for participants. To do this, it was imperative to draw on the knowledge of women with lived experience of the issues which was difficult as there had been no research conducted on survivors of violence in Timor-Leste about their health experiences, their health care needs, or what type of care they value. We aimed to fill this data gap by conducting research with women survivors in order to understand and share their lived experience of trauma and resilience, and develop visual learning materials to include in pre-service training.

Methods: A desire-based framework

Eve Tuck (2009) has outlined the limitations of 'damage-centred' research that focuses on people's pain and adversity and reinforces one-dimensional stereotypes of the research participants as helpless and hopeless. She argues for a desire-based framework to counteract the damage narrative 'by documenting not only the painful elements of social realities but also the wisdom and hope' (Tuck 2009:416).

Our research was conducted in three municipalities in Timor-Leste—Dili, Liquica, and Baucau. Women survivors of violence were recruited with the help of NGOs who were working with them and with whom they already had a trusted relationship. We aimed to include a diversity of participants, including younger and older women, from rural and urban areas, with different levels of education, different forms of domestic and sexual violence, as well as women with disability. In-depth, narrative-style interviews were conducted with 28 women. With the women's consent, the interviews were audio recorded and permission to construct anonymous video stories was obtained. The interviews were then transcribed in Tetum, translated to English and entered into NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software package, for data coding and thematic analysis. To construct the video narratives, real quotes from a variety of women were extracted, based on themes emerging from the data. They were then edited into three video stories, where the quotes were read by an actor. We showed the videos to women survivors and some of our research participants and gained their feedback. Their view was that the stories reflected their real experiences and, while they were difficult to watch, it was important to share them with health providers and to include them in the training course.

> This video is important to show so people can know what we go through and how to help. Also it's an important message to other women to be strong (Joana, research participant).

Findings: The care women want

The video with three women's stories can be viewed at https://youtu.be/AALC9kqrho0. A major theme that emerged from their stories was the ongoing effect of trauma from violence. The women spoke not only about the physical and sexual violence, but about their sadness and stress, not being able to eat or care for their children, and feeling totally overwhelmed which sometimes resulted in mental breakdowns. They also spoke about the significant barriers they face accessing safety and health services in the middle of the night when their husband is most likely to be violent. They described how they feel embarrassed and ashamed to show their face in health facilities, how people look at them and gossip, and how health providers get angry with them when they do finally manage to get help. The women also shared their hopes and desires for better care in the future. They want their health providers to be nice to them, to smile and speak from their heart. Because of the stigma they face, they want health providers to attend to them quickly, they want the consultation to be done in a private place and they want them to ask questions in a sensitive way so that they are able to open up about what happened. Women who had been subjected to and survived some of the most terrible acts of violence said health providers had an important role in not keeping quiet, but in helping each other as women, so that they can escape from the situation they are in.

Re-telling women's stories, sharing the complexity of their trauma and what care they want through visual narratives and in their own language, can be a powerful way to communicate research findings in academic environments. We believe embedding these videos with group discussion in university curriculum has the potential to increase student understanding and attitudes and several Timorese universities have committed to integrating the course as a core subject in their health degrees (Wild and Taft 2019). However, the exact contribution of the videos on successful learning outcomes remains unknown. As other countries embark on adapting the WHO curriculum and developing their own learning resources, further research should be done to assess the impact of videos on promoting empathy and understanding amongst practising and emerging health providers.

Implications: Supporting leadership from within

The process of research and collaboration in incorporating women's voices and embedding a new pre-service curriculum on responding to violence against women has demonstrated not only the importance of university leadership in Timor-Leste, but also the role of external collaborators in supporting these change processes. The development of the curriculum required an external funding partnership with WHO, and the decision to base the content on WHO's draft curriculum was important for *establishing credibility and increasing cross-sector applicability*. This meant that even with multiple agencies working on different aspects of the health system response (National Guidelines, in-service training, our pre-service training), they all utilised the same fundamental concepts and global leadership provided by WHO.

Being adaptable and flexible with our budget and timeline was also important. For example, the videos with

women's stories were never part of the original curriculum budget, but we saw a need and opportunity to contribute to students' learning and were able to shift the budget items to accomplish this. In addition, the political context in Timor-Leste is unpredictable i.e. government re-elections, delays in government funding for universities to function etc). If we'd put too many conditions on how and when the curriculum was adapted and implemented, the process would have failed.

It is widely recognised that *collective action is fundamental* to achieving development goals. We found that working collectively was an intensely political process that involved negotiating politics within our own team, navigating power structures within and between universities, and collaborating with some external organisations but not others. Rather than working collectively with *all* of the organisations that have an interest in addressing the issue, we found it more useful to build alliances with strategic individuals and organisations with whom we work well. Having an existing relationship, a history of research together and a shared commitment to the issue provided a strong foundation from which to navigate the inevitable politics of working collectively. In striving to push for change toward health curricula that is inclusive of gender-based violence we found our experiences resonated with Hudson and colleagues' (2018:4) summary of developmental leadership as fundamentally a collective process where 'motivated agents must overcome barriers to cooperation and form coalitions with sufficient power, legitimacy and influence to manoeuvre and build, transform or support institutions.'

Conclusion

When developing programs to address violence against women, we must take the time to understand women's experiences in order to design systems and services that are meaningful to them. This is not an easy task, and we need to think creatively about how we as researchers and development practitioners can foreground women's voices, experiences, and priorities in the process of systems change. In doing so, we need to be careful about how we present those stories, and how we can communicate women's needs and desires without causing them harm or reinforcing stereotypes of damage and hopelessness.

The leadership roles taken by our Timorese university colleagues have been vital to the success of the project and sustainability of the curriculum, and these roles could never have been filled by outsiders. Our role as researchers and external collaborators has been crucial, however, in supporting the emergence of this leadership for curriculum change, stepping up to lend support and credibility when needed, and in doing the research with women to ensure their perspectives are included. In supporting this important process of change from within we have found it requires stepping back to let our local partners lead, a commitment to negotiating the multiple layers of politics, and finding creative ways to include the concerns and priorities of people with lived experience of the issues.

Note

We are grateful to the women who bravely shared their stories with us. We acknowledge the contribution and leadership role of our colleagues in the larger research project: Lidia Gomes, Universidade Nacional Timor Lorosa'e; Angelina Fernandes, Instituto Superior Cristal; Luisa Marcal, PRADET; Angela Taft, La Trobe University; Joao Martins, Universidade Nacional Timor Lorosa'e and Linda Kelly, La Trobe University.

References

García-Moreno, C, HAFM Jansen, M Ellsberg, L Heise and C Watts 2005, *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women*, World Health Organisation, Geneva.

GDS (General Directorate of Statistics) and Ministry of Health, ICF 2018, *Timor-Leste Demographic and Health Survey 2016*, GDS and ICF, Dili and Maryland.

Holt, S, H Buckley and S Whelan 2008, 'The impact of exposure to domestic violence on children and young people: A review of the literature', *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 32(8), 797–810.

Hudson, D, C McLoughlin, C Roche and H Marquette 2018, *Inside the Black Box of Political Will: 10 years of findings from the Developmental Leadership Program,* DLP, Birmingham, www.dlprog.org/publications/research-papers/inside-the-black-box-of-political-will-10-years-of-findings-from-the-developmental-leadership-program

Reinharz, S and L Davidman 1992, *Feminist Methods in Social Research,* Oxford University Press, New York.

Taft, A and L Watson 2013, *Violence Against Women in Timor-Leste: Secondary Analysis of the 2009–10 Demographic and Health Survey,* La Trobe University, Melbourne.

The Asia Foundation 2016, *Understanding Violence Against Women and Children in Timor-Leste: Findings from the Nabilan Baseline Study,* The Asia Foundation, Dili.

Tuck, E 2009, 'Suspending damage: A letter to communities', *Harvard Educational Review*, 79(3), 409–427.

Wild, K, L Gomes, A Fernandes, G de Araujo, I Madeira, LC Matos, S McDonald and A Taft 2019, 'Responding to violence against women: A qualitative study with midwives in Timor-Leste', *Women and Birth*, 32(4), e459–e466.

Wild, K and A Taft 2019, *Adapting and Evaluating WHO's Curriculum for Health Providers Responding to Violence Against Women: Final report on pre-service training pilots in Timor-Leste*, La Trobe University, Melbourne.

Leading from the intersections

Gillian Fletcher[1], Alice Ridge[2], Jen Blyth[3], and Sophie Seck[4]

'Leadership' is a slippery term that has been, and no doubt will continue to be, defined and re-defined within academic literature in fields ranging from business to psychology and beyond. In international development, Storberg-Walker (2018) noted that 'countless theories, principles, guidelines, and leadership development programs' have been offered, amounting to a 'leadership industry'.

Yet despite the breadth of work on leadership in development, Storberg-Walker added: 'this industry has been … critiqued as Western-focused, gender-biased, and replete with normative values'.

We begin by outlining challenges faced in terms of leading within the space of international development characterised by massive power differentials and power dynamics, which continue to function despite widespread commitment to development that is locally led (OECD 2016), and follows the mantra of 'leave no one behind' (UN General Assembly 2015).

The question driving this paper—and the conference workshop on which it is based—is: 'how can international development advance, when stepping up can mean stepping back?' We argue that ensuring development is locally led and that no one is left behind requires a balancing act, one in which organisations:

- Acknowledge and respond to 'intersecting drivers of marginalisation and exclusion' (ACFID 2017a) without using this as an excuse for glossing over the specific barriers related to individual drivers of marginalisation and exclusion (for example physical access for people with disabilities, legal status of women and people from gender and sexual minorities); and
- create space for active, genuine participation of those who are marginalised and excluded, in order to shift inequitable power dynamics (both within international development practice and within communities).

The paper contains individually-authored sections on lessons we have learnt in our own practice with regards to 'leadership', power dynamics and intersections of inequity—and concludes with a summary of discussions during the workshop we ran at the 2019 Research for Development Impact (RDI) Network conference (RDI 2019).

First, however, it is important to us that we outline the different lens of each author in this paper. Lead author Gillian Fletcher is co-chair of the ACFID Sexual Rights in Development Community of Practice and an action learning practitioner with a particular interest in the intertwining of gender and sexuality and in the role of all social hierarchies—including, but not limited to, gender and sexuality—in creating and maintaining inequities. Alice Ridge is the co-chair of the ACFID Gender Equality Community of Practice and the Research, Policy and Advocacy Advisor at the International Women's Development Agency (IWDA), and brings a focus on the way in which gendered social norms impact the experiences of women and people of all gender identities.

Alice Ridge is the co-chair of the ACFID Gender Equality Community of Practice and the Research, Policy and Advocacy Advisor at the International Women's Development Agency (IWDA), and brings a focus on the way in which gendered social norms impact the experiences of women and people of all gender identities.

---

1. Co-chair ACFID Sexual Rights in Development Community of Practice.
2. ACFID Gender Equality Community of Practice and Research Policy and Advocacy Adviser, International Women's Development Agency.
3. Disability Inclusion Adviser, CBM.,
4. ACFID Standards and Code of Conduct.

Jen Blyth is deaf and works as a Disability Inclusion Advisor with CBM Australia. Jen wants to ensure everybody understands how disability is perceived and how this influences the roles that people with disabilities have—or are allowed to have—in every aspect of their lives.

Sophie Seck is the Standards and Code lead at the Australian Council for International Development (ACFID), and participated in the RDI conference workshop and this paper from the perspective of good practice as articulated by the ACFID Code of Conduct.

Follow the leader?

International development has long been critiqued for practices and processes that can both create and reinforce inequitable power dynamics. More than 30 years ago Escobar (1984) argued that international development relied on the concept of under-development, a concept he defined as 'the production of discourses by Western countries about the Third World as a means of effecting domination over it'. Fals-Borda (1991) wrote of development's claims to external expertise as an attack on 'ordinary people's way of interpreting reality and their common sense'. Hobart (1993) described international development as the wholesale exportation of 'world-ordering' knowledge—created within a Western social, political and economic context and exported around the developing world. Fletcher has more recently argued that these differentials continue in part as a result of money and resources being moved through giver/receiver relationships—because 'development practice remains embedded in the belief that what is required is introduction of external knowledge into an "under-developed" local context'—and because economic growth remains accepted as an underlying driver of 'development' (Fletcher 2019).

This paradigm has direct consequences for the translation of development efforts into practical outcomes in people's lives. The final report for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)—precursor to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) with their slogan of 'leave no one behind' (UN General Assembly, 2015)—stated:

> Millions of people are *being left behind*, especially the poorest and those disadvantaged because of their sex, age, disability, ethnicity or geographic location. Targeted efforts will be needed to reach the most vulnerable people (UN 2015, emphasis added).

Prior to the launch of the SDGs, the pan-African initiative, the Reality of Aid Africa Network stated:

> … all indications suggest that these agreements … will not usher a new dawn for humanity. Instead they are likely to further concentrate power and wealth in the hands of the 1 per cent on the one hand, and deepen the dispossession, exploitation and oppression of peoples and environmental plunder on the other (Reality of Aid Africa Network 2015).

As Fletcher (2019) has noted elsewhere:

> The failure of the MDGs to help those most in need, despite the principle of equality and equity that was supposed to underpin work on attaining the goals, came as no surprise to many, including many within the UN system itself.

During the life of the MDGs, various statements were issued by UN human rights experts warning that insufficient attention was being paid to who was being left behind, and why. In 2010, a report from the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) stated frankly: '… the [MDG] targets do not pay sufficient attention to inequality, the rights of women and marginalised groups and the poorest of the poor' (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights 2010).

It is in this context that new approaches are critically important, if the world is to meet the ambitious aims of the SDGs.

Taking a broader view

The peak body for international development agencies in Australia is the Australian Council for International Development (ACFID). The work of ACFID's more than 120 member organisations is guided by a voluntary, self-regulatory Code of Conduct that 'aims to improve international development and humanitarian action outcomes and increase stakeholder trust by enhancing the transparency, accountability and effectiveness of ACFID's members' (ACFID 2017a).

The ACFID Code of Conduct was revised in 2016 and a new Quality Assurance Framework (QAF) developed. The revised Code of Conduct and QAF, which came into effect on June 1, 2017, mark a significant shift in the Australian aid industry's approach to achieving the SDGs as they are explicitly rights-based, and require ACFID members to 'advance inclusion' (ACFID 2017a). Under Quality Principle 1, Rights, Protection and Inclusion, members are expected to commit to respecting and responding to 'the needs, rights and inclusion of those who are vulnerable and those who are affected by marginalisation and exclusion' (ibid).

In the QAF, this is further defined as:

> those who are affected by the intersecting drivers of marginalisation and exclusion, including [but] not restricted to race, religion, ethnicity, indigeneity, disability, age, displacement, caste, gender, gender identity, sexuality, sexual orientation, poverty, class and socio-economic status (Code of Conduct Compliance Indicator 1.2.1, ACFID 2017b).

This paper, and the workshop run on this issue at the RDI Network conference (2019), were both inspired by the reference to 'intersecting drivers of marginalisation and exclusion'. While three of the four authors framed their contribution around specific drivers—sexual rights, gender rights and disability rights—we all recognise the importance of thinking 'intersectionally'.

There is huge variance in the way in which intersectionality is interpreted within both academic theory and the practical pursuit of social justice development practice (Collins 2015). A full discussion of intersectionality and its theoretical bases lies outside of the bounds of this paper, however, the ACFID Code of Conduct compliance

indicator quoted earlier summarises our broad shared understanding that characteristics—such as race, ethnicity, gender, disability, sexuality, socioeconomic status—work *together* to deepen people's experiences of marginalisation and exclusion. Further, the authors agree broadly with Collins (1993) that there is a great need for taking 'categories of analysis that have created cleavages in our lives' and using them as 'categories of connection in building empathy for each other's experiences'.

Connecting the data

As noted, three of the four authors work mainly on a specific cause, while seeking to pay attention to the intersections between those causes—Fletcher on sexual rights, Ridge on gender rights, and Blyth on disability rights.

Being able to build empathy across causes first requires acceptance of the 'cleavages' (Collins 1993) that constrain and undermine people's rights in each of these areas. Fletcher provides the following in relation to **sexuality**:

> All human beings should have the right 'to control and decide freely on matters related to their sexuality', including the right to 'be free from violence, coercion or intimidation in their sexual lives; have access to sexual and reproductive health care information, education and services; and to be protected from discrimination based on the exercise of their sexuality'.[1]

Despite this, people across the world face denial and abuse of their sexual rights. For example, a report on provision of sex education in the USA noted that '43 per cent of adolescent females and 57 per cent of adolescent males did not receive information about birth control before they had sex for the first time' (Guttmacher Institute 2016). As of March 2019, 'there are 70 UN Member States (35 per cent) that criminalise consensual same-sex sexual acts … [and] six UN Member States [that] impose the death penalty on consensual same-sex sexual acts' (Mendos 2019). The World Health Organization reported that 'children with mental or intellectual impairments [experience] 4.6 times the risk of sexual violence than their non-disabled peers' (WHO 2012). And, as noted by the Global Network of Sex Worker Projects (NSWP):

> Sex workers around the world are vulnerable to violence because of the criminalisation and legal oppression of sex work, compounded by stigma and discrimination. This vulnerability to violence is increased for sex workers living with HIV, sex workers who use drugs, transgender sex workers, migrant sex workers, and sex workers that are part of other marginalised groups. (NSWP 2017)

In relation to **disability**, Blyth contributes the following:

> It is estimated that globally there are 1 billion people with disabilities or 15 per cent of the population, and that 80 per cent of those live in developing countries.[2] Twenty percent of the world's poorest people have some kind of disability, and if families and relatives are included, 50 per cent of the population could be impacted by disability (World Bank 2011). CBM Australia's report Leave No One Behind notes that in every country with available data, more women than men are recorded to be living with a disability; that in lower income countries 22.1 per cent of women have a disability, compared to 14.4 per cent in higher income countries; and that every minute, more than 30 women are seriously injured or acquire a disability during labour (CBM Australia 2017a).

Ridge provides the following section on gender.

> No country in the world has solved the challenge of gender inequality. Based on current trends, the World Economic Forum predicts it will take over 100 years to close the gender global gap (World Economic Forum 2018). Globally, women are under-represented in leadership roles—women's representation in politics in the Pacific region is just 8.2 per cent (Pacific Women in Politics 2019). The global gender pay gap stands at 19 per cent and on average women do twice as much unpaid work as men (World Economic Forum 2018). The pay gap affects women in different ways. Research in Australia shows that the gender pay gap increases significantly during childbearing years (WGEA 2019) and studies in the US found further disparity based on race.[3] Approximately 1 in 3 women worldwide have experienced physical and/or sexual violence in their lifetime, with intimate partner violence the most common form (World Health Organization 2017). However, research on the experience of women with disabilities in Cambodia found that the most common form of violence for women with disabilities was from family members, highlighting difference in experience between different groups of women (Vallins and Wilson 2013).

Leaving no one behind

So what can be done, to: 1) ensure the specifics of certain drivers of marginalisation and exclusion are not lost; 2) the intersecting nature of these drivers is acknowledged and responded to; and 3) proactively involve people who are marginalised and excluded (on whatever basis) in generating transformative change?

Each author contributes their own set of 'dos' and 'don'ts', based on years of professional experience and lessons learned from others. While each set was developed with a specific focus, commonalities across and between them can clearly be seen. Together, we believe these lists provide a practical road map for 'leadership' in development thinking and practice related to equity and rights.

We reproduce these in Figure 1 (see next pages).

Conclusion

As noted, the authors argue that 'leadership' in international development requires an active 'stepping back' on the part of individuals and organisations, if we are to acknowledge and respond effectively to 'intersecting drivers of marginalisation and exclusion' (ACFID 2017b).

Those who are marginalised and excluded—both as a result of specific barriers related to individual drivers of marginalisation and exclusion, such as physical access for people with disabilities, legal status of women and people

from gender and sexual minorities—and as a result of the way these barriers intersect in many instances—should be brought to the centre of all endeavours.

Doing so will require those who are often in privileged positions by dint of their engagement in international development to recognise and challenge their own assumptions, as well as to be brave in admitting that we are not the 'experts' in others' lives.

The 'do's' and 'don'ts' offered above are offered not as prescriptive statements but, rather, as individual reflections on lessons learned by four practitioners during the course of their development journeys. Reading the sets of reflections, it is clear that we have each learned to work from where people are, rather than from where we assume them to be or where we think they should be. Leading requires learning from others.

Figure 1

Sexual rights	**DO** help create space to support people in exploring their own assumptions and prejudices (which we all have). *Sexual rights, along with gender and disability rights, are issues that have deeply emotional roots. Stigma and discrimination arise from human-made judgements of 'worth' (and lack of worth) that are based in long-standing assumptions and prejudices. Giving people space and support to explore these assumptions and prejudices is essential: for both those who work in international development and those in communities where we work.*
	DO be realistic. There is nowhere in the world that fully realises sexual rights for all. No single person, project or program will prevent all of the abuses of sexual rights that occur, but there are always opportunities for contributing to incremental change; if we are alert enough and responsive enough to make use of these opportunities.
	DO look for allies. *There will be others working on issues related to sexual rights, sometimes in unexpected places. A recent report published by the Research for Development Impact Network, Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and the ACFID Code of Conduct: A Learning Paper, demonstrates multiple ways in which faith-based organisations have engaged in issues of sexual rights for sexual and gender minorities.*
Gender rights	**DO** ask questions to learn how your partners are already including diverse women in their work, and where they could be supported to do more. *Starting from a strengths-based approach is critical to breaking down the previously mentioned paradigm of development as a one-way flow of knowledge. Local organisations have practical knowledge of the culturally specific barriers that women face in their communities, and may already be supporting women to overcome these barriers in creative ways. Understanding the practical barriers that your partner organisations are facing in extending their approaches means you can target support in the most useful way.*
	DO use gender norms and gendered power dynamics as the starting point for thinking about the barriers that can affect women's participation. *This is the basis for good gender analysis, as it requires moves you beyond individual level factors towards uncovering deeper structural issues. Instead of saying "women just aren't interested in leadership training," ask more questions to understand why this may seem to be the case. Are women not stepping into leadership roles because their time is taken up with domestic and caring roles? Are there ways you can work with the community to find other ways to balance these responsibilities? Focusing on gender norms—rather than just targeting women—can help to shift the gendered drivers of marginalisation that affect women, men, and people of all gender identities.*
	DO take a 'do no harm approach' *Focusing on gender norms is also foundational to doing no harm. Joint research between IWDA and the ANU's Department of Pacific Studies on women's economic empowerment programming in contexts with high levels of violence against women found that because these programs disrupt power dynamics between men and women, some men will use violence as a way of reasserting their power. To avoid these unintended and harmful consequences, the accompanying toolkit supports development actors to conduct gender norm analysis to understand the ways in which programming will impact on power dynamics between men and women, and on the need to work with communities to shift attitudes that can give rise to harm* (Walsh 2018).

Disability rights	**DO** include people with disabilities: 'nothing about us, without us' should actually be 'nothing without us'. *Take a twin-track approach, ensure that people with disabilities are included in the planning and implementation of your project, whether it has a disability focus or not. Engaging with Disabled People's Organisations (DPOs) is a good way forward. DPOs are representative bodies run by and for people with disabilities. They are usually aware of the disability policies and advocacy areas in their countries; engage with them to better understand how you can work with and alongside people with disabilities so that everyone benefits, not just your organisation.*
	DO earmark adequate budgets for disability inclusion in gender investments, particularly those in education, health (including sexual and reproductive health) and gender-based violence services. *Prioritise the accessibility of investments, including through ensuring physical accessibility, communication options, and adequate training in social approaches to disability inclusion.*
	DO ensure that data collection approaches are inclusive of and accessible for people with disabilities. *Exclusion from development has often been underpinned by a lack of reliable data about disability, including prevalence of disability; and where prevalence data does exist, typically the number of people with disabilities is underestimated even in official statistics and reports.*
ACFID Code of Conduct	**DO** promote opportunities for primary stakeholders to participate in decision-making about the initiatives that affect them. *This is not only about inclusion, but also meaningful participation into the design of the programs that will affect them. This is one of the most effective ways to ensure that the most vulnerable and marginalised do participate and benefit from the activity, not to mention the spirit of local ownership and empowerment. Make the opportunities meaningful by creating accessible and culturally appropriate decision-making structures, such as supported representation at community meetings or other ways that address power imbalances and seek to specifically address those most marginalised. It is addressed in the Code at compliance indicator* 2.2.2(ACFID 2017a)
	DO undertake specific monitoring, evaluation & learning (MEL) to see how your activities are (or are not) including marginalised and vulnerable people. *Generally speaking, no program or initiative should be planned or designed without also determining how performance and results will be monitored, captured or measured, evaluated, reflected on, shared and utilised. This keeps us accountable for all our commitments. Helpful prompts in your field visits or MEL reporting templates could include consideration of how vulnerable, marginalised and excluded people have participated and what strategies have been used to address their needs, rights and inclusion. The Code articulates this in many places, notable through compliance indicators 1.2.3, 2.3.4 and 2.4.4* (ACFID 2017a)
	DO question & learn from your MEL; complete that feedback loop! *It sounds simple but is sometimes hard to do. There is not much point in undertaking MEL unless we use it honestly and establish opportunities to reflect, learn and adapt our approaches. Importantly, question your data: if your MEL is telling you that there were no people with disabilities in the program, then question why that was.*
Sexual rights	**DON'T** assume people need to be 'taught' about sexual rights using English words, phrases & frameworks *If we are serious about development that is locally led, then we need to get better at recognising people's existing knowledge and ways of understanding the world. Taking universal human concepts such as fairness and acceptance, and turning them into English language 'technical talk', does little to acknowledge and redress the power dynamics in the aid industry. Leadership in this space requires more facilitation, less 'education'.*
	DON'T think 'sexual rights' are only for non-heterosexuals *Development programs often adopt a siloed approach, in which different categories of people are engaged with in different ways and for different ends. Talking about sexual rights is a way of bringing together rights related to our bodies across categories, which can help in building bridges between people who are marginalised and excluded in many different ways. Leadership in this area is being shown at community level in many countries; in the Asia-Pacific region, Fiji activists are really walking the talk. Evidence of the way in which advocates of a wide range of sexual and other rights work together to create change can be found in Power, Politics and Coalitions in the Pacific: Lessons from Collective Action on Gender and Power (Fletcher, Brimacombe and Roche, 2016).*

	DON'T put sexual rights in the 'too hard' basket … there are always possibilities (often within gender work!) *Attaining the SDGs (and complying with the ACFID Code of Conduct) requires organisations to take the lead in ensuring that all rights are protected and promoted and that people who are the most marginalised and excluded are listened to and supported in generating change. 'No one left behind' requires us to shift our thinking from seeing 'disability rights' or 'gender rights' or 'sexual rights' as separate and somehow hierarchical. Yes, working on sexual rights can be challenging; but if you look and listen to people in context, there are always opportunities for engaging in discussions on and actions related to sexual rights. If your project is supposedly working with women, do you involve women who sell sex? Do you work with women who might identify as trans? Do you consider the sexual health and rights needs of young disabled women?*
Gender rights	**DON'T** assume that partners without a gender inclusion policy or the 'right' jargon are not doing inclusive practice. *And on the flip side, speaking the jargon of development doesn't necessarily translate to good practice. Policies are important, but they're not enough on their own; people need to have a practical understanding of the approaches and be confident applying them.*
	DON'T stop after including women who are easiest to reach. *Like all groups, women are not homogenous. Asking 'which women are we reaching, and which women are missing out' is critical to ensuring you understand the different drivers of marginalisation that may be impacting on women's participation or leadership in the work you are doing, and ensuring that you are not leaving people behind. Rather than viewing this as a requirement to try and reach every single woman, looking for patterns is the first step to understanding the different kinds of barriers that people face and making sure that you aren't unintentionally perpetuating—or even worsening—existing inequalities.*
	DON'T assume you've "done gender" and stop thinking; there is always more to learn, more to improve! *Gender norms are deeply ingrained in all societies, and change can take generations. Gains can create or expose new forms of inequality, and they can be reversed.*
Disability rights	**DON'T** Be scared of making mistakes—we all do it. *Ask for advice from people with disabilities and DPOs on the best ways to include them, and respect their expertise on their own lived experience. People with disabilities are not a homogenous group, and are in fact the largest minority in the world—be aware and respectful of each person's lived experience.*
	DON'T talk to a family member or carer instead of the person with disability. *You may engage with families, but in working or speaking with a person with disability, ensure they are speaking for themselves and able to engage fully. In some cases, a family member or carer might help to facilitate their communication or participation;* ***with*** *the person with disability's explicit permission.*
	DON'T assume that you have made your program / event inclusive by saying 'all welcome'; explicitly invite people with disabilities to engage. *Be aware that you need to explicitly reach out to people to make sure they are aware that the event is accessible to them as well. Studies show that deaf people, people with psychosocial disabilities and people with intellectual impairments are often excluded* (CBM Australia 2017b).
ACFID Code of Conduct	DON'T assume that considering gender, poverty and disability are the only ways to achieve inclusive development. *It's a classic fallback position but there are so many other vulnerabilities which will affect a person's ability to be included. Gender and disability have received warranted focus over previous decades and the cumulative energy spent highlighting the barriers experienced by women, girls and people with a disability now means that they are well understood and need to be addressed at a bare minimum. However, we know factors driving marginalisation go far beyond these, and include but are not restricted to race, religion, ethnicity, indigeneity, age, displacement, caste, sexuality, sexual orientation, class and socioeconomic status.*

	DON'T think you need to create new, specially targeted activities. *The needs of all marginalised people should be considered in each and every program implemented by an ACFID member. A mainstream community project such as provision of fresh water is not a program designed only to empower those with a disability or women, but should ultimately benefit the entire community. However, if barriers to inclusion are not considered, especially with the lens of those we know as being most vulnerable, then we run the risk of unintentionally excluding equal access to those who may need it the most. Every single activity should have inclusion considered from the outset. See a recent blog from CBM which articulates this well*[4].
	DON'T forget about think about intersectionality. *We know that when different drivers of marginalisation intersect, the barriers people experience are far greater. Don't forget about these intersections. An educated woman will probably not experience the same barriers as an indigenous woman with poor eyesight, or as a trans woman of low socioeconomic status. We need to be mindful of these intersections and adapt accordingly.*

Notes

1. The Sexual Rights Initiative is a coalition of national and regional organisations based in Canada, Poland, India, Argentina, and South Africa that work together to advance human rights related to sexuality at the United Nations, see https://www.sexualrightsinitiative.com/sexual-rights/intro-to-sexual-rights/
2. See https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/resources/factsheet-on-persons-with-disabilities.html
3. See https://nwlc.org/issue/race-gender-wage-gaps/
4. See https://acfid.asn.au/blog-post/asking-%E2%80%9Cwho-missing-out%E2%80%9D-key-sustainable-development-programs

References

ACFID (Australian Council for International Development) 2017a, ACFID Code of Conduct, Canberra, Australia, https://acfid.asn.au/content/about-code, accessed 9 October 2019.

ACFID (Australian Council for International Development) 2017b, ACFID Code of Conduct Quality Assurance Framework, Canberra, Australia.

CBM Australia 2017a, *Leave No One Behind: Gender equality, disability inclusion and leadership for sustainable development*, Melbourne, https://www.cbm.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/CBM-011-WhitePaper-v1.4-WEB.pdf, accessed 14 August 2019.

CBM Australia 2017b, *Leave No One Behind: Including all people with disabilities in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, CBM, Melbourne, Australia

Collins, PH 1993, 'Toward a new vision: Race, class, and gender as categories of analysis and connection', *Race, Sex & Class*, (1), 25–45.

Collins, PH 2015, 'Intersectionality's definitional dilemmas', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 41**,** 1–20.

Escobar, A 1984, Discourse and power in development: Michel Foucault and the relevance of his work to the Third World, *Alternatives*, (10), 377–400.

Fals-Borda, O 1991, 'Remaking knowledge', in Fals-Borda O and MA Rahman (eds) *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the Monopoly with PAR*, Apex Press, New York.

Fletcher, G 2019, *Engendering Transformative Change in International Development*, Routledge, London UK and New York.

Guttmacher Institute 2016, 'Fewer US teens are receiving formal sex education now than in the Past', available online at: https://www.guttmacher.org/news-release/2016/fewer-us-teens-are-receiving-formal-sex-education-now-past, accessed 9 October 2019.

Hobart, M 1993, 'Introduction: The growth of ignorance'? in Hobart M (ed.), *An Anthropological Critique of Development: The growth of egnorance*, Routledge, London.

Mendos, LR 2019, 'State-sponsored homophobia 2019', International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association, Geneva, Switzerland.

NSWP (Global Network of Sex Work Projects) 2017, 'NSWP statement on international day to end violence against sex workers', available at: https://www.nswp.org/resource/nswp-statement-international-day-end-violence-against-sex-workers, accessed 9 October 2019.

OECD 2016, 'Good development support in fragile, at-risk and crisis affected contexts', *Policy Papers*, OECD, Paris, France.

RDI (Research for Development Impact) 2019, 'Leadership for inclusive development' (#4LID), 2019 RDI Conference, 12–13 June, La Trobe University, Melbourne.

Reality of Aid Africa Network, 2015, 'Reclaim our future. Oppose the corporate "Development" Agenda', Reality of Aid Network, Nairobi, Kenya, available at: http://www.roaafrica.org/index.php/resource-centre/reports/item/165-no-to-a-corporate-development-agenda, accessed August 16 2017.

Storberg-Walker J 2018, 'Toward a theory of leading in international development', in P Thompson, R and J Storberg-Walker (eds), *Leadership and Power in International Development*, Emerald Publishing Ltd, Bingley, UK.

United Nations 2015, *The Millennium Development Goals Report*, United Nations, New York, USA.

UN (United Nations) General Assembly 2015, *Resolution 70/1: Transforming our world: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, United Nations, New York, USA, http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_70_1_E.pdf, SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals): https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdgs, accessed 7 October 2019.

Walsh T 2018, *Do No Harm Framework: Integrating the elimination of violence against women into women's economic empowerment programs*, IWDA, Melbourne, Australia.

WHO (World Health Organization) 2012, *Violence Against Adults and Children with Disabilities*, available online at: https://www.who.int/disabilities/violence/en/, accessed 9 October 2019.

World Bank 2011, *World Report on Disability: Main Report* (English), World Bank, Washington DC, http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/665131468331271288/Main-report, accessed 14 August 2019.

Leadership for all: Is it culturally feasible?

Deborah Rhodes and Ernest Antoine, Independent Consultants

The vision of inclusive leadership contrasts starkly with the 'divide and rule[1] leadership style that dominates current public discourse. The practice of inclusive leadership is key to 'leaving no one behind' in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the 17 goals adopted by the UN to end poverty, improve health and education, reduce inequality, and spur economic growth while also tackling climate change and working to preserve earth's oceans and forests (UN 2015). While most governments have signed up to the SDGs and are starting to report on early progress, there is little agreement on pathways to achieve inclusion in different cultural contexts. Is it realistic to expect leaders and countries to shift long-held and fundamental cultural values to meet these global goals?

As highlighted by the Development Leadership Program (DLP)[2], understanding power is critical to understanding 'how change happens', especially for those who seek to support and facilitate change processes. Cultural values have significant influence in understanding power, why and how it is shared, and who should be included and valued within societies (Leftwich 2009, Green 2018).

Efforts to facilitate and achieve inclusive development need to take into account cultural differences. A new body of literature on inclusion has emerged in business and organisational psychology disciplines in Western cultural settings, with emphasis on maximising organisational success. In the international development context, the focus of research and effort is on human rights and leaving no one behind in economic and social change, reflecting ideas about equality and justice. Both involve models and strategies to engage and benefit people with backgrounds and characteristics that differ from the dominant or mainstream populations. In the United States (US), where much of the diversity and inclusion research originates, emphasis is on gender and multiracial workplaces. In the development world, characteristics related to gender, race, ethnicity, ability, religion, and class are incorporated. The language in global agreements such as the SDGs, UN agency strategies, and donor policies refer to effectiveness and justice imperatives.

Current US research has found evidence that inclusive organisations outperform non-inclusive organisations because they benefit from the views of people from varied backgrounds. In the development discipline, little evidence of the impact of inclusive approaches exists.

In this paper we seek to answer the question 'how culturally feasible is it for different countries to shift towards more inclusive development?' We consider whether models of inclusive leadership from Western cultures are relevant in other cultural contexts—whether leaders from different cultural contexts are able to lead inclusively—and, if so, how. We summarise the capabilities leaders need to include people who are different (based on US research), and contrast this with current leadership styles in cultures with hierarchical, collectivist and relationship-oriented values—such as those in most Asian and Pacific countries. We also consider how development partners seeking to use and introduce more inclusive approaches might best collaborate.

Links between leadership, power, inclusion, cultural values and development

The big concepts considered in this paper—leadership, power, inclusion, cultural values and change/ development—are all highly contested and researched between and within disciplines and diverse stakeholders. 'Development' in one cultural setting can be seen as 'destruction' in another. Power can be seen as corrupting or positive, depending on one's cultural values. Positive aspects of inclusion can be seen as undermining order from another's perspective.

Hofstede (1980, 2005) identified a spectrum of values in relation to 'power distance' across culture. He found that cultures at one end of the spectrum seek to minimise the gap between those with and those without power—a country with these values appears relatively non-hierarchical and ideas about equality are widely applied. In a relatively low power distance culture—such as Australia—leaders tend towards consulting staff, sharing information and involving others in decision making processes, consistent with egalitarian principles and inclusive policies. Calls for gender equality, disability rights, and participation of marginalised groups are consistent with a cultural value that gaps should be minimised between those with and without power.

At the other end of the spectrum, there are cultures that believe hierarchy is essential for stability and certainty—that power is retained in a few hands—and a threat to a country's leaders is portrayed as a threat to everyone. In these settings, leaders with wisdom, access to resources, and spiritual power are seen as best placed to make decisions on behalf of those without—for example younger people, women, less educated people, minority groups and the 'masses'. In this context, leaders are expected to maintain social order, stability and harmony on the basis of their status, concentrating decision making among those who 'know best'.

Hofstede (1980, 2005) and many others also describe a spectrum between individualist and collectivist cultural values that underpin societies and organisations. Individualist cultural values in Western donor countries—including Australia—contrast with collectivist values in most countries where aid programs are implemented. In individualist cultures, one's identity is defined by oneself and is separate from the group's identity. Individuals in these cultures tend to be motivated by self-interest, communicate more directly, and are members of multiple groups. People expect to be included and will not tolerate being excluded.

In contrast, in collectivist cultures, one's sense of self is defined by one's group identity—for example racial, religious, language, island, family, or dynasty—and one's obligations and goals are more connected to a defined group than oneself. In these contexts, people do not expect to be included or heard, and when asked to speak up, many feel threatened and fear showing disrespect to those in power. Communications between group members are more indirect—group rather than individual activities are more important—and distinctions between in-groups and out-groups are pronounced.

Australia is one of the most individualistic cultures in the world. This in part explains national interest in and commitment to inclusion—the cultural value is that all people have the right to express their own identity and any individual characteristics should not prevent inclusion. Pacific cultures—where a large proportion of Australian aid is provided—are among the most collectivist in the world, as evidenced by the strong influence of chiefs, big men, *wantok*, and village and family identity on daily life, particularly in rural communities.[3]

In terms of approaches to supporting developmental change, Hofstede (1980, 2005) and House et al. (2004) found that cultures can also be distinguished by their varied approaches to change, described as 'uncertainty avoidance'. Cultures that embrace change (low uncertainty avoidance) contrast with those that are change averse (high uncertainty avoidance). Members of low uncertainty avoidance cultures are more comfortable with—or at least very used to—change and, while there may be initial resistance, this is often short-lived. In contrast, members from high uncertainty avoidance cultures rely on informal relationships rather than formal policies and prefer to work with unspoken group norms so that behaviours are predictable. They tend to resist change and are intolerant of norm-breaking behaviours. People in these cultures tend to look to the past in order to navigate the future. A senior public leader from Papua New Guinea told us 'the past is in front of us and the future is behind us; we have to use the past to navigate our future' and a senior village leader in Samoa expressed similar sentiments, concluding that 'democracy is bad for [our] community, as it causes uncertainty and instability. People have to work out new ways of relating to each other and that creates fear.' How can a leader be inclusive if it both undermines their power and creates fear and uncertainty?

Inclusive leadership

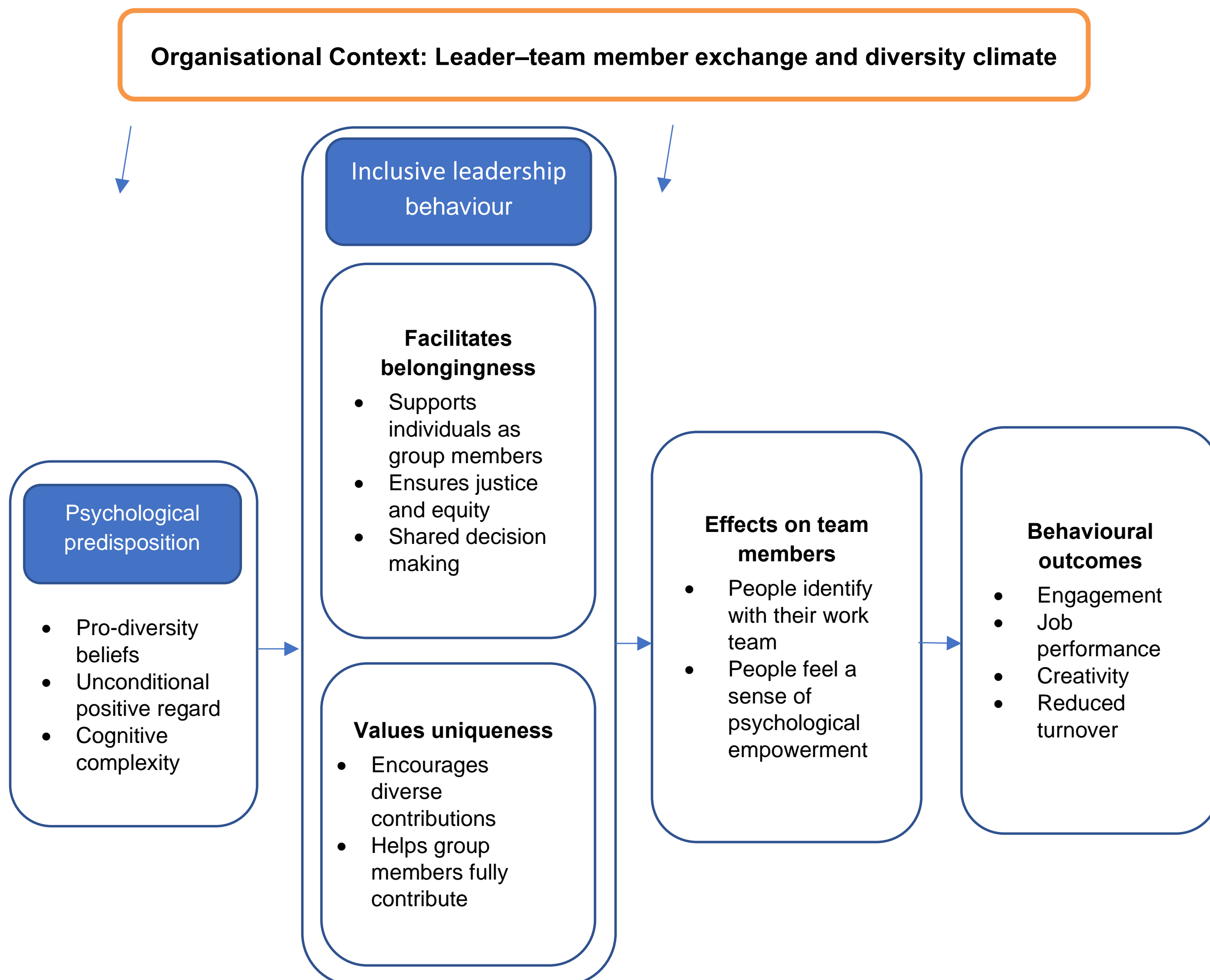
So, what is inclusive leadership? How should it be understood in different cultural contexts? The concept can be understood depending on one's cultural perspective. Almost all research in this area—with a few exceptions—is from US institutions (Mor Barak 2015, Brimhall et al. 2014, Randel et al. 2016, Shore 2017, Randel et al. 2018) and researchers have framed inclusive leadership relevant to American society where the focus is on race and gender.

Figure 1 summarises key elements of this research, capturing the skills and qualities of inclusive leaders and their effects on the inclusion of team members based on Randel et al. (2018) with contributions from several other researchers. The terms are explained below:

- 'Psychological pre-disposition' refers to psychological attributes and beliefs of an inclusive leader. Inclusive leaders believe that consideration of multiple perspectives in decision making produces better outcomes. Inclusive leaders believe people should participate in discussions and decision making on matters that affect their lives. Leaders with pro-diversity values endeavour to forge a group identity that members from various backgrounds can relate to, incorporating elements shared by all group members as well as those that are shared by only some.
- 'Unconditional positive regard' involves acknowledging people with specialist knowledge and skills arising from their unique backgrounds such as gender, disability or cultural heritage.
- 'Cognitive complexity' is the ability to hold many competing perspectives in one's consciousness and not reduce them in the interest of simplicity. An inclusive leader with highly developed cognitive complexity will recognise group members as unique individuals with capabilities that can be harnessed to achieve group goals. By recognising their uniqueness, a leader communicates to group members they are valued.
- 'Leader-member exchange' describes dialogue between a leader and their staff that is authentic, respectful, supportive, and with an interest in learning.
- 'Inclusive leadership behaviour' comprises actions that foster a sense of belonging and that value unique contributions of people with diverse backgrounds. Leaders ensure that group members are treated with fairness and equity and communicate respect for differences. When leaders explore a diversity of views, this involves deeper understanding of people, and when people feel understood, their sense of self improves, especially for those from minority groups. When leaders recognise differences and value them, people feel that their sense of identity is being affirmed.
- 'Identity and psychological empowerment' refers to team members' sense of belonging. In a diverse workplace, inclusive leadership behaviour is key to people's sense of belonging. Belonging to a group is a fundamental human need (Tajfel and Turner 1979) without which performance of both individuals and organisations is compromised. By belonging to a group, individuals form deep psychological connections that shape their sense of self.

As this is a US-centric model, founded on US cultural values, it may be relevant to countries such as Australia, Canada and the UK, which share similar values. How power is understood in these countries is clearly relevant to how leaders work. Cultures low on power distance—that are individualistic, task oriented, and open to change—are relatively more oriented to the idea of including diverse people in decision making and access to social and economic opportunities, regardless of characteristics.

Figure 1: Theoretical model for inclusive leadership



However, in high power distance cultures with collectivist, relationship oriented, and change-averse values, such as India, Samoa, or Indonesia, people are relatively less likely to be inclined to embrace major changes, including some of those associated with inclusive leadership[4]. In these contexts, ideas associated with inclusion may not necessarily be explicitly or consciously prioritised because values that dominate are about 'in-groups' and 'out-groups.' Social contracts exist between leaders and followers that bind them to mutual rights and obligations, and provide stability and opportunities for those who are parties to the contract. In this context, for a leader to be more inclusive, they need to bring an 'out-group' into a social contract. However, this requires changes in core values as well as behaviour for everyone concerned. Such a process may take decades even with the best political will and highly managed peaceful change processes. Without such changes in core values, sustaining inclusive leadership appears unrealistic.

As cultural values between countries vary so widely, so do definitions of inclusive leadership. Nevertheless, the best available model for inclusive leadership practice shown in Figure 1 can assist in guiding future research towards development of a more appropriate model for different cultural contexts. It appears reasonable to assume that elements of psychological predisposition, organisational context, and inclusive leadership behaviours may be tested and hold true in some, but not all, cultures.

Implications for development practice

Given fundamental differences in perceptions of leaders' roles described above, key questions for partners include 'how might inclusive leadership be practised in non-Western cultures?' and 'how can development partners support cultural shifts towards or accommodation of inclusive leadership?'

Development agencies and practitioners are interested in inclusive leadership because they believe that, unless leaders in developing countries are inclusive, marginalised groups will not benefit from development. Donor partners increasingly measure success using evidence to measure the extent to which marginalised groups are included. Without direct engagement with, and support from,

leaders—who may see these efforts to include disenfranchised groups as a threat—an inclusive approach may not be sustained. Support from local leaders may require re-negotiating social contracts with members of their particular in-group, potentially resulting in diminished power and influence for existing in-group members. As a result, leaders themselves may risk losing support. Can leaders who see the benefits of inclusion break through this impasse and re-negotiate a way of exercising power that includes women and people with disabilities?

For those working across cultures, the notion of inclusive leadership is best understood through a cultural lens. A universal definition of inclusive leadership misses the nuances of a culturally embedded definition and is not flexible enough to describe dimensions of inclusive leadership in places as diverse as China, the US, Fiji, Myanmar, or Australia. A culturally nuanced exploration of leadership needs to recognise that inclusive leadership behaviours are embedded in unique values of societies to which leaders belong, which are understood, accepted and internalised by most leaders and the people that they lead. Values about leadership and followership are learned from a young age. People, societies, and organisations use these values as road maps to conduct relationships and changing these maps requires careful analysis, planning, negotiation and support as well as significant leadership.

Effective strategies

As facilitators of leadership development and change processes in various sectors and multiple countries over the past few decades, the authors have witnessed examples where inclusion-related ideas have 'caught on'. Reflections on four effective approaches are summarised below:

1. **Engage respectfully with cultural values and how they influence expectations about behaviour in organisations and society**. This means asking questions about what makes a good leader and how people feel included in each context. It is important to listen carefully to these responses in order to understand the drivers and values that inform views about inclusion and leadership. Simply demonstrating an understanding that people, organisations, and countries have different cultural values can be enough to start to build foundations of trust and respect for collaboration on development topics. Recognising that inclusion can be interpreted as a threat to those with power in a hierarchy can help generate more respectful engagement. It is probably wrong to assume everyone agrees that inclusion is 'good' and just need training to change their minds.
2. **Use strengths-based approaches in engagement** on leadership, inclusion and development. Asking 'what worked well when your culture adjusted to new ideas in the past' is a useful start. Such approaches can help motivate leaders and groups towards new ideas which may otherwise appear threatening.
3. **Accept that authoritative leadership may be necessary to bring about inclusion**. In hierarchical cultures, when a leader decides an inclusive approach may be beneficial, there is a higher likelihood that the members of the group will follow than if an out-group demands change. People from low power distance cultures may not understand why this is the case, but inclusive leadership by decree may well be an effective strategy. In a recent discussion on disability in Fiji, it was noted that 'now [that] the Secretary General of the UN has decreed that UN agencies will be disability inclusive, it will happen.'
4. **Acknowledging that inclusive leadership will look different in each context** will help navigate the reality that inclusive leadership can be messy and unpredictable, particularly in contexts where people who have not previously had access to power and opportunities begin to participate in decision making.

Conclusion

According to people from low power distance, individualist, task-oriented, and change friendly cultures, never before has there been such a need for inclusive leadership globally. However, there may not be a universal groundswell of demand for it in high power distance, collectivist, relationship oriented and change-averse societies, where most of the world's population live. Of course, even in these countries there are people seeking to have their voices heard, but for this to occur, substantial changes in core cultural values may need to come first. The authors of this paper are not suggesting that development partners avoid engagement towards more inclusive leadership, but that such conversations are informed by understanding the connections between cultural values, power and leadership that shape every context.

A culturally flexible approach to defining inclusive leadership and its application in each context is proposed, rather than seeking a universal approach. Development partners need to be able to engage in respectful cross-cultural conversations about these issues—and with so little research about the practice and benefits of inclusive leadership in non-Western cultural contexts—need to be open to new frames of reference.

Notes

1 This approach is defined as 'gaining and maintaining power by breaking up larger concentrations of power into pieces that individually have less power than the one implementing the strategy.' (Wikipedia)

2 DLP (Developmental Leadership Program) is an international research initiative that explores how leadership, power and political processes drive or block successful development. See https://www.dlprog.org/

3 All of the generalisations described here do not imply that all people within a culture share the same values or that their values do not change over time. The discussion of differences is for comparison purposes and to help ensure that cross-cultural interactions reflect potential different frames of reference.

4 Like all statements about cultural values, this doesn't mean that all people within specific cultures share these views.

References

Brimhall, K, EL Lizano, and ME Mor Barak 2014, 'The mediating role of inclusion: A longitudinal study of the effects of leader-member exchange and diversity climate on

job satisfaction and intention to leave among child welfare workers', *Children and Youth Services Review*, 40, 79–88.

Green, D 2018, *How Change Happens*, Oxford University Press, UK.

G Hofstede, G 1980, *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-related Values*, Sage Publications, CA.

Hofstede, G and GJ Hofstede 2005, *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*, 2nd edition, McGraw Hill Publishing Company.

House, RJ, PJ Hanges, M Javidan, PW Dorfman, V Gupta 2004, *Culture, Leadership, and Organizations: The GLOBE Study of 62 Societies*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA.

Leftwich, A 2009, 'Bringing Agency Back In: Politics and Human Agency in Building Institutions and States', DLP Research Paper 6, https://www.dlprog.org/ publications/research-papers/ bringing-agency-back-in-politics-and-human-agency-in-building-institutions-and-states, accessed 4 October 2019.

Mor Barak, ME 2015, 'Inclusion is the key to diversity management, but what is inclusion?' Human Service Organizations Management, 39(2), 83–88.

Randel, AE, MA Dean, KH Ehrhart, B Chung, L Shore 2016, 'Leader inclusiveness, psychological diversity climate and helping behaviours', *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 31(1), 216–234.

Randel, A, B Galvin, L Shore, EK Holcombe, B Chung, M Dean, U Kedharnath 2018, 'Inclusive leadership: Realizing positive outcomes through belongingness and being valued for uniqueness', *Human Resource Management Review*, 28(2), 190–203.

Shore, LM, N Cleveland and D Sanchez 2017, 'Inclusive workplaces: A review and model', *Human Resource Management Review*, 28(2), 176–189, https://doi.org/10.1016 /j.hrmr.2017.07.003, accessed 7 October 2019.

Tajfel, H, JC Turner 1979, 'An integrative theory of intergroup conflict', in WG Austin and S Worchel (eds), *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, Brooks/Cole, Monterey, CA, 33–37.

UN General Assembly 2015, *Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, A/RES/70/1*, available at: http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_70_1_E.pdf, SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals): https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdgs, accessed 7 October 2019.

Women leadership in business based on customary land: The concept of *wanbel*

Hennah Steven, Glenn Banks and Regina Scheyvens, Massey University

Introduction

In indigenous entrepreneurial communities across the Pacific, women who own and run businesses are mostly respected and recognised. These women are seen as leaders, whereas those who provide supporting roles and do not own or run the businesses go unrecognised. However, the current study which focused on businesses based on customary land in Papua New Guinea (PNG) revealed that women who provide 'supporting roles' actually lead in connecting businesses to communities—providing stability and sustainability for the businesses.

This paper demonstrates that women involved in a case study business were able to maintain social well-being using values of *wanbel* (harmony, unity, agreement, being at peace, good feeling), an important local concept for good living and success in PNG communities. The research employed the Vanua Research Framework (Nabobo-Baba 2008) to do case studies of successful small businesses based on customary land in PNG and looked at how women maintained the local concept of *wanbel* for business success and well-being.

Women and business in PNG

In PNG, women's economic engagement occurs in various small and medium enterprises at local and household levels—mostly in local markets and particularly in the informal sector (Aiyus 2006). Many engage in informal fisheries, handicrafts, small-scale agriculture, vending and fresh food production and sales (Benediktsson 2002, Chang et al. 2010, Mikhailovich et al. 2016). Women participate directly in these forms of enterprises as managers, partners, workers and labourers or indirectly as mothers, sisters, aunties and daughters through their roles as household and family managers and making sure social needs and obligations are fulfilled (Koczberski 2002, Anderson 2008, Cox and Aitsi 1988).

In terms of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) in the informal sector, women dominate in two distinct economic sectors—agricultural production and open markets. However, women are also involved in formal SMEs, and there is increasing support for SME development with particular attention to include women from various national and international agencies and private organisations in the country. Such agencies have provided technical and financial support—with a major focus on economic empowerment—particularly inclusion of women to increase their participation and leadership in formal SMEs in the country. Thus, economic empowerment programs have been implemented through capacity building activities such as microfinance, book keeping courses, marketing assistance, business management, technical consultations, business training and provision of low interest bank loans for start-up capital.

In spite of such capacity building efforts, the number of women-led SMEs remains low—at 990 out of 49,900 formal SMEs—which represents only 0.1 per cent of the total female population in PNG as at 2011 (PNG National Statistical Office 2011). Cultural and structural challenges may be hindering women's ability to participate fully in formal SMEs, including women's workloads at both household and community levels, as well as limited access to resources. Other factors such as lack of education, training and business skills may inhibit women from confidently approaching formal spaces—such as business training centres, banks and donors—to request business development assistance.

These are difficult challenges that may continue to hinder many women who would like to lead and own businesses. However, if we probe further we see that women are actually already engaging in leadership roles—often unrecognised—in the background of family businesses headed by men.

Creating well-being and good living: Notions of *wanbel* in business

Recently there has been greater acknowledgement of the importance of understanding Pacific indigenous notions of well-being and development (Richardson, Hughes, McLennan and Meo-Sewabu 2019). Certainly, women in communal contexts such as the Pacific play important roles in maintaining the social well-being of families and societies. Using economic means and personal skills, they contribute toward sociocultural reproduction to maintain important social values (Horan 2002). In a relational economy like PNG, balancing social relationships and fulfilling social obligations is important and women work toward maintaining that. When they engage in economic activities, well-being of the family and community is paramount. For them, well-being is embedded in living well with others and making others happy. To be a 'real woman' or 'true woman', a woman must be seen to be performing tasks or contributing toward social obligations and make sure her children and family are well fed and clothed (Koczberski 2002, Cox and Aitsi 1988). She gains self-fulfilment, pride and satisfaction when the social well-being of family and community is intact. In other words, creating situations of *wanbel* (harmony, peace, agreement) is her paramount aim. Her family and relational needs come first. A woman who works in this way gains admiration and is recognised and respected in the community compared to a woman who creates disharmony, does not work and fails to contribute to family or community needs.

The notion of wanbel

Wanbel is two words put together. *Wan* is 'one' and '*bel*' is 'belly', 'stomach', or 'heart'. The term *bel* is described as 'the seat of thoughts and feelings' (Street 2010:269, Troolin 2013). Thus, *wanbel* figuratively and metaphorically means one in mind, thought, conviction or feeling.

Wanbel can be understood from different contexts. For dispute resolution, *wanbel* is reconciliation or consensus. When two people are of *wanbel*, they share one good (positive) feeling (Tshudi 2013, Cooper 2019). From a community cohesiveness context, *wanbel* is being of one belly, one heart, in unity or agreement (Lohmann 2003, Troolin 2018). In a religious or Christian context, *wanbel* can be in agreement or at peace (Street 2014, Kelly-Haku, Aggleton and Shih 2014).

This is an important notion in the relational PNG context. In order to live in peace and harmony with others for *gutpela sindaun* (a good situation), establishing or maintaining *wanbel* with others is significant. In situations of '*hevi*' (social burdens), one must be seen to perform activities that create *wanbel*. *Gutpela sindaun* occurs if there is a situation of *wanbel*. *Wanbel* shares similar notions in other Pacific indigenous contexts such as *solesolevaki* (communal work for the collective good) in order for *sautu* (well-being) to occur in Fiji (Ratuva 2010, Meo-Sewabu 2015, Nabobo-Baba 2006).

Women led in keeping *wanbel* within the businesses examined as part of this research, making them an important 'social glue' that connects business to the community and associated people. This will be explained below using the case study of Blue Kona Farm Limited—now known as Agro-business Consultants.

Methodology

Vanua Research Framework

This research utilised the Vanua Research Famework (VRF), which recognises indigenous values that '… supports and affirms existing protocols of relationships, ceremony, and knowledge acquisition. It ensures that the research benefits the *vanua*…' (Nabobo-Baba 2006:25), and drives culturally appropriate research practices. This research framework represents common cultural protocols and processes in most South Pacific island nations, therefore it was used to access research sites. Intricate protocols such as gifting chiefs to access data did not occur in the PNG context. However, the socially embedded, relational nature of Papua New Guinea's economy means that data collection relied on building and maintaining positive relationships with members of the local business families. For this research, relationship building began before fieldwork and continued after data collection. These relationships were reinforced through shared meals and gifts, participating in social gatherings, storytelling, 'hanging out', social telephone calls, and social media chats, all of which reinforced the *wantok*-ness of the connections (a *wantok* is someone with whom you share a close bond, usually based on language or same place of origin). These means of building relationships eased the development of contacts with case study business owners and facilitated successful data collection. Further, the continual maintenance of being *wantoks* also resulted in *wanbel* relationships that created a sense of good feeling, belonging and harmony between the researcher and persons related to the case studies. This has led to progress updates of businesses being continually shared with the researcher even long after fieldwork ended.

Case study

A case study is a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher explores in depth one or more individual cases. Researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time (Creswell 2009). Data collection in this research involved qualitative methods—specifically, *Talanoa* or *stori* in PNG Tok Pisin—storytelling or conversation that involves 'interacting without a rigid framework' (Vaioleti 2006:23), observations, field notes and participation, elicited primary material.

Steven Pupune is the owner of Agro-business Consultants (previously Blue Kona Limited), a diversified family business located in Goroka, Eastern Highlands Province. Agro-business Consultants is the umbrella name for various business activities, including commercial property, coffee plantations, vegetable gardens, small scale piggeries, and fisheries. These exist on the business owner's customary land and on land purchased from customary landowners through *wantok* connections in Yonki Dam area, about three hours' drive from Goroka town. Women are actively engaged in the business, and lead in keeping *wanbel* within this business.

Findings

Women's direct involvement in the case study business

Steven's daughter Anita and second wife Margret participate actively at Agro-business Consultants. Their involvement includes financial management, budgeting, preparing workers' salaries, advising, organising, delegating and networking. They also sometimes collect rentals, do banking, sales, book keeping, farming, clean the workshops, cook for workers and other duties as required. Anita led many of these activities before she went to do tertiary study in New Zealand. Steven was openly emotional when he recounted her assistance:

> I did not realise that Anita was doing a lot for Blue Kona when she was here. I never thought she was doing much. When she left, I was lost. I did not know what to do. She used to do all the banking stuff and drive here and there taking care of many things. Now that she is gone I am stuck. I cannot do everything that she does. I have to lease this property to only one person to make it easy. I do not have the energy to work like Anita (Steven 2018).

Although Margret has taken on some of these responsibilities, Anita's involvement had a positive impact. The way she managed things and kept the business running exemplified strong leadership skills. This was important

for the well-being and smooth flow of business. According to Anita:

> …I helped my father with things at the farm because I felt sorry for him. I grew up with him when mum left us around the time that I was two or three years old. Sometimes, others [stepsiblings] do not help him. He trusts me more than he trusts anybody so I even managed the finances and did all the other things. When I finished college in 2008, I stayed at the farm and helped him. It is our family business anyway, so I stayed on and assisted. That is where our food and money come from.

His wife Margret reasoned,

> I am happy to do all these things because it makes me useful. I support papa (Stephen) 100% because when my husband died, he took me in as his wife and provides for my children and me. He gave me hope. Whatever business he wants to do, I stand beside him and support him. That makes me a true woman. Whether I take care of children or make money for papa's business, I give my full support. That is it.

Whether they had important responsibilities or performed supportive roles, the ultimate goal was to maintain harmonious family relationships. Thus, creating situations of *wanbel* from direct involvement in business was important for these women.

Women's indirect roles in the business through their social roles and responsibilities

An important way through which women also led in the businesses was keeping elements of *wanbel* in social relationships. A significant means of creating social harmony was through their Christian values and beliefs. Strong involvement in church activities, *lotu* (worship/ prayers) and paying tithes were things that women performed faithfully. This influenced the way they acted and behaved when they had access to money, in their work and relationships with others. This spiritual grounding provided stability and good standing for Steven and his family in the community.

Other important social roles and responsibilities that Anita normally did before leaving for her studies—and Margret keeps doing—include taking care of workers' and family member's welfare, being present at life events and contributing to solving *hevi* (social burdens including funerals and bride price) in the community. Agro-business Consultants prioritises workers' and children's welfare. The women therefore make sure to meet their social and physical needs. Steven is often away on official trips. During his absences, Margret manages the family business, household and takes care of Steven's children from other relationships, and his grandchildren. She is 'happy to do all these things' because they make her a 'true women' (Margret 2018). Whenever, Steven is away, he is not worried because he knows home and business are in Margret's 'good hands' (Steven 2018).

In consultation with Steven, Margret presents gifts or food to congratulate workers for life events such as at new births or graduation. When there are *hevi* (such as funerals or bride price) in the community, Margret and Steven's daughters usually represent him. They bring contributions from Agro-business Consultants, in cash and kind, to the family in *hevi* to show respect and support. This establishes good thoughts toward the business family. When a business person is not seen to be contributing, jealousies from community members can result in a bad reputation and sometimes, violent repercussions. Therefore, to maintain family status and keep harmony with community members, 'we show face' during *hevi* times to support (Anita 2018).

Wanbel establishes peace and good situation/ good living

As explained earlier, *wanbel* reinforces living well with others in a way that enables peace and harmony (Troolin 2018). For good working relationships to occur, *wanbel* has to be maintained among family members, workers and associated people. In situations where internal family arguments arise, Anita or Margret usually mediate and bring peace. For example, Steven and one adult family member argue from time to time and will not talk to one another. Anita usually becomes the medium of communication between these men. At times, she has mellowed 'hard situations' and brought peace again into the family.

Margret has taken on that responsibility and tries to keep harmonious relationships among all of Steven's children. One of the ways she keeps *wanbel* relationships between father and children, is by praying for each child, or by taking care of Steven's grandchildren or by calling those children who are not currently living with Steven. Such actions make her a valuable member not only in the family but in the business. This is because Margret's contributions in creating *wanbel* situations has attracted trust and support from relatives, workers, and the wider community. Most of the workers have been working for Steven for more than two decades and one of the justifications for staying on is the way their well-being is maintained. Thus, maintaining *wanbel* has directly or indirectly contributed to the sustainability of Agro-business Consultants for over three decades—and women seem to be the leaders in doing this.

Conclusion and recommendations

Owning and running a business is not the only way in which women can be leaders in business. The ability to maintain important local values such as *wanbel* that drive business can be used to understand what leadership is. The desire to maintain *wanbel* influenced the way women acted and behaved and this helped the case study family businesses to run in a more harmonious way that contributed to business and community well-being. The ability to maintain *wanbel* gave women a sense of self-pride, fulfilment and satisfaction as workers, partners, mothers and daughters. It also gave them greater status in their communities.

As women in Agro-business Consultants show, working behind the scenes and performing important social roles within the business connects the business to

community. They became the 'hands' and 'face' of the business, sharing business benefits with workers and the community. The good standing of the business partly depended on the social responsibilities that these women performed. Further, being grounded in important social and spiritual values, women became the social pillars of the business. They helped created harmonious situations between family members, which was important for business progress. Thus, *gutpela sindaun* was based upon their ability to maintain elements of *wanbel* within family members, business and the community. This partly contributed to the sustainability of Agro-business Consultants.

There is a need to understand important social roles and local concepts that define what makes a good leader, especially with relation to indigenous businesses. It is also important to understand what success and well-being means for indigenous people, such as the Papua New Guineans in this study. In this example, having a business based on customary land and efforts to maintain social harmony led to a successful business. Additionally, economic-centred intentions should be understood alongside the sociocultural need for harmony and well-being to inform context-specific, gender sensitive and inclusive development.

References

Aiyus, A 2006, 'The informal household economy: Case studies from the National Capital District, Papua New Guinea', *Development Bulletin* (70), 73–75.

Anderson, T 2008, 'Women roadside sellers in Madang', *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 23(1), 59–73.

Benediktsson, K 2002, *Harvesting development: The construction of fresh food markets in Papua New Guinea*, Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS), Denmark.

Chang, C, L Be'Soer, C Wali, J Anjan, I Ramita, 2010, *Women in Sweet Potato Marketing in Papua New Guinea*, Paper presented at the Australian Agricultural and Resource Economics Society Conference (54th), February 10–12, Adelaide, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/46472134, accessed 4 October 2019.

Cooper, J 2019, *State Capacity and Gender Inequality: Experimental evidence from Papua New Guinea*, http://jasper-cooper.com/papers/Cooper_CAP.pdf, accessed 4 October 2019.

Cox, E and L Aitsi, 1988, Papua New Guinea, in T Tongamoa (ed.), *Pacific Women: Roles and status of women in Pacific societies*, Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, Suva, 23–39.

Cox, J 2006, *Gutpela tingting na sindaun*: Papua New Guinean perspectives on a good life, Discussion paper, World Vision Australia Advocacy and Public Influence Unit, Burwood East, Victoria, https://www.worldvision.com.au/ docs/default-source/publications/australia-and-the-pacific/papua-new-guinean-perspectives-on-a-good-lifeba878891b1e86477b58fff00006709da.pdf, accessed 4 October 2019.

Creswell, J W 2009, *Research Design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches* (3rd ed.), SAGE, Los Angeles.

Horan, JC 2002, 'Indigenous wealth and development: Micro–credit schemes in Tonga', *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 43(2), 205–221.

Kelly-Hanku, A, P Aggleton, P Shih, 2014, '"We call it a virus but I want to say it's the devil inside": Redemption, moral reform and relationships with God among people living with HIV in Papua New Guinea', *Social Science & Medicine*, 119, 106–113, doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.08.020

Koczberski, G 2002, 'Pots, plates and tinpis: New income flows and the strengthening of women's gendered identities in Papua New Guinea', *Development*, 45(1), 88–92.

Lohmann, R I 2003, 'Turning the belly: Insights on religious conversion from New Guinea gut feelings', *The Anthropology of Religious Conversion*, 109–121.

Meo-Sewabu, LD 2015, '*Tu ga na inima ka luvu na waqa'(The bail to get water out of the boat is in the boat yet the boat sinks): The cultural constructs of health and well-being amongst Marama iTaukei in a Fijian village in Lau and in a transnational Fijian community in Whanganui, Aotearoa*, Doctoral thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Mikhailovich, K, B Pamphilon,B Chambers, L Simeon, JR Zapata, 2016, 'Exploring the lives of women smallholder farmers in Papua New Guinea through a collaborative mixed methods approach', *Cogent Social Sciences*, 1(1143328), 1–14, doi:10.1080/23311886.2016.1143328

Nabobo-Baba, U 2006, *Knowing and Learning: An indigenous Fijian approach*, Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, Suva.

Nabobo-Baba, U 2008, 'Decolonising framings in Pacific research: Indigenous Fijian Vanua Research Framework as an organic response', *AlterNative (Ng. Pae o te Māramatanga): An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 4(2), 140–154.

PNG National Statistical Office, 2011, *Papua New Guinea 2011 National Report*, NSO, Port Moresby, http://actnowpng.org/sites/default/files/2011%20Census%20National%20Report.pdf, accessed 4 October 2019.

Ratuva, S 2010, 'Back to basics: Towards integrated social protection for vulnerable groups in Vanuatu', *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 25(3), 40–63.

Richardson, E, E Hughes, S McLennan, L Meo-Sewabu, 2019, 'Indigenous well-being and development: Connections to large-scale mining and tourism in the Pacific', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 31(1), 1–34, doi:https://doi.org/10.1353/cp.2019.0004

Street, A 2010, 'Belief as relational action: Christianity and cultural change in Papua New Guinea', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 16(2), 260–278.

Street, A 2014, *Biomedicine in an Unstable Place: Infrastructure and personhood in a Papua New Guinean hospital*, Duke University Press.

Troolin, D 2013, 'Navigating contested terrain: Vernacular education in a Papua New Guinean village', *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 14(2), 283–299.

Troolin, D 2018, *Wanbel: Conflict, Reconciliation and Personhood among the Sam People, Madang Province*, Doctor of Philosophy, University of Adelaide, Australia.

Tshudi, F 2013, Dealing with violent conflicts and mass victimisation: A human dignity approach, in B Aertsen, J Arsovska, H-C Rohne, M Valiñas, K Vanspauwen (eds), *Restoring Justice after Large-scale Violent Conflicts*, Willan, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237148724_Restoring_justice_after_large-scale_violent_conflicts, accessed 5 October 2019.

Vaioleti, TM 2006, 'Talanoa Research Methodology: Developing a Position on Pacific Research', *Waikato Journal of Education*, 12, 21–34.

Revitalising rural development in the Pacific: An *itaukei* (indigenous Fijian) approach

Suliasi Vunibola and Regina Scheyvens, Massey University

'Na coke vou mai na dulumi ni bula'
(The new growth from the buried stump that gives life)

Indigenous groups who live on and work with customary land and resources occupy many rural settings in the Pacific. In Fiji, as life has become dominated by economic demands, many *itaukei* (indigenous Fijian) communities have struggled to see how *bula vakavanua* (tradition, culture and the way of being)—such as *solesolevaki,* or unpaid communal work for collective good—can aid in sustainable development of their resources for their people's benefit. This struggle, along with a lack of opportunities in rural settings, has given rise to rural-urban migration and increased related social problems.

This paper aims to demonstrate that indigenous-driven, effective rural development is possible in the Pacific despite these challenges. Case studies of successful *itaukei* businesses based on customary land in Fiji—and how *solesolevaki* has been revived to support *itaukei* entrepreneurial success and community wellbeing—were conducted and analysed.

Social embeddedness and businesses development

The notion of embeddedness of economies was initiated in the nineteenth century by Karl Polanyi, who focused on how the self-regulating market economy affected society and the environment. Polanyi detailed the transition into the industrial revolution and the 'double movement' which refers to the need for social welfare and protection within a market society (Polanyi 1944). Mark Granovetter used the same concept, stating that as one starts to look at economic life in terms of relationships, one will get a different picture of how the economy operates (Granovetter 1985, 2005). Polanyi and Granovetter's concept of 'social embeddedness of economies' was further used by Lin, who strongly argued that social networks provide the necessary environment conducive to facilitating and promoting economic activities (Lin 2017).

Social embeddedness shifts the viewpoint from the economy as somewhat separate to society, to the inclusion of social actors, social networks and relationships as enabling economic activities. In the context of this study, relationships established through kinship, blood-ties and customary land are integral to indigenous businesses. An embedded conceptualisation of economic development leads to more inclusive development that is centred on an ethical concern for people, not just economic growth. Inclusive development thinking is also associated with the recognition of diverse economic activities such as bartering, subsistence farming and communal work, not just formal activities of the wage economy. These other activities are usually not recognised as economic activities in their own right in capitalist discourses, yet they remain strongholds of many communities (Gibson-Graham, Cameron and Healy 2013).

Similarly, the notion of a place-based economy recognises that customary practices like indigenous exchange and reciprocity can support local businesses (Curry and Koczberski 2013). Appreciating culture, place and people supports less eurocentric development paths, allowing space to recognise indigenous alternatives (Curry 1999). A place-based approach also involves the process of viewing development through the lens of a market economy which can incorporate cultural and social practices, which could include place-based practices like gift exchange or the Solomon concept of kaon (credit), where relationships are strengthened through credit and reciprocity benefitting the business network (Leokana 2014), and the Fijian case of business vakavanua (Farrelly 2009). A place-specific activity supports the premise of this study that entrepreneurs can, in an effective manner, work collectively using culturally specific systems like solesolevaki to create and control their economic development and contribute to community wellbeing.

Development, wellbeing and *solesolevaki*

In many instances, supposedly well-intentioned development does not enhance the wellbeing of Pacific communities. This raises questions about actions carried out in the name of 'development' (White 2010), as well as disparities between those doing the development and what is being developed (Copestake 2008). The connections between development and wellbeing were examined by Richardson, Hughes, McLennan, and Meo-Sewabu (2019) in mining communities in PNG and tourism communities in Fiji. Their study documented views of communities on what constitutes meaningful development which, in most cases, was not associated with externally driven development practices. Wellbeing was associated with indigenous development values embedded in their way of life, for example, *gutpela sindaun* (sitting down well/a good situation) in New Ireland Province, Papua New Guinea, and *bula taucoko or sautu* (sense of completeness) in Fiji. This study therefore recommended that development bodies find a point of connection with established structures and social norms in order to contribute to the collective good (Richardson et al. 2019).

Pacific communities have systems and structures that can be interwoven with various approaches to development. Development is more sustainable and meaningful when people collectively make decisions with respect to their development pathways (Richardson et al. 2019). One such structure that can contribute to the collective good, community wellbeing, and quality of life for *itaukei* (indigenous Fijians) is *solesolevaki*—whereby people can work together for the common good without expectation of individual payment. *Solesolevaki* draws upon social capital, entails indigenous values and ethos (Movono and Becken 2018), and is linked to communal cohesiveness and collective wellbeing (Meo-Sewabu 2016). Researchers have noted that *solesolevaki* is utilised as a vehicle for development (Movono and Becken 2018) and for community-based natural resource management in Fiji (Clark 1999). We see *solesolevaki* as a form of culturally embedded agency executed to enhance social change (Meo-Sewabu and Walsh-Tapiata 2012). Specifically, *solesolevaki* involves clan members who collectively gather and use their resources, labour and land for agriculture-related development, then share the benefits (Kingi 2006).

Practicing *solesolevaki* enables accomplishment of important tasks as responsibilities are shared. These tasks can be for a communal need—such as building footpaths through a village—or for comradeship, where people work together on an individual's farm or tasks. This work system is a form of burden-sharing activity that usually involves much laughter—'the hands of many eases the workload' (Meo-Sewabu 2016). Ratuva stated that *solesolevaki* is also a form of social protection for *itaukei* communities, where formal systems of state, aid agencies, and civil society are merged with informal systems—community, family, cultural systems, social networks, social safety net—for a significant chance of sustainability (Ratuva 2010).

Methodology

Vanua Research Framework

The Vanua Research Framework (VRF) (Nabobo-Baba, 2008) is a widely accepted cultural research framework used in the Pacific. The VRF acknowledges the concept of vanua (tribe) and the integrated nature of land, people and culture) as central to the identity of being an *itaukei* (indigenous Fijian). The framework—similar to Kaupapa Maori research (Smith 2013)—is strongly driven to include indigenous worldviews by developing and encouraging relevant approaches in research that value cultural ways of being (Nabobo-Baba 2008). Adhering to the VRF principles helps to build a web of trust, respect, and lifelong relationships with research participants.

Case Study: The enabling environment of solesolevaki

The Nayarabale Youth Farm was established in 2008 through discussion after a church service—recognising the challenges faced by villagers to contribute to multiple sociocultural obligations. The farm is located at Nayarabale village, Vaturova district, Cakaudrove province, on the island of Vanua Levu, Fiji. The farm is positioned 60 km off gravelled and rough terrain from Labasa, the nearest town, and is only accessible by a river without a bridge. During periods of flooding, the village is isolated from communication and electric grids.

Villagers looked at their resources (land, culture and people) and agreed to do *solesolevaki* on land given by the *mataqali* (clan-based land owning unit), to run a farm managed by youths using a specific work structure (Table 1, see next page). They focused on kava and taro as main commodities and progressed over the years in scale and scope. From an initial target of 300 kava plants per year in 2008, the target was raised in 2019 to 25,000 kava plants, 10,000 taro plants, 12,000 yam plants, and 10,000 cassava plants per year. The farm also diversified to include pineapple and sandalwood farms. Every year the farm put aside fifteen thousand dollars (FJ$15,000) in three separate accounts for the church, cultural ceremonies and education—which catered for all of the sociocultural obligations previously shouldered by families living in the area. *Solesolevaki* is practised at the *vanua* level in Narayabale, and has been working successfully for eight years.

Work structure

Solesolevaki functions well in the Narayabale case because there is a clear working structure. The Nayarabale youth group monthly work structure divides a month into four different periods of activities: week one is *solesolevaki* for the Nayarabale Youth Farm which earns money that pays for sociocultural obligations; week two entails *solesolevaki* for individual farms where smaller youth groups work together depending on the location of their individual farms; week three is designated for *solesolevaki* on the clan's food security; and week four, the last week, is for the *vanua*, church and the government to organise any activity that requires local people's involvement. The latter means that, for example, if the Ministry of Agriculture wants to send officials to the village to run a workshop for farmers, they are instructed to only come in the fourth week of each month, as this will not disrupt the village routine. Table 1 (next page) depicts this work structure. While there are now payments made to youth members who work on the youth farm—this was not possible at the start of the farm's operation—so youth members worked in an unpaid fashion as part of *solesolevaki* until the farm was economically viable.

Leadership

A *solesolevaki* group is like an organisation where people of different backgrounds work together to achieve a goal—thus good leadership is vital. The leaders in the case study do not have formal leadership qualifications but through experience and values embedded in the *bula vakavanua* (culture, tradition and way of being *itaukei*), they contribute to the success of *solesolevaki* initiatives. *Vanua* leadership entails valuing and respecting other people, and reflecting love and compassion. This is important as people are more likely to be loyal to a common cause when

Table 1: Nayarabale Youth Farm work structure

Week	*Solesolevaki* Activities	Group involved	Venue	Earnings/benefits for individuals and community
1	Youth farm	All youth members	Youth farm camp	FJ$120-250 per person for a week's work. The additional revenue from farm produce is used to pay for sociocultural obligations (see week 4, below).
2	Individual farms	Small youth groups who farm at the same location engage in small *solesolevaki*, helping out on other individuals' farms.	Individual farm camps	FJ$200-400 from selling own crops at the market on Saturday in weeks when produce is harvested.
3	Tribal food security	All tribe members	Village	Staple crops are planted for each family within the tribe, and for those serving the tribe e.g. teachers at the district school and the pastor of the church.
4	Activities and sociocultural obligations (prescribed by the *vanua*, church, government or any visitors from outside the area)	All tribe members are involved, but the necessities for hospitality and cultural protocols (such as money, food, artefacts and transport) are provided by the youth farm. Members do activities like cooking and attending meetings, trainings and ceremonies.	Village	Creates balance between the business and the key formal institutions (family, *vanua*, church, government) and provides quality of life and community wellbeing.

they know they are appreciated, setting the stage for *solesolevaki* leaders to operate.

To capture the energy and skills of youth requires leaders who inspire and lead *solesolevaki* with understanding and patience, as shown in the following example of a leader dealing with four youths who were still playing with their phones 15 minutes after their lunch hour was over:

> It was after the lunch hour then four boys appeared when 60 youths were already clearing the bush for a new plantation. The youth leader asked them why they were late and when he found out they had been on their phones, he simply instructed them to go and lift a log and carry it about ten steps to make room for planting. The other work continued, and the four boys tried with all their might to carry the large log—which it seemed was so big that only a machine could move it. After about 20 minutes, the leader called out to everybody and asked them politely to carry the log together. The large log was easily carried by the 60-plus youths and dumped ten steps away. The leader then with a smile told the four boys, '*ni da caacaavata a levu e' da na rawata'* (in unity we achieve great things) (Iliesa Seru, November 2018, personal communication).

One of the boys reflected on this: '*mai na gauna ma ca 'a ina arai eitou maka va'adua ni kai dau bera'* (after that incident we were never late during our *solesolevaki* activities) (ibid.).

Effective leadership around *solesolevaki* activities also involves transparency and clear communication. The members of the group need to know every detail of the activity they are executing and the reason for engagement. In the Narayabale case study, transparency means everything—from the work done, tools used, money earned and spent, and vehicle usage. If kinship and relationships were used by leaders to hide aspects of the business or *solesolevaki* activities, there would be suspicion of favouritism and inequities which could undermine people's loyalty.

Solesolevaki enhancing wellbeing

From the case study, *solesolevaki* was successful when people witnessed the actual product created—that is, the farm produce from 25,000 kava plants, 12,000 yam plants, 10,000 cassava plants, 3,000 pineapples, and 100 sandalwood trees—and members benefited economically, socially and culturally. The Nayarable Youth Farm attracted more people when the farm increased in size, and was able to start paying people. The success of Narayabale and its *solesolevaki* initiatives meant that even people who lived away from the village and who had previously not been keen to move home started moving back to the village. As the activities and economic output became more visible, and Narayabale received media attention as the 'rural millionaires farm' (Ralago 2016), more people were encouraged to be part of the *solesolevaki* initiative.

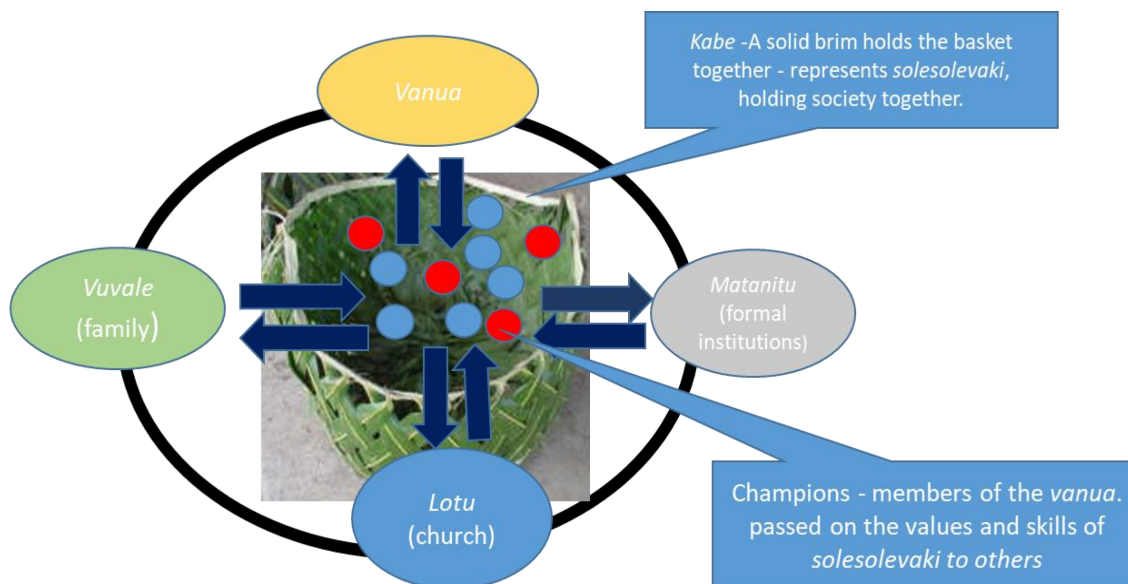
People often ask about the establishment capital for the Nayarabale farm and—learning that it was started from *solesolevaki* without any financial assistance—recognise that it can also be replicated in their villages. This is one reason why the Narayabale model has spread elsewhere.

How can *solesolevaki* be revitalised in other communities? A *solesolevaki* model.

Solesolevaki is represented in Figure 1 as a food basket made from coconut leaves known as *'voco sova'*, or '*ketekete*' (men's basket) for carrying food from a *lovo* (earth oven) and for presentations during a traditional ceremony.

A coconut leaf is split in half and made into an oval shape making the *kabe* (hard skeleton) which centres around the solid brim. The *kabe* represents *solesolevaki* as the essential element of the basket that determines its shape and durability, which holds the basket together. Coconut fronds are plaited to make the body of the basket, representing the community. The layers of plaited leaves represent the idea that as time goes on, people unite and become stronger by practising *solesolevaki* together. Inside the basket are the members who take part in the *solesolevaki* process. These become the champions who possess the passion and vision to drive the economic development associated with *solesolevaki*.

Figure 1: The *solesolevaki* model



Solesolevaki is rooted in traditional values and institutions that can help people reconnect with their culture, their land and their people. The reconnection process requires immersion into underlying values that are deeply interwoven in the culture and *bula vakavanua* (way of life and being of *itaukei*). The four crucial institutions in *itaukei* settings that promote cultural values are the *matavuvale* (family), *vanua* (culture, tradition), *lotu* (church) and *matanitu* (government/formal institutions).

The *matavuvale* (family) is the first school that prepares family members with wisdom, skills, culture, and appropriate behaviours. The *vanua* is a broad term include-ing the people, culture, social strata, clans, environment, traditional practices, kinship and ceremonies of a particular area. The *lotu* (church) plays a crucial role in the *vanua*, as most *itaukei* people embrace Christianity. Individuals are governed by the *matanitu*—government and other formal institutions. These foundations become the active fuel that propels the revitalisation of *solesolevaki*.

Action research

The *solesolevaki* model (Figure 1) was also implemented in Saroni village in Dogotuki district, Macuata province, Vanua Levu, Fiji—which was struggling with implementing *solesolevaki* initiatives. The first author is connected to the people there through his father's family, meaning he is also a landowner and part of the community. Some community members asked whether he had any ideas for revitalising customs and helping them to earn an income from their land, as earlier efforts to revitalise *solesolevaki* had failed. Practical knowledge and skills from research conducted at the Nayarabale Youth Farm—in particular, the four week work structure—were replicated and executed by people in Saroni village to enhance the wellbeing of individuals and the general community.

The author followed the VRF in order to gain approval and trust of the members. Proper channels were followed by formally informing the elders of the plan of action and seeking their approval and support. Youths were identified to pilot the program, and included in discussions along with the elders. The work structure was planned out and—despite taking some time for people to adopt *solesolevaki* within the work structure—the program is now showing significant signs of success. After eight months of operation, 1,000 kava plants have been planted in the field, 1,000 kava plants are in germination nurseries, village food is provided from a community vegetable garden, and 2,000 cassava plants have been planted. The *solesolevaki* group also initiated a commercial vegetable farm where village women gained income from vegetable sales, which they used to help women build a community oven to make bread to sell to other villages. The women's group also started a small handicraft business from the vegetable sales.

Saroni village has also influenced two other small villages—Wainiura and Sarifaci villages—which belong to the same sub-clan *tokatoka Nubunilagi*. Both these villages

have 500 kava plants breeding in their nurseries, have planted 1,000 cassava plants, and started vegetable gardens. These villages are also following the four week work structure, with villagers witnessing increased community status and unity as a result (personal communication, August 2019).

Conclusion and recommendations

Solesolevaki was a dying tradition in *itaukei* society due to many factors—including pressure on people to earn cash. The case study shows that revitalising this practice can be a pillar for supporting *itaukei* communities in providing opportunities for personal and family development, communal development, satisfying sociocultural obligations, economic development, and reducing rural-urban migration. Through *solesolevaki,* the hands of many can help rebuild communities in rural areas.

The routine set up by the Narayabale four weekly work structure created a means for villagers to produce a wide variety of crops, from which a social and economic safety net was created for the community by involving both formal and informal systems to support the tribe. *Solesolevaki* activities also attracted more village members to return from town to be with their people. As a form of social capital (Movono and Becken 2018), s*olesolevaki* can therefore foster meaningful development and quality of life in the modern era. This finding is inspiring not only for Fiji, where other communities such as the group at Saroni are seeking to copy the success of the Narayabale Youth Farm, but for the wider South Pacific.

Wherever land is under customary ownership in the Pacific, there are traditional systems in place to ensure that the land can be the basis of the people's livelihoods. In order for rural development efforts in the Pacific to be more effective and sustainable, both international and local development agencies need to capture the passion and interest of locals and channel that energy through established structures around cooperative development—rooted in the culture, values, and ethos of the communities.

References

Clark, P D 1999, Social Capital and vanua challenges to governance development in a community-based natural resource management project in Cuvu tikina, Fiji Isalands, Master of Science in Resource Conservation, International Conservation and Development, University of Montana.

Copestake, J 2008, 'Wellbeing in international development: What's new?' *Journal of International Development*, 20(5), 577–597.

Curry, G 1999, 'Markets, social embeddedness and precapitalist societies: The case of village tradestores in Papua New Guinea', *Geoforum*, 30(3), 285–298.

Curry, GN and G Koczberski, 2013, 'Development implications of the engagement with capitalism: Improving the social returns of development', in F Mccormack and Barclay K (eds), *Engaging with Capitalism: Cases from Oceania* (Research in Economic Anthropology, 33), 335-352, Emerald Group publishing Limited, Bingley, UK, available online at: doi:10.1108/s0190-1281(2013)0000033015

Farrelly, TA 2009, Business va'avanua: Cultural hybridisation and indigenous entrepreneurship in the Bouma National Heritage Park, Fiji, Doctor in Philosophy Thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand, available from EBSCOhost ir00033a database.

Gibson-Graham, CJ, J Cameron and S Healy, 2013, *Take Back the Economy: An ethical guide for transforming our communities*, University of Minnesota Press.

Granovetter, M 1985, 'Economic action and social structure: The problem of embeddedness', *American Journal of Sociology*, 91(3), 481–510.

Granovetter, M 2005, 'The impact of social structure on economic outcomes', *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 19(1), 33–50.

Kingi, TT 2006, 'Communal land tenure and agricultural development in Fiji', *Development Bulletin*, 70(1), 80–83.

Leokana, T 2014, Understanding the experiences of small business developments: A case study of local business owners in Choiseul Province, Solomon Islands, Master of Management Thesis, Massey University, Manawatu Campus, Palmerston North, NZ, available from EBSCOhost ir00033a database.

Lin, N 2017, 'Building a network theory of social capital', in Dubos R and Cook K (eds), *Social Capital Theory and Research*, Abingdon-on-Thames, England, Routledge, 3–28.

Meo-Sewabu, L 2016, 'Na Marama iTaukei Kei Na Vanua: Culturally embedded agency of indigenous Fijian women - opportunities and constraints', *New Zealand Sociology*, 31(2), 96–122.

Meo-Sewabu, L, W Walsh-Tapiata, 2012, 'Global declaration and village discourses: Social policy and indigenous wellbeing', *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 8(3), 305–317.

Movono, A, S Becken, 2018, 'Solesolevaki as social capital: A tale of a village, two tribes, and a resort in Fiji', *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 23(2), 146–157.

Nabobo-Baba, U 2008, 'Decolonising framings in Pacific research: Indigenous Fijian Vanua Research Framework as an organic response', *AlterNative (Ng. Pae o te Māramatanga): An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 4(2), 140–154.

Polanyi, K 1944, *The Great Transformation*, Beacon Hill, Boston, Beacon Press.

Ralago, J 2016, 'Nayarabale: Rural millionaire youth farm, youths to learn from Nayarabale villagers', Fiji Sun, 11th December, 8.

Ratuva, S 2010, 'Back to basics: Towards integrated social protection for vulnerable groups in Vanuatu', *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 25(3), 40–63.

Richardson, E Hughes, S McLennan and L Meo-Sewabu, 2019, 'Indigenous wellbeing and development: Connections to large-scale mining and tourism in the Pacific', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 31(1), 1–34.

Smith, LT 2013, *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, The Foundry, 17 Oval Way, Vauxhall, London SE11 5RR, UK, Zed Books Ltd.

United Nations 2015, *Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, A/RES/70/1, available from http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_70_1_E.pdf

White, SC 2010, 'Analysing wellbeing: A framework for development practice', *Development in Practice*, 20(2), 158–172.

Leadership and issue salience: A case study of how nutrition became a policy priority in Indonesia

Deviana Dewi, Institute of Development Studies, Alumni Ambassador Indonesia

Stunting is a largely irreversible outcome of inadequate nutrition and repeated bouts of infection during the first 1000 days of a child's life. A child who was not stunted at 36 months is estimated to be 28 per cent more likely to get a skilled or white-collar job, and 33 per cent less likely to live in poverty as an adult (Hoddinott et al. 2011). Stunting is defined as a height-for-age-z-score which is more than two standard deviations below the age-sex median for a well-nourished reference population, or being too short for one's age. It has been used as a preferred measure of undernutrition for setting and monitoring international goals because stunting serves as an accurate marker for poverty and underdevelopment (UNICEF 2013). Positioning nutrition front and centre in a broader development agenda can therefore help countries to optimise human potential and boost economic development.

In developing countries, calls for strong leadership in shaping commitments and tackling malnutrition have grown over the past decade. Yet, there has been little integrative analysis of the political and institutional dynamics pertinent to the development of nutrition policies in developing countries (Pelletier et al. 2011), and research on leadership in nutrition is still nascent and suffers from wide gaps in country-level data (Nisbett et al. 2016). I aim to contribute to filling this gap by answering the question: *How does leadership operate in shaping stunting as a political priority in Indonesia?* This paper first discusses the literature on leadership in nutrition and agenda setting, then assesses stunting as a political priority in Indonesia. Views expressed are my own and do not represent those of DFAT or the Australian Embassy.

Leadership and the political economy of nutrition

Globally, in the past decade, there has been progress towards building a shared understanding among stakeholders on the causes of malnutrition, and evidence-based options to tackle it, namely through nutrition-specific and nutrition-sensitive interventions. The former addresses *the immediate determinants* of malnutrition (inadequate intake and disease), while the latter target *the underlying determinants* of malnutrition (household food insecurity, an unhealthy household environment, and poor health services). A third level of action that tackles *the basic causes* of malnutrition is often overlooked. This level assesses what kinds of resources are available (financial, human, and structural) and how these resources are used (the political, legal, and cultural factors) while also denoting the wider structural and societal causes of poverty and unequal access to resources. These basic causes are formed by the political economy of nutrition, or 'the competing interests, incentives, and ideologies of a range of different actors with direct and indirect interests in nutrition, and the resultant inequalities' (Nisbett et al. 2014) which both shape the basis of nutrition interventions and inform their effectiveness.

It is not surprising that strong leadership has been identified as a common enabler within countries that have made rapid progress in addressing child and maternal undernutrition. In fact, through strong leadership, political commitment can be sustained in the mobilisation of national and subnational political systems, policy processes, and resources for improved nutrition (Gillespie et al. 2013).

In the wider field of public health, leadership influences the efficacy of initiatives such as safe motherhood to political priority as analysed by Shiffman and Smith (2007). The Shiffman and Smith framework has informed studies on nutrition policy processes such as Baker et al. (2018), Gillespie et al. (2013), and Pelletier et al. (2012). The framework can be applied within and across countries as it analyses the level of priority attached to global health initiatives (Table 1). For this paper, Indonesia is defined as a unit of analysis and nutrition as a global initiative.

In general, Shiffman and Smith (2007) suggest that the presence of each factor (Table 1, next page) improves the likelihood of an issue gaining political priority although not all factors need to exist concurrently. The framework comprises four core elements: 1) the power of actors involved in the initiative; 2) the power of ideas that actors use to portray the issue; 3) the nature of the political contexts in which actors operate; and 4) the characteristics of the issue itself. The first and the third elements are considered most germane to leadership—actor power and political contexts, because for actors to wield their power effectively, they also need to think of how power operates within a system, or systems thinking. Green (2016) emphasises how systems thinking allows us to understand that change does not happen in a linear process and in fact results from the interplay of many diverse and often unrelated factors. In this light, leaders engaged in seeking change in nutrition need to identify which elements are crucial and understand how they interact. Indeed, findings from Bangladesh, Ethiopia, India, and Kenya (Nisbett et al. 2015) reveal effective leaders in nutrition policy were those who were systemic thinkers and able to deal with complexity.

The first element addresses the cohesion of the network of individuals and organisations that are centrally involved in the issue (factor 1); leaders that help with coalescence and provide direction to the initiative (factor 2); guiding institutions or coordinating mechanisms with a mandate to lead the initiative (factor 3); and civil society organisations that push for international and national political authorities to address the issue (factor 4).

Table 1: Framework on determinants of political priority for global initiatives

	Description	Factors shaping political priority
Actor power	The strength of the individuals and organisations concerned with the issue	1 Policy community cohesion: The degree of coalescence among the network of individuals and organisations that are centrally involved with the issue at the global level. 2 Leadership: The presence of individuals capable of uniting the policy community and acknowledged as particularly strong champions for the cause. 3 Guiding institutions: The effectiveness of organisations or coordinating mechanisms with a mandate to lead the initiative. 4 Civil society mobilisation: The extent to which grassroots organisations have mobilised to press international and national political authorities to address the issue at the global level.
Ideas	The ways in which those involved with the issue understand and portray it	5 Internal frame: The degree to which the policy community agrees on the definition of, causes of, and solutions to the problem. 6 External frame: Public portrayals of the issue in ways that resonate with external audiences, especially the political leaders who control resources.
Political contexts	The environments in which actors operate	7 Policy windows: Political moments when global conditions align favourably for an issue, presenting opportunities for advocates to influence decisionmakers. 8 Global governance structure: The degree to which norms and institutions operating in a sector provide a platform for effective collective action.
Issue characteristics	Features of the problem	9 Credible indicators: Clear measures that show the severity of the problem and that can be used to monitor progress. 10 Severity: The size of the burden relative to other problems as indicated by objective measures such as mortality levels 11 Effective interventions: The extent to which proposed means of addressing the problem are clearly explained, cost effective, backed by scientific evidence, simple to implement, and inexpensive.

Source: Shiffman and Smith (2007: 1371)

Element number 3 explores the political context through policy windows (factor 7), which are moments when global conditions align favourably for an issue, presenting opportunities for advocates to reach international and national political leaders. These policy windows can open after major disasters, discoveries, or global forums. Element 3 also explores political contexts using global governance structure (factor 8), or the degree to which norms and institutions operating in a sector provide a platform for effective collective action. This includes international treaties, laws, and declarations.

The emergence of stunting as a political priority in Indonesia

Indonesia has reduced the number of stunted children under five years from 37.2 per cent—almost 9 million—in 2013 to 30.8 per cent in 2018 (Ministry of Health 2018). In comparison to new global prevalence thresholds for stunting (UNICEF, WHO, World Bank 2018), the 30.8 per cent prevalence still reads as 'very high' (≥ 30%), meaning that despite some progress, Indonesia still has one of the highest stunting rates of any middle-income country. Stunting is a particularly complex development problem to address as its causes are linked to multiple sectors and can cause economic losses for Indonesia equating to approximately 2–3 per cent of GDP per year (World Bank 2015).

In mid-2017, under the Vice President's direction, the Government of Indonesia (GoI) declared joint actions to overcome stunting. In November 2018, this resulted in the launch of an unprecedented National Strategy to Accelerate Stunting Prevention (the Strategy) to address the high stunting rate to the year 2024. Unlike any existing nutrition policies, the Strategy aims to tackle the multi-dimensional nature of stunting and emphasises stronger convergence of actions among government, civil society, the private sector, and academia at national and regional levels. It commits 22 ministries and approximately USD $3.9 billion of GoI funding per year to better coordinate and converge existing GoI's nutrition-related interventions across five sectors: health; water sanitation and hygiene; early childhood education and development; social protection; and food security.

The Strategy targets households within the first 100 priority districts containing pregnant women and/or children under two years. Its goal is to cover all 514 districts by 2024, or about 48 million beneficiaries. What led Indonesia to identify stunting as a political priority, when in many low and middle-income countries such a commitment remains absent? Let's examine how leadership shapes the political priorities for stunting in Indonesia using *actor power* and *political contexts* angles.

Actor power

Policy-focused nutrition communities in Indonesia have benefitted from the National Movement for Maternal and Child Health (GKIA), which was first initiated by World Vision Indonesia and launched by the Minister of

Coordinating Ministry of People's Welfare in 2010. Comprised of international and national non-government organisations (NGO), civil society organisations (CSO), government agencies, UN and donor agencies, GKIA aims to synergise relevant efforts from various actors to increase maternal, infant and under-five health.

In 2011, Indonesia joined the global movement Scaling Up Nutrition (SUN), and officially launched its own SUN Movement in October 2013 after the signing of Presidential Decree No. 42/2013, 'The First 1000 Days of Life Movement'. The movement also established four SUN Networks: Government, CSO, UN-Donor and Business. What makes these government-initiated SUN networks different from GKIA is the inclusion of the private sector and the specific focus on children under two years of age.

Indonesia's Minister of Finance, Sri Mulyani Indrawati, has been frequently mentioned as a nutrition champion. After serving as the Managing Director and Chief Operating Officer of the World Bank from 2010 to 2016, she returned to Indonesia to become Minister of Finance in July 2016. Indrawati raised awareness of the importance of investing in citizens' early years of life in order to build human capital and boost growth and prosperity at multiple international and national forums including the 2018 World Bank Group (WBG)-International Monetary Fund (IMF) Annual Meetings in October 2017. The World Bank team in Indonesia has reportedly provided support to raise the profile of stunting as a critical development challenge for Indonesia by regularly briefing Indrawati alongside developing a community program that addresses malnutrition and a book (Rokx et al. 2018) that documents Indonesia's fight against stunting.

In April 2017, the World Bank team in Indonesia supported a delegation of GoI officials to travel to Peru to learn from the country's success in prioritising and reducing stunting. After this trip, government officials from the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) agreed on several Peruvian practices such as multi-sectoral and a results-based-approach, and building strong commitments and leadership among health groups, NGOs and government agencies as critical steps to reduce stunting.

The World Bank, with Australian support, has been key to raising stunting's profile. Other key actors include the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) and the National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction (TNP2K). MCC provided a grant from the US to fund community-based health and nutrition programs to reduce stunting from 2013–18, and funded the inaugural Stunting Summit in March 2018 to increase engagement among the business sector, donor, academia, and civil society groups specialising in stunting reduction. The Executive Secretary of TNP2K, Bambang Widianto, has been mentioned by many stakeholders as a respected leader in mainstreaming nutrition in Indonesia's core development agenda (TNP2K 2018). Since 2016, TNP2K has regularly briefed the Indonesian Vice President on Indonesia's stunting problems, including its links to poverty; developed a logical framework on how the new Strategy would reduce stunting as well as a funding framework that maximises national and district-level funding; and established institutional arrangements that would place the Vice President as a committee chair and TNP2K as a monitoring and evaluation coordinator with Bappenas. In 2017, the Vice President used TNP2K's institutional arrangement to convene two limited cabinet meetings in July (TNP2K 2017a) and August (TNP2K 2017b) where he declared joint actions to handle stunting by strengthening inter-sectoral coordination and involving various stakeholders.

TNP2K analysed data from the TNP2K-managed poverty database and Ministry of Health to identify priority districts based on stunting prevalence and poverty rate. TNP2K and the World Bank have continued to work together in the preparation and formulation of the National Strategy to Accelerate Stunting Prevention that was officially launched in November 2018.

Political contexts

The World Bank team in Indonesia has leveraged the whole-of-World Bank expertise and networks, including then President Jim Yong Kim, to build momentum and raise awareness of stunting as a national priority in Indonesia. Kim spoke at the Indonesia Infrastructure Finance Forum in Jakarta on July 25, 2017, highlighting how focusing on nutrition and a child's early years are two of the most cost-effective investments Indonesia can make (Kim 2017). This forum preceded the Annual Meetings of the Boards of Governors of the IMF and the WBG hosted by Indonesia in October 2018, where the World Bank launched the Human Capital Index (HCI)—an international metric across 157 countries that measures the contribution of health and education to the productivity of the next generation of workers.

The Bank has further harnessed the momentum of this emerging agenda by initiating a USD $400 million results-based loan to support Indonesia's ambitious Strategy, following high level GoI support secured through Jim Yong Kim. The loan 'Investment in Nutrition and Early Years' (INEY) (World Bank 2018b) was finalised in May 2018 and aims to optimise GoI's expenditure on nutrition more efficiently, and use data to better inform planning. Essentially, the loan helps central ministries by tying their funding to the Bank's performance and verification standards.

Reducing undernutrition has echoed at national and international levels particularly since 2008 when the science journal, *The Lancet*, launched its Series on Maternal and Child Undernutrition (Gillespie et al. 2013), and in 2014 when the first Global Nutrition Report was launched to track country progress on nutrition. In the past five years, the global commitment to tackling malnutrition in all of its forms has become stronger, reflected in the UN declaring 2016-2025 the Nutrition Decade and positioning nutrition within Sustainable Development Goal 2, ending all forms of malnutrition by 2030.

Discussion

The presence of individuals that are capable of uniting policy communities and who are acknowledged as champions for the cause elevate the initiative. As a former World Bank

Managing Director, Indrawati might have been more familiar with how stunting affects the broader development of a nation, and more inclined to accept the World Bank's ideas including the results-based loan. The Executive Secretary of TNP2K, whose speeches have linked stunting to economic growth and poverty reduction, appeared to increase understanding on stunting among Indonesian government ministries. Further, both TNP2K and the World Bank targeted their awareness-raising attempts on stunting to key individuals in government with direct influence in policy and programmatic decision making, i.e. the Vice President, Minister of Finance, and key Bappenas officials.

On the power of actors, the Indonesian case echoes the findings in Kenya and Ethiopia (Nisbett et al. 2015) where government and donors were seen as the most influential actors in the nutrition environment. In Kenya, key government actors were backed up by supportive donors providing technical support, funding, and facilitating meetings across governments, NGO and donors. Meanwhile in Ethiopia with its more authoritarian political structure, government and donors played an important role although there were few references to key individuals as nutrition champions.

Indonesia has chosen to delegate the coordination of stunting reduction initiatives to non-health institutions, namely TNP2K and Bappenas. The World Bank and TNP2K have both harnessed the global momentum that has identified stunting as a critical issue. From the launch of the SUN Movement in 2013, the declaration of 2016–2025 as the UN Nutrition Decade, the release of the HCI that emphasises country investments in human capital, and numerous international events hosted by Indonesia, stunting has gained high-level visibility, leading to the formulation of the National Strategy to Accelerate Stunting Prevention.

There are two lessons from the Peruvian success story in tackling malnutrition (Mejía Acosta and Haddad 2014) that are applicable to Indonesia; the design of an overarching nutrition and poverty reduction strategy, and the support of strong executive leadership to build a single narrative across different agencies around the need to reduce stunting.

Finally, Shiffman and Smith (2007) suggest that initiatives are more likely to attract political support if they link with civil society organisations that push for political authorities to address the issue. Yet, in the case of developing a stunting agenda in Indonesia, there is little known about the role of civil society groups. This may stem from the disharmony among CSOs aligned with GKIA and SUN-networks regarding their stance on the private sector's involvement in nutrition. For example, some CSOs are vocal about exclusive breastfeeding or conversely the provision of formula milk and other manufactured, fortified foods to treat malnutrition.

Conclusion

The stunting initiative has had many enablers to help it become a political priority in Indonesia. The policy communities appear to be cohesive in their efforts to achieve a stunting agenda in Indonesia, benefitting from previous initiatives on maternal child health and nutrition. This is particularly apparent within government, bilateral donors, and multilateral organisations. Nutrition leaders outside the health sector also have a sense of ownership towards the stunting initiative, emphasising how nutrition is more than a health issue.

Policy windows have opened at global and national levels and the policy community has taken advantage of these opportunities. Donors and multilateral organisations still play a huge role in advancing an initiative in a middle-income country where funding is not the primary issue, through lending support in the form of technical assistance and convening power vertically among various sectors and horizontally among sub-national governments.

The case of stunting as a national political priority in Indonesia has also shown that no one factor identified by Shiffman and Smith (2007) is necessary or sufficient for political support, although the role of civil society remains unclear. Finally, stunting initiatives in Indonesia have also shown that commitment-building is a non-linear and dynamic process, laced with deliberate efforts of actor networks.

References

Baker, P, C Hawkes, K Wingrove, AR Demaio, J Parkhurst, AM Thow, H Walls, 2018, 'What drives political commitment for nutrition? A review and framework synthesis to inform the United Nations Decade of Action on Nutrition', *BMJ Global Health*, 3.

Gillespie, S, L Haddad, V Mannar, P Menon, N Nisbett, 2013, 'The politics of reducing malnutrition: building commitment and accelerating progress', *The Lancet* 382, 552–569.

Green, D 2016, *How Change Happens*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Haddad, L 2013, 'Ending undernutrition: Our legacy to the post 2015 generation', *Institute of Development Studies*, http://nutrition4growth.org/Ending%20Undernutrition%20-%20Background%20framing%20paper%20-%20Final%20May%202013.pdf

Hoddinott, J J Maluccio, JR Behrman, R Martorell, P Melgar, AR Quisumbing, M Ramirez-Zea, AD Stein, KM Yount, 2011, 'The consequences of early childhood growth failure over the life course', *Discussion Paper 1073*, International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington D.C.

Kim, JY 2017, 'Indonesia's future depends on its investments now', *The Jakarta Post*, https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2017/07/27/insight-indonesias-future-depends-on-its-investments-now.html

Mejía Acosta, AL Haddad, 2014, 'The politics of success in the fight against malnutrition in Peru', *Food Policy* 44, 26–35.

Ministry of Health, 2018, *Hasil Utama Riset Kesehatan Dasar 2018*, http://www.depkes.go.id/resources/download/info-terkini/hasil-riskesdas-2018.pdf

Nisbett, N S Gillespie, L Haddad, J Harris, 2014, 'Why worry about the politics of childhood undernutrition?', *World Development* 64, 420–433.

Nisbett, N E Wach, L Haddad, S Arifeen, S Reddin, K Gatellier, N Covic, S Drime, J Harris, S Yosef, 2016, 'Championing nutrition: effective leadership for action', in Gillespie, S et al (eds), *Nourishing Millions*, Washington D.C.

Nisbett, N E Wach, L Haddad, S El Arifeen, 2015, 'What drives and constrains effective leadership in tackling child

undernutrition? Findings from Bangladesh, Ethiopia, India and Kenya', *Food Policy* 53, 33–45.

Pelletier, DL EA Frongillo, S Gervais, L Hoey, P Menon, T Ngo, RJ Stoltzfus, AMS Ahmed, T Ahmed, 2012, 'Nutrition agenda setting, policy formulation and implementation: lessons from the mainstreaming nutrition initiative', *Health Policy and Planning* 27, 19–31.

Pelletier, DL P Menon, T Ngo, EA Frongillo, D Frongillo, 2011, 'The nutrition policy process: The role of strategic capacity in advancing national nutrition agendas', *Food and Nutrition Bulletin* 32, 59-69.

Rokx, C A Subandoro, P Gallagher, 2018, Aiming high: Indonesia's ambition to reduce stunting, World Bank, Washington D.C.

Shiffman, J S Smith, 2007, 'Generation of political priority for global health initiatives: A framework and case study of maternal mortality', *The Lancet* 370, 1370–1379.

TNP2K, 2018, *Presentation of Executive Secretary of TNP2K at National Technical Coordination Meeting for Stunting Prevention*, TNP2K, Jakarta http://tnp2k.go.id/program/technical-coordination-meeting-for-stunting-prevention

TNP2K, 2017a, 'Wakil Presiden Jusuf Kalla Pimpin Rapat Rencana Aksi Penanganan Stunting',*TNP2K News*, http://tnp2k.go.id/articles/wakil-presiden-jusuf-kalla-pimpin-rapat-rencana-aksi-penanganan-stunting

TNP2K, 2017b, 'Plenary Meeting on Stunting', *TNP2K News*, http://tnp2k.go.id/articles/plenary-meeting-on-stunting

UNICEF, 2013, I*mproving Child Nutrition: The achievable imperative for global progress*, United Nations Children's Fund, New York.

UNICEF, WHO, World Bank, 2018, *UNICEF WHO World Bank Joint Child Malnutrition Estimates: Key findings of the 2018 edition*, https://www.who.int/nutgrowthdb/2018-jme-brochure.pdf?ua=1

UNSCN, 2010, *UNSCN 6th Report on the World Nutrition Situation: Progress in nutrition*, https://www.unscn.org/files/Publications/RWNS6/report/SCN_report.pdf

World Bank, 2018a, *Local Solutions to Poverty Annual Progress Report 2017*, https://localsolutionstopoverty.org/sites/default/files/2018-04/Indonesia_Social_Development_World_Bank_Local_Solutions_to_Poverty_Annual_Report_2017.pdf

World Bank, 2018b, *Program Appraisal Document for Investing in Nutrition and Early Years*, http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/303221529811053670/pdf/180601-INEY-PAD-for-BOARD-06012018.pdf

World Bank, 2015, *The Double Burden of Malnutrition in Indonesia*, http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2015/04/23/the-double-burden-of-malnutrition-in-indonesia

Successes, challenges and collective leadership in the Cambodian WASH sector

Shona K Fitzgerald and Gaetano Romano
Engineers Without Borders Australia

Introduction

Engineers Without Borders Australia (EWB) started working in Cambodia in 2004 with the intent of improving the well-being of rural communities by transferring engineering skills to local technicians. Volunteers initially worked in local organisations until 2014 when EWB decided to focus on specific technical areas, including sanitation—then part of the international millennium development goal (MDG) to promote access to sanitation. In 2014 EWB formed an informal technical working group to coordinate with government and the NGO sector to raise awareness on the lack of technical solutions for communities in challenging environments. EWB then initiated the sanitation in challenging environments (SCE) program in 2015—shifting focus from individual placements in organisations to a programmatic structured approach to improve sector-wide engagement for SCE activities. EWB's partnering for collective action continued the placement of engineers for transferring of skills, and also facilitated coordination of active SCE members within the water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) sector in Cambodia. The adoption of sustainable development goal (SDG) 6 in 2015 by the Cambodian government enabled EWB's collective leadership role to be implemented and sustained.

We describe the characteristics of the EWB leadership model that made the collective actions in SCE possible, and how ambition, adaptation, inclusiveness and a strengths-based approach were essential for successful results. Bringing diverse partners together for SCE requires collective action, with the full support of the government and participation of multiple actors to ensure sanitation systems in place are supported by functioning supply chains and scaling.

Sanitation in challenging environments

Over a quarter of Cambodians, approximately four million people, live in a challenging environment (WSP 2011), where sanitation infrastructure is particularly difficult to implement and maintain. Challenging environments are defined as areas where it is either difficult to construct pour-flush offset pit latrines or where the use of these latrines is likely to contaminate the surrounding environment, particularly groundwater and surface-water resources. The most common challenging environments in Cambodia are floating villages, flood-prone areas, drought prone areas, hard rock areas, high groundwater areas and coastal areas (MRD 2019).

Although there is no specific national data on sanitation coverage in challenging environments, it is presumed to be significantly lower than the 72 per cent average for the rural population. Programs of the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) have promoted large scale, affordable and standard sanitation solutions—which have succeeded in accessible parts of the country. Access to sanitation improved dramatically from 29 per cent in 2010 (Ministry of Planning 2012) to 72 per cent in 2019 (Ministry of Planning 2018). The government is committed to achieving 100 per cent rural sanitation coverage by 2025. To achieve this goal and ensure alignment with the UN Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 6—access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all and end open defecation by 2030 (UN 2015)—there must be an urgent focus on SCE in Cambodia. The government recognises this additional focus needs to be on—not only sanitation technology solutions appropriately designed for different challenging environments—but also sanitation financing, training, education and faecal sludge management to address unique requirements of these areas.

This shift of focus by the government towards communities that are hard to reach is due to different factors—including the global emphasis and commitment to attain the SDGs with particular attention to the most vulnerable. However, the government's focus is also due to EWB's work over the past decade—drawing attention of sectoral partners to SCE, testing and developing new sanitation technologies for SCE, and defining principles to work well in SCE. These activities were pivotal in for SCE principles being endorsed by the Ministry of Rural Development (MRD) and included in national operational plans.

EWB's Sanitation in Challenging Environments program

The main mechanism initially adopted by EWB in 2004 was placing volunteers—often Australian engineers—in local organisations. The purpose of these placements was capacity building of individuals and teams with volunteers working with their counterpart organisations day-by-day to develop and refine skills and attitudes that would translate into improvements of the community programs of those organisations and, ultimately, the well-being of the partners' beneficiaries. EWB was using a one-on-one approach with Cambodian partners at that time and utilising its strong identity as a networking organisation to leverage the engineering skills and know-how needed in Cambodia from a well-established engineering network in Australia—comprising individuals, universities and corporate partners.

EWB realised within a few years that, to capitalise on work done by their volunteers, it was crucial to focus on specific technical areas. Sanitation became one of these technical areas as, at that time, many EWB partners were working in that space and there was a strong international drive to promote access to sanitation as part of the millennium development goals (WHO 2000). Until 2014, EWB volunteers contributed to the work of a number of local partners developing and testing sanitation technologies for communities living around the Tonle Sap lake, in Siam Reap province. In those years, EWB became increasingly aware that the engineering know-how EWB provided was in particular need in niche areas neglected by most of the sanitation actors in Cambodia. Through this awareness, the concept of Sanitation in Challenging Environments (SCE) took form in EWB's approach.

In 2014 EWB invited their partners to establish an informal technical working group to create a platform for participants to share their experience and knowledge in SCE. The partners soon realised they needed their voices heard in the broader WASH sector and became more proactive in sectoral working groups—notably the Rural Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene (WATSAN) Sectoral Working Group of the Ministry of Rural Development (MRD). EWB and partners were raising awareness on issues around the lack of technical solutions for communities in challenging environments—paired with promoting better coordination in the NGO sector, presenting results from testing new technologies and advocating for financial support for SCE.

In 2015, EWB operations grew and EWB shifted its approach from technical placements in partner organisations to also include a more structured, programmatic approach by initiating the SCE program—to improve sector engagement for SCE activities, develop appropriate technologies and produce educational materials specific to SCE. A small team was established in country to coordinate and give direction to the program. However—while strengthening their presence in Cambodia—EWB became aware that mobilising partners using a collective approach to the SCE challenge was the key element for success. EWB continued providing engineering placements for skills transfers, while starting to facilitate the coordination of active SCE members in the WASH sector.

EWB's leadership role in SCE became evident with the establishment of the SCE program. Previous work on quantifying the SCE problem in Cambodia had been undertaken by the World Bank's Water and Sanitation Program (WSP) in 2011 when WSP first identified the extent of challenging environments in Cambodia and the affordability of sanitation options (WSP 2011). In 2015, EWB's call for action was grounded in WSP's research around a legitimate need—the right to sanitation access regardless of where people live—exposed and analysed in the WASH sector at the right time—anticipating the SDGs that mobilised the whole world to achieve sanitation access for all (UN 2015). The adoption of SDG 6 outcome indicators and targets boosted EWB's visibility and opened a space for EWB to collectively lead the discussion on SCE in the broader WASH sector.

Enabling collective action in the Cambodian WASH sector: The establishment of the SCE technical team

The starting point for EWB's collective leadership was to define 'the SCE problem' in the form of SCE guiding principles—a document that could inspire, inform and guide government action. EWB initiated development of the guiding principles with a consultative process involving a number of organisations interested in SCE—to bring discussion around SCE into the main coordination mechanisms of the WASH sector and increase visibility of and advocacy for SCE action. In early 2017 the Rural Sanitation and Hygiene (RuSH) Working Group—under the WATSAN Working Group—established an official subgroup called the SCE technical team—a step forward for the former SCE group, now formally recognised and within the MRD's broader sectoral coordination mechanism.

The SCE technical team was asked to expand work they were doing on the guiding principles to also provide technical support and strategic direction in the areas of WASH policy development, new technology solutions design and piloting with the aim of scaling-up rural sanitation in challenging environments. The SCE technical team work was expected to inform implementation of the MRD's first and second National Action Plans to reach SDG 6 outcome indicators and targets. The SCE technical team could count on experience and knowledge in SCE from organisations such as IDE (International Development

Enterprises), Johanniter, Malteser International, RainWater Cambodia, SNV, UNICEF, WaterAid, WaterSHED, Wetlands Work!, World Vision and the MRD. Although the MRD had become official chair and leader of the technical team, EWB maintained a co-chair role—including development of the terms of reference of the team—based on EWB's collective leadership experience in the SCE space. EWB also retained the function of promoting and organising three SCE knowledge sharing forums each year—where partners and external associates could convene to discuss SCE topics.

The formal establishment of the SCE technical team created a change in the leadership model utilised by EWB—with EWB recognising that leadership and leading are two different concepts. By transferring the leading role to the MRD, EWB reached an important milestone, as EWB's leadership model had fully embraced a collective dimension up to that time. As SCE stood with the whole technical team, it was obvious that EWB should support the process in areas where other partners were not yet ready to take the lead. With the MRD chairing the technical team, EWB adapted to the new context and redesigned their role within the collective leadership model they had initiated—repositioning EWB in an advisory role for the sector. This successful transition was due to EWB's consistent participation and knowledge of the sector's coordination systems—built over years of close collaboration with partners and active participation in the SCE space.

Partnering for collective action: The endorsement of the SCE guiding principles

Having embraced the goal of advocating access to sanitation for rural Cambodian people living in challenging environment, in three years EWB mobilised interested partners, established a working group and, with other partners, transferred the leading role to the MRD—that endorsed and institutionalised the working group. Due to partners' conflicting priorities, EWB leveraged their networking and facilitation skills to keep everyone on board and was able to succeed due to a strong sense of trust from partners—built over collaborations of more than 15 years.

The partners collaboratively drafted, iterated and finalised English and Khmer versions of the National Guiding Principles on Sanitation in Challenging Environment for Rural Households in September 2018 (MRD 2019). These guiding principles start with a precise definition of the term 'challenging environment' and outline key considerations for projects in challenging environments, and the need for development, promotion and knowledge sharing of appropriate technologies. Recommendations include development of technical research into SCE with reference to comprehensive databases and challenging environments mapping exercises. The guiding principles also recommend a human centred design approach, bringing communities to the centre of technical research to design technologies which take into account specific cultural behaviours and needs of the final users. Inclusiveness is at the core of EWB's collective leadership model, which requires listening, understanding and integrating the needs of many and committing to a common vision. The guiding principles also suggest the importance of documenting the human centred design process for development of SCE appropriate technologies, and that this approach permeates all technology developments in challenging environments (ibid).

Endorsed by the MRD on 9 July 2019, the guiding principles will be annexed to the MRD's second national action plan, to be launched at Cambodia's National Sanitation Day in November 2019. With the principles informing the technical strategic direction of MRD, SCE is now a fully recognised intervention within the MRD's broader WASH program.

Key activities of the SCE network: Dissemination and implementation of the SCE guiding principles to scale up

Once the SCE guiding principles are included in the MRD's second national action plan, EWB has recognised two new challenging tasks—dissemination and training of the MRD staff on the SCE guiding principles, particularly at provincial and district level, and implementation by all WASH actors with particular focus on development of appropriate technologies.

Expectations of the government on the SCE technical team are growing—with SCE partners requested to promote a common understanding for SCE in the sector, develop an evidence-based database and information platform and provide recommendations for SCE within the broader WASH policy development.

This needs to be paired with new technology solutions design, pilots, reviews, and development of methodologies for scaling-up rural sanitation in challenging environments in Cambodia. The technical team is also required to develop an advocacy agenda for SCE, while continuing to coordinate knowledge sharing and foster learning among SCE sector partners. This reflects a genuine interest and commitment of the MRD to reach the SDG 6 outcome indicators and targets. The MRD requested EWB to facilitate dissemination of the SCE guiding principles to an audience including provincial departments of the MRD, other ministries, development partners, civil society organisations, local authorities and the private sector.

The Minister of Rural Development chaired the national-level dissemination workshop held in Phnom Penh in September 2019 to demonstrate that access to sanitation in challenging environments had become a national issue. The workshop was attended by 73 people from 35 organisations. During this dissemination workshop SCE partners showcased their approaches, methods and tools of technology solutions designed or piloted in respective working areas. An important part of the dissemination workshop was discussion roles and responsibilities of WASH implementers in SCE.

The collective leadership around SCE has become collective action—requiring new skills from all SCE actors to solve issues around technologies, affordability, supply chains and different ways to implement monitoring and evaluation activities. EWB will continue to co-chair

meetings of the SCE technical team and SCE forums alongside EWB's traditional collaboration on development of sanitation technologies for SCE. EWB will also help build capacity of the MRD's SCE implementing teams and monitor progress of the SCE part of the national action plan.

EWB leadership model

We ask whether it was necessary for EWB to spend so much time and resources to promote this collective action. Would it have been better for EWB to focus on development of technical solutions for the different types of physical and natural challenges? The goal of EWB's SCE program still remains the improvement of access to sanitation in challenging environments. Conversely, objectives of the program have been readapted several times, to capture the potential contribution of other SCE partners and to ensure that when other members of the group were ready to take the leading role on certain aspects of the process, EWB would shift their focus. At the outset of the SCE movement—once aware that promising sanitation technologies for challenging environments could not be scaled up—EWB adopted a coordination leadership role and established a pool of organisations interested in SCE. EWB then focused on collective leadership to ensure this SCE group was recognised and formalised by the government. By encouraging the government to take a leading role in the SCE group, EWB moved into a role leading collaborative advisory processes, rather than the SCE group as a whole—now led by the MRD.

This type of leadership model could be defined as ambitious, inclusive, strengths-based and adaptive. In the early stages of operating in Cambodia, EWB soon realised the complexity of the SCE problem. Rather than concentrating efforts on a specific element, EWB decided to holistically tackle SCE—an ambitious decision despite EWB being able to rely on good engineering skills and a refined capacity of partnering and networking.

EWB did not specifically select partners they believed to be useful, and coordinated a space for participation for all those interested. In the Cambodian sector, WASH organisations sometimes struggle to collaborate because they adopt incompatible approaches—subsidies versus sanitation marketing, for example. However, EWB's approach was to bring people together to agree on the issues, what needed to be achieved and high-level principles of how identified actions could be achieved. Partners that joined the SCE team were diverse, with some strictly working on technology development, others on broader community development implementation or focused on capacity building. EWB did not suggest any organisation should do something different but tried to match diverse strengths to cover different needs within SCE to enable all partners to contribute according to their strengths. The MRD had a unique role as the major institutional counterpart for SCE and EWB built and strengthened relations with MRD believing they were best placed to lead the collective action. As already mentioned, the role of EWB and partners in the process was to be adaptable and to anticipate where the needs were, constantly asking themselves 'what do we need to do next'.

Conclusion

This paper illustrates some of the key elements that enabled the EWB leadership model to be successful in Cambodia:

- Timeliness of the SCE goal felt to be important by many Cambodian actors;
- deep understanding of enabling systems and the SCE environment in Cambodia;
- ability to build partnerships and networks;
- robust technical knowledge and skills; and
- a clear vision of objectives.

In a scenario of collective action, with political will the first driver for change, EWB can confidently expect broader sectoral collaborations to result in increased sanitation access as the issues discussed in this paper can only be addressed through government leadership and collective action.

One cannot over-emphasise that improving sanitation in challenging environments is exceptionally complex. Technical solutions must:

- Be diverse and adapted to local contexts, which means they might not be scalable, particularly those addressing needs of isolated pockets of communities;
- find a compromise between affordability, complexity of design and construction and environmental impact; and
- not be adopted without looking at local markets and social contexts, as the supply chain of spare parts might not be available, masons and builders need to be trained and communities need to learn to use technologies with which they may not be familiar.

Financing SCE is also complex. Even when technical solutions are available it is difficult to determine at what extent they should or could be subsidised or made available for a potential but uncertain private market—a key reason solutions already tested and considered technologically viable years ago were often not produced at scale for communities. SCE communities are often remote and marginalised and the impacts of climate change will further exacerbate these issues.

The EWB collective leadership model in Cambodia—through collaboration, coordination and communication over decades—brought together multiple actors to agree on SCE issues and how to achieve sustainable results.

References

Ministry of Planning 2012, 'Cambodia socio-economic survey 2010', National Institute of Statistics, Phnom Penh, https://www.nis.gov.kh/nis/CSES/Final%20Report%20CSES%202010.pdf, accessed 25 October 2019.

Ministry of Planning 2018, 'Cambodia socio-economic survey 2017', National Institute of Statistics, Phnom Penh, https://www.nis.gov.kh/nis/CSES/Final%20Report%20CSES%202017.pdf, accessed 25 October 2019.

Ministry of Rural Development (MRD) 2019, 'National guiding principles for sanitation in challenging environments for rural households', Department of Rural Health Care, Phnom Penh, https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/folders/112WgpbRESonrHO3b1eje3E9v90Nzmc34, accessed 25 October 2019.

UN General Assembly 2015, Transforming our World: The 2030 agenda for sustainable development, A/RES/70/1, available at: http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_70_1_E.pdf, SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals): https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdgs, accessed 7 October 2019.

WHO (World Health Organization) 2000, Millennium Development Goals (archived, for SDGs see https://www.who.int/sdg/en/), https://www.who.int/topics/millennium_development_goals/about/en/, accessed 25 October 2019.

World Bank Water and Sanitation Program (WSP) 2011, 'Final report Cambodia assessment—Affordable sanitation in challenging areas in Cambodia and Lao PDR Phase1', report prepared by Aruna Technology Ltd., Phnom Penh.

Diaspora participation in leadership for inclusive reconstruction and development in Darfur

Helena Grunfeld, Victoria University, and Elhafiz Adam (Bassy), WAREFUR International Organisation

Ravaged by genocide, war and environmental destruction for decades, Darfur has been the subject of various peace processes, but violence against the civilian population continues. Frustrated by the inability of the international community to end the conflict, a group of Darfuris living in the diaspora and in Darfur established WAREFUR International Organisation (WIO)—which has adopted principles of the social and solidarity economy to strive for inclusive development. This paper focuses on leadership for inclusive development within and by WIO for reconstruction of destroyed villages and infrastructure. WIO emphasises that these activities must take place within a governance structure that enables widespread participation by all, including women. After a brief introduction of leadership in an African context, the paper summarises the background to and current situation in Darfur. WIO is then introduced and the paper concludes with summarising challenges associated with leadership for inclusive development within WIO and in Darfur.

Leadership for inclusive development

One perception of leadership in Africa aligns with what is sometimes referred to as the 'Ubuntu' concept. This incorporates community-oriented leaders with integrative views of leadership and application of democratic principles of a consensual nature in decision making (Metz 2018), with characteristics such as benevolence, humanity, respect, interdependence and responsiveness (Eyong 2016, Ochara 2013).

These leadership characteristics are sometimes contrasted with the more individualistic and hierarchical leadership styles often deployed in the West. For example, as described by Northouse (2001:11): 'a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal'.

However, reality is often different to perception. African community-based leadership is often characterised by a lack of adherence to the rule of law and questionable governance processes, as practiced by many of Africa's long serving dictators, including Sudan's former president Omar al-Bashir and his successor(s). Key governance institutions in Africa can lack independence and impartiality (see, for instance, Mimbi and Kyobe 2017).

The ambiguity between the 'Ubuntu' leadership style and corruption and dictatorship in Africa is illustrated in a 2009 survey of leadership perceptions (Bolden and Kirk), in which:

- 30 per cent cited a sense of pride about what Africa is, what Africans have done, and what they can do as leaders;
- 30 per cent associated leadership with power-hungry and corrupt leaders, but did not necessarily preclude a more positive future;
- 25 per cent saw leadership in Africa as no different from elsewhere, or just appearing in different contexts;
- 17 per cent reported a shifting perception, from a negative to a more inspiring and optimistic future.

Bolden and Kirk (2009) also found that cultural and religious norms related to age and gender can be impediments to leadership engagement by some groups. Then there is the issue of the approach to time, where those used to stricter Western time regimes can be frustrated by the loosely structured 'African time' (Galperin et al. 2019).

Comparative studies of paradigm differences between African and Western leadership styles seem inconclusive. Studies offer little guidance on suitable leadership of an organisation such as the WIO—because of the diverse membership of the organisation—and also because most studies offer decontextualised and abstract ways of how groups are situated in society. Organisations such as WIO do not seem to be covered in the literature.

This paper will summarise the leadership challenges for inclusive development of a dispersed organisation in which members have been exposed to different approaches to leadership. Some have remained in their villages, others live in Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps—employed as unskilled workers—or in a professional capacity in the West. But first some background on Darfur and how WIO is working for inclusive development.

Darfur: Background to crises and the current situation

Prior to its incorporation into Sudan in 1917 by Britain, Darfur was a sultanate (Takana 2016). Covering an area approximately the size of France in Southwestern Sudan, Darfur has three main tribes—Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa—of which the Fur is the most populous. The Sudanese government had neglected Darfur when the current conflict, dating back to the mid-1980s with intermittent violence, escalated in 2003 (Müller and Bashar 2017) following a surprise attack by the Sudanese Liberation Movement/ Army on the airport at El Fasher, killing about 100 soldiers. A key catalyst was that Darfuris did not benefit from the oil discovered there in the 1970s and the increasing marginalisation contributed to ethnic consciousness (Kasfir 2005).

Crisis and genocide

In response to the attack, Sudanese military and police together with the Janjaweed, a Sudanese militia group

recruited mostly among Arabised Africans, took up arms against the local land-owning, sedentary, African, non-Arab, Darfuri population (Tomasson 2016). This government initiated counterinsurgency conducted a brutal campaign of mass killings and ethnic cleansing, culminating in genocide, and scorched earth tactics. The Sudanese Government was implicated in several war crimes and crimes against humanity (Bellamy and Williams 2006).

A UN (2005) report of the International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur found that '…the Government of the Sudan and the Janjaweed are responsible for serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian law amounting to crimes under international law'.

Explanations for the war range from disputes over scarce water and grazing land between African farmers and Arab pastoralist communities, to an attempt at Arabisation of Darfur—hence the definition of the conflict as genocide (US Department of State Archives 2004).

In 2007 a hybrid UN/African Union mission in Darfur (UNAMID), acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter was deployed to protect civilians and monitor human rights abuses. The UN estimates that between 200,000 and 300,000 people have died, 2.7 million have been displaced and some 4.7 million people of a total population of around 6.2 million, have been directly affected since 2004. According to an Amnesty International (2013:3) report:

> Civilians continue to face attacks by government forces, pro-government militias, and armed opposition groups … The government…has continued to carry out indiscriminate aerial bombardment and deliberate attacks against civilians.

Darfuri students in the Sudanese capital Khartoum have also been subjected to violence (Amnesty International 2017).

The International Criminal Court has five arrest warrants outstanding for Sudanese officials—including former president Omar al-Bashir—for war crimes and crimes against humanity, including rape, forcible transfers, murder, extermination, and torture. Civilians still face human rights violations such as destruction of villages, violence and displacement. Livelihood opportunities of women are adversely affected by significant sexual violence or the threat of it (UNSC 2019).

The UN Security Council introduced some sanctions in 2005 (Resolution 1591), but these have been ineffective as major powers ignored them—the US found the regime useful in its 'war on terror' and Russia and China continued to protect their interests in Sudan. Benefitting from sanctions by some Western countries, China has invested in oil extraction, which has funded a doubling of Sudan's military budget since it began exporting oil in 1999. China has also assisted with the production of weapons in Sudan (Kalu 2018).

The conflict has been aggravated by disunity between Darfuri movements, which has severely affected the demographics, economy, governance and natural resources—issues not properly addressed in peace processes.

Land disputes

A feature of past and present conflicts, land use disputes between sedentary farmers and nomadic herders were traditionally resolved peacefully, according to a set of customary rules evolved over centuries (Kasfir 2005). The flexible and intricate Hakura system—through which resources were shared—was gradually weakened and disrupted by the Sudanese Government (Unruh and Abdul-Jalil 2014), which increasingly acted in favour of the herders (Kalu 2018). The Hakura system was further undermined by farmers fleeing their lands following attacks on villages, looting and banditry (Müller and Bashar 2017). The breakdown of the Hakura system has led to inter-communal disputes related to land ownership and use.

The environment has suffered considerable degradation during the period of conflict. The latest peace agreement purports to reaffirm the restitution of land to displaced villagers in line with the law of the land and the government has claimed that the Darfur Land Commission has preserved rights of IDPs and refugees to their land. However, many returnees face a different reality, finding new settlers occupying their villages (UNSC 2019) or their land grabbed for mining.

Peace process

At a state-sponsored conference in December 2018—purportedly for IDPs—the government urged IDPs to return to their villages. However, the main group representing IDPs was not represented and urged IDPs not to return voluntarily until several conditions have been met—including disarming all pro-government militias, expelling new settlers from villages, trials of the perpetrators and compensation to all affected by war.

The latest in a series of failed peace agreements is a ceasefire pre-negotiating agreement between the government and two of the armed groups—signed in Berlin in 2018—to be followed up with a more comprehensive agreement in 2019, based on the 2011 Doha Document for Peace in Darfur. The Sudan Liberation Movement —led by Abdelwahid El Nur, which controls much of the Jebel Mara mountain range in central Darfur—did not participate in the peace process, despite being urged to do so by those responsible for the implementation of the agreement—including the Sudanese government, UNAMID, some Western countries, Chad, China, Japan and Russia (UNSC 2019).

International aid

Against the backdrop of government sponsored violence extending to aid and humanitarian workers (Kalu 2018) and international NGOs facing expulsions and harassment, together with IDPs in camps (Kasfir 2005),aid agencies have been impeded in their work. Aid agencies have been barred from operating in some areas, despite international calls for unhindered access to populations in need of emergency assistance, including 1.76 million IDPs (USAID 2018).

The focus of overseas aid had been on health, protection, emergency food assistance, water, sanitation, hygiene and other relief commodities. Partnering with major UN agencies, such as UNICEF, UN Women and WHO as well as local partners in Sudan, some of which form part of major aid organisations, USAID coordinates much of the multi-sector assistance. The process for and extent of local involvement in setting priorities for this aid is not clear. There has been at least some local community involvement in pilot water projects, mainly funded by the EU and implemented by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), Practical Action and others (Ochieng 2018).

Qatar—a key mediator in this conflict—has also provided independent assistance. This includes reconstructing 70 villages for returnees, who, it was claimed, regained their land within the framework of the voluntary return program. Similar to another program ran by the Qatari Government to construct a secondary school and a health centre, this program seems to have been designed without involvement of potential returnees. This is also the case for a field hospital established by the United Arab Emirates (UAE).

Another source of international aid may become available from UNAMID facilities as it withdraws, consistent with its requests that they be used for institutions to meet critical needs of health and education, benefitting the local population. However, this aid source was jeopardised when members of the Janjaweed militia force occupied some of these facilities during the 2019 uprising in Sudan.

A 2017 Darfur Internal Dialogue and Consultation conference supported holding consultations among IDPs to incorporate their views, but there has neither been much participation by IDPs, nor community development activity for inclusive development, including achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) or reconstruction. This is an area in which WIO is focusing its attention, emphasising the importance of inclusive, human-centred development with an ecological dimension for reconstruction.

WAREFUR International Organisation

The origins of WIO can be dated back to 2015, when a Darfuri refugee living in Lebanon started an internet-based group, mainly for the global Darfuri diaspora originating from the Kutom area. The initial purpose of the group was to share information, help each other, family members and others in the group, as well as discuss issues and ideas about Darfur. A group administrator was appointed to manage the group and activities by introducing rules. Following a suggestion by a female refugee living in Canada that all Darfuris—including those remaining in their homes in Darfur, IDPs and refugees living in camps and those residing in countries across the globe be eligible to join—the group grew exponentially. WIO also expanded its purpose to include contributions to the peace process and reconstruction.

Different subgroups were established to facilitate management (see Figure 1) and the rules were amended to accommodate the growth. When WIO registered in France in 2017, it had over 1,000 members, which subsequently grew to some 5,000 by January 2019. WIO coordinates its activities via Skype, emails and social media and has continued to grow.

WIO objectives

The pursuit of justice is the overall aim of WIO. This includes the ability of Darfuris to take the destiny of their region into their own hands to the extent possible, by participating in its reconstruction and promoting a secure and equitable society, based on equality of opportunities and outcomes. WIO strives for equal representation of all groups, including women in leadership positions and their involvement in all aspects of development, including design of appropriate infrastructure.

WIO has adopted the principles of the social and solidarity economy (SSE) as a key element guiding its work to achieve inclusive development on the basis that these hold considerable promise for addressing its social, economic and environmental objectives. They offer the potential of integrating the pieces required for reconstruction following both natural and human-made disasters and would enable marginalised individuals, groups and areas of Darfur to participate in political, social and economic processes.

Widespread and genuine participation includes the setting and implementation of priorities to improve social and environmental sustainability, as well as human development and wellbeing.

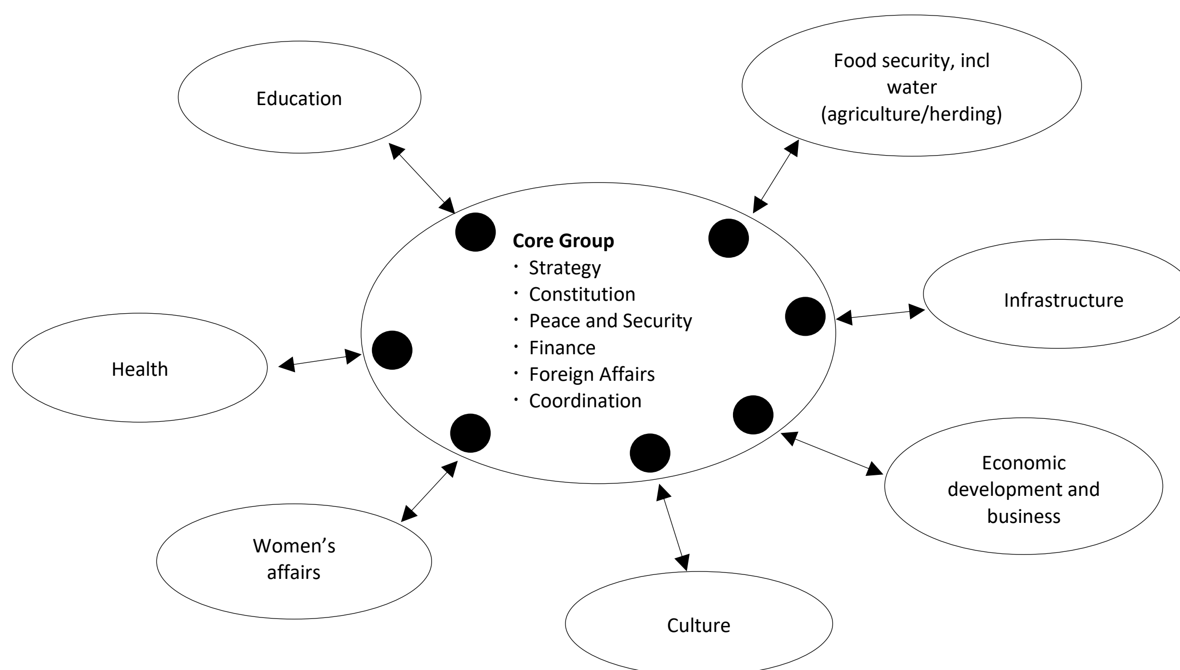
Decades of war and displacement have devastated Darfur's fragile environment, so promotion of production and consumption patterns compatible with both social justice and environmental sustainability are critical. The restoration of the natural environment must be incorporated in the building of an equitable society that includes social and climate justice. Striving for inclusive development, WIO prioritises poverty reduction and meaningful participation by all sectors of society.

Recognising that 'action is the currency of leadership' (Mango 2018:128), WIO also effects change in the short term by providing aid, for example, sending medicines and offering financial assistance to enable critically ill people in Darfur to get treatment.

WIO structure

WIO has a core group dealing with strategies, organisational, constitutional and other legal matters, including regulations, peace and security, finance, foreign affairs and overall coordination (see Figure 1). Each functional area has representation from the core group as well as members who participate in one or several of the functional groups. There are currently functional groups for economic development and business, agriculture, education, health, culture, infrastructure and women's affairs. These groups prepare plans on practical implementations in their respective functional area.

Figure 1. Preliminary structure of WIO



It is envisaged WIO will establish local chapters and the process to do so has started. These local chapters will seek collaboration with NGOs in countries where WIO has a presence.

Links to traditional practices and leadership in implementation

WIO intends to incorporate three traditional practices:

- *Towsé*—collective way of farming, which Darfuris deploy when an individual or a family is facing difficult circumstances, for example due to illness or death that leaves a single household member with children to manage a farm;
- *Jené*—gifts in the form of livestock, provided for families able to return to their villages, based on the tradition of giving livestock as presents at special occasions;
- *Sandooq*—informal rotating savings and credit association.

The plan is to use the lowest governance level as a strategic entry point for WIO activities—villages in rural areas and neighbourhoods in urban areas. The micro-level would continue to play a central role in the inclusive development process, which will vary from place to place, depending on organisations and institutions in control of specific areas. The situation following the 2019 political changes in Sudan was still evolving at the time of writing, so the plans outlined below may have to change.

The first step would be to identify the most marginalised areas, and assuming IDPs and external refugees can return to their villages, the next step would be to prioritise activities required to restore a decent living standard. The intention is to do this through principles of direct democracy, such as participatory deliberations—in collaboration with institutions respected by local residents—in most cases the village Sheikh (leader).

All villagers—including the most marginalised, particularly women, youth and people from different tribes—would be encouraged to participate in deliberations, leading to the setting of priorities through collective decision making. Such deliberations are compatible with Ubuntu principles of leadership, where much of the Sheikh's legitimacy and authority is derived from the ability to make decisions that comply with values and norms of community members (Swidler 2014). As elite capture often permeates participatory development in ways that can amplify inequalities (Kapoor 2005), WIO will pay specific attention to this risk.

WIO will place special emphasis on urging participants to aim for equal representation of genders, age ranges and tribal affiliation in committees established to implement activities once priorities are set.

Leadership challenges faced by WIO

The challenges listed below have been identified through informal discussions by some leading members of WIO:

a) Managing such a diverse and dispersed membership base in terms of developing policies in a participatory way and implementing projects on the ground.

b) Communicating WIO's vision and purpose in ways that inspire members and others to take appropriate action.

c) Leading in an inclusive way on the ground, with so many diverse groups, for example farmers and herders, different ethnicities and tribes, genders, political groups

and groups that have fought with a range of different factions, diversity in the level of education and health (including many people with disability as a result of the many years of war) and location (urban, regional and remote areas).

d) Agreeing on how to target development and reconstruction, for example identifying where, who (in terms of social groups) and what to prioritise, for example food, health, education.

e) Managing different understandings of leadership, particularly between those who have remained in Darfur and refugees in Western countries who have been exposed to Western concepts of leadership.

f) Managing different perspectives and value systems, for example with respect to gender, tribal affiliation and other attributes.

g) Managing different approaches to time, which is particularly relevant with members located in a variety of time zones.

h) Managing low literacy levels in Darfur, with education having been disrupted during conflict.

i) As not everyone has access to information and communication technologies to communicate and seek information, there is a risk of elite capture of WIO leadership as well as leadership of projects in villages.

j) Potential for frustration, with the advent of unfulfilled expectations.

WIO must now endeavour to meet these challenges in order to propel members and others into action, from the global to the local level. WIO has an important role in the development of leadership within social organisations on the ground after more than a decade of displacement, and will have to find ways to inspire hope that Darfur can develop into an inclusive society.

References

Amnesty International 2013, '10 years on—Violations remain widespread in Darfur', Amnesty International, London.

Amnesty International 2017, 'Uninvestigated, unpunished: Human rights violations against Darfuri students in Sudan', Amnesty International, London.

Bellamy, Alex J and PD Williams 2006, 'The UN Security Council and the question of humanitarian intervention in Darfur', *Journal of Military Ethics*, 5(2), 144–160.

Bolden, Richard and P Kirk 2009, 'African leadership', *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 9(1), 69–86.

Eyong, Joseph Ebot 2016, 'Indigenous African leadership: Key differences from Anglo-centric thinking and writings, *Leadership*, 13(2), 133–153.

Galperin Bella L, J Michaud, TA Senaji and A Taleb 2019, 'Perceptions of leadership effectiveness among the African diaspora in Canada and USA', *Journal of African Business*, 20(1), 20–40.

Kalu, Kelechi A 2018, 'The African Union and the conflict in Sudan's Darfur Region', in GK Kieh Jr (ed.), *Contemporary Issues in African Society: Historical analysis and perspective*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Kapoor, Ilan 2005, 'Participatory development, complicity and desire', *Third World Quarterly*, 26(8), 1203–1220.

Kasfir, Nelson 2005, 'Sudan's Darfur: Is it genocide?' Current History, May, 195–202.

Mango, Emmanuel 2018, 'Beyond leadership', *Open Journal of Leadership*, 7, 117–143.

Metz, Thaddeus 2018, 'An African theory of good leadership', *African Journal of Business Ethics*, 12(2), 36–53.

Mimbi, Lucas and M Kyobi 2017, 'Public perceptions of the role of IT in resolving governance challenges in a transition state: The case of Tanzania', *The Electronic Journal of Information Systems in Developing Countries*, 78(2), 1–15.

Müller, Tanja R and Z Bashar 2017, '"UNAMID is just like clouds in summer, they never rain": Local perceptions of conflict and the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping missions', *International Peacekeeping*, 24(5), 756–779.

Northouse, Peter G 2001, *Leadership, Theory and Practice*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.

Ochara, Nixon Muganda 2013, 'Leadership for the electronic age: Towards a development-oriented, socio-technical ontology of leadership', *The African Journal of Information and Communication*, 13, 1–12.

Ochieng, Cleophas Nyateng 2018 'A co-management model for achieving community water supplies: A case of East Darfur', in RJ Shaw (ed.), Transformation towards Sustainable and Resilient WASH Services: Proceedings of the 41st WEDC International Conference, Nakuru, Kenya, 9-13 July, Paper 2950.

Swidler, Ann 2014, 'Cultural sources of institutional resilience: Lessons from chieftaincy in rural Malawi', in P Hall and M Lamont (eds), *Social Resilience in the Neo-Liberal Era*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Takana, Yousuf Sulayman Saeed 2016, 'Darfur—Struggle of power and resources, 1650–2002—an Institutional Perspective', Michelsen Institute, Bergen.

Tomasson, Stephanie 2016, 'Facing the facts and translating to action: The American media and government responses to the Armenian versus the Darfur genocides', *The Yale Review of International Studies*, May, http://yris.yira.org/essays/1684

United Nations 2005, 'Report of the International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur to the United Nations Secretary-General', www2.ohchr.org/english/docs/darfurreport.doc

US Department of State Archives 2004, 'The Crisis in Darfur', https://2001–2009.state.gov/secretary/former/powell/remarks/36042.htm

Unruh, Jon D and MA Abdul-Jalil 2014, 'Constituencies of conflict and opportunity: Land rights, narratives and collective action in Darfur', *Political Geography*, 42, 104–115.

UNSC (United Nations Security Council) 2019, 'African Union—United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur. Report of the Secretary General', Document S /2019/44, https://unamid.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/sg_report_on_unamid_jan_2019.pdf

USAID 2018, 'Sudan—Complex Emergency Fact Sheet #1, Fiscal Year 2019,' www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1866/03.06.18_-_USAID-CHA_South_Sudan_Crisis_Fact_Sheet_5.pdf

Locally led development: Effects of participatory child and youth led monitoring in Nepal

Prem Singh Shintan, United Mission to Nepal, Kathmandu University and Mukunda Adhikari, Transform Aid International

In Nepal, Transform Aid International (TAI), an Australian-based NGO committed to addressing global poverty, has been supporting its in-country partner, United Mission to Nepal (UMN), to implement Child Centered Community Development (CCCD) projects. CCCD projects are designed on four key principles—participation, development, protection and survival. The project's vision is to develop young people as change agents to bring about the transformation of their communities by empowering and mobilising them through children and youth clubs where they are encouraged to promote meaningful participation at family, community, policy, and decision-making levels. Two CCCD projects operate in each of the Dhading, Sunsari and Morang districts.

Child and youth participation

There is a clear link between child and youth participation and development effectiveness (Harper et al. 2010) and many development agencies, including Save the Children, have developed internal processes to monitor youth participation. However, it has been recognised that the majority of development projects focused on young people tend to treat them either as beneficiaries or collaborators even among those that claim to be child and youth-focused (Morrow 2006, in Gero and Asker 2012). Asker (ibid) notes that child and youth participation in national plans and policy development is often tokenistic.

GTZ (2008) findings suggest that consultation and dialogue are the most common methods of child and youth participation. Landsdown (2005) believes that genuine participatory engagement is likely if children and youth are enabled to become researchers and are involved in discussions about research findings, analysis, and future implications. The benefits of monitoring and evaluation (M&E) in development practice are well understood, but the availability of clear systems for child-rights policy and program implementation is lacking across most donors' approaches (Harper and Jones 2009). NGOs are no exception.

The research

This study explores the effects of participatory child and youth-led monitoring in CCCD projects in Nepal, examining two research questions: What are its effects and learning, and how can it lead the participatory monitoring process?

In each district, the project recruited 18 young people from community clubs, school clubs, other child club networks, and youth clubs for the monitoring team. A full day workshop was organised to train them in developing monitoring tools such as key informant interviews (KII), focal group discussion (FGD), body mapping, and questionnaires for semi-structured interviews. They formed six monitoring teams and used random sampling to focus on self-help groups and children's clubs, while purposive sampling was used to select childrens' clubs networks and government offices. Twenty-eight of these groups (Dhading 12, Morang 8 and Sunsari 8) were investigated by the youth monitoring teams, with one young person acting as facilitator and another two as note takers. Staff from TAI, UMN and its partners participated as observers, with their notes reviewed and reflected upon in the relevant monitoring group in a half-day learning reflection session. The nine-step process of children and youth monitoring adopted by Save the Children was followed (see Note) and we then reviewed all the data.

Findings

The study found that children and youth can take the lead for inclusive development if they are given opportunities. Participatory child and youth-led monitoring positively contributed in three aspects of locally-led development: meaningful participation; holistic development of confidence, knowledge, skills and leadership and; ownership and sustainability of inclusive development.

Consulting with adults when required, the young people were allowed to make decisions at each step in the process, such as what and where to monitor; project structures, and project interventions. They also developed an interview guide and an observation checklist, and analysed the field data collected. This process contributes to the holistic development of young people, that is, their physical, social, cognitive, emotional, moral, intellectual, spiritual and academic development. The participatory monitoring process built confidence in the young participants by teaching them how to conduct KII, FGD, observation and body mapping, as well as local government provisions and policies regarding child participation, child marriage, dowry and child labour. One monitor, a 15 year old girl, said:

> I got [a] chance to visit new communities and saw different aspects of community life which is going to help even for my academic course and to improve performance particularly in social studies subject in the school.

In addition to learning about different aspects of society, the young people reported that they'd also learned different life skills such as critical thinking and problem solving, communication and collaboration, flexibility and adaptability, leadership and responsibility, accountability and social skills (Trilling and Fadel 2009; Buchert 2014).

As one monitor (a 14 year old girl) said: 'it was the first time that I was making decisions instead of following what others have asked me to do'. Another youth (18 years old) commented: 'I was able to ask critical questions with the chairperson of the Rural Municipality, the local government, which built my confidence to interact with people, ask questions and put my own opinion in front of people including government officers'.

The study also found that inclusive or participatory processes enhance ownership and are a basis for project sustainability. Since the sustainability of the CCCD project was one of the key focus areas of participatory monitoring, the children and youth discussed sustainability of project results and structures as part of monitoring. They identified gaps in the project sustainability and made recommendations to project teams. During the monitoring, local government officers in all three districts appreciated the participatory monitoring and committed to supporting the project. As monitors were from their own electorate, it caused the officials to commit to owning the project and its outcomes as well as provide future support. As one government officer said: 'this is what we lack, we also need participatory monitoring of government funded projects or interventions.' This signals a big shift in thinking among government officers.

The ownership and sustainability of any development project is dependent on inclusion and participation of target groups. Inclusiveness aims to empower the poorest through investing in human capital and enhancing opportunities for participation (Huang and Quibria 2013). It is also widely agreed that the poor are not passive in the development process (Berner and Phillips 2005), and development strategies should enable local people to have a greater say in transforming the fortunes of their communities by themselves (Herbert-Cheshire and Higgins 2004). This process of empowerment develops greater local leaders who can then own and lead project outcomes even after project completion. This participatory monitoring process did not treat children and youth as poor participants but as empowered local leaders, a prerequisite for sustainability (Harvey and Reed 2006). Through meaningful participation, they are now owning the project together with their local government leading to greater sustainability (Ataöv and Haider 2006)—an example of community-led development (Loha 2018). Thus, this finding supports earlier studies on how participation enhances ownership of, and commitment to, development initiatives (Ataöv and Haider 2006; DFID 2010).

In Nepal, almost no development agencies carry out participatory child and youth-led monitoring. Young people are consulted and engaged in monitoring teams, but the entire process is led by experts. There are some practices of organising an annual joint monitoring visit of stakeholders including government agencies, but children and youth are not part of it. Most projects are donor driven, and the communities are consulted at the needs assessment stage. Although the projects are focused on children and youth, adults do the planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating.

The type of participatory monitoring we are advocating is time consuming and costly; it required approximately two to three months to conduct one participatory monitoring event. However, we strongly believe that this type of participation should be considered as part of a continuous process rather than an event in the implementation phase of the project. One of the ways could be to form a child and youth-led monitoring committee and build their capacity from the beginning of the project. Further research is required to see whether such an approach would work.

Conclusion

This unique study is one of the first of its kind. Evidence has shown that inclusive development is not only engaging children and youth as participants or collaborators, but also recognising their leadership potential and letting them lead the development. Evidence from the study should trigger policy makers and agencies such as DFAT to review their development approaches to make them more inclusive; participatory development is all about genuinely locally-led development, not experts leading the development by. The overall development process, including monitoring should be fully participatory, and led by locals, which would increase meaningful participation, empower leadership, and develop community capacity. Such a process would promote inclusive and locally-led development, which is crucially important for developing countries like Nepal.

Note

The process and steps followed in child and youth led participatory monitoring are:

1. Select the children and youth from the community such as children club, youth clubs, and schools;
2. train those selected children and youth on participatory monitoring tools such as KII, FGD, group interview, and observation;
3. provide the list of project interventions, potential results, areas, project structures such as a school, self-reliance group of women, cooperative, child protection committees, and government authorities that projects work with;
4. select the project results or areas and project structures to monitor;
5. communicate in the field and manage logistics;
6. develop an interview guide and observation checklist;
7. execute the plan or conduct the monitoring in the field by dividing into three different groups;
8. reflect, review, analyse monitor data, prepare reports and submit to project implementing organisations; and
9. use the organisations to address or implement the findings and consider recommendations provided by the monitoring team.

References

Arnstein, S 1969, 'Eight rungs on the ladder of citizen participation', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4), 216–224.

Ataov, A and J Haider 2006, 'From participation to empowerment: Critical reflections on a participatory action research project with street children in Turkey', *Children Youth and Environments*, 16(2), 127–152.

Berner, E and B Phillips 2005, 'Left to their own devices? Community self-help between alternative development and neoliberalism', *Community Development Journal*, 40(1), 17–29.

Buchert, L 2014, 'Learning needs and life skills for youth: An introduction', *International Review of Education*, 60(2), 163–176.

DFID 2010, 'Youth participation in development. A guide for development agencies and policy makers', DFID–CSO Youth Working Group.

Estrella, M and J Gaventa 1998, 'Who counts reality? Participatory monitoring and evaluation: A literature review', IDS Working Paper 70, www.ids.ac.uk/files/Wp70.pdf

Gero, A and S Asker 2012, 'The role of child and youth participation in development effectiveness: A literature review', www.unicef.org/adolescence/cypguide/files/Role_of_Child_and_Youth_Participation_in_Development_Effectiveness.pdf

GTZ 2008, 'Get Youth On Board!', GTZ, Eschborn.

Harper et al. 2010, 'EC toolkit on child rights: Child rights in poverty reduction strategy processes: Desk review', UNICEF, New York.

Harper, C and N Jones 2009, 'Child rights and aid: Mutually exclusive? Background Note November 2009', Overseas Development Institute, 1–8.

Hart, RA 1992, 'Children's participation: From tokenism to citizenship', International Child Development Centre, UNICEF, Florence.

Harvey, PA and RA Reed 2006, 'Community-managed water supplies in Africa: sustainable or dispensable?', *Community Development Journal*, 42(3), 365–378.

Herbert-Cheshire, L and V Higgins 2004, 'From risky to responsible: Expert knowledge and the governing of community-led rural development', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 20(3), 289–302.

Howes, Mick 1992, 'Linking paradigms and practice: Key issues in the appraisal, monitoring and evaluation of British NGO projects', *Journal of International Development*, 4(4), 375–396.

Huang, Y and MG Quibria 2013, 'The global partnership for inclusive growth', UNU-WIDER Working Paper No. 2013/059.

Karkee, R and J Comfort 2016, 'NGOs, foreign aid, and development in Nepal', *Frontiers in Public Health*, 4, 177.

Lansdown, G 2005, 'Can you hear me? The right of young children to participate in decisions affecting them, Working Papers in Childhood Development 36', Bernard Leer Foundation.

Loha, W 2018, *Community-led Development: Perspectives and Approaches of Four Member Organizations*, www.researchgate.net/publication/327321259_Community-led_Development_Perspectives_and_Approaches_of_Four_Member_Organizations

Sinclair, R 2004, 'Participation in practice: Making it meaningful, effective and sustainable', *Children & Society*, 18(2), 106–118.

Skelton, T 2007, 'Children, young people, UNICEF and participation', *Children's Geographies*, 5(1–2), 165–181.

Trilling, B and C Fadel 2009, *21st Century Skills: Learning for life in our times*, John Wiley & Sons.

UN 2016, www.un.org/esa/socdev/rwss/2016/chapter1.pdf

UNICEF 1992, 'The State of the World's Children', Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Promoting inclusive governance in Nigeria: The African Centre for Leadership, Strategy and Development

Ugochi Cynthia Abazie Abang, The University of Queensland

Leadership has been a feature of society since ancient times. Studies confirm that governance frameworks were a source of maintaining order and stability within society (Bortini et al. 2016). Monarchies and feudal lords overseeing territories controlled empires, and citizens were enjoined to pay taxes as a form of revenue generation for the state. In early times, the focus of leadership was on the attributes and charisma of the leader, who was expected to possess values such as honour and prestige and who wielded symbols of authority. Legitimacy was derived from long-established customs, norms and social structures. There was also a common belief that a ruler or institution had the right to govern.

The advent of the eighteenth century saw a shift in leadership models from a focus on interpersonal dynamics and charisma to the importance of addressing infrastructural and social issues. Leadership outcomes were geared towards maximising the quality of products and provision of services (ibid). Since the nineteenth century, however, the concept of leadership has metamorphosed given rapid societal changes occasioned by the effects of colonialism, cultural and demographic factors, technological advancement and globalisation (Perez 2017)—leading to fragmentation in perspectives of leadership. It is not uncommon to see people conflate leadership 'with formal and informal authority; treat adaptive challenges as if they were technical problems; confuse authoritative, managerial expertise with leadership; view leadership as a set of personal characteristics rather than as a set of activities; and define leadership as a value-free practice' (Heifetz 2010:12). A good understanding of perceptions of leadership stands as a bedrock to ensure development of efficient leadership structures that can address diverse needs of society. Today, several definitions and perceptions of leadership frame contemporary discourse. Scholars like Kort (2008), however, suggest that questions about the definition of leadership are superfluous and seek to divert attention from pertinent issues because leadership should be concerned with the 'how' as opposed to the 'what'. Ciulla (2002) notes that definitions of leadership are basically the same—that leadership is about influencing others towards propagating positive outcomes—hence definitions differ in how leaders motivate their followers and who has a say in the goals of the group or organisation.

Nigeria is greatly endowed with human and material resources. Besides crude oil, other mineral resources exist that have aided in improving development indices (Okaneme 2017). Despite rich resources, Nigeria has been bedevilled by leadership challenges, has retarded economic growth and poor development outcomes. Military dictatorship has been in existence for several decades, characterised by neglecting needs of citizens, suspension of the rule of law and disregard for fundamental human rights principles (ibid). Furthermore, the nation has witnessed a range of issues that have threatened leadership and governance—ranging from agitations to recognise minority rights to marginalisation claims—and the failure of the state to resolve these issues. Nigeria's leadership—fraught with numerous governance challenges—has sought assistance from development partners and non-state actors to work in partnership to build good governance structures and address leadership challenges.

The twentieth century witnessed an upsurge in the number of development organisations and multilateral corporations that arrived in Nigeria to undertake interventions addressing leadership gaps and weak governance structures. Leadership models of development organisations emphasised the adoption of inclusive leadership as a panacea to addressing the diverse governance challenges facing Nigeria. States were urged to be responsive to the needs of citizens and enact policies reflective of citizens' concerns. However, interactions between the Nigerian government and development organisations have not been smooth. While several scholars (Ridell and Nino-Zarazua 2016, Akanle and Adesina 2015) expressed divergent views on the role and relevance of development agencies in promoting inclusive state governance, I argue that development agencies have been instrumental in shaping inclusive leadership models and outcomes in Nigeria—irrespective of limitations. Through a case study of the African Centre for Leadership, Strategy and Development (Centre LSD) I examine Nigeria's leadership trajectory, the concept of inclusive governance in Nigeria, and the role of development agencies in fostering inclusive governance.

Nigeria's leadership challenges and pathway to democratic governance: Before and after independence

The Nigerian state came into existence in 1914 with the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates by the then governor-general, Lord Lugard (Okaneme 2017). Lugard's aim—and by extension that of the colonial masters—was to merge the two regions into a single colony, for administrative convenience and improved economic fortunes. The journey towards political independence for Nigeria began with the enactment of the 1922 constitution—and the aftermath of the first election in the new territory. Another major historical turning point for Nigeria was its first military coup, which occurred on 15 January 1966 and terminated the regime of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Other coups subsequently took place that helped keep the military in power until the return to civil rule in 1979. Civil rule barely lasted four years—with the military resuming power on 31 December 1983—and holding on to power until they willingly handed it to

civilians in 1999. The country has practiced democracy since then—the longest democratic period in the nation's political history. Nigeria has endured a chequered history with many upheavals including the civil war from 1967 to 1970 (ibid). The unpredictable nature of the country's political landscape has brought untold hardship on Nigerian citizens and dealt a cruel blow to the nation's leadership and development structure.

Incessant military interventions in the 1980s and 1990s formed the bedrock of Nigeria's development challenges. For example, suspension of the constitution that emphasised enforcement of fundamental human right protection by the military, led to a disregard of these rights for Nigeria's citizens. This in turn occasioned a governance model devoid of contributions by citizens to development objectives—leading to citizens viewing the government and state structures as establishments for perpetuating self-interest. This further engendered negative reactions from citizens in the form of protests, agitations and clamourings for change of government. The democratic clime within Nigeria is one laden with a militarised undertone exhibited by 'disobedience of court orders, closure of media houses, arrest of journalists and citizens with dissenting opinions on government initiatives, militancy, etc.' (Etim and Ukpere 2012:285). Policy initiatives such as legislation, planning and policy directions are often devoid of feedback from the citizenry who will be impacted by these policy initiatives (ibid).

The impact of leadership gaps is evident in all sectors in Nigeria. For example, Nigeria has an enormous gender disparity index and is also rated as the second most corrupt country in the world (Ogege 2010). There is also a high rate of insecurity, and a dearth of essential infrastructure to provide access to clean drinking water, adequate road networks, constant electricity supplies, and educational facilities. Furthermore, there has been evidence of corruption with misappropriation of state funds; high unemployment rates with over half of the youth population unemployed; widespread insecurity evidenced by kidnappings and robberies; extreme poverty levels with over 70 per cent of Nigeria's population living below less than a dollar a day; minority agitations for resource control; high rates of maternal mortality, child abuse and early marriages, and low rates of girl child education; and high incidences of domestic and sexual violence (ibid).

In the early 1990s, conflict arose between the indigenous population and foreign oil corporations in the Niger Delta region. The local inhabitants were predominantly the Ijaw and Ogoni people, two minority ethnic groups. The conflict was in response to the government forcing the local population to abandon their lands to oil companies without due consultation and negligible offers of compensation. As most inhabitants were farmers and fishermen, the effects of the oil exploration activities led to severe pollution of farmlands and waterways, with large numbers of people suffering ill health from consuming polluted water. A 1979 constitutional amendment gave the federal government full ownership and rights to all Nigerian territory and also declared that compensation for seized land would 'be based on the value of the crops on the land at the time of its acquisition, not on the value of the land itself thus the Nigerian government could dispose of the land as it deemed fit without taking into consideration the concerns or inputs of local inhabitants' (Human Rights Watch 1999:19). In the 1980s, the government's promised benefits for the Niger Delta people fail to materialise, with the people growing increasingly dissatisfied, as their environmental, social, and economic apparatus rapidly deteriorated. Protests heightened with the formation of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) in 1992, spearheaded by Ogoni activist Dr Ken Saro-Wiwa who led the struggle for environmental rights and resource control (Ikelegbe 2005). The Ijaw youths mobilised and formed an association known as the Ijaw Youth Council—which further agitated their concerns over the loss of homes and farmlands to oil exploration activities. When these agitations failed to capture the attention of the government, the indigenous people mobilised arms and resorted to kidnapping foreign oil company employees (ibid). The government responded by assigning army officials to the region to restore peace and normalcy, however this did not succeed, with the clash between military forces and the indigenous population leading to the government imposing a national curfew within the region.

In 2012, a separatist group known as the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB)—predominantly located in South Eastern Nigeria and headed by Nnamdi Kanu—launched a protest requesting a peaceful secession from Nigeria. The group's position outlined government marginalisation through a lack of resource distribution, poor government investment in infrastructure that could have boosted development in the region, and an unfair militarised regional presence (BBC News Africa 2018). The protests were disregarded, and the government proclaimed the IPOB to be a terrorist group—dispatching armed troops to arrest and detain protesters. This was met with retaliation by the IPOB, which led to clashes leaving numerous soldiers and civilians dead. These challenges birthed further resentment of Nigeria's leadership, with its flagrant disregard for the law. There was therefore a need to explore less hierarchical models of leadership—to ensure encapsulation of various community interests and representation of divergent ideologies—to maintain order within society. The Nigerian government envisaged that fostering partnerships with civil society and non-state actors would provide the nation with the requisite technical and financial resources to address these leadership challenges.

The emergence of development organisations in Nigeria: The Centre LSD

Nigeria was admitted into the United Nations (UN) on 7 October 1960. Prime Minister Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa led the Nigerian delegation to the UN summit that year and delivered a maiden speech at the 15th regular session of the UN General Assembly (Permanent Mission of Nigeria to the United Nations 2018). As part of Nigeria's commitment to global peace and development, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa reaffirmed the nation was committed to collaborating effectively with other countries towards fostering wealth creation, global peace and good governance (Ogege 2010). Nigeria also assented to a

number of international treaties, including on human rights, child rights, freedom from abuse and torture. The UN affiliation and signature to these treaties further entailed an obligation alongside other state parties to implement the Millennium Development Goals—recognising other countries as partners in development and accepting country consulates within Nigeria's borders.

The establishment of consulate offices also brought multilateral corporations with the aim of building Nigeria's economy and capacity for wealth creation. The host of private and voluntary associations have had a profound impact on individuals and Nigerian society as a whole. These associations provided links between state and societal interests by playing a mediating role in which macro-policy objectives of the state and particularistic interests were adjusted with some level of compromise to ensure the state is responsive to its citizens' needs (Barkan et al. 2017).

The development organisation Centre LSD—established in 2010 under Nigerian law to build strategic leadership for sustainable development within Nigeria and Africa—recognised the germane place of good leadership in ensuring positive development outcomes. One of the objectives of Centre LSD was to address leadership gaps within Nigeria (Centre LSD 2018).

Centre LSD also sought to broker peace by working with forces of positive change to empower citizens to transform society—through leadership programs focused on building the capacity of government representatives, middle level managers of private sector organisations, and students in higher education. The Centre's advocacy work built relationships with state parties, youth representative associations, women's organisations and the private sector. Alongside other international organisations like the UN and the UK Department for International Development (DFID), Centre LSD has been instrumental in providing policy guidance in relation to agenda setting and policy development processes. Centre LSD has helped build capacity of state and non-state actors to recognise and address divergent interests, including minority rights agitations and marginalisation claims to ensure inclusivity—and also provided financial and technical assistance to state parties, civil society and the private sector. Leadership for inclusive development has been one of Centre LSD's core mandates—adopting collaborative models to drive change by understanding the challenges of contemporary society, listening to those with lived experience of poverty and exclusion, and doing all that is possible to ensure no one is left behind.

Centre LSD mediated between the Nigerian government and people of the Niger Delta region to address issues of resource control. The approach of Centre LSD ensured voices of civil society and minorities were heard regarding acquisition of farmlands and pollution of waterways—particularly in areas that only required administrative solutions. Recourse was made to engage the government on the 1979 constitutional amendment which had allowed for state acquisition of indigenous land with minimal or no consultation. This intervention led to the first successful dialogue in 2013, with the state taking note of the concerns of the Niger Delta people and delineating a 10 per cent allocation to the region for infrastructure and other development (Centre LSD 2018). The initiative also re-awakened the need for a close working relationship between the federal and state government and local inhabitants—resulting in the commencement of several projects aimed at ensuring sustainable development for the Niger Delta region—including providing youth scholarships, cleaning waterways polluted from oil spillage, constructing bridges, roads and health facilities. Despite the role played by Centre LSD in brokering peace in the region, the organisation has been criticised for favouring this region—largely due to some projects undertaken by Centre LSD being supported by some state governors from that region (Barkan et al. 2017).

Following the dialogue between local inhabitants and representatives of the Nigerian government, the unrest in the Niger Delta region did not abate—due in part to other civil society organisations championing the position of the Nigerian government in acquiring farmlands for oil exploration. These groups argued that gains of foreign oil corporations within the region boosted the local economy. Such a stance demonstrates the potential for state-fostering to produce 'compromised' civil society organisations that inhibit the emergence of effective societal structures (Jenkins and Goetz 1999:4). The efforts of Centre LSD were viewed with distrust by the Nigerian government, which led to reverting to state structures as the solution to successfully eliminate the issue of resource control agitations. Despite all this, the actions of Centre LSD were effective in shaping inclusive leadership models reflected in the recognition of minority right agitations and the actions taken by the Nigerian government to adopt measures to assuage the local population.

Another area in which Centre LSD was instrumental in promoting inclusive development was in fostering participatory decision making forums at national and community levels. These efforts have been reflected in Centre LSD's advocacy calling for a Nigeria National Conference, in cooperation with a coalition of other civil society organisations. The national conference would have delegate representatives from all states to discuss concerns about the nation and air grievances in relation to marginalisation claims and non-inclusive state programs, structures and interventions.

The first Nigeria National Conference took place in 2014 under the leadership of Dr Goodluck Jonathan, former president of Nigeria, and produced a communiqué articulating the concerns of all state parties including those of minority ethnic groups and populations in Nigeria. The conference was criticised, however, for being a waste of time and resources—with resolutions and recommendations from the conference yet to be implemented. The Buhari-led administration dismissed recommendations from the conference as 'untenable and not feasible' (Oluwadamilola et al. 2018:4100).

Furthermore, Centre LSD and other civil society organisations have been accused of not implementing what they preach. Critics argue that most civil society organisations do not have fully inclusive institutional frameworks and do not promote a culture of participatory decision making, with

most decisions undertaken by heads of organisations and chief executive officers. Allegations also levelled against civil society include gender disparity within the workplace, an absence of people with disability, and staff presumed to be mostly from a certain ethnic group (ibid). Despite these criticisms, the role of Centre LSD and civil society in general cannot be over-emphasised in their advocacy for inclusive approaches to decision making. With a number of advocacies on these issues to state parties, governments have incorporated public hearings before the passage of any legislation to give an opportunity for citizens to be heard regarding legislations which will impact them. For example, the Violence against Persons Prohibition Act which came into force in 2015 included a public hearing after the second reading in the Senate with invitations extended to a cross section of representatives from civil society and women's organisations, youth councils, and the private sector.

Another area in which Centre LSD has been instrumental in promoting inclusive development is in advocating for increased female representation and participation in leadership at both communal and national levels. Given the poor gender indices in Nigeria, Centre LSD has been at the forefront of canvassing support for women's inclusion in leadership to ensure the interests of women are reflected within state structures at national, state and communal levels. Centre LSD alongside other civil society organisations has also engaged political parties and law makers on the need to recognise affirmative action to provide women with equal opportunities to vie for political office and assume leadership positions. Despite the efforts of civil society groups, women's representation in leadership still remains minimal (Iloh et al. 2017). Furthermore, Centre LSD and other civil society organisations have been criticised for gender imbalance in their organisational structures. despite this criticism, a serving senator in the present administration attested to receiving leadership training which equipped her with the requisite tools to contest the election in which she emerged as the winner (ibid).

Despite criticism against them, development organisations have an important role to play in shaping good and inclusive leadership models and outcomes. The involvement of development organisations and civil society groups is indispensable in the collection of data, dissemination of information, education and serving as a watch dog over the protection of the rights and welfare of people affected by state policies and programs (Obot 2004). While Nigeria is yet to fully achieve inclusive leadership and governance models, there is hope for more progress to be made in the future.

References

Akanle, O and JO Adesina 2015, 'Corruption and the Nigerian development quagmire: Popular narratives and current interrogations', *Journal of Developing Societies*, 31(4), 421–446.

Barkan, J, M McNulty, M Ayeni 2017, 'Hometown voluntary associations, local development, and the emergence of civil society in Western Nigeria', *Journal of Modern African Studies,* 29(3), 457.

BBC News Africa 2018, 'Biafra shutdown cripples Nigerian cities', May 30, 2018, www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-44304368

Bortini, P, A Paci, A Rise, I Rojnik 2016, 'Inclusive leadership: Theoretical framework, European Union Partnership Program', file:///C:/Users/s4463294/Downloads/il_theoreticalframework_en.pdf

Centre LSD (African Centre for Leadership, Strategy and Development) 2018, 'Impact story of the strengthening civic engagement and advocacy for effective natural resource governance in Nigeria Project', September 25, 2018, https://www.centrelsd.org/projects/success-stories/

Ciulla, JB 2002, 'Trust and the future of leadership', N Bowie (ed.), *The Blackwell Guide to Business Ethics*, Blackwell Publishers, London.

Etim, F and W Ukpere 2012, 'The impact of military rule on democracy in Nigeria', *Journal of Social Sciences*, 33(3), 285–292.

Heifetz, R 2010, 'Leadership', in R Couto, *Inclusive Leadership: Political and civic leadership*, Sage Publications, London.

Human Rights Watch 1999, *The Price of Oil: Corporate responsibility and human rights violations in Nigeria's oil producing communities*, New York, USA, http://pantheon.hrw.org/reports/1999/nigeria/nigeria0199.pdf

Ikelegbe, A 2005, 'The economy of conflict in the oil rich Niger Delta Region of Nigeria', *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 14(2), 208–234.

Iloh, E, N Michael and Q Ekeocha 2017, 'From millennium development goals to sustainable development goals: Gender and inclusive electoral politics in Nigeria, 1999–2015', *Asian International Journal of Social Sciences,* 17(3), 101–127.

Jenkins, R and AM Goetz 1999, 'Constraints on civil society's capacity to curb corruption Lessons from the Indian experience', *IDS Bulletin,* 30(4), 39–49.

Kort, ED 2008, 'What, after all is leadership? Leadership and plural action', *The Leadership Quarterly,* 19(1), 409–425.

Obot, I 2004, 'Responding to substance use problems in Nigeria: The role of civil society organizations', *Substance Use and Misuse,* 18(1), 1287–1299.

Ogege, S 2010, 'Nigeria's development challenges in a digitized global economy', *African Research Review,* 4(4), 111–222.

Okaneme, G 2017, 'The challenges of leadership and governance in Nigeria', *Covenant University Journal of Politics & International Affairs*, 5(1), 113–129.

Oluwadamilola O, O Akinyemi and O Adediran 2018, 'Human capital development and inclusive growth: Implications for achieving SDG-4 in Nigeria', *Etude De La Population Africaine,* 32(1), 4088–4096.

Perez, J 2017, 'Global leadership and the impact of globalization', *Journal of Leadership*, *Accountability and Ethics*, 14(3), 48–52.

Permanent Mission of Nigeria to the United Nations 2015, 'Maiden General Assembly Statement at the United Nations, 6 August, 2018', http://nigeriaunmission.org/maiden-speech-at-the-un/

Riddell, A and M Nino-Zarazua 2016, 'The effectiveness of foreign aid to education: What can be learned?' *International Journal of Educational Development*, 48(1), 23–36.

Inclusive community development—the One Village One Product Program in Pakistan

Seemab Khalid and Tahmina Rashid, The University of Canberra

One Village One Product (OVOP) concept

The OVOP concept is a unique approach to local development. Introduced during the 1980s in Oita, Japan, OVOP became a successful regional economic programme due to its approaches in transforming local products into competitive products in local, national, as well as global markets. This movement has been an effective tool in improving the welfare of rural people, village economic dynamism, local income, and social solidarity by creating unique and value-added products. The OVOP approach has been popular among developing countries due to its potential to reverse rural economic decay and rebuild rural community spirit (Igusa 2008).

OVOP generally has three principles:

1. Increase self-reliance and creativity;
2. human resource development; and
3. thinking locally and acting globally.

The process is initiated by bringing awareness of self-reliance and creative thinking within rural communities. This can be done by leaders within the community encouraging the development of local products that can capture internal as well as external market shares. Development of these products leads to increased human capacity and resource development as well as enhanced incomes, which improves livelihoods and over all wellbeing.

In Southeast Asia, countries that have incorporated OVOP include Thailand, China, Cambodia, Philippines, Laos. Korea and Indonesia.

The term 'OVOP' is commonly used to denote specific programs in-country, except in Thailand and Pakistan where other terms are used to describe OVOP initiatives. According to Natsuda et al. (2012), due to its success in achieving rural development goals, OVOP has not only attracted various government organisations but also development practitioners. It now represents an independent stream of interventions which are focused on rural, community capacity and participatory development as well as empowerment and sustainable livelihood resources (Natsuda et. al. 2012; Igusa 2008; Izumi 2007; JICA 2003). While some countries have adapted OVOP to promote agricultural products and others to promote both agricultural and non-agricultural products, Pakistan's OVOP program is focused exclusively on rural enterprise development by promoting non-farm products such as pottery, crafts, jewellery making, and embroidery (PC 1, 2006). Unlike other OVOP programs, Pakistan's program supports rural enterprise development by promoting products made by rural artisans.

Aik Hunar Aik Nagar (AHAN)—Pakistan

In 2006, Pakistan introduced an OVOP program to support rural communities. The country's agriculture sector is its largest employer, employing more than 17 million workers and about 67 per cent of its population resides in rural areas (Ayres and Mccalla 2014). Pakistan's working population is also represented by people engaged in non-agricultural activities such as embroidery, pottery, jewelry making. Since independence in 1947, Pakistan has embarked upon a number of rural development projects to manage rural-urban migration, increase rural productivity, improve the wellbeing of rural community's and promote sustainable livelihoods (Ayres and Mccalla 2014). These programs focus on agricultural development and include the Village Aid Program, the National Rural Support Program, and the Khushal Pakistan Program (GOP 2015). To promote small businesses in rural areas the Central Government established Aik Hunar Aik Nagar (AHAN) through the Small and Medium Enterprise Development Authority (SMEDA) of Pakistan, adapting Japan's OVOP approach (AHAN, 2018). Project Commission 1 (PC 1, 2006) describes AHAN as follows:

***Name of the OVOP program**: Aik Hunar Aik Nagar (AHAN)*

***Nature**: Rural Enterprise Modernisation Project*

***Objectives**:*

a) Development and implementation of a marketing strategy including market analysis, product selection, brand development, promotional campaign, test marketing and distribution systems for rural, non-farm products of Pakistan;

b) enterprise development support in rural areas;

c) management of resource capacities, including production management, quality assurance, and supply chain management for rural enterprise and clusters; and

d) design management and technical development of products targeted by the program, including contracts and Performa agreements development, patents and technology, procedures for product development and quality assurance.

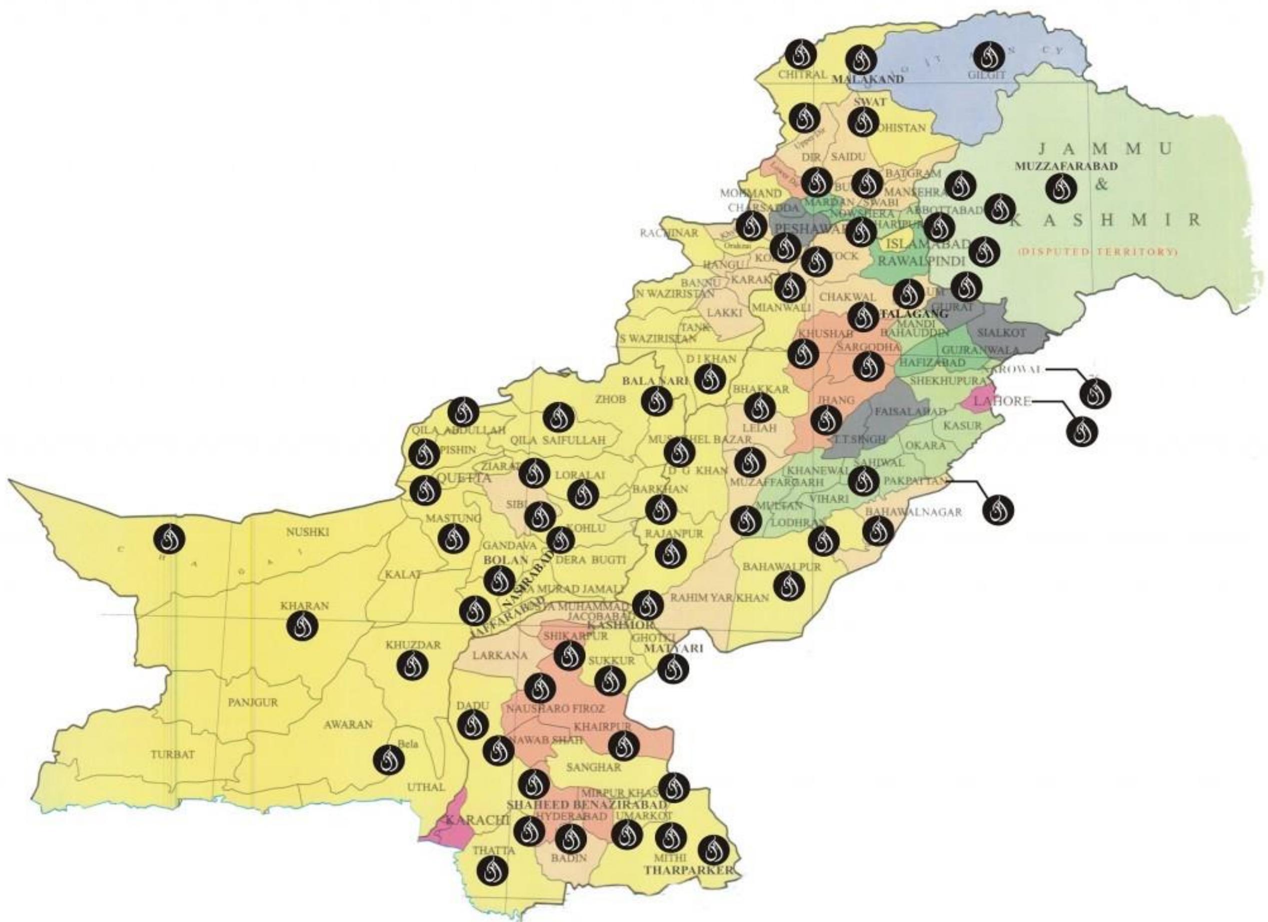
PC 1 (2006) states that AHAN was created to address the key challenge of 'Rural Enterprise Modernisation' in Pakistan. It was designed to enhance competitiveness among rural small business holders by enabling them to improve their products in terms of quality, standardisation, volume and value. It aims to serve a relatively larger consumer base and target higher end consumers identifying

and improving businesses' access to a range of business development services, including appropriate technologies customised to match the needs and demands of rural businesses. Equally, development of the rural informal sector also presupposes the availability of basic physical and commercial infrastructure, micro-credit and security, and an enabling policy and regulatory framework. In June 2006, AHAN selected Bahawalpur, Sialkot, Hyderabad, Multan, and Karachi districts for pilot projects with SMEDA. SMEDA's subject matter expert (SME) database was used to select artisans for the projects and designers were approached for training set up training workshops to train the artisans. The training sessions focused on enhancing artisans existing skills to develop modern product designs and to incorporate use of different technologies in addition to traditional ways of crafting. The goal of these trainings was to develop products which are of high quality, can be produced on a medium to large scale (in case of need) and can meet international production standards when exported to other countries. AHAN paid the artisans for the days they would come and attend the training sessions and supplied transport vehicles for artisans joining from distant areas.

Within two months, AHAN started exhibiting products such as blue pottery crafts, hand embroidered textiles, wood crafts, and unique jewellery created by artisans in local exhibitions. The products were displayed with price tags which included artisan's name and contact number. If sold, all the sale proceeds would be given to the artisan.

Within one year, AHAN actively expanded in all four provinces of the country, collaborating with Provincial/ District Governments, Rural Support Programs, Micro-finance Institutions, designers, and other stakeholders. Since 2007, AHAN has been operating as a not-for-profit company and is a subsidiary of the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC), under the Pakistani Ministry of Industries and Production. It is governed by a board of directors with representatives from both the public and private sectors. Headquartered in Lahore, it has regional offices in Karachi, Peshawar and Quetta. AHAN's work with local artisans has led to an expansion of activities to all major towns in the country. In less than 11 years, AHAN's work has now spread to more than 700 projects across the country. The following image represents AHAN's clusters of development sites:

Figure 1: Cluster development sites of AHAN



Source: www.ahan.org.pk

Legend: Black Spots represent Cluster development sites of AHAN

Since 2006, AHAN's focus has moved from training and creativity to product development and marketing. AHAN now has an outlet in one of the key shopping malls of Lahore, where it sells creative products made by rural artisans. AHAN's presence is visible across the country through participation in rural development fairs and arts exhibitions. It also participates in international exhibitions, such as the International Arts Exhibition in Bangkok in 2008. The Indus Valley School of Fashion Design, National College of Arts, and Pakistan Institute of Fashion Design work closely with AHAN.

Silanwali Wood Cluster—AHAN program

Research was undertaken with artisans involved in the Silanwali Wood Cluster Rural Market to investigate the community development activities and inclusive community development initiatives, adapted and exercised by the community itself. Interviews from Silanwali artisans were analysed and excerpts from the interviews were used to validate the findings.

Community initiative and participation

AHAN approached leaders of the Silanwali Wood Cluster market to set up a training centre in 2007. Market representatives committed to provide all available resources and workforce to initiate the training activities in the market. Gradually, the involvement strategically shifted from AHAN representatives to the market leaders who had shown the ability to attract more trainees and would also provide them with job opportunities within the market. One of the market representatives during the interview mentioned:

> … AHAN is responsible for identifying the potential in the market and all [of] these people you are seeing around you (in the shop) are new hires who were either trained in the training centre set up by AHAN or are trained by those trainees. We have a bigger work force now and people want to work with us … We are one big community of wood crafters and artisans who work together and celebrate (success) together.

The interviews conducted from the market leaders and workers showed high levels of satisfaction with the processes in place and highlighted a sense of self-motivation, which is a key contributor of success in OVOP Programs. The concepts of participatory development that dictate that participation of local residents is a key component of success in development programs is significant and observable in the Silanwali Wood Cluster Program.

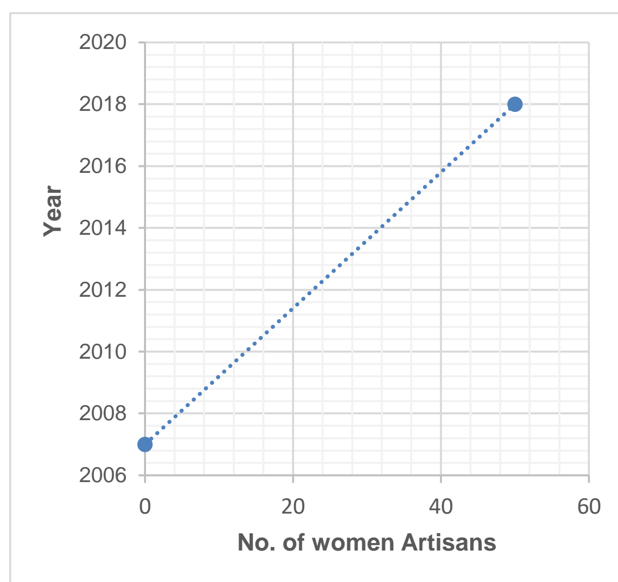
Inclusive community development

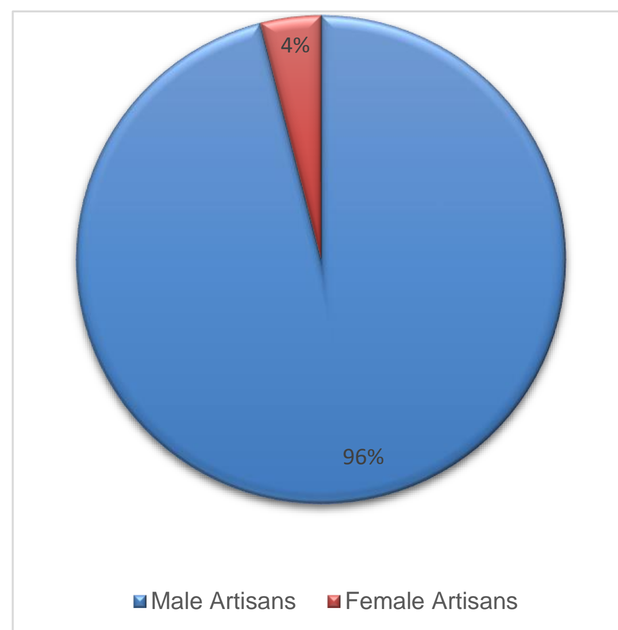
Not only does the Wood Cluster Market represent itself as an ongoing community development initiative, it also signifies the importance of inclusivity when it comes to development processes. The wood market trains and employs many artisans of different abilities and capabilities irrespective of gender, ability, and socio-economic backgrounds.

1. Women artisans

Silanwali Wood Cluster did not have any women artisans when the OVOP camp was set up. Although it is not certain if AHAN encouraged the market to be inclusive, the community strove to make themselves more inclusive in terms of employment opportunities. The market now has trained and experienced women artisans bursting the myth of wood crafting as a male dominated field.

Graph 1 and 2: Number and percentage of women artisans in Silanwali Wood Market





The Silanwali Market now has more than 50 women artisans working in factories or shops in addition to the ones who work/help from home.

2. Disabled artisans

The market has also become more aware of the needs of differently abled people and providing them with work

opportunities. The idea to focus on disabled artisans was initially exercised by one of the shop owners in 2012 when he trained a disabled person and then employed him in his factory. After that, more and more business owners started to employ disabled people from the community, leading to a very high number now employed in the workforce.

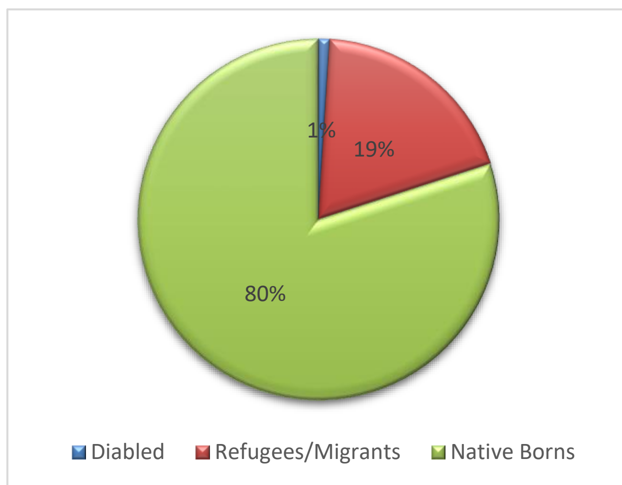
> … I am deaf. It is hard for me to understand people when they do not use hand movements. This work (wood crafting) resonates with my ability to work with concentration and without audible instructions…my master trained me with hand signals, and I thank him for his patience … I am now able to earn [a] living for my family …

3. Refugees and migrants

There are many refugees and migrants based in the area and the local community is committed to supporting them. There is no discrimination on the basis of background and migrants are treated like part of the community. One way the community supports its migrants is by helping them learn wood crafting skills and join the workforce.

> I and my family are refugees from Afghanistan. We are settled here for three years now … they (artisans) helped me to find a house and trained me to learn wood crafting. I make [a] decent amount of money to run my family … we feel secure as we live like one big family, I do not think I was living somewhere else before this …

Graph 2: Silanwali Wood Cluster—Percentage of participants in 2018



Leadership within community of artisans

The interview responses revealed that every participating artisan felt empowered in terms of business decision making.

> I have been working in this market for more than 10 years and still do not own any shop. But it has not kept me away from deciding about what needs to be done and what not … the shop owner listens to me and everyone else in the team. I suggest designs and work on orders … if there is someone new, I always try to teach them skills to get there quickly … I must lead the team (you know, at times) when it is required. It gives me confidence and I feel I own this business and that makes me work harder …

> … after working as [an] artisan for three years, I started my own work. I do not own a shop but work with various other shop owners to provide [an] extra pair of hands when there are big orders. I have trained 10 people and they are still attached with me because we have [a] sense of ownership for what we do … I think this initiative (starting own work) has made me a leader

> I am a part of this project (shop) and I earn my bread and butter from this. If I don't take care of other people, they will not care about me and lose confidence … I have to stand by them and lead with example … there is no competition…we have a sense of belonging and visionary leaders …

Market stability

It is difficult to map the Silanwali Market in terms of revenue generation as there is almost no fiscal data available to map market activities and revenue generation. However, in terms of expansion and stability, the market scores well above the average. There were close to 50 shops in 2007 when AHAN embarked upon OVOP activities in the area. Twelve years on, there are more than 200 shops in the same vicinity and more than double the workforce. The training centre set the stage for increased activity in the market, encouraged people of the community to get free training and get paid for the work they do. This leads to both an increased workforce and the ability of existing shop owners to take on bigger projects and meet deadlines with ease. AHAN's exhibitions also played a vital role in expanding the market size and encouraged international buyers to place orders with local shop owners directly which also increased work opportunities.

> … while you talk to me, I am working on an order from my client based in Dubai. I have to supply this big order by the end of this month … I have temporarily employed artisans from other shops and we will distribute the profit accordingly … I was contacted by this client after I had exhibited in one of AHAN's exhibitions in Lahore (Packages Mall). Since then this client has been ordering frequently from us.

> We get to sell our products at a good price when we exhibit with AHAN. They pay us to take our products to big cities such as Lahore, Karachi etc … otherwise we cannot afford it on regular basis … the good part is AHAN never markets the product with its name, we have our names and contact numbers on the tags and then we are contacted directly from various national and international buyers … this has worked really well in expanding our market reach …

Community development

Overall, the Silanwali Wood Cluster has shown progressive community development after AHAN's OVOP intervention, including increased inclusivity in the workforce, as well as improved self-initiative, visionary leadership, community participation and collaboration. In terms of OVOP features, Silanwali Wood Cluster has shown improved self-reliance and creativity, human resource development, and understanding of the concept of thinking locally and acting globally. Although, not all of the businesses are reaping the

benefits of international business supply, they all work collaboratively to fill big international orders that come through by utilising the local resources.

> …we do not compete with each other. If we do, we cannot survive, the key (to success) here is to work together and achieve the goal. The goal is common for all of us, isn't it? We want our products to sell at better prices…if I employ other shop owners workers to complete my order, we split the profits respectively…we are not big businesses to cater to big orders individually, we have to work together and we do…there is no competition and there is no race…that is why we are surviving…

Conclusion

Rural development is usually targeted to fight under-representation of women, small holders and vulnerable participants, (CSF 2006) however not all initiatives bring about intended results (Ledwith and Springett 2010). AHAN's main objective is to support rural artisans through sustainable livelihoods. Through AHAN, one of the key wood markets in a rural area of Northern Punjab, Pakistan has stabilised and expanded to international businesses.

Respondents strongly believe that AHAN is the reason for their success and are confident that AHAN will keep identifying future business opportunities for them to embark upon. More analysis and recognition for the role of AHAN in OVOP and community development literature is needed.

Notes

For this paper author has used AHAN in place of Aik Hunar Aik Nagar.

The variations of term OVOP used in this research are explained for clarity:

OVOP: One Village One Product—Japan

OTOP: One Tambon One Product—Thailand, Tambon means Town in local language

AHAN: Aik Hunar Aik Nagar—Pakistan, Aik means One, Hunar means Capability (taken in terms of Product), Nagar means Village

References

Ahan.org.pk. 2018, *AHAN*—Aik Hunar Aik Nagar—[online] Available at: http://ahan.org.pk (Accessed 21 Aug. 2019).

Andrew, RR, R Iulius, and T Marius, 2014 'Nothing about us without us: The role of inclusive community development in school desegregation for Roma communities', *Race, Ethnicity and Education* (4), 518–539, DOI: 10.1080/13613324.2014.885426

Ayres, WS and AF Mccalla, 2014, 'Rural development—from vision to action', Worldbank.org, [online] pp.1–173, viewed 17 May 2017, http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/1997/10/693326/rural-development-vision-action

Chambers, R 1983, *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*, Longman, London.

Chambers, R 1998, 'Foreword in 'whose voice'? *Participatory Research and Policy Change,* Institute of Development Studies, UK.

Chambers, R, J Gaventa, 2000, 'Mainstreaming participation in development', OED Working Paper Series No. 10, World Bank.

Chambers, R and G Conway, 1992, 'Sustainable rural livelihoods: practical concepts for the 21st century', IDS Discussion Paper 296, Institute of Development Studies, UK.

Community Planning Website 2009, 'Leadership and vision for the scaling up of Romani school desegregation', viewed 2 June 2017 http://www.communityplanning.net/special/makingplanningwork/mpwcasestudies/mpwCS15.ph

Fujioka, R 2006, 'Thai no OTOP Projekuto (Thai OTOP Project) In Isson Ippin Undo to Kaihatsu Tojyokoku: Nihon no Chiiki Shiko ha dou Tsutaeraretaka (One Village One Product movement and developing countries: How Japan's rural development strategy was transferred)', edited by Yamagami, Matsui, 57–79, IDE and JETRO, Chiba.

Fujioka, R 2008, 'Thai no OTOP Projekuto ni Okeru Shigen Kanri (resource management in Thai OTOP project)'. In Chiiki no shinko (promotion of rural development), Nishikawa and Yoshida (eds), IDE and JETRO, Chiba.

Igusa, K 2008, 'The problem of the regional revitalization in Asia and One Village One Product: adaptability of Oita model to Asian countries', *Journal of OVOP Policy*, 1(2), 1–85, viewed April 2017. http://www.iovoppa.org/files2/OVOP%20Journal%202.pdf

JICA 2003, 'The study of monitoring and evaluation model on the One Tambon One Product development policy', JICA, Tokyo.

Ledwith, M 2001, 'Revolutionary social transformation: Democratic hopes, political possibilities and critical education', *Community Development Journal*, 36(2), 164–165, viewed 2 March 2017 https://academic.oup.com/cdj/article/36/2/164/319341

Ledwith, M 2007, 'On being critical: Uniting theory and practice through emancipatory action research', *Educational Action Research*, 15(4) 597–611, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09650790701664021

Ledwith, M and J Springett, 2010, *Participatory Practice: Community Based Action for Transformative Change*, Policy Press, Bristol.

Ledwith, M and A Maria, 2016, Community development in action: Putting Freire into practice, Policy Press, Bristol.

M.P. Fiorina 1999, 'Extreme voices: A dark side of civic engagement' *Civic Engagement in American Democracy*, Brookings Institute Press, Washington, DC

Natsuda, K, K Igusa, A Wiboonpongse, and J Thoburn, 2012, 'One Village One Product—Rural development strategy in Asia: The case of OTOP in Thailand', *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d'études du développement,* 33(3), 369–385, viewed 25 August 2017 https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/02255189.2012.715082

PC 1 (2006), Planning Commission Form *1*, Aik Hunar Aik Nagar (AHAN), SMEDA.

Putnam, R, R Leonardi, and R Nanetti, 1993, *Making Democracy Work: Civic traditions in modern Italy*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Scoones, I. 2009, 'Livelihoods perspectives and rural development', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 36(1), 171–196, viewed 18 November 2017 https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/03066150902820503

Scoones, I 2015, *Sustainable Livelihoods and Rural Development,* Practical Action Publishing, London, UK.

SMEDA 2018, Regional profiles: Punjab, viewed 20 June 2017, https://smeda.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=69&Itemid=174

Suvaroj, K 2015, 'Sustainable development in the OVOP movement: Human resource development in community organizations in Japan', The Asian Conference on Arts &

Humanities Conference Proceedings, The International Academic Forum, Thailand, viewed 3 February 2017 http://papers.iafor.org/wp-content/uploads/papers/acah2015/ACAH2015_10650.pdf

Vowles, J 2004, 'Civic engagement in New Zealand: Decline or demise?' In: Inaugural Professorial Address Delivered at the Conference Centre, University of Auckland, October 13, 2004.

Conference Report

Migration in Turbulent Times: Themes arising from the 2018 International Metropolis Conference

Weijie Hu, Stephanie D Short and Farah Purwaningrum
The University of Sydney

The International Metropolis Conference held in Sydney in November 2018 was organised around the theme of 'Global Migration in Turbulent Times'. Metropolis 2018 provided a productive forum to scrutinise policies pertinent to migration, local and global diversity, and sustainable integration. Ideas concerning the rise of nationalism, multiculturalism and the United Nations 'Global Compact for Migration' (GCM), adopted in Marrakech in December 2018, were interposed with concerns around south-to-south migration and the socio-political context of migration in Australia. Whilst other conferences target one type of attendee, the International Metropolis Conference tends to transcend institutional barriers between migration experts, government officials and academics. This year's theme, 'Global Migration in Turbulent Times', reflected the host city, Sydney, as a diversified and multicultural global city. It focused on the influence of migration and the importance of migrants' stories, in addition to those of Indigenous People.

There was a mix of panels and a wide range of audiences in the sessions, often with journalists facilitating the discussions. In this report and analysis, we highlight two key pressing concerns for the Sydney Asia Pacific Migration Centre: low-skilled migration and migration pathways for international health professionals.

Low-skilled labourers' precarities and marginalities

Labour migration is defining our age; the 21st century has been characterised by massive labour mobility. Migration of low-skilled labourers, which constitutes a significant proportion of labour migration, is often regarded as a triple-win since it brings benefits to places of destination and places of origin, as well as low-skilled labourers themselves. But who benefits and who loses in global migration? Ian Goldin, from Oxford University in the United Kingdom, asked the question: 'Who benefits and who loses in global migration?'. He noted that the international geographic mobility of labour has been reshaped by changes in the globalisation of investment and the economy (Goldin 2018). This has created two types of labourers: highly-skilled workers (such as health professionals) and lower-skilled workers.

Arguments regarding highly-skilled workers have mostly concerned the benefits of migration for economic growth, while lower-skilled workers, who have been treated as temporary or low-end migrants, endure job-related precarities and predicaments. In particular, some Asian countries, such as China and India, have witnessed some of the fastest urbanisation rates in the world accompanied by increasingly varied forms of domestic migration flows among low-skilled labourers. However, the subjective wellbeing of low-skilled labourers after displacement is not sufficiently scrutinised. Due to a lack of capital accumulation, low-skilled labourers' jobs are generally labour-intensive 'three-D' jobs (demanding, dangerous and dirty) (Chan 2001). These jobs include otherwise unwanted roles for men on the frontline of industry and service roles for women (Huang 2001). Ian Goldin drew attention to these low-skilled migrants, most of whom have no choice but to tolerate marginalities in multiple dimensions, such as in employment, in an array of social security programs and other institutional concerns.

In addition to domestic labour migration, one scholar focused on south-to-south labour migration.. As a doctoral scholar at The Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Lin Chen emphasised the geographical and spatial dimension of African migrants' wellbeing in China (Chen 2018). The existing literature concerning south-to-south labour migration has primarily focused on labour flows within the same continent, while this study focuses on intercontinental labour migration. Initially, the

preliminary goal for African migrants in China was for better economic profits and business opportunities (Mathews and Yang 2012). And most of the African migrants in China showed little interest in integrating into the mainstream of Chinese society and regarded China as a springboard to get into the Global North, such as more desirable destination countries like Japan, Australia, and Europe (Haugen 2012). However, with the rapid growth of Sino-African business, more and more African migrants have chosen to overstay in China, either voluntarily or involuntarily, to achieve greater possibilities for business opportunities in China and capital accumulation in the global economy. African migrants to China, who are mostly undocumented low-skilled labourers, can be construed as a contradiction between China's growing influence on the African continent and the inconsistent and improvised nature of China's immigration policies.

As a microcosm of south–south migration, the presence of African migrants in China has been mediated not only by economic and political situations between China and African countries, but also the intersection of domestic and international migration in global cities.

Skilled migration: Health professional migration pathways

International health professionals were discussed in depth in a workshop entitled 'Australia compared to Canada's level of reliance on skilled health migration—The latest policy developments'. The workshop addressed health workforce mobility in Australia and Canada and the ethical considerations pertaining to migrant doctors and other health professionals. Since 2006, the issue of health workforce mobility has received considerable attention from international organisations that focus on migration and health, including the World Health Organization (WHO).

It is noteworthy that Canada and Australia are currently the main OECD countries operating pro-active skilled migration programs. They admit a number of migrant health professionals (MHPs) through three principal pathways: permanent, temporary and study-migration, with the rate of arrivals only modestly diminishing in recent years.

Overall, the panel explored two ethical dimensions of relevance to the WHO: the scale of recruitment of medical and nursing professionals from developing countries to Australia compared to Canada, and the extent to which the imported skills are actually used. In their paper Hugh Breakey and his colleagues from Griffith University discussed 'The Ethical Significance of Migrating Health Professionals Legitimate Expectations: Canadian and Australian Pathways to Nowhere'. Breakey explained that in Australia's case, there are temporary visas with stringent professional registration and competency requirements, and restrictive conditions associated with work rights. Drawing on the rule of law literature which show the ethical importance of states' establishing and fulfilling legitimate expectations, Breakey et al. argue that states aiming to attract migrant health professionals need to establish, clarify, and then fulfil, migrant professionals' legitimate expectations (Breakey, Ransom, and Sampford 2019). Additionally, at the workshop, Breakey highlighted two relevant points: first is the changing context from perceived undersupply to potential oversupply which would change the availability of job and training positions in Australia. Secondly, Australian-bound migrating health professionals frequently have expectations of passing the examination requirements but often, ultimately, prove incapable of doing so.

In contrast, in Canada, provinces decide medical school and immigrant doctor residency numbers and allocate medical school and postgraduate training places. This produces less opaque pathways. Essentially, health professsionals migrating to Canada can enter the country and choose employment, geographical or education pathways with the assumption of progressing to completing registration requirements in order to practice. Nonetheless, the imperviousness of the inter-tangled governance systems, the changing policies and priorities of the various agencies and the challenging standard of shifting requirements of education, particularly for those from non-English speaking backgrounds, merge to challenge those expectations.

Lesleyanne Hawthorne and Ben Harrap from the University of Melbourne presented key empirical findings from a major 2016–19 study designed to compare health workforce migration policy impacts in Australia and Canada. In an earlier paper Hawthorne (2014) identifies six well-defined yet historically fluid pattern of health professional migration into Australia; permanent skilled migration; the study-migration pathway; trans-Tasman migration from New Zealand; spouse and family migration; and humanitarian migration (Hawthorne 2014:115 as cited in Breakey et al. 2019). At the workshop, Hawthorne and Harrap focused their presentation on the key fields of medicine and nursing. They provided a rigorous analysis of the latest skilled migration arrivals to Australia by field, vocational registration pathways, and outcomes, as well as access to medical and nursing employment, compared to allied health, in the first five years. They discussed also Australia's likely future reliance on migrant health professionals in the light of the distribution, retention and employment outcomes by field, compared to domestic graduates. Hawthorne outlined the challenges facing Australia: the nation cannot attract enough medical graduates to work in rural areas. In contrast, nurses are going to rural areas.

The topic of 'Australia's reliance on skilled health worker migration: Towards more effective health workforce governance' was presented by Stephanie Short and Kanchan Marcus from the University of Sydney. They discussed the agency of migrant doctors on temporary migration visas (457 visas) in Australia. Interviews revealed the lived experiences of a sample of migrant doctors interviewed in Western Australia in 2017. Most came from the United Kingdom, Ireland, New Zealand and South Africa and had worked in other countries before coming to Australia. The average time spent in Australia was seven to eight years. Clearly, they are not 'backpacker doctors'—those who migrate to Australia to do some fishing, surfing or sailing after which they return to their home country. These particular doctors stayed longer in Australia, so in this regard, they are not backpackers but prefer longer-term residence and were keen to explore professional

opportunities elsewhere in Australia, especially in less isolated areas.

Concluding remarks

Empirical research conducted in, among others, Australia, Canada, China on low-skilled migration and migration pathways for international health professionals related themes enabled us to view the shared reality of increasing diversity, mobility and interconnectedness of both individuals and scientific communities in a comparative perspective on an unprecedented scale. Successful evidence-based multicultural approaches to migration not only contribute to the subjective wellbeing of migrants, by creating multiculturalism and raising the visibility of integration, but also benefit the host economy in a positive way. However, we did observe a slight imbalance in the conference, as it did not appear to include sufficient content relevant to the enhancement of nonmaterial conditions for migrants and refugees, including the experience of elementary schooling for their children.

Thus, on reflection, we can better understand the lived experience of both low-skilled labourers and migrant health professionals through the lens of education. Education is fundamental to the human capital building, and school attainment is regarded as a measure of one's social capital and a predictor of economic opportunities (Adams and Kirova 2007). For migrant health professionals, continuation from lower education to higher education can potentially grant their upward social mobility to achieve their colourful dreams; for low-skilled labourers, equal access to educational resources can enhance the possibility of increased competitive power in the labour market, improve their economic performance, develop their social capital and integrate them better into the destination societies. The Metropolis 2018 conference was a solid interdisciplinary conference that benefitted attendees be they migration experts, government officials, scholars or research students interested in migration studies.

References

Adams, Leah and Anna Kirova, 2007, *Global Migration and Education: School, children, and families*, Psychology Press.

Breakey, Hugh, William Ransom, and Charles Sampford, 2019, 'The ethical significance of migrating health professionals' legitimate expectations: Canadian and Australian pathways to nowhere', Metropolis Conference 2018, Sydney, Australia.

Chan, Kam Wing, 2001, 'Recent migration in China: Patterns, trends, and policies', *Asian Perspective*, 127–155.

Chen, Lin, 2018, 'Driven elements of South to South migrant mobility from Africa to China 1999-2015', International Metropolis Conference, Sydney, Australia, 29 October–2 November 2018.

Goldin, Ian 2018, 'Migration and the economy: Economic realities, social impacts and political choices', International Metropolis Conference, Sydney, Australia, 29 October–2 November 2018.

Haugen, Heidi Østbø, 2012, 'Nigerians in China: A second state of immobility', *International Migration* 50(2), 65–80.

Hawthorne, L-A. 2014, 'WHO four country study—health workforce migration in Australia', in *Migration of Health Workers—WHO Code of Practice and the Global Economic Crisis*, A. Siyam and M. Dal (eds), 109–132. WHO.

Huang, Youqin, 2001, 'Gender, hukou, and the occupational attainment of female migrants in China (1985–1990)', *Environment and Planning A* 33(2), 257–279.

Mathews, Gordon, and Yang Yang, 2012, 'How Africans pursue low-end globalization in Hong Kong and mainland China', *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 41(2), 95–120.

DEVELOPMENT BULLETIN ONLINE

To view previous issues of the Development Bulletin visit:
crawford.anu.edu.au/rmap/devnet/dev-bulletin.php

Development Bulletin No. 81, November 2019
Leadership for inclusive development

Development Bulletin No. 80, December 2018
Pacific Reflections: Personal perceptions of aid and development

Development Bulletin No. 79, January 2018
Partnering for impact on sustainable development

Development Bulletin No. 78, August 2017
Urban Development in the Pacific

Development Bulletin No. 77, August 2016
Evidence and practice in an age of inequality

Development Bulletin No. 76, August 2014
Development futures: alternative pathways to end poverty

Development Bulletin No. 75, August 2013
Challenges for participatory development in contemporary development practice

Development Bulletin No. 74, June 2011
Implementing Disability-inclusive Development in the Pacific and Asia

Development Bulletin No. 73, April 2009
Disability, Disadvantage and Development in the Pacific and Asia

Development Bulletin No. 72, March 2007
Addressing Poverty: Alternative Economic Approaches

Development Bulletin No. 71 September 2006
Measuring Gender Equality

Development Bulletin No. 70, April 2006
Building Better Pacific Economies

Development Bulletin No. 69, February 2006
Illicit Drugs and Development

Development Bulletin No. 68, October 2005
Cooperating with Timor-Leste

Development Bulletin No. 67, April 2005
Effective Development in Papua New Guinea

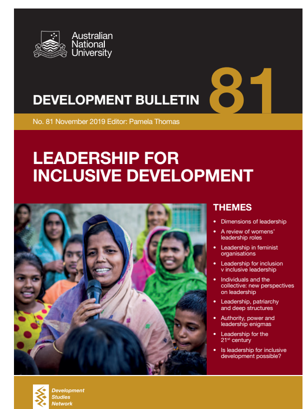
Development Bulletin No. 66, December 2004
People Trafficking, Human Security and Development

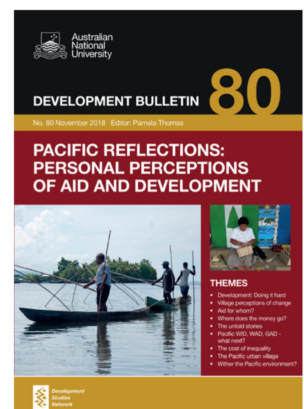
Development Bulletin No. 65, August 2004
International Perspectives on Aid Effectiveness

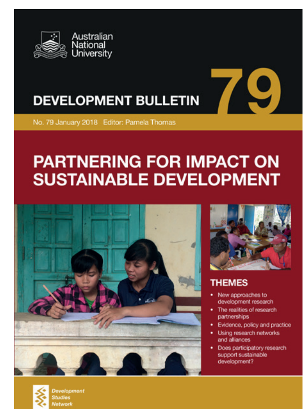
Development Bulletin No. 64, March 2004
Gender and Development

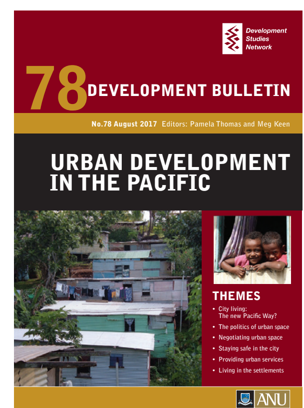
Development Bulletin No. 63, November 2003
Water, Governance and the Political Economy

Development Bulletin No. 62, August 2003
Population Change in Asia and the Pacific









DEVELOPMENT BULLETIN ISSUE 81

81

NOVEMBER 2019

Crawford.anu.edu.au/rmap/devnet/dev-bulletin.php
or google Development Bulletin

For free download:

- 80 issues of Development Bulletin
- 30 years of information on social and economic development, development theory, policy and practice
- 87 papers covering Pacific Island womens' experiences of development

Contact

Dr Pamela Thomas

Development Studies Network
Resources, Environment and Development
Crawford School of Public Policy
The Australian National University
Canberra ACT 2600, Australia

T 61 2 6125 8257
E pamela.thomas@anu.edu.au

Development Studies Network