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DEVELOPMENT BULLETIN

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PARTNERING FOR IMPACT ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT



THEMES

- New approaches to development research
- The realities of research partnerships
- Evidence, policy and practice
- Using research networks and alliances
- Does participatory research support sustainable development?



Development
Studies
Network

The Development Bulletin

The Development Bulletin has, for 30 years, been the journal of the Development Studies Network based at the Crawford School of Public Policy, The Australian National University. It is an occasional publication providing at least one issue a year. For 30 years each issue has focused on a specific, topical development theme providing a multi-disciplinary perspective on a range of opinions on development activities, theories, and research. The journal includes commissioned and submitted papers and is available in hard copy or online for free download. Authors include academics, development professionals, those working in non-government and government organisations, consultants, teachers, community leaders, politicians and students of development in the Pacific and Asia. Development Bulletin papers are short and concise with a word limit of 3,500.

Together the 79 issues provide a valuable history of social and economic development, development theory, policy, practice and development studies in the Pacific. They are available online.

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Cover photos

Left: Partnering for literacy, Nepal.
(Photo: United Mission to Nepal, Transform
Aid International)

Right: Health workers collaborating with UNICEF
to development child immunisation messages
Malaita, Solomon Islands. (Photo: Pamela Thomas)

Back: Learning lab on food and nutrition security,
Katmandu, Nepal. (Photo: Robyn Alders)

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Issue 79 January 2018

PARTNERING FOR IMPACT ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Innovative research is the focus of this issue. The papers, case studies and reports consider the results of research partnerships between academics, development practitioners, village communities and policy-makers in Australia and our neighbours. Most papers are selected from those presented at the international conference “Partnering for impact on sustainable development”, hosted by The University of Sydney, June 13-14, 2017, under the auspices of the Research for Development Impact (RDI) Network who also provided support for this publication.

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The Research for Development Impact (RDI) 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 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.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) require concerted action, including rigorous research and evidence to inform their achievement and their monitoring. The RDI Network has committed to address this need, working to shape a policy agenda that values research, and operating through a participatory and inclusive community of policy and practice encompassing participants both in Australia and more broadly.

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 Research for Development Impact 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 RDI Network has the following core objectives:

1. Champion and provide leadership in effective development research, evidence and practice.
2. Strengthen cross-sector partnerships and linkages, including stimulating and supporting partnerships between ACFID members and Australian universities.
3. Improve sector capacity to undertake effective and ethical development research and education.
4. Improve uptake and use of research and expertise to inform policy, practice and discourse across the Australian development sector and more broadly.

The Network is free and open to all practitioners, academics, students, policymakers and evaluators working 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 6th RDI Conference held in June 2017 at the University of Sydney. The selected papers reflect the conference theme, '*Partnering for Impact on Sustainable Development: Collaboration, coordination, solidarity*'.

Reflecting on partnering for impact on sustainable development

Thomas Soem, the University of Sydney and Jenny Vaccari, RDI Network

In a rapidly changing international environment and increasingly constrained resources, the potential to catalyse skills and expertise through collaborative ways of working becomes more and more important. The need to adapt and design policy and practice in response to quality research and evaluation is, and always has been, imperative, and yet the practice of sourcing, translating and applying evidence continues to occur inconsistently across development projects and programs.

In the era of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the international community has been offered a clear roadmap towards a more just, equitable and sustainable future. However, how we best follow this roadmap in terms of what works and what doesn't, remains uncertain. One signpost can be found in SDG17 which calls on the international community to 'revitalise the global partnership for sustainable development', recognising that this goal provides a basis for the approach of each of the other 16 Goals.

To carry this approach forward, the RDI Conference in 2017 aimed to convene the expertise of academics, practitioners and policy-makers to build a robust collection of quality, relevant research which points us towards maximising development impact. Fostering cross-sector dialogues, we sought new approaches to development practice which challenge traditional disciplinary boundaries and thinking, and which have radical potential for achieving sustainable development globally.

This year's RDI Conference host, the University of Sydney, has harnessed some of its outstanding researchers, networks and partnerships to address vital global challenges and in partnering with the Australian Council for International Development (ACFID) and the Research for Development Impact (RDI) Network, highlights its commitment to high-quality and high-impact collaborations.

The University of Sydney's motivation for supporting the conference was to provide an open platform for new ideas, robust debate and to showcase partnerships, collaboration and solidarity. These objectives were met by the 400 plus attendees and are reflected in the many co-authored interdisciplinary research papers in this journal.

The diversity of voices represented here are a testament to the diversity of partners needed to achieve development impact. Not only do we need our international institutions and leaders to provide political and policy drivers for development action, but we also need the practice expertise of NGOs and the private sector, the academic rigour of universities, the questioning of students, and the nuanced understanding of local community voices.

We hope that this collection of papers offers you both insight and encouragement to work towards greater research impact and sustainable development goals. We look forward to continuing this journey together.

Reviewing the experience of partnering for impact on sustainable development

Pamela Thomas, The Australian National University

This issue of *Development Bulletin* provides insights from the practical experiences of those who have applied new approaches to development research and practice through working in partnerships. The papers cover a wide range of development partnerships covering different stages of development processes—research, planning and evaluation, implementation and review—and consider community, and private/public partnerships. The outcomes, the challenges and the rewards, vary. What is clear is that at any stage, partnerships provide new, valuable insights, new opportunities and more inclusive and informed development activities that allow for greater impact on achieving the sustainable development goals (SDGs). Together the papers provide a blueprint for working in partnership for development impact.

The papers in this issue provide an example of research partnerships in action. The papers, many of them written in university/NGO partnerships provide valuable information and insights into working in partnership for sustainable development. They consider the realities of working in partnerships—what are the benefits, what are the difficulties, what makes partnerships effective, and what restricts their effectiveness?

In the words of Helen Clark, former administrator of the United Nations Development Program and former Prime Minister of New Zealand, ‘In achieving the sustainable development goals, we face challenges that no one nation, sector or organisation can address effectively on its own. The power of partnership is that we each contribute according to our capacities to get results...partnerships, are not just about money—they are about solidarity, exchange of knowledge and best practices and support for the acquisition of technology and building the capacity to innovate.’ And, she reminds us that ‘A key requirement for sustainable development is sustainable peace...peace needed for sustainable development will not be the product of early warning systems, nor the despatch of mediators or peacekeepers but the positive outcome of long-term development processes.’

Innovative approaches to supporting sustainable development

This issue of *Development Bulletin* includes examples of a number of innovative approaches to partnerships for sustainable development. They include giving engineering students firsthand experience in developing countries, providing sustainable fisheries partnerships in Indonesia, the importance of collaborating with children in community-based research, the development of alumni regional study tours and the creation of partnerships with neighbouring countries.

Engineers Without Borders, an NGO which partners with universities, provides opportunities for engineering students to learn about development perspectives through on-the-ground projects that empower students to participate directly in community based programmes and activities focussed on poverty alleviation and sustainable development. The programme provides young engineers with knowledge of global issues such as poverty and disadvantage. As the authors state: ‘Australian engineering graduates must be motivated to face and be capable of tackling global issues such as poverty and disadvantage, as they have a critical role to play in achieving the SDGs.’

Sustainable fisheries will provide an increasingly vital food source as populations increase but the marine resources in many developing countries are declining rapidly. The Seafood Savers programme in Indonesia is establishing innovative fisheries partnerships by creating linkages between the business sector, retailers and consumers, small-scale fishermen and government to improve value chains and introduce responsible fishing through a certification process. Gondwe and Slattery address the issue of building on alumni engagement through alumni

regional study tours. These activities help establish partnerships with neighbouring countries that allows alumni to learn good practices from neighbours and develop feasible solutions to specific developmental challenges.

Research partnerships: Some realities

As several papers point out, productive partnerships do not just happen. They require careful planning, establishment of agreed management and methods, willingness of all partners to adapt, and time—time to develop an agreed methodology, time to agree to changes where necessary, and time to learn from the results.

Winterford, Gero et al address the issue of time and the extent to which engaging children and youth in development, contributes to development effectiveness—a question that until now has remained largely unanswered. Working in a joint agency research partnership over three years in Fiji, Laos and Nepal they found that engaging young people in development established important partnerships within communities. More importantly, they learned that working in joint agency research partnerships required an inclusive approach, planning and ongoing reflection by all partners as well as refinement of practice, established rules of engagement, a clear understanding of ways of working, roles, responsibilities and protocols for decision making. ‘In order to create a shared and co-created research design, time and money is needed to allow for input from all partners...this needs to be planned for and managed.’ These key findings are reinforced by those of Leahy et al, reporting on multi-partner research collaboration in a WASH study in Vietnam.

Participatory action research (PAR) was used by Fernandes, Cantrill et al to address complex social and public health issues in Nepal, India and Afghanistan with a focus on improving mental health. A multi-disciplinary, multi-sectoral and multi-context collaboration included a research reference group in Australia, government and non-government organisations and communities in study countries. The methodology included the innovative use of photovoice, which authors explain, was ‘vital to explore the lived experience of those with psychosocial disability and allowed the research to be accessible to all.’ The reality of their research partnership was that while community-based participatory action research produces excellent results it was very time consuming. Different cultural concepts of time had to be taken into account and time was needed to adapt to local changes. They found that a commitment to knowledge sharing, translation and utilisation was vital. Time was also an issue discussed by Njoto et al, reporting on an Indonesian integrated programme to address mental health practices. They found that working together with provincial and district health workers and community volunteers was very time consuming but resulted in more accurate data and improved mental health care. They hope it will result in an urgently needed community-based mental health reform programme.

The importance of ethics in research partnerships was stressed by Carter and O’Callaghan. Carter warns of the

likelihood of conflict when working in partnerships. ‘It is not uncommon for partners and projects to be confronted with a range of obstacles and tensions...when researchers from diverse backgrounds...with different values and different knowledge systems...are expected to collaborate.’ Working with marginalised farmers, the landless, women and small holders alongside larger farming households required an ethical approach and deeper, more deliberative engagement with ethical issues. O’Callaghan raises ethical research issues based on her extensive observations of research undertaken on mining sites in Africa and the negative impacts of rapid, uninformed, sometimes unethical and value-laden approaches frequently used by fly in-fly out researchers.

Do partnerships and inclusion support sustainable development?

Partnering with the private sector can provide additional equity challenges as Gero, Glendining and Jiwaji discuss in their ‘real world example of a partnership between the private sector, government, an NGO and the community’. In developing and trialling a conceptual framework for private sector involvement in climate change adaptation in Fiji they found it was vital to provide mutual benefits for all partners. It was also essential to ensure careful alignment with the local cultural and geographical contexts where, as in some Pacific Island societies, the collective is prioritised over the individual, which does not align well with how businesses usually operate, and where it can be culturally acceptable for an unequal distribution of power. Sanderson also found that the issue of power and power structures were important when negotiating partnerships for improving humanitarian responses after urban disasters. ‘Effective recovery works best when it works through and strengthens existing structures...letting go of power and control means agencies ceding greater power of decision making and agency to existing power structures.’

Leahy et al collaborated with Vietnam and Australian university researchers, and Australian and Vietnamese NGOs to explore the intersection between SDG goals five and six. These SDGs focus on gender equality and clean water and sanitation and to examine the impact of an international water, sanitation and hygiene monitoring tool. They make the point that while their research found considerable positive strategic gender changes and the partnership resulted in capacity building for both Australian and Vietnamese organisations involved, for the results of research to have greater impact, the findings must reach those who can use them. All results were translated into Vietnamese.

A very successful health partnership between Cuba and Timor-Leste resulted in 800 Timorese being trained as doctors after six years study in Cuba and an internship in Timor-Leste following which they began ‘social service’ in rural areas as general basic doctors. Anderson’s research shows that ‘the Cuban Timor-Leste health partnership has had a powerful but under-remarked impact on the Timorese health system’.

Reviewing participation and collaboration in urban renewal of ancient cities in Iran, Assadpour and Melles found that traditional top down planning and lack of residents' opportunities to have any voice in planning renewal projects had led to the rapid destruction of old and important residential areas and displacement of thousands of urban residents. As they point out, historically change in these cities was very slow and incremental and allowed for adaptation of sites and residents.

Networks, coalitions and inclusion for development impact

Brimacombe and Roche consider the political and social importance of coalitions—how they are formed and their role in achieving social, political and economic goals that could not be achieved by individuals or individual organisations. They provide examples of how important 'formative events' can be in promoting coalition formation including that of PNG's anti-sorcery related violence coalition, catalysed in response to murders of prominent human rights defenders. In their analysis of 17 coalitions and networks, Chalk and Pilkinton present information on how coalitions or networked 'action' add value to that of individual organisations. The outcomes they found are empowerment and greater participation of civil society in policy dialogue that lead to development outcomes that benefit most marginalised groups.

Reporting on a social research project that focuses on pro-poor collaborative development and women's inclusion in Pakistan smallholder agriculture, Chambers et al found that collaboration with others outside the house was an important way to achieve economic outcomes that are often not possible if working individually or within the household. This included joint selling of outputs, joint purchase of inputs and building a community storage facility.

Promoting knowledge partnerships for sustainable agriculture

Promoting information and knowledge is an important aspect of development impact and one that is often overlooked, most specifically in disseminating scientific information in ways that are readily understood. Partnerships and networks can provide important hubs for disseminating knowledge for development. The papers in this section provide different perspectives on sharing information and learning.

Partnerships to support knowledge of sustainable agriculture, agricultural intensification and adequate nutrition provide an important focus of this issue of *Development Bulletin*. Cosijn, Williams and Hall of the CSIRO consider the urgent need for innovation in agricultural production in Indonesia if the current GDP is to be maintained. However, the challenge in fostering agricultural innovation is the

systemic failing between knowledge generation and putting this knowledge to use. Their paper reflects on a project to catalyse agricultural innovation by bringing research institutes and the private sector together in partnership. Alders et al agree that there are immense challenges ahead for agriculture, food and nutrition security in our region and that malnutrition and under nutrition are on-going problems. To achieve SDG2—Zero Hunger:

...we have to produce more food off a decreasing area of agricultural land without further damaging the environment but...this requires political goodwill, appropriate policy and legislative settings, incentives and farmer education as much as technical innovation...the limiting factor is not access to scientific knowledge but our tendency to work in silos.

One solution they propose is the new Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Security Community of Practice that will leverage an extensive body of knowledge and provide a forum for sharing and learning—a community where new ideas will be discussed and generated providing a platform for collaboration and joint activities to prevent hunger.

In considering sustainable agricultural intensification in Cambodia, Tan and Martin et al consider the importance of knowledge in promoting sustainable agroecosystems rather than the usual methods of intensification based on use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides. They show that the key policy and institutional aspects for scaling up agroecosystems and cropping patterns are to encourage public-private partnerships based on creation of farmer groups that collectively obtain knowledge. They also recommend the education of farmers' children in school to stimulate them 'with exciting farming innovations'.

Communicating scientific agricultural information is the theme of Rahmat and Purwaningrum's paper on the production and use of palm oil in Malaysia. While there is fairly widespread public concern about the rapid expansion of oil palm plantations, the authors point to the limited knowledge of the value of palm oil biodiesel and biofuel. They recommend that research and scientific knowledge production of biodiesel and biofuel should be supported by science communication.

We hope that this very varied collection of papers provide you with evidence of the value of working in partnerships. As Helen Clark advised in her keynote address to the RDI Network conference at The University of Sydney in June 2017:

On meeting national and international development goals, there is more than enough work for all of us—the issue is how to maximise impact with available resources. This requires a willingness to work together and coordinate closely...Sustainable development is not something that happens to someone else somewhere else. It is a collective challenge that requires a collective response.

Partnering for impact on sustainable development¹

The Right Honorable Helen Clark, former Administrator, United Nations Development Program and former Prime Minister of New Zealand

I would like to offer some observations on the theme of ‘partnering for impact on sustainable development: collaboration, coordination and solidarity’ based on my eight years as UNDP administrator and chair of the United Nations Development Group, supporting the development and implementation of global agendas.

I will focus on partnerships in two important contexts: one, on the partnerships needed between North and South, South and South, within governments, and with actors across economies and societies; and two, on the partnerships needed across the silos in the international cooperation world—from humanitarian activity to development and peace building initiatives.

My working assumption is that if each actor across all of these kinds of partnerships focussed on what could be achieved by working together, rather than by each working in their own silo, progress on implementing the global agendas and on meeting national development goals could be accelerated. There is more than enough work for all of us—the issue is how to maximize impact with available resources. This requires a willingness to work together and coordinate closely.

Investing in partnerships

It is almost a cliché to say that very big partnerships are required to implement the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), together with the other big agendas of 2015—the Paris Climate Agreement, the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda for Financing for Development. Add to those the New Urban Agenda 2016, a document intended to guide national and local policies on the growth and development of cities through 2036 that was signed by almost 170 countries and promulgated at Habitat III in Quito, Ecuador—and the commitments made at the World Humanitarian Summit in Istanbul in May 2016, to improve aid delivery, support refugees, uphold international law, increase financing and prevent the crises generating the largest migration flows in 70 years.

These agendas are all interlinked, largely cross referenced, and very ambitious. They require massive investments. UNCTAD (the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) estimated in 2014 that to achieve the SDGs in key sectors by 2030, annual investments made in developing countries would need to total US\$3.3 to \$4.5 trillion per annum. They suggested that the current funding gap was \$2.5 trillion per annum and that public funding would not be sufficient to bridge it.

Partnerships, however, are not just about money. They are also about solidarity, the exchange of knowledge and best practices, and support for the acquisition of technology and building the capacity to innovate.

At their best, partnerships for development must be fully inclusive. Development cannot be about planning from ‘on high’ without regard to the views and perspectives of those whom policies and programmes aspire to reach. Women want gender-sensitive development. Youth want to be engaged. Older people have views on how their needs should be met. Rural dwellers want infrastructure and services to reach them. LGBTI want their rights upheld. Indigenous people want their status fully acknowledged and respected. Refugees and migrants and others who tend to be marginalised want full inclusion.

As a result, partnerships must be built at many levels. One on level, the traditional North–South partnerships based on Official Development Assistance (ODA) remain very important, especially for least developed countries, low income countries overall, small island developing states, and countries experiencing crises of various kinds.

On another level, South–South Cooperation is growing fast although in grant form it remains dwarfed by traditional ODA. But intra-South trade and investment is very significant, as is the development and spread of technology and best practice within the South.

On this score, China’s Belt and Road initiative stands out as one of the largest and boldest development initiatives launched in recent times from either North or South. The Belt and Road initiative seeks to build a new Eurasian land bridge and develop the economic corridors of six major economic cooperation corridors and several key maritime pivot points across Eurasia. A number of traditional development partners are prioritising domestic investments and/or budget consolidation over expansive visions of what lifting living standards universally could mean—both for those still living in extreme poverty or those vulnerable to it—and for the longer term prosperity of today’s developed countries.

The challenge for Belt and Road will be about more than the physical infrastructure of rail and road corridors and ports and airports. To contribute to the new global agendas, it must incorporate a vision and initiatives for human development and build in sustainability as a core principle.

At yet another level, the private sector’s role in financing development will grow, as the public purse simply cannot meet all funding needs. But there needs to be a consistent focus on the catalytic role of public funding in developing the institutions, capacities and enabling environments which will drive inclusive and sustainable growth. Support for public funding is badly needed in many jurisdictions, and without those institutions, capacities, and enabling environments, countries will struggle to attract the investment they need.

In the era of the SDGs and the Paris Climate Agreement, the design of public policy and regulations to steer investment towards sustainability is vital. Phasing out fossil fuel subsidies and making renewable energy investment attractive are good examples of what is required. Support for building the capacity to put such frameworks in place and uphold them is critical.

Support for the establishment and consolidation of the rule of law is also critical. This is not only a good thing in its own right, but also gives people greater confidence in the future of their investments, from the smallest farmer and micro-entrepreneur to the major productive or infrastructure sector investor.

National capacities for partnerships

At another important partnership level, with enabling environments in place, the private sector can play a very constructive role through quality investment in inclusive and sustainable growth, and in fighting climate change. It has been encouraging to see broad partnerships forming around major objectives like stopping deforestation. In the New York Declaration on Forests, signed by dozens of parties at the UN Secretary-General’s Climate Summit in September 2014, governments, leading companies, indigenous people

and local communities, NGOs and civil society organisations agreed on goals to halve the rate of deforestation by 2020 and end it by 2030.

New funding mechanisms are being set up to support the move to zero deforestation. When government regulators, international partners, big buyers, large and small producers, and the indigenous people who are the traditional guardians of the forests combine their efforts, it is very powerful.

Development cooperation partnerships should be seeking to strengthen national capacities for development. I often said at UNDP that we must aim over time to put ourselves out of business. In the process of reaching that point, we must all continually adapt the ways in which we work. We need to be highly context specific; the partnerships sought by fragile states, for example, are very different from those sought by upper middle income countries.

So, as countries move along the spectrum of development, we must all adjust our offerings to be relevant as partners. It is a tribute to UNDP’s capacity to adapt that it has retained a universal presence in developing countries at national request—often with significant national funding—to support countries to meet the remaining, new, and emerging development challenges they face.

Role of governments

Partnerships must be forged within the governments of both developed and developing countries. Sustainable development can’t be achieved without ‘whole of government’ thinking and action. It requires us to move away from old patterns of development which sacrificed the environment in the pursuit of economic growth and often widened social inequality as well.

That approach stores up problems for the future, and indeed we could say that it has contributed to producing the highly unequal world with an environment in peril that we have today. Our world has to change, or leave a toxic legacy for those who come after us. To continue the way in which development has occurred in the past is irresponsible.

Affecting this shift within government requires leadership at the highest level. In many countries rich and poor, presidents and prime ministers are leading from the front in setting up mechanisms to drive the 2030 Agenda. Many countries are lining up to present their progress reports at the high level political forum on sustainable development each July in New York. They will want to be able to show results across the wide-ranging SDGs. Thus, powerful ministries like that of finance need to be engaged with the SDG agenda, and the ministries that interact with the economic sectors—like those for agriculture, forestry, fisheries, industry, and tourism—need to be on board. Social and environment ministries can’t carry the human and sustainable development agendas forward on their own. There needs to be policy coherence across governments, and at different levels of government. Sub-national governments also have a big role to play—often having significant planning, funding, and service provision roles that impact whether development is sustainable or not.

At another level, new ways of working must be fully inclusive of civil society, and respect the roles of advocacy and representation. Civil society, media, and parliaments should be able to hold governments to account for the commitments they have made to the SDGs, the Paris Agreement, and other global agendas. They need access to information and the capacity to analyse it, and they must be free to report what they see.

Multilateral and financial institutions

What of the role of multilateral systems in partnerships? My years at UNDP tell me that it and its sister agencies in the UN system have been able to gain the trust of the very wide range of developing countries. Their governments, and other national partners, look to the UN agencies to support them to mainstream the global agendas into their strategies, policies, plans, and budgets, and to help build national capacity for implementation, monitoring, and reporting.

The UN's convening power is considerable too, and it is often called on to facilitate dialogue between state and society on both global and national agendas, and to advocate for implementation of global commitments. It has a critical role in enabling partnerships for sustainable development.

The specific role of international and regional financial institutions (IFIs and RFIs) is well worth mentioning, as they have significant resources which can be deployed in support of both the SDGs and the Paris Agreement.

The strategies of the IFIs and the RFIs are now being aligned with both the SDGs and the Paris Agreement. I am particularly impressed by the focused 'High Five' priorities of the African Development Bank—to light up and power Africa, feed Africa, integrate Africa, industrialise Africa, and improve the quality of life for the people of Africa—which seek to accelerate Africa's transformation and are consistent with the SDGs. But for the IFIs and RFIs to be a major force for sustainable development, they will need greater policy coherence across their different wings, in particular in enabling the fiscal space which developing countries need to invest in their people, even when times are tough.

Purposes of partnerships

I turn now to a second dimension of partnerships—how humanitarian, development, and peacebuilding actors work together for peace and for risk-informed and resilient development.

This is the subject of much discussion at the UN, resulting in the 'New Ways of Working' signed at the World Humanitarian Summit in Istanbul in 2016—the Sustaining Peace agenda backed by resolutions of both the UN Security Council and the General Assembly, and the conflict prevention agenda of the new UN Secretary General, Antonio Guterres.

We need big picture thinking here—the peace needed for sustainable development will not be the product of early warning systems to spot tensions, nor of the dispatch of mediators or peacekeepers. Rather, enduring peace will

be the outcome of long term developmental processes, including governance capacities.

It is surely no accident that many of the states which lapse into deadly conflict these days have high levels of poverty and/or an inequitable distribution of wealth, governance which is neither inclusive nor responsive and does not reach all corners of the land, and an absence of the rule of law. Such development deficits cannot be addressed overnight, but they must be addressed if the Agenda 2030 is to have any hope of succeeding.

Our world is currently witness to long running conflicts which are largely responsible for the forced displacement of 65 million people, sending economies and human development into reverse—and in the worst cases—producing near or actual famine conditions. In Yemen, for example, famine threatens not because of drought, but because of a devastating conflict.

The UN peace and security architecture has proved unable to address these conflicts effectively, either because of polarisation on the Security Council preventing decisive action being taken, or because the Council's tools are simply insufficient to keep the peace where deep divisions within countries remain.

In the absence of progress towards peace, the UN's humanitarian and development actors and their many partners have had to rethink outdated responses, which had often assumed a 'relief first, development later' approach, and instead endeavour to work contemporaneously. In Syria, for example, the UN system has for several years launched combined funding appeals for relief and building resilience. Development actors have complemented humanitarian activity there through support for livelihoods, provision of basic services, infrastructure repair, and, in Syria itself, through removal of debris from bombed sites. In neighbouring countries, efforts have been made to support host communities under pressure, and to work with municipalities to maintain an atmosphere of tolerance towards refugees. Similar approaches have been employed in Yemen and Libya.

These approaches were developed as it became apparent that the conflicts could rage for years. But 'new ways of working' also need to bring us together to support countries to build much greater resilience to shocks of all kinds, whether they are the breakdown of political processes and social cohesion leading to conflict, severe climate related or seismic events, or global economic turbulence.

For me, partnerships for resilient and risk-informed development should include:

- Support for national leadership and ownership. A commitment to building national capacities is vital and no amount of partner intervention can ever substitute for that.
- Acting to significantly reduce inequalities, as the 2030 Agenda urges us to do, and to build tolerance between peoples. The aim should be to strengthen social cohesion to reduce the risk of tensions boiling over into conflict.
- Support for building governance which is inclusive and responsive, allows for civic space, and helps develop the institutions and capacities needed to prevent the descent

into conflict. Civil society and local leaders have big roles to play in this. It has been impressive, for example, to see the roles played by women, youth, and local leaders in supporting peaceful electoral processes in a range of countries.

- Diversifying economies—the one or two commodity economies are highly vulnerable to a range of shocks. Investments in skills and infrastructure, having a positive enabling environment for investment in new sectors, and developing climate-resilient livelihoods are critical.
- Disaster risk reduction—most expenditure related to disasters comes in the form of humanitarian relief after the event. Investments need to be made up front in risk-informed development—from planning where people should live and work and where infrastructure should go—to the design of early warning systems and rapid response capacity. After a shock has been experienced, there needs to be a commitment to ‘building back better’ to stop history repeating itself.

The truth is there will be shocks, there always have been. The issue is how we plan around them, and what steps we take to mitigate those which can be prevented.

Conclusion

Implementing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Paris Climate Agreement in full would enable our world to make major strides towards greater peace, prosperity and sustainability. This is a time for solidarity and

not for nations to turn inwards. We face challenges that no one nation, sector, or organisation can address effectively on its own. The power of partnerships is that we each contribute according to our means and capacities to get results.

The global agendas can’t be realised without developed countries embracing them as relevant to their future. Sustainable development is not something that happens to someone else somewhere else. It is a collective challenge that requires a collective response. We need developed countries’stepping up, not stepping away from sustainable development.

Since the groundbreaking agreements of 2015 were reached, there have been some political changes at national levels which have not been positive for their implementation. Nonetheless, I believe the agendas have momentum precisely because they came about as the result of broad consultation and input. While some governments press the ‘hold’ button, other key actors at the subnational level and in the civil society and corporate sectors are committed to staying the course. Maintaining partnerships across all of these sectors will be essential for realising the objectives of the 2030 Agenda and the Paris Climate Agreement.

Note

- * The keynote address given at the Research for Development Impact Network conference ‘Partnering for impact on sustainable development’, The University of Sydney, 13–14 June 2017

An NGO-university partnership for sustainable engineering research solutions

Nick Brown and Peter Baynard-Smith, Engineers Without Borders Australia; Jeremy Smith, Andrew Thomson and Chris Browne, Research School of Engineering, The Australian National University

The 2030 development agenda laid out by the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) sets ambitious global targets for sustainable development. Australian engineering graduates must be motivated to face and be capable of tackling global issues such as poverty and disadvantage, as they have a critical role to play in achieving the SDGs. Even before the SDGs were launched, UNESCO stated that ‘now and in the years to come, we need to ensure that motivated young women and men concerned about problems in the developing world continue to enter the field in sufficient numbers’ (UNESCO 2010). Engineers Without Borders Australia (EWB) has developed engineering education initiatives, as described by Smith et al. (2016), that promote humanitarian and socially conscious engineering practices. In the broadest sense, humanitarian engineering can be considered the application of engineering skills, principles and practices to address short- or long-term disadvantage and vulnerability in domestic and international contexts (Turner et al 2015).

EWB’s initiatives provide opportunities to Australian university students to learn about development perspectives in engineering through real projects. These projects empower students to participate directly in community based programmes and activities focussed on sustainable development and poverty alleviation. These opportunities are embedded within a formal university curriculum or are available to students informally through involvement in EWB as a member. Close collaboration is necessary and essential to ensure the goals and impact of these initiatives is achieved. One collaborative programme coordinated by EWB is the Humanitarian Engineering University Research Program.

Humanitarian Engineering University Research Program (URP)

The Engineers Without Borders URP was established in 2006 (Smith et al 2009) as an innovative initiative that directly engages universities in the challenges and opportunities of working with disadvantaged or marginalised communities in Australia and overseas. The real world context is vitally important and aims to address UNESCO’s call for ‘...mobilising the engineering community to become more effective in delivering real products and services of benefit to society, especially in the developing world, is a vitally important international responsibility’ (UNESCO 2010).

Whilst student learning and the generation of new knowledge and technologies for communities are short-term aims, the long-term aim of the URP is to create a substantial and sustainable community of engineering academics, practitioners and institutions committed to

sustainable development research and impact. Specifically, the programme aims to:

- Support the humanitarian and development sector with solutions derived from innovative humanitarian engineering research.
- Increase the capability and motivation of engineering graduates to achieve EWB’s mission (and by extension the SDGs); and
- Ensure there is a sustainable number of engineering academics and institutions conducting humanitarian engineering research.

To achieve these aims, the URP engages passionate academics and students at universities in Australasia through collaborative research projects that investigate challenges and needs posed by practitioners and community development organisations. Projects are most often conducted as part of a students’ final year research projects and also through final year group capstone design projects. Student research is supported by their home university through access to facilities and expertise. To match existing structures, the projects are sometimes considered ‘industry projects’ with EWB or the development organisation acting as the client.

A research project is essentially a collaboration between EWB, a university and a development organisation that each benefit from participation in the programme. For EWB, these projects amplify its research outputs—one programme coordinator manages dozens of projects rather than having to conduct all of the research in-house. For universities, access to the URP includes access to around 40 defined research topics that can be integrated into their research offerings. Academics can have their work supported by EWB, and exposure to real world issues and challenges is often a strong motivator for students.

Benefits of the URP

Community development organisations and NGOs, who are the primary recipients of the URP research and development, benefit by receiving low-cost access to knowledge and technologies outside the scope of their core practice. The barriers that prevent practitioners from conducting the research themselves broadly fall into four categories.

1. *Capacity:* For smaller organisations that might be focussed on development implementation there is insufficient time for staff to spend on research and development. Students, however, have time as the projects are built into their curriculum.
2. *Capability:* In some instances, staff in organisations are experts in community development or human centred design, but lack

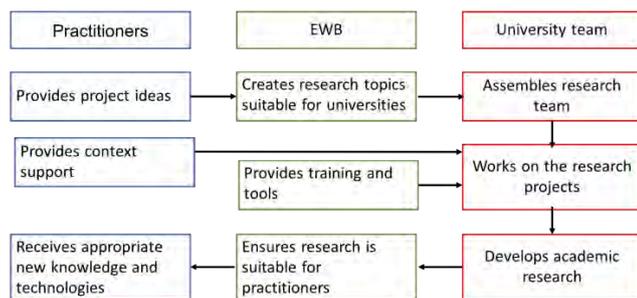
detailed engineering knowledge. Engineering academics and final year students may have this knowledge.

3. *Resources:* There is often a lack of access to assets such as computer software, testing spaces or lab equipment. For example, a previous research project involved recreating a slum dwelling inside a sealed laboratory in order to measure indoor air pollution caused by burning wood. These resources may not have been available to an organisation working in the slums of Mumbai.
4. *Innovation:* Many organisations end up with the same solution time and time again. Students are highly innovative and can sometimes develop new solutions or see a problem in a new light.

The EWB URP process

The process for a typical project is shown in Figure 1. In the collaboration, EWB essentially acts as the interface between the community development organisations and the university researchers. EWB has knowledge to work across both sectors and translates ideas from practitioners into projects for universities that align with the governing Australian Qualification Framework.

Figure 1: Project process across EWB, universities and practitioner organisations



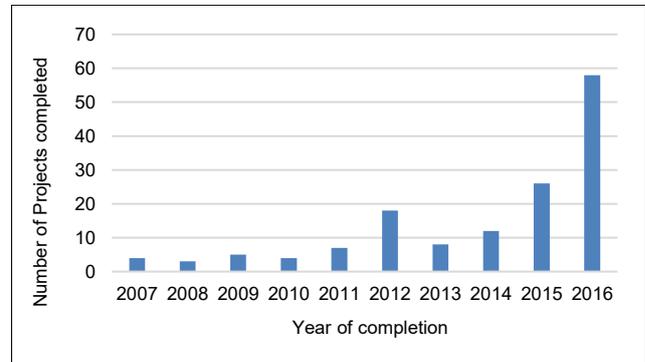
Through the project process, EWB supports students to produce outcomes that are valuable for partners and project recipients. This includes running workshops on humanitarian research skills, requiring reverse project briefs¹, and providing contextual support. The goal here is to take pressure away from the practitioners and provide support to academics who might be able to provide research support but may not have a full understanding of the context.

To achieve its aims, the URP utilises a service-learning educational approach. Here, students provide a ‘service’ to an external partner while receiving formal course credit from their institution to recognise the learning achieved. Service learning is becoming more common in engineering education around the world as a way for students to undertake a real project that empowers them to understand the broader context of engineering practice. Service learning is common in the United States where programmes such as the Engineering Projects in Community Service (EPICS) programme (Zoltowski and Oakes 2014), Service Learning Integrated throughout a College of Engineering (SLICE)² (Duffy et al 2011), Global Teams in Engineering Service (TIES) programmes (Bratton 2014) and the Louisiana State University Community Playground Project (Lima 2014) have been established and operated over

extended periods. As one of the largest programmes, EPICS was established at Purdue University in 1995 to connect engineering students to a range of projects and community partners. EPICS has been replicated at multiple universities in the US (Zoltowski and Oakes 2014). Although the same framework and process may be used at multiple universities, each is responsible for the administration of their own programme including building and maintaining relationships with external partners.

In contrast to US programmes, the EWB URP centralises much of the project administration and relationship management. This works well in the Australian context, which has a smaller overall number of NGOs and universities and potentially less resources available for universities to engage with community partners in service learning. It provides the opportunity for academics without a background in development or community engagement to be involved with projects with a smaller initial time commitment.

Figure 2: Number of completed projects by year in the EWB URP



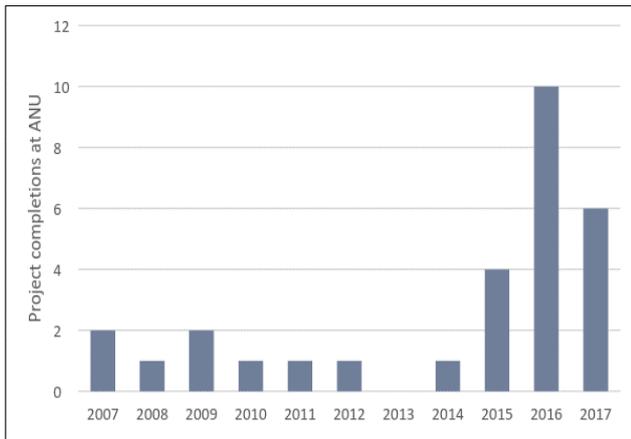
Since 2007, the URP has conducted over 200 collaborative research projects with dozens of development organisations, as shown in Figure 2. The growth in projects seen since 2015 can be attributed to an increase in resources for coordination of the URP as well as the establishment of the EWB Humanitarian Design Summit in January 2015. EWB Summits are two-week international experiences to countries including India, Malaysia, Samoa, Cambodia and Nepal, which introduce students to humanitarian engineering, user-centred design, and community development and engagement.

Case studies of collaboration between EWB and the ANU

The research collaboration between EWB and the Research School of Engineering at The Australian National University (ANU) is one of the longest within the EWB URP. The ANU was the first university to officially participate in 2007 and since then 29 research projects have been completed (or commenced in the first half of 2017) as shown in Figure 3.

The trends shown in Figure 3 at the ANU follow those for the EWB URP as a whole in Figure 2. In addition to the impact that the increase in resources to EWB have had on projects since 2015, the increase at ANU can be attributed to additional interest in the area due to the EWB Summits

Figure 3: EWB research project completions at ANU since 2007 (2017 data shows projects that commenced in the first half of the year)



as well as the establishment of a dedicated elective in the area. Launched in mid-2015, this elective, Engineering for a Humanitarian Context (EfaHC), provides a dedicated course for students interested in the area, creating an elective pathway available to all engineering students through a combination of project-based courses (such as group design and individual research projects), and international experiences (such as the EWB Summit). The final year research project thesis provides students with the opportunity to demonstrate and apply the humanitarian engineering knowledge and skills they have acquired. As an interesting aside, EWB projects at the ANU are attracting a higher percentage of females, 35 per cent compared to the overall participation of 22 per cent in engineering at the ANU.

A synopsis of three projects from the EWB URP undertaken by ANU students in 2015 and 2016 outlining the topic, partners involved and outcomes achieved follows.

Project title: Harnessing solar: A solution for rural Cambodia’s energy needs

Rebecca Watts

On her visit with the EWB Summit, Rebecca investigated the energy situation of Secret Beach, a rural, coastal community supported by the Australian NGO Baby Tree to provide quality education to local children. Rebecca found that residents were charging car batteries at diesel recharging stations, costing both money and time. She found that the diesel recharging stations could be economically replaced with solar panels. On a second visit with the EfaHC course three months later, she installed two household level photovoltaic (PV) and battery systems and followed up with residents on the efficacy of the systems. Outcomes from this project included a journal article in the *Journal of Humanitarian Engineering*, a conference paper in the Asia-Pacific Solar Research Conference, an ANU Student of the Year Award 2015, and successfully installed operational solar systems. Upon graduation, Rebecca commenced a 12 month field job placement with EWB in Cambodia furthering her work.

Project title: PV micro-grid build-own-operate business models for energy services in refugee camps

Marta Irene Feria Cerrada

In 2016, Marta investigated the energy systems of displaced peoples in camps with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and considered the economics of setting up micro grids.

Marta looked at three cases:

- supplying the community with PV electricity for lighting and phone charging;
- supplying the administrative and health facilities with PV electricity; and
- a combination of the two.

She found that for most camps in the Middle East and North Africa, PV could cost effectively displace diesel generation. She took part in the EfaHC course at the start of her project, and while field work was not undertaken, Marta did survey a Médecins Sans Frontières logistician on the assumptions used in her modelling. Outcomes included a journal article on development targeting in the *Journal of Humanitarian Engineering*, the Industrial Engineering and Telecommunications (Madrid) Award for Engineers in Development, and a full time job in Madrid.

Project title: Rubbish in rural Cambodia—a step towards sustainability in communities

Ed Creaser

Following his participation in the EWB Summit in 2016 where his team explored waste management, Ed collaborated with the Cambodian Rural Development Team (CRDT) investigating the waste disposal situation for a community living on an Island in the Mekong. Initially Ed set out to investigate whether the waste situation could be improved by moving the burning of waste from piles to a formal incinerator. The true value and success of this work was the study and data collection on waste management in Cambodia including the rural village, which is providing aims and priorities for future projects. A journal article capturing the community engagement, perceptions and fieldwork is being developed for JHE.

Engagement with the programme

The EWB URP at ANU has involved seven different supervisors since 2007. The reasons for academics to engage with the programme include:

- access to EWB, its networks and through it, a range of community and practitioner organisations;
- ongoing relationship management with external partners;
- alignment with EWB Summits as preparation for students and potential for fieldwork and data collection; and
- immediate access to project topics, including the real-world focus as well as the convenience of having a topic prepared in advance that can be incorporated into coursework.

Informal feedback on outcomes by students, supervisors and partners has been positive with students reporting high levels of motivation for undertaking their projects as well as more significant learning as this feedback shows:

Undertaking an [EWB service-learning] honours project in humanitarian engineering [at the ANU] changed my view of engineering, and connected my learning to the real world—a world that could be improved through solving problems using my skills as an engineer (ANU Engineering EWB URP Student 2009)

My greatest achievement [as a student at the ANU] was undertaking and completing my final year honours project. I learnt so much, and it was very rewarding to look back on my work and see what I had achieved (ANU Engineering EWB URP Student 2016)

ANU has established partnerships with other humanitarian engineering organisations with collaborations and regular project opportunities available through Enable Development and Abundant Water (both of which were established by ANU graduates) and TADACT (Technical Aid for the Disabled ACT). Due to the increase in student interest since 2015, an informal research group has been formed in the area—the Humanitarian Engineering and Educational Development Research Group (HEERG)—to provide a focus and support network for students and academics. The group serves to build a community of practice, which can be particularly helpful for first time supervising academics who may have no previous engagement with EWB or community development, providing a base for potential integration of research and expertise into longer-term research including postgraduate projects.

Discussion and lessons learnt

Key to the success of the research partnership between the ANU and EWB has been the involvement of staff from both organisations in a range of projects building from shared goals and a solid working relationship. As part of the broader collaboration, three academics from the ANU gained humanitarian engineering knowledge by participating in EWB's Summits as academic mentors. These academics provide firsthand accounts of the development goals achieved under the programmes as well as explored potential research areas themselves.

The design of the URP enables academics and institutions to be involved based on their interest and commitments. At the ANU, this has allowed academics and students to build their expertise in a specific area and has led to three further partnerships being established with community organisations. The establishment of the HEERG at the ANU has created a hub to which other academics can affiliate. The model incorporating both research opportunities and curriculum development has been successfully used by other universities with which EWB partners. Key benefits are:

- URP attracts highly motivated and engaged students (not only academically capable);

- participation in EWB Summits as preparation for students;
- the experience is formative to both students and academics;
- the opportunity to disseminate research and outcomes in the *Journal of Humanitarian Engineering* upon completion of research projects;
- building on research partnerships to support collaboration on curriculum development, such as at the ANU with the EfaHC course;
- student understanding of the role of research, as projects are often complex due to their context, and from this students begin to recognise that small incremental change is typical and important; and
- a much greater participation from females in engineering education.

In establishing the partnership for the URP between EWB and the ANU, a number of lessons can be drawn for other institutions and programmes addressing the UN SDGs through research and development:

- Collaborations need to evolve from shared missions and visions built on long term partnerships;
- partners need to acknowledge and build from individual strengths and expertise;
- partnerships should provide additional opportunities to build expertise and knowledge to support and strengthen outcomes. For example, opportunities for supervisors to participate in EWB Summits help provide greater depth in supervision of projects. Benefits must be clear and identifiable for all stakeholders. The structure of the URP makes it easy for supervisors and students to integrate projects into existing coursework. Partners gain access to resources and expertise beyond their capacity. EWB is contributing to ongoing research and practice improvements across the field of humanitarian engineering and the SDGs.

Conclusions

EWB's URP is providing benefits to participating students, supervisors and community partners. Long term collaborations between EWB and universities like the ANU have been shown to create a stable platform from which engineering-focused, sustainable development research can be conducted. These collaborative programmes empower university students and staff to engage with challenges and opportunities faced by practitioners, to enhance development impact related to the SDGs. Stakeholder engagement and management of expectations have proven to be crucial skills in ensuring the success of the programme.

Notes

- ¹ A reverse brief provides an opportunity for the project coordinator to discuss their brief with students to ensure students understand the research process and to identify any additional support the students may need.
- ² Service-Learning Integrated throughout a College of Engineering (SLICE).

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Partnerships between NGOs and corporations supporting sustainable fisheries and equitable development

Annisa Sabrina Hartoto, The University of Melbourne

Partnerships for sustainable development

In recent decades, trans-national corporations have become more dominant in the public sphere, particularly through collaborative arrangements with NGOs in the pursuit of sustainable development goals. Such arrangements emerged notably in the context of certifying partnerships along the global value chain of agricultural products, such as palm oil, coffee, timber, and fisheries products. Product certifications provided a tangible way for corporations and NGOs to address social and environmental issues within market-driven mechanisms.

Nonetheless, questions have been raised about the 'output legitimacy' of these partnerships, and their effectiveness in achieving regulatory objectives (McCarthy 2012; Glasbergen 2013; B ckstrand 2006). Moreover, studies have shown that these partnerships further marginalise small scale farmers and artisanal fishermen, who remain with low bargaining power and inequitable power relations in the global value chain (McCarthy, Gillespie and Zen 2012; Bitzer and Glasbergen 2015). This paper explores how the public and private sectors, NGOs, consumers and artisanal fishermen engage with each other in the World Wildlife Fund's (WWF) Indonesia Seafood Savers programme.

WWF campaign programmes

FAO reports that world production, consumption and demand for fish will increase in the next decade (FAO 2016) and will lead to overfishing and illegal unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing practices, that have already resulted in economic and ecological consequences. However, market-driven processes can be a driver for sustainability in the fisheries sector, particularly through seafood guides, eco-labels and certifications.

Seafood Savers programme

As the global fisheries sector becomes increasingly pressured to meet consumers' demands, the need for more sustainable fisheries practices increases. WWF Indonesia seeks to address the issues in sustainable fisheries, not only by intensifying efforts to change the behaviour of irresponsible actors, but also by increasing public awareness among those who implement responsible and sustainable practices (WWF Indonesia 2017a). In 2009, WWF launched the Seafood Savers programme to provide a business-to-business platform to promote fisheries practices and businesses that are environmentally friendly. The programme refers to two sustainable and responsible fisheries certifications: Marine Stewardship Council (MSC) for the capture fisheries sector and Aquaculture Stewardship Council (ASC) for the aquaculture sector. The programme activities include:

- appreciation for sustainable companies;
- assisting companies in the certification process;
- facilitating the distribution of sustainable fisheries products between producers, retailers and financial institutions;
- educating consumers and producers; and
- pushing for national policies that support sustainable fisheries industries (ibid).

#BeliYangBaik campaign

To complement the Seafood Savers programme, WWF Indonesia also initiated a campaign targeted towards producers, retailers and consumers regarding sustainable and responsible production and consumption. The campaign is given a hashtag #BeliYangBaik, which means 'buy good products' in Indonesian language. The main objectives of the programme are to educate the public and to raise consumer awareness to use environmentally sound products, as well as to create a market for sustainable products. It also facilitates promotion and branding of sustainable product companies. As an example, the campaign published and promoted a Seafood Advisor that provides a guideline for consumers when choosing and consuming marine products, particularly those certified by MSC and ASC. The campaign works not only for the fisheries sector, but also on different certification schemes, such as the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) for timber, paper and pulp products, as well as the Roundtable of Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO) certification for palm oil-based products. The programme also promotes sustainable lifestyles, for example, through water and energy savings.

Partnership mapping

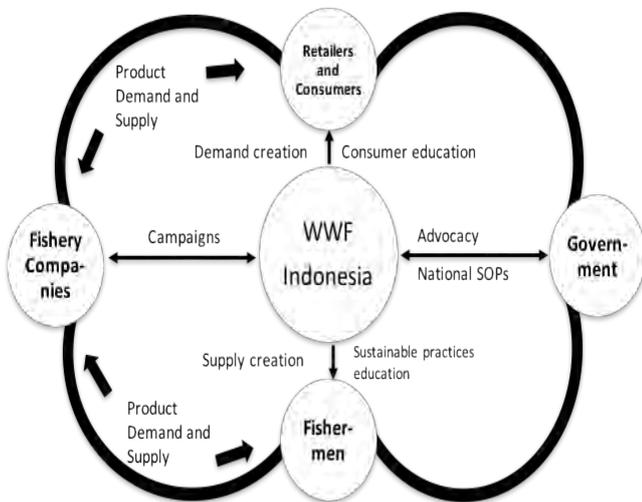
WWF Indonesia engages with different stakeholders in implementing both programmes. The following section maps out and addresses the involvement of each stakeholder in the partnership for sustainable fisheries, as illustrated in Figure 1.

WWF roles in the partnership

WWF takes centre stage in the innovative sustainable fisheries partnerships, creating new linkages between the business sector, retailers and consumers, small scale fishermen, as well as the government. The creation of new linkages across different sectors, from local to international, from environmental to social and political issues, is one of the basic functions of environmental NGOs (Mori 1999 in Sayer 2007). In their work with the business sector, for instance, WWF Indonesia combines several approaches to partnerships, for example, by integrating sustainable business practices into corporate operations and value chains, as

well as by ‘raising awareness and mobilising consumer action through campaigns and communications’ (WWF Indonesia 2016:2). The former is implemented through the Seafood Savers programme, while the latter is through the #BeliYangBaik campaign.

Figure 1: Mapping of WWF partnerships in sustainable fisheries



These two programmes feed off each other by facilitating and promoting change in both upstream and downstream industries. Sustainable fisheries practices are introduced to companies and small-scale fishermen through the Fisheries Improvement Program and Aquaculture Improvement Program as a prerequisite for MSC and ASC certifications (Seafood Savers 2017). In addition, WWF Indonesia also publishes Better Management Practices guidelines for various marine products (WWF Indonesia 2017b). Change in the downstream industries is initiated through the responsible consumption campaign by creating demand for sustainable fisheries products amongst retailers and consumers, which in turn will encourage and drive sustainable practices in the upstream value chain (Linton 2005).

The roles of WWF Indonesia in the partnerships can be analysed through the typology of NGO-corporate relationships. As shown in Figure 2, Elkington (1997) categorises four types of NGOs by two separate dimensions of partnerships, that is, the extent to which the NGO integrates the private sector in key environmental issues, and whether the NGO focusses on individual companies or the industry in general. It can be construed through their work with the business sector that WWF Indonesia plays the roles as integrator-discriminator, categorised as ‘dolphin’, in their partnership with the companies. WWF Indonesia places a high priority on developing productive and long lasting partnerships with the business sector, based on ‘a common understanding of issues, shared ambitions or activities, and a willingness to speak out in public’ (WWF Indonesia 2016:2). Moreover, WWF Indonesia conducts a deep and ‘systematic assessment of the targets and the outcomes’ they seek to achieve in their partnership with the business sector (ibid:3). Here they work with individual companies and track their progress against the certification benchmarks. Thus, the

dolphin type of partnerships may have been appropriate terms of engagement for WWF Indonesia to employ these strategies, as both the public and private sectors prefer to engage with this relatively rare type of NGO (Elkington 1998). Effective partnerships can be established because both parties share win-win solutions—for companies to gain business benefits and for NGOs to push for a sustainable development agenda.

Figure 2: The categorisations of NGO-corporate partnerships

NGO-corporate relationships matrix (Source: Elkington 1997)	Polarisers Aim to achieve change by disrupting the status quo through confrontation.	Integrators Aim to achieve change through constructive partnerships with businesses, governments and other stakeholders.
Discriminators Study targets to understand how best to engage them.	Orca (killer whale)	Dolphin
Non-discriminators Do not discriminate between targets.	Shark	Sea lion

Business rationale for partnerships

There are currently 14 registered corporate members and five deactivated members in the Seafood Savers programme (Seafood Savers 2017). Businesses engage in these certifying partnerships for several possible reasons: to improve their branding through consumer awareness; as risk management and reduction strategies from social auditing; and to increase their credibility and public acknowledgement as an environmentally conscious company (Conroy 2001). These reasons enable companies to gain a comparative advantage over their competitors, by discovering new political, social, cultural and environmental opportunities and by building barriers of entry (Sayer 2007; Waddell 2000). Partnerships with NGOs also allow companies to adopt new perspectives on issues concerning local and global communities, and to gain insights into regulations and media interests (Plante and Bendell 1998). Partnerships in sustainability may also drive direct business incentives by new market development, or by expanding the markets of sustainable products for established companies (Waddell 2000). Furthermore, partnerships with corporations may contribute to increased and stabilised supply of sustainable products, which will increase buying habits of retailers and consumers to consume responsibly.

Engagement with fishermen

WWF Indonesia also works with small scale fishermen to increase their awareness of sustainable fishing practices. WWF facilitates training, education and site visits for groups of fishermen or aquaculture operators. The training introduces sustainable fisheries and aquaculture practices as mentioned in the Better Management Practices (BMP)

practical guidelines (WWF Indonesia 2017b). BMPs are developed through multi-stakeholder consultations including fishermen, the government, buyers and exporters, as well as universities. The BMP training itself serves as a collective learning and sharing mechanism that feeds into the improvement of the BMPs as living documents (WWF Indonesia 2017b). By adopting sustainable practices, fishermen may have higher bargaining power with fishing companies that buy their catch. It corrects information asymmetry of prices and market access. Sustainable practices also have economic incentives—the produce is more attractive for export markets and the fishermen can bargain for higher prices for their catch. Interestingly, the adoption of sustainable practices can also increase the bargaining power of fish buyers and exporters to demand sustainable produce from fishermen (Bragt 2015). Certification can lead to ‘more buyer power in fish value chains’ due to higher industry concentrations (Ponte 2012).

Engagement with the government

Environmental NGOs can also play a crucial role in lobbying government for policies and practices to be applicable to the entire business sector (Linton 2005). In their Seafood Savers programme, WWF Indonesia engages in public policy discussions on issues pertaining to sustainable fisheries. For example, as a joint effort with the Government of Indonesia, WWF Indonesia conducts workshops with the private sector to introduce sustainable fishing practices and to raise awareness on MSC and ASC certification. WWF Indonesia is also in consultation with the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries to develop the BMPs (WWF Indonesia 2017b). Furthermore, WWF Indonesia signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Ministry as an effort to enhance and synergise their partnership and joint commitment for sustainable and responsible management fisheries (WWF Indonesia 2010).

Mapping WWF Indonesia’s engagement with the public sector using the framework developed by Najam (2000), it can be interpreted that both institutional actors have a cooperative relationship. In this context, the two institutions both share similar policy goals and similar strategies. This cooperation is symbiotic in nature, whereby both stakeholders work together and coexist for mutual advantage. Joint activities undertaken include promotion of marine protected areas, better management practices, and developing research and policies in sustainable fisheries (WWF Indonesia 2010).

Figure 3: NGO-Government relations matrix

Four C's of NGO-Government relations		Goals (ends)	
		Similar	Dissimilar
Preferred Strategies (Means)	Similar	Cooperation	Cooptation
	Dissimilar	Complementarity	Confrontation

Critical reflections

Several questions arise in analysing these partnerships between NGOs, the government and the private sector. The

following section will address each of these questions to critically reflect on the effectiveness of the partnerships for different stakeholders.

Does the market-based approach work?

Market-based approaches can potentially generate more sustainable change than confrontational approach. Nonetheless, certification partnerships in the Indonesian fisheries sector are confined in a niche market. The relative small number of Seafood Savers members could mean that only a certain portion of the fisheries market share are sustainable produce. Due to unreliable supply, sustainable produce has limited distribution on the ground and is in competition with other, non-certified products. This may discourage companies to adopt sustainable practices. In addition, consumer awareness remains relatively low in this context. If the market-oriented approach is ineffective in this partnership, in general the corporate sector will be reluctant to adopt conservation mechanisms and policy measures that can negatively affect its economic growth (Lovera 2017).

Is the impact equitable?

Can certification-based partnerships correct inequality and power imbalances in the fishery value chain? Certification may strengthen the comparative advantages of large-scale fisheries companies, while at the same time standardised practices can marginalise artisanal fishermen. Moreover, eco-labelling can be seen as a neo-liberal tool to enforce Western standards under the guise of sustainable practices. Eco-labelling increasingly becomes a requirement for exported products; as developed countries are more progressive in terms of certifications, certifications are at risk of entrenching fishermen and companies in developing countries in the fishery market. Even in developed countries, while the price premium of eco-labelled fish is evident at the retail level, it does not necessarily translate into price premium at the producer level (Roheim, Asche and Santos 2011; Blomquist, Bartolino and Waldo 2015). This inequitable trade has exacerbated poverty and disparities between and within countries (Martens 2017). Furthermore, market-based instruments may risk marginalising small-scale fishermen, indigenous groups, local communities and women, as certification partnerships tend to work for the interests of the corporate sector (Lovera 2017).

What is the extent of participation?

If major seafood companies make commitments to MSC and ASC products, the entire industry may be compelled to reform its current practices (Ponte 2012). However, the participation of corporations and fishermen groups in the programme is voluntary; there is no penalty for not following FIP, AIP or BMP. Thus, partnerships may be transient, as indicated by a number of companies that become deactivated in the Seafood Savers programme. Companies withdrew from partnerships due to non-compliance or changes in internal management or corporate strategy. Furthermore, other studies have postulated that certifications have marginalised fisheries in developing countries, particularly the small-scale

fisheries (ibid). The costs of certifications, particularly in relation to the required change of technology and practices to comply with the prescriptive sustainability standards, may further deter small scale fisheries to participate in the certification programmes (Pérez-Ramírez et al 2012).

To what extent does it change consumer behaviour?

Measuring consumer behaviour of responsible consumption has its challenges. One difficulty is that consumer awareness does not necessarily translate into actual behaviour, thus researchers need to differentiate between intention and environmentally responsible behaviour (Follows and Jobber 2000). Responsible consumption is not only influenced by knowledge, but also by situational and psychological factors (Barr 2003). Situational variables include availability and access to environmentally responsible products and services, where consumers may only adopt responsible behaviour if costs are low and inconvenience is minimised (Diekmann and Preisendörfer 2003). In this low-cost theory, economic rationale still plays a role in purchase behaviour as eco-labelled products may cost more than conventional products. Ethically conscious consumers may potentially be in the middle to higher income groups as they have more access to knowledge, have higher affordability and intrinsic motivations (Guarin and Knorringer 2014). Thus, eco-labelling may marginalise poor consumers who cannot afford sustainably caught fish. Consumers in developing countries are more concerned about the price, rather than the sustainability of the products (Pérez-Ramírez et al 2012). Furthermore, consumer behaviour is also affected by perceptions of the availability of alternative products (Rex 2002). If supply is not sustained, consumers and retailers may easily revert to non-sustainably caught fish.

Does it yield an 'output legitimacy'?

The development of FIP and AIP signifies an input legitimacy of the certification partnerships between WWF, the industry, researchers, and the public sector. It signifies a consensus about processes needed to achieve the sustainability goal among the various stakeholders in the fisheries industry (Glasbergen 2013). The WWF partnership approach, however, is still lacking an 'output legitimacy', where there is an external acceptance of the rule system. Output legitimacy is about coverage, efficacy, and enforcement (ibid). While WWF's partnerships may appear effective, they have relatively limited coverage and there is little scope for enforcement. Certification and standards are not designed to replace regulatory objectives and democratic institutions. To enable these partnerships to be vehicles to achieve sustainable development goals, the state needs to strengthen their roles in public-private partnerships and to transform sectoral policies that support the growth of domestic enterprises. Instead of vacating the public space by deregulating areas of trade, investment and finance, governments should promote human rights and sustainability through sound social, environmental, and developmental policymaking (Martens 2017).

Conclusions

Most of Indonesia's fisheries sector is not well integrated in its value chains of production, and this may be counter-productive for sustainability. Public-private partnerships may serve as an effective mechanism to integrate the sector. The paper underlines several issues that arise from such partnerships, using WWF Indonesia's experience and highlights questions for future research and policy work to rethink partnerships with the corporate sector. Symbiotic partnerships can contribute to sustainable development goals, particularly where mutual goals are pursued. Sustainable partnerships based on certification schemes may also be more effective if there are stronger legal reforms, effective state engagement, and supporting accountability mechanisms.

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How child and youth participation links to development effectiveness: Findings from a three year joint agency research project

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Over a three-year period, research was carried out in three countries through a research partnership between Australian based NGOs, their in-country partners, a private consultancy and an academic partner to explore the contribution of child and youth participation to development effectiveness. This paper explores the practice and outcomes of the research.

Research focus

Since the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted in 1990, the ways in which children and youth participate in development programmes has received much attention from both development professionals and academics. A range of different ways to engage children and youth in development has been documented (Asker and Gero 2012). Despite this understanding, the questions of if, and how, their participation contributes to development effectiveness had not been addressed directly and remains unanswered for many development professionals. A research partnership was formed to offer insights to these questions, and better understand if, and how, child and youth participation contributes to development effectiveness. The field-based research was conducted in Fiji, Laos and Nepal over two phases between 2013 and 2016.

Three learning areas and specific questions framed the research and guided data collection, analysis and write up. Learning area one explored the links between child and youth participation and development effectiveness. Learning area two explored the contributions of child and youth participation to programme outcomes, and learning area three used reflective questions to explore child and youth participation in research practice.

The research was carried out in communities in Fiji, Laos and Nepal in projects which employed child and youth participation. Three different communities were selected in each of the three countries. For the second phase of the research, each research site was formed into a case study. Prerequisites to choosing the research sites included: good child and youth participation practices (including having children and youth as partners or leaders); long-term community development activities; and a capacity to undertake research.

Contribution of child and youth participation to development effectiveness

In order to explore the link between child and youth participation and development effectiveness, a working definition of development effectiveness was prepared for the research. The Development Effectiveness Mapping Tool (ISF:UTS et al 2017) identifies five characteristics:

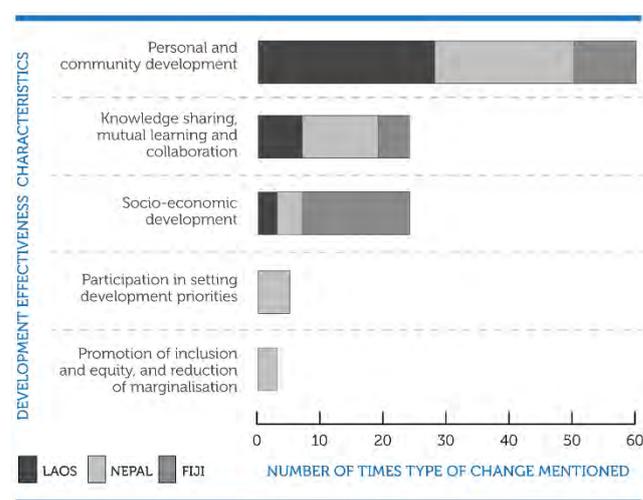
- participation in setting development priorities;
- promotion of inclusion and equity, and reduction of marginalisation;
- knowledge sharing, mutual learning and collaboration;
- personal and community development; and
- socio economic development.

The tool also identifies examples of changes resulting from child and youth participation specific to children and youth themselves, and also changes for parents, family, school, community and local government. The development effectiveness characteristics are depicted in illustrated form to help enable effective engagement of children and youth in the research.

The research revealed broad, multi-dimensional and interlinked contributions of child and youth participation across all five dimensions of development effectiveness defined for the research. All participants in the research, young and old, shared that they valued the contributions that children and youth made to create positive change within their families and communities. The research carried out two levels of inquiry which demonstrated how children and youth contributed to development effectiveness.

The first area of inquiry involved children and youth being invited to share individual ‘stories of change’ resulting from their participation in development projects. Through the research activities these changes were then linked to the characteristics of development effectiveness. All five characteristics were demonstrated through the children’s ‘stories of change’ as illustrated in Figure 1 below. In Laos and Nepal,

Figure 1: Total number of changes shared by children and youth in each country and how they link to development effectiveness characteristics

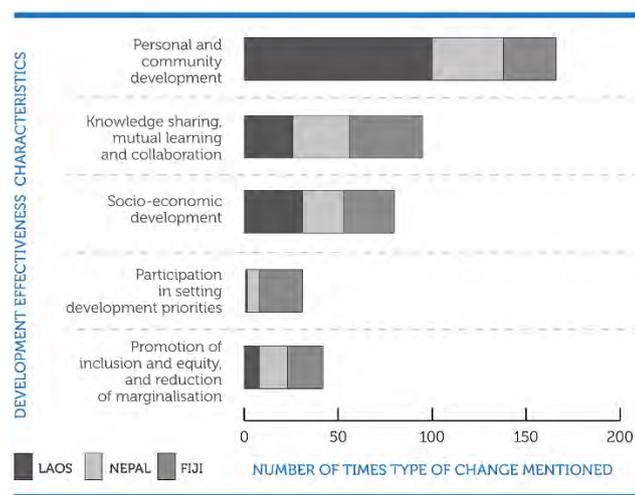


the changes most commonly reported by children and youth were linked to personal and community development. In Fiji, the most reported type of change was socioeconomic development. For all three countries, the most commonly reported changes matched the focus of the project activities in the country context. For example, the ChildFund Laos 'Pass it Back' project in Paka village aimed to build life skills in children and youth through a sport for development programme, and research participants described improvements in personal development. In Fiji, participants in the beekeeping project, an intentional livelihoods project, told stories about socioeconomic development.

The second area of inquiry focussed only on one 'story of change' chosen in each research location. Interviews with adults in the community (parents, teachers and community leaders) and participatory activities with children explored the flow-on effects of the chosen story of change within the community.

Overall, the flow-on changes shared by participants in each country were found to link to all five of the development effectiveness characteristics. The presence of all five characteristics suggests that child and youth participation can contribute to multiple types of change which benefit themselves, their families and their communities. The flow-on changes described by children, youth and adults and how they link to different characteristics of development effectiveness are shown in Figure 2. The numbers in the figure show how many times 'flow-on changes' were recorded and show slight differences between countries. In Laos, children, youth and adults described personal and community development more often than they did in Nepal and

Figure 2: Number of flow-on changes described by children, youth and adults across the three countries (Fiji, Laos, Nepal) and links to development effectiveness characteristics



Fiji. This may be reflective of the project focus. In Nepal and Fiji there was a more even spread of flow-on changes, possibly because the projects had been running longer. The research revealed, as demonstrated in Figure 2, changes that involved child and youth participation reached far beyond the initial changes first described and experienced by individual children/youth. The participation of children and

youth created a broad set of different yet interconnected changes in communities.

The research revealed that child and youth participation led to positive changes within children and youth themselves, and that these changes enabled children and youth to influence broader changes within families and communities. As described by the research participants, child and youth participation can bring about benefits related to personal and community development, such as improved equity, greater social inclusion and improved self-esteem among children and youth. It appears that these benefits form the building blocks for good development outcomes. In the research they were found to contribute to broader sets of changes, such as socioeconomic development, improved health and access to education. Child and youth participation resulted in some immediate positive changes for children, youth and adults. These changes, as described by the research participants, show that there are immediate benefits of supporting children and youth which go beyond preparing them to be leaders in the future.

Contribution of child and youth participation changes in relationships

A key contribution of child and youth participation to development effectiveness was changes to multiple sets of relationships—within peer groups, between children and adults and among adults themselves. Both children themselves and also adults interviewed for the research described how child and youth participation led to changes in relationships and shifts in power between children, youth and other family members, and to changes in relationships and shifts in power within the broader community. Contribution of child and youth participation was evident in all nine case studies and described by children and youth and adults alike.

Examples of changes in relationships between children and youth included: child-to-child and youth-to-youth learning (Fiji, Laos, and Nepal); greater trust between siblings and friends (Laos and Nepal), as noted by a male child in Nepal: 'My sisters talk about their problems with friends. They are more confident and have raised awareness within the family'; greater respect and generosity between friends (Laos and Nepal); and children becoming role models for other children in their villages (Laos).

Examples of changes in relationships between children and youth and adults included: village and community leaders including children and youth in community events and decision making (Fiji, Laos and Nepal); parents listening and respecting their children more (Fiji, Laos and Nepal), as described by a female child in Laos: 'Parents listen more to the children's opinions'; and children and youth feeling more confident to speak with adults (Fiji, Laos and Nepal).

Examples of changes in relationships between adults included: allowing women and girls to stay in the home and be included in community life during menstruation (Nepal); and the inclusion of 'married-in' people from outside the village in community life (Fiji), as described by a mother in Lutukina Village: 'In the past two years the relationships in

the village with us women who are married into the village is very good...now people are listening to each other, and there is no division.'

This research finding highlights the significant contribution of children and youth to broad societal changes underpinned by values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours (Armitage and Mark 2001), though it was beyond the scope of the research to assess the sustained practice of these changes. It is recommended that development practitioners continue to assess the contribution over a longer-term period and assess the reach of changes within regular monitoring and evaluation.

Contribution of child and youth participation to project outcomes

The changes described by the research participants (children, youth and adults) in each location aligned with the changes that the development projects aimed to achieve. This is an assurance to NGOs who participated in the research, demonstrating that, from the perspectives of local stakeholders, project objectives are being met and in some cases exceeded. The research findings also highlight the link between achievement of project objectives and how this contributes to broader development effectiveness outcomes as described in the Development Effectiveness Mapping Tool.

An example of alignment between changes resulting from child and youth participation and project objectives, as described by research participants, can be shown in Laos. The Child Clubs project in Dindam village in Laos focussed on increasing children's understanding of child protection issues and duty bearers' obligations, and focussed on children sharing their knowledge with their peers, families and community. For example, a female child noted: 'Since they joined the Child Clubs, the children advise people to use the toilets instead of open defecation.' The success of the project was demonstrated through the adults having increased respect for children's opinions and treating children better within the community, as described by a female child: 'Parents learned about child rights, and after that they don't use child labour too much.'

Child and youth participation in partnership

A key finding of the research was that children, youth and adults alike, valued the role of children and youth as partners in development.

In the research, children, youth and adults were invited to explore the role of child and youth participation in development activities. They were separately asked which role they most preferred for children and youth: as beneficiaries; as partners; or as leaders in change. Within the second phase of the research, in six out of the nine research locations, all participants (children, youth and adults), described a preference for working in partnership. For example, a male child in Laos noted: 'Because there are children and adults working together to make change. Children and youth learn together.' In the other three research

sites, children and youth and adults valued different forms of participation—either leadership or partnership. For example, a teacher in Nepal recognised the leadership for children: 'The Child Club members organised the quiz competition on their own initiative. They asked Prayas (the local partner) and teachers for their support in conducting the programme.'

The research defined child and youth participation using DFID's 'three-lens approach' (DFID 2010), which identifies youth as beneficiaries, partners or leaders. Definitions adapted from DFID's approach are outlined in Table 1.

Table 1: Typology of child and youth participation

Children and youth as beneficiaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Target group is adequately informed. • Participation explicitly focuses on children and youth issues through documentation. • Participation can prepare the ground for working as partners.
Children and youth as partners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation involves collaborative interventions, in which children and youth are fully consulted and informed. • Participation implies mutual cooperation and responsibility. • Participation recognises that children and youth generally need experience working at this level before progressing to becoming leaders and initiators of development (if appropriate)—a progression which not all will want, or be able to, make.
Children and youth leaders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation enables child/youth-initiated and directed interventions. • Participation opening up a space for child/youth-led decision making (delegation) within existing structures, systems and processes.

The research revealed reasons why partnership was preferred and described value in terms of working together, learning and creating unity. As noted by a male child in Laos: 'Because there are children and adults working together to make change, children and youth learn together to make the change.' In Fiji, youth and adults also pointed to the importance of working together as partners to create change. For example, in Batiri village, the village headman noted: 'I prefer that we work together. If we don't work together there won't be unity.' In Lutukina village, Fiji, a young male commented: 'We (people in the community) need togetherness and commitment from both youths and adults to do the work well, especially in the village.' In Fiji, participation of youth through partnership is an important change given that traditionally, youth do not have a strong role or voice in village decision making.

The research highlighted the value of designing approaches for child and youth participation that enable opportunities for children, youth and adults to work as partners. The research demonstrated that adults, children and youth all viewed working as partners as the most important and effective way to create positive change.

The research partnership

This section provides an overview of the practice of research partnership and the complementarity of partners—

who provided a rich research experience coupled with rigour and quality design and practice, localisation and relevance—to produce quality and applicable findings.

Three ANGOs and in-country partner organisations conducted the research: ChildFund Australia with ChildFund Laos in Laos; Transform Aid International with United Mission to Nepal (UMN) and Prayas Nepal in Nepal; and Live & Learn Australia with Live & Learn Fiji. The research was supported by an independent consultancy, InSIGHT Sustainability; a university partner, the Institute for Sustainable Futures University of Technology Sydney (ISF:UTS); and a volunteer Peer Review Group of child and development and research specialists. The research provided an opportunity for the complementarity of partners' experience and expertise.

Research design and practice

The collaborative research design was led by ISF:UTS and informed by consideration of quality in qualitative research. Lincoln and Guba's (1981; 1985) criteria for qualitative research includes two dimensions—trustworthiness and authenticity—which informed the research practice. Demonstration of these quality characteristics was evident in the research.

The research design required a tiered approach with shared responsibility between the partners for data collection, analysis and write up. The research was primarily designed by ISF:UTS, the ANGOs and InSIGHT Sustainability in Australia, with review and input by in-country partners. A workshop for the research partners was held in Sydney first to prepare and refine data collection tools and prepare in-country researcher training. Tools were further refined in each country to ensure relevance to local context and research participants. The ANGOs, the independent consultant and their in-country partners conducted training for local researchers to facilitate participatory processes and ensure ethical research practice with children and youth. 'Learning Circles' were designed to enable active participation and the voice of children and youth. Detailed facilitator guides and 'note taking guides' were prepared to ensure rigour in the research practice and consistency across all research sites and the three country locations.

Analysis of research data also involved a tiered practice with shared responsibility across all partners. First stage was the preparation of collation reports, 'Change Story Reports', for each research site. In-country partners were responsible for preparing the Change Story Reports drawing on multiple 'Note Taker booklets' from 'Learning Circles' with children and youth and interviews with adults. The reports captured quotes as well as early analysis in response to the research questions. The second stage involved a review of the collation reports by ANGO staff to ensure the quality of the audit trail, linking raw data as evidence of research findings. The third stage involved ISF:UTS drawing on the collation reports to prepare a synthesis in response to the research questions. The 'Change Story Reports' from each research site were also employed to prepare detailed case studies for each community, which were included in the Final Learning

Paper. Guided by all partners' interests, the researchers sought to provide synthesised findings from all research sites, and also provide rich learnings that could be understood and used in local contexts.

Ethical research

Ethical research was an important consideration for the research partnership. The Peer Review Group, comprising academics and experts in the field of child participation and child rights, provided an important contribution to the development of guidance on ethical research practice. The Peer Review Group, ISF:UTS and ANGO practitioners developed an approach together that would work effectively in practice and ensure guidance was in line with the standards 'Principles and Guidelines for ethical research and evaluation in development' (ACFID 2016). The ethical guidance documents developed were therefore detailed and included in-country researcher training. Planned practice was modified in the field and these changes were documented to enable ethical practice to be continually refined within the two research phases.

Managing working relationships

There were a range of working relationships that needed to be managed within the research partnership. First, the Peer Reference Group was coordinated by ANGOs and met quarterly on average throughout the three-year partnership. This group provided valuable comments and insight on key milestones throughout the research, including research design and questions and review of draft reports. Second, the Sydney based ANGOs, academic partner and independent consultant met regularly. Face-to-face meetings provided an opportunity to build relationships, share working practices and cocreate the research practice and outcomes. Two partnership review meetings were held after each research phase to reflect on partnership practices, providing an opportunity to consider what worked well and what areas needed improvement. These meetings offered opportunities for each partner to share their experience and consider how to strengthen practice for the partnership. The research project was evaluated after the second phase.

Broader consultations with in-country partners were also carried out after each phase, to gather their insights on the practice of research and to be informed for future efforts. In-country partners were invited to complete an online survey and all partners participated in a teleconference following each research phase. Similarly, these processes provided an opportunity to hear different perspectives about the partnership and how the research was carried out in communities.

Experience of research partnership

Informed by this three-year experience, a lot has been learnt about carrying out research in partnership, and insights are offered that may be of value to others considering taking up the baton and contributing to knowledge and learning about development practice. The research project was founded by

high level support from all organisations and endorsed by chief executive commitment to the research. This ensured the continuation of the research across many years, staffing changes and the changing context of development. The key individuals of the research also established a shared purpose and commitment. Trust and relationships were built over time, which required continuous effort and investment. This is especially important where the process is emergent and there is a need for flexibility and adaptation along the way.

Within any partnership there is a need to establish rules of engagement and to ensure there is a clear understanding of ways of working, roles, responsibilities and protocols for decision making. In order to create a shared and co-created research design, time and money is needed to allow for input from all partners—especially important when considering partnerships. This needs to be planned and managed.

There is value in conducting research in partnership, as highlighted through the experience of this research partnership. There is also value in harnessing individual and organisational strengths to ensure the research becomes greater than the sum of its parts and is enriched by a diverse range of expertise and perspectives. This perspective is necessary to recognise the challenges of achieving the Sustainable Development Goals. There is opportunity for the sector to value research partnerships, not just in terms of research findings, but also to value and improve the practice of research and partnership, and value its contribution across multiple dimensions.

Conclusion

The practice and outcomes of this joint agency research project focussed on exploring the contribution of child and youth participation to development effectiveness, highlight the value of partnership across many dimensions. First, the research found that the preferred practice of child and youth participation, as described by children and youth themselves and also adults, is in partnership. Second, the

research found multidimensional and interlinked contributions of child and youth participation to a range of development effectiveness characteristics, highlighting the value of partnership to achieving positive change. Third, the practice of partnership to carry out the research enabled contributions across multiple partners drawing on a diverse range of experience, expertise and complementary knowledge. As demonstrated through the research findings and also the research practice, enabling the best contribution of partnership requires an inclusive approach, planning and ongoing reflection by all partners, and refinement of practice to achieve the best development outcomes.

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Building equity and embracing risk for innovative partnerships: A case study of the Beacon School Initiative, Cambodia

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Sections of the development sector have become increasingly critical of working in partnerships as Brehm (2004:1) notes, ‘partnerships have become an ideal, which promises so much and yet fails to meet expectations in practice’. A common criticism is that equity cannot be achieved in a partnership in practice due to power imbalances created when one party, typically an organisation based in a developed country, is a donor, and the other party is the implementer (generally a local organisation in a developing country). It is thought that the power imbalance removes essential qualities of a partnership, such as equity, respect and trust (Vincent and Byrne 2006:387). Indeed, Lister (2000:3) claims that the control of money by one party ‘may make true partnership impossible’. However, we argue that this is not always the case. This paper explores a case study of the Beacon School Initiative (BSI), an innovative education project in Cambodia. We demonstrate how respect for expertise, mutual trust and transparency in a partnership allows for risk-taking environments and innovative development initiatives. The case study highlights some of the many challenges of balancing equity with accountability, and provides key lessons learned in reconciling these principles in order to advance sustainable development.

Starting the Beacon School Initiative and a risk-taking partnership

In May 2010, Kampuchean Action for Primary Education (KAPE), Cambodia’s largest local education NGO, submitted a project proposal to Oaktree in the hope of receiving funding, after a series of rejections from other donors. The project, BSI, was designed to address shortcomings in the quality and governance of secondary schools in the Kampong Cham province. KAPE adopted a public-private partnership (PPP) model, identifying themselves as the private party and the Government of Cambodia as the public party. Whilst PPP arrangements are now more common in Cambodia, in 2010 the concept of PPP remained quite fluid, with many in the sector rejecting the idea that NGOs could be identified as private institutions.

KAPE designed the project in response to poor governance and a lack of accountability on the part of school management boards and provincial governments. These inefficiencies were seen as responsible for poor educational outcomes in the public system. The project proposed to transform three schools into beacons of effective public-private management. The innovative project design included renewed school management boards, intensive capacity building for teachers, scholarships, improved access to information technology, student councils, and student leadership activities. In addition, the project proposed to remove all informal fees and private classes, and instead ask students to contribute a small, formal tuition fee to contribute to performance-based pay for teachers. This

represented a significant change to the norm where students were traditionally asked to pay informal and unregulated fees in order to attend classes, which contained key content areas of the curriculum that was to be examined as part of the course. If students did not attend these classes, they were unable to pass their exams, as they had not been taught the relevant content. Thus, the traditional system prevented students from low-income families from accessing the necessary educational curriculum.

Donors deemed the project high risk because it involved radically changing long established norms in the public secondary education sector, and thus the likelihood of scaling up in the short to medium term seemed limited. Hence KAPE struggled to find a donor, but in 2010, Oaktree decided to fund BSI in partnership with KAPE, despite the apparent risk of the project being both radical and unlikely to be scaled up. At this point, Oaktree had been in existence for seven years, and had become Australia’s largest youth-led international development organisation with a staff of volunteers all of whom were under 27 years of age. The staff overseeing the partnership with KAPE had little or no exposure to risk in education projects, and did not recognise the risk of the project to be as high as other donors had. At the outset of the project, Oaktree and KAPE agreed that their partnership was founded on the principle of shared risk and shared successes and failures. If the project were to encounter failure, this failure would be shared between the two organisations. This sharing of risk was critical to building an equitable partnership and allowed a local Cambodian NGO to implement a risky and innovative project.

The risks were amply rewarded. The BSI project was very successful in one of the three schools, the Demonstration School, in part due to the ongoing support of the director of the school. The other two schools had less management support. The success in the Demonstration School led to the Cambodian Minister for Education signing the BSI project into national education policy in 2016. The Cambodian Government and KAPE developed the New Generation Schools (NGS) policy based on BSI. The project will be scaled up to 20 schools in 2017 through NGS, with the aim of increasing the number over time (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport 2016). Other development organisations have also begun to replicate the model in schools across Cambodia, including the international NGO ChildFund, who implemented the model in a primary school and lower secondary school in the Svay Chrum District (Richard Geeves, ChildFund Senior Education Advisor 2017, personal communication). The limited success in two of the schools provided important learning for scaling up the project, including ensuring that the school director is supportive of the reforms. The BSI project has achieved a national profile in Cambodia, and is now contributing to educational reform across the country (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport 2016).

The success of the BSI project was due in part to the equitable partnership between Oaktree and KAPE. While there are many definitions of an equitable partnership we use that of Schaaf (2015:71):

An equitable partnership is a ‘a cooperative relationship underpinned by a set of values (trust, transparency, accountability, reciprocity and respect) that evolves over time through mutual learning, voluntary participation and commitment, with a view to achieving mutually agreed goals’.

In the BSI partnership equity was understood as shared power and decision making, mutual respect and trust.

Key lessons in developing equity and accountability in the BSI case study

Mutual trust, transparency and donor conditionality

Equity was developed in the KAPE-Oaktree partnership through the development of strong mutual trust and transparency, which are considered to be essential elements in a successful partnership (Schaaf 2015). The building of mutual trust and transparency was aided by the minimisation of donor conditionality. KAPE was aware from the outset that project payments were not contingent upon the success of each quarter of the project. Oaktree recognised the possibility that project objectives and key performance indicators may not be achieved each quarter, and that this should not affect the transfer of funds. KAPE stated that they never worried about funding cuts or discontinuation (Bredenberg 2017, personal communication).

By eliminating the threat of losing funding, Oaktree sought to reduce the power imbalance that traditionally exists between donors and recipients. KAPE, acknowledging that their funding source was sustainable regardless of project shortcomings, was comfortable being transparent with Oaktree throughout project implementation. Thus, by removing the threat of funding conditionality, and emphasising that risk and failure would be shared, the partnership between KAPE and Oaktree was more equitable and transparent than traditional development projects from the outset. In reference to BSI, Bredenberg stated that:

...transparency with donors can be a slippery slope. With some donors we have difficulty expressing how we feel about how a program might be going. [However] we feel very comfortable expressing what the challenges are and what the successes are. This is because Oaktree is very understanding. We feel very comfortable about being totally transparent (Oaktree 2016:17).

An example of this was KAPE’s honesty in the challenges experienced at Skon High School, one of the three schools in the initiative. It was difficult to implement project activities at Skon because the school principal was not supportive. The KAPE project staff openly communicated to Oaktree that the project was failing and that the motivation of the project staff to continue working in Skon was dwindling. In a more traditional donor-implementer relationship, KAPE may have felt that there was a risk of funding changes if they communicated these struggles.

However, the partnership between KAPE and Oaktree meant that KAPE was assured that funding would not discontinue, despite this challenge. Rather, Oaktree would work with KAPE to develop solutions.

The power of knowledge versus the power of money

A power imbalance in a partnership can be created when one partner is a donor and thus tends to have the financial power over the other partner (Lister 2000). It is recognised that a power imbalance undoubtedly existed to an extent in the BSI partnership, with Oaktree as the donor and KAPE as the recipient. However, the Oaktree-KAPE partnership shows that while it may be impossible to negate the funding power imbalance completely, it is possible to balance the scales in other ways.

In this case, the power of money was balanced by the power of knowledge. KAPE is the largest local NGO in the education sector in Cambodia (KAPE 2014:12). They have implemented some highly successful education initiatives and are regarded as experts in this area. KAPE has extensive practice-informed knowledge, which is developed by working hands-on in a particular context for an extended period of time (Jones et al 2013:7). Conversely, Oaktree is a youth-led organisation with limited hands-on, contextual experience in Cambodia. Oaktree fully recognised that KAPE was the expert in the project design and implementation. This gave KAPE ‘knowledge power’, which helped to balance the ‘money power’ that Oaktree held. This challenges Lewis’s (1998:505) critique that partnerships are ‘tinged with a subtle paternalism,’ in which it is assumed that knowledge and expertise should be given to the local NGO by the Western donor.

This dynamic allowed for ‘collaborative, not top-down, oversight’ of the project (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff 2004:265). Bredenberg stated that it was made clear from the outset that Oaktree embraced KAPE’s local expertise, and that ‘Oaktree’s mission [was] to empower local NGOs to do the things that they feel are most important. This is a model approach that I wish more donors would emulate, especially the bilateral ones’ (2017, personal communication). KAPE believes that this significantly contributed to building equity within the partnership.

For example, while Oaktree felt that KAPE should put more time and effort into Skon High School, KAPE project staff disagreed. They felt that it would be more strategic to prioritise the Demonstration School, which was much more successful than Skon. Oaktree deferred to KAPE to make this decision. This proved to be wise; the enormous success at the Demonstration School captured the attention of the Education Minister of Cambodia. When he visited the Demonstration School and saw its success, he decided to have the BSI project written into national education policy. If KAPE had not prioritised Demonstration School over Skon, this may not have happened.

Donor administrative processes hinder equity and trust building

A common concern of local NGOs is the arduous compliance and accreditation process required of them by

donors. While donors require accountability measures to ensure aid effectiveness, these procedures can reduce transparency and mutual trust by requiring recipients to prove their worthiness on an ongoing basis, with no equivalent expectation of donors. This equity-accountability challenge was present in the Oaktree-KAPE case. Throughout project implementation, Oaktree required that KAPE meet Oaktree's compliance requirements, despite KAPE's admission that these were time-consuming and at times difficult, particularly as the first language of the project managers was not English.

However, Oaktree tried to make the process more equitable. The administrative processes required were significantly less than those required of larger donors and mainly involved quarterly reporting and budget reallocation requests. As Oaktree's funds were acquired entirely through public donation, Oaktree was not accountable to a larger donor and thus had the liberty of designing its own compliance requirements and ensuring these were minimal. Oaktree avoided stringent deadlines and provided clarification and support wherever possible. It should be noted that Oaktree only undertook one annual evaluation trip to Cambodia, and thus the KAPE staff were not expected to work with Oaktree staff in person on a regular basis, but rather could engage virtually in their own time through email and video based communication. Moreover, KAPE were accustomed to the reporting requirements of other donors and found that the reports facilitated useful internal review of project performance and structured periods for reflection and improvement. However, the fact that most donors require reporting does not necessarily make the practice of reporting equitable. Further research could consider the impact that project reporting has on equity between partners.

It is unclear the extent to which Oaktree's compliance requirements may have hindered equity and trust building in the project. While KAPE staff found the processes difficult, it is clear that the processes were flexible and sympathetic to KAPE's concerns, and were also useful for project implementation (not only donor accountability). This experience shows that it is possible to minimise the tension between the need for accountability and the desire for equity.

Communication and staff turnover

Good communication is essential for ensuring mutual trust, transparency and effective partnerships (Mahanty et al. 2009). Communication not only allows for a good understanding of the project's successes and challenges, but also builds personal relationships between the staff in each partner organisation. It is in these informal relationships where the communication and trust is ultimately fostered (ibid:870). Despite this being acknowledged in theory, it was more difficult in practice, due in large part to the high staff turnover at Oaktree. As Oaktree was run almost entirely by volunteers, staff turnover was very high. In the life cycle of the project, there were at least five different partnership managers and country directors. There was only one change in the BSI project manager at KAPE during the project. KAPE expressed that they found it difficult to

re-establish a relationship, trust and communication patterns with each new Oaktree staff member.

Staff turnover is a common concern expressed by local implementing partners of donors. KAPE was no exception, however norms around communication and transparency were set at the outset of the project, and were sustained by successive partnership managers and country directors, thus helping mitigate the barriers created by frequent changes in personnel. Supporting the partnership at an organisational level can assist with changes at the individual level. It is also important to note that Oaktree's relationship was primarily with the senior international practitioner who founded KAPE, and to a lesser extent with local staff. This may have contributed to the way frequent staff changes were managed.

Conclusions and implications for the sector

While the development discourse is increasingly critical of partnerships (often for good reason), the BSI case study demonstrates that partnerships can be effective and facilitate the risk-taking environments often necessary for innovation. Development actors entering into partnerships must consider how to effectively reduce power imbalances and create equity. This case study shows that minimising donor conditionality and sharing the risks of the project can build equity. This enables mutual trust and transparency, helping partners to work more effectively through challenges. Moreover, the Oaktree-KAPE partnership shows that the power imbalances created by funding can be minimised through respecting the knowledge and expertise of the implementing partner. However, this partnership demonstrates the challenges of building true equity, particularly with arduous administrative processes and high staff turnover. It also raises questions for the sector about the role of reporting requirements in a partnership that is striving to be equitable. Despite these challenges, both Oaktree and KAPE thrived through the partnership, and the outcome was not only a highly successful project, but a step towards broader, revolutionary changes to the education sector in Cambodia.

Note

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Sharing challenges and solutions for sustainable mining through alumni regional study tours

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In international development, significant resources are allocated by donors to training programmes that build the capacity of individuals and organisations. However, far fewer resources are allocated to maintaining ongoing engagement with alumni of these programmes to support their application of the training outcomes, resulting in a number of challenges. A recent study of 17 international training and capacity building service providers in the extractive sector assessed the challenges associated with monitoring and evaluation of training programmes, and explored how to improve coordination, delivery and impact of programmes and alumni engagement (CCSI 2016). The researchers noted a number of issues including that their ‘alumni programs were a work in progress’.

Developing alumni programmes poses several challenges including:

- determining effective approaches for alumni engagement;
- defining the objective of and intended outcomes of alumni engagement;
- resourcing alumni engagement; and
- balancing monitoring and evaluation obligations and communication outreach.

The focus of this paper is how one type of alumni regional study tour is supporting partnerships and enabling alumni to tackle mining for development challenges. The alumni regional study tours are run by the Minerals and Energy for Development Alliance (MEfDA)—a joint venture between The Universities of Western Australia and Queensland. MEfDA manages a global alumni network with members from emerging economies who have participated in a range of donor-funded capacity building activities, including short courses, study tours and fellowships. Building on these activities, participants are invited to participate in the alumni network incentivising and supporting their application of capacity in local contexts. With funding from the Australian Government, MEfDA has focussed on providing rich opportunities for ongoing alumni experiences and professional development.

The MEfDA alumni regional study tours represent a recent initiative, designed and delivered in partnership with alumni. The study tours provide teams with a regional, experiential, peer learning opportunity. Study tours are problem driven—alumni identify a challenge in their local context and a regional neighbour that has good practices addresses the issue. Study tours to date have focused on women’s economic empowerment in the Philippines and Papua New Guinea, and artisanal and small scale gold mining in Ghana and Ethiopia, as well as Uganda and Rwanda. A number of factors have contributed to the success of study tours including working in partnership with

alumni hosts and alumni visiting teams; multi stakeholder teams; field trips for practical learning; and an emphasis on applying the learning outcomes.

Mining for development and the alumni network

The International Mining for Development Centre (IM4DC) was established in 2011 as a joint venture between The University of Western Australia and The University of Queensland with funding from the Australian Government through an Australian aid initiative administered by DFAT. IM4DC’s mission was through an integrated programme of activities to help emerging economies transform their mineral wealth into inclusive, sustainable socio economic development (IM4DC 2015). IM4DC was set up as a response to international recognition that—despite being well endowed with natural resources—a number of emerging economies had not translated their mineral endowments into sustainable development (Collier and Venables 2011). Addressing the ‘resource curse’ required strengthening institutional frameworks and governance structures to attract and manage responsible investment. Improving resource governance capacities enables policy reform, increased personnel skills and knowledge, and enhanced institutional competencies to better manage mineral wealth.

Tailored programmes coordinated by IM4DC along the mining value chain included short courses, fellowships, action research and the establishment of a global community of practice—an alumni network. At the conclusion of the IM4DC programme in 2015, it had engaged over 2,700 participants from 65 countries across Asia, the Pacific, Africa and Latin America—including representatives of governments, civil society, academia and industry. The university partners established MEfDA to continue the legacy of this initiative, and in particular to support the alumni network. Through an iterative process of consultation, the strategic programme framework was reframed to ‘engage, empower, influence and realise’—engaging with partners in emerging economies to empower them through training programmes and partnerships to influence change in their local context.

For MEfDA, the impact of capacity building initiatives is measured by the knowledge and skills that alumni are able to apply in their local context that improve governance of the resource sector. Three approaches are used for monitoring and evaluation: online surveys conducted at regular intervals after programme participation; periodic follow up of return to work projects undertaken involving programme facilitators; and independent research focussing on assessment of alumni impact.

Return to work projects are designed by course participants where they plan, implement and evaluate a

project that builds on their learning experience. M4DLink, the online community of practice that brings together alumni and faculty, is used to follow up alumni return to work projects. An independent evaluation of alumni impact by the Centre for Accelerated Learning identified that alumni have developed leadership capability, initiated innovative activities and changes, strengthened their networks, and are progressing improved management of social, economic and environmental issues (Andrei et al 2015).

Maintaining alumni engagement is important not just for assessing the outcomes of programmes. It also provides opportunities to document and share good practices, to build on and reinforce learning experiences, and to connect alumni and in doing so strengthen the community of practice. The Mining and Energy for Development Alumni Network is a community of practice comprised of over 2,100 alumni from MEfDA, IM4DC, Australia Africa Partnership Facility (AAPF), Australia Awards, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and Columbia Centre on Sustainable Investment (CCSI). Maintaining this network and its community of practice is a key to sustaining the demonstrable benefits from investments in resource governance capacity building initiatives.

Recognising the value of ongoing alumni engagement, DFAT provides a grant to MEfDA for alumni support which covers in country and regional alumni forums; online events and competitions; alumni regional study tours; and the maintenance of M4DLink.org as the online community of practice. The aims of alumni engagement are to support and incentivise the participation of alumni to progress local solutions and strategies, in order to realise development outcomes from mineral resources and to strengthen connections between alumni, DFAT and partner organisations. This approach aligns with DFAT's Australia Global Alumni Engagement Strategy 2016–20 that seeks to enhance ongoing engagement between alumni and Australia (DFAT 2016).

Alumni regional study tours

In 2016 MEfDA piloted an innovative peer learning initiative designed to provide alumni with an opportunity to further apply the learnings from their engagement with Australian funded mining programmes. The alumni regional study tours provide multi stakeholder teams with regional, experiential learning opportunities. Study tours are problem driven, and involve alumni identifying a mining for development challenge in their local context and a regional neighbour that has good practices on the issue. Teams experience firsthand—through discussions with key stakeholders and field trips—the ways in which good practice mining for development programmes are designed and managed, and develop proposals for how these practices can be applied in their own contexts. Specific learning objectives of alumni regional study tours are to:

- learn from regional good practices on mining and energy for development;

- adapt and apply good practices in local settings;
- connect with key mining and energy for development stakeholders; and
- engage alumni at home and in the host country.

Criteria for proposed teams include gender balance; direct alumni involvement; and multisector engagement with selected members demonstrating ability to either support or influence change in their local context.

Theoretical frameworks that support the design of the alumni regional study tour programme resides in a number of approaches including Kolb's experiential learning model (Kolb 2014); peer learning (Boud 1999); action learning (Marquardt and Banks 2010); and elements of development entrepreneurship on building good teams and coalitions (Faustino and Booth 2014). These approaches are embedded in the design of the study tour proposal, as well as the study tour programme and follow up activities. Experiential learning is fostered through field trips to mine sites where alumni experience firsthand good practice in action. Peer learning occurs between and within the alumni tour team, and with alumni in host countries where meetings are organised to share experiences. Furthermore, alumni in host countries act as experts facilitating meetings with other influential stakeholders. From proposal submission to the final presentation of the team's action plan and follow up—all team members are encouraged to reflect on learning outcomes and consider their application.

Study tour proposals are selected through a competitive process. Following selection there is a consultative process between MEfDA, the study tour team, and alumni in host countries. A number of issues are discussed including the composition of the team and the extent to which it includes influential stakeholders; the key stakeholders to meet with in the host country; careful selection of field visit sites; and logistics in the host country.

To date three study tours have been conducted and two more are in the pipeline. In 2016, a team from the Philippines travelled to Papua New Guinea to learn about women led enterprises in resource rich communities. A Ghanaian team travelled to Ethiopia to learn about artisanal and small scale mining (ASM) and a team of 17 Ugandans travelled to Rwanda to learn about management of ASM and traceability of conflict minerals. In the latter half of 2017, a multi stakeholder team from Fiji will visit the Philippines to learn about environmental rehabilitation and a team from the Peruvian Ministry of Culture will be visiting Colombia to learn about indigenous consultation in resource rich host communities.

A case study: Artisanal gold mining in Ethiopia

In 2016, a team from Ghana was sponsored to visit Ethiopia to learn about management of artisanal and small scale mining. The team included the General Secretary of the Accra Mining Network, a mining and mineral think tank in Ghana; a Senior Monitoring and Evaluation Officer from the Minerals Commission of Ghana; a mining company

Exploration Supervisor; the Secretary of Women in Mining Ghana; and the Executive Director of the ASM Africa Network.

Ghana is experiencing an unprecedented increase in illegal gold artisanal mining that damages the environment and puts the health and safety of miners at risk. In addition, cases have been cited of conflicts between ASM miners and large scale miners (Reuters 2016). Furthermore, the illegality of some of the mining prevents the government from receiving revenue from mineral exports. The team chose Ethiopia as their destination given the progress that the Ethiopian Government has made in formally acknowledging and supporting the contribution of artisanal mining to the economy. According to an Economic Intelligence Unit report in 2013, Ethiopia realised US\$419 million from artisanal mining exports.

The expectations of the study tour team were to:

- understand the laws and regulations governing the ASM industry in Ethiopia;
- learn how environmental and social issues are resolved;
- be exposed to the Ethiopian ASM industry's best practices;
- be acquainted with structures put in place by regulators to manage the ASM industry; and
- understand conflict resolution techniques arising from the LSM ASM interactions.

The study tour took place in July 2016. With the assistance of Ethiopian alumni hosts, the team met with the State Minister of the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Natural Gas; directors of the Ministry on Mineral Licensing and Administration, artisanal mining support coordination, the environment, gender and value chain addition; Pact (an international NGO) to discuss their Mine2Market programme and ASM environmental rehabilitation; the World Bank to discuss extractives global practices; SuDCA a local consultancy; and the Australian Embassy. The team also conducted field visits where they visited a gold purchasing centre, a regional office that manages mining cooperatives, and an artisanal mine site.

The team took home lessons on:

- the rigorous land and minerals administration system in Ethiopia—where both the land and the minerals belong to the Government—and the implications for managing ASM;
- the excellent decentralisation of ASM administration, in which the federal, regional bureau, and district levels all have respective semi-autonomous roles; and
- Ethiopia's gold purchasing system, where the Central Bank purchases gold from artisanal miners at five per cent above the London Metal Exchange price.

The study tour team's action plan focussed on:

- sharing experiences from Ethiopia to provoke ASM debate with key stakeholders in government, industry and civil society;
- lobbying for the centralisation of all industry-relevant institutions into a shared office (for example, environment and agriculture);

- encouraging artisanal miners to form associations; and
- advocating for gender inclusion and ASM activity in Ghana with a women's desk at the Minerals Commission.

The team was followed up several months after participating in the study tour and reported that they have organised a number of dissemination forums with key stakeholders and have been advising policymakers on approaches to address illegal mining—including restructuring of district offices. Through efforts of multiple organisations, a gender desk has been established at the Minerals Commission in Ghana.

Success factors

A number of factors contributed to the success of alumni regional study tours that demonstrate the value of experiential learning, South to South peer learning and action learning. Meetings with stakeholders provide theoretical understanding and scaffolding for field trips that enabled experiential learning. One participant remarked during a field trip 'seeing is believing' and another that 'their eyes have been opened to the possibilities'.

A key strength of the study tours is the focus on alumni as expert hosts—building on familiar peers with shared connections through previous training programmes. These expert hosts are able to coordinate meetings, share their knowledge and experiences, help with identification of field visit sites, and are key contacts for managing logistical arrangements. Bringing influential stakeholders together outside their formal workplaces to embark on a shared learning experience in a new environment nurtures trust and builds relationships. This trust encourages frank and open dialogue during field trips and meal times that had teams discussing critical and controversial issues and considering solutions. One participant noted that if it was not for the study tour he would never engage in debate with other stakeholders because there is neither the time nor the opportunity, and being outside the office and country enabled honest discussions.

The study tours celebrate and reinforce good practices in host countries. Host countries appreciate the recognition and reflect on their good practices during the action plan presentation. Papua New Guinea alumni and stakeholders were impressed by the learning outcomes from the Philippine study tour and are keen to develop a space where good practices on women's empowerment can be shared.

Conclusion

Despite monitoring and evaluation programmes being a critical part of all donor-funded capacity building activities—opportunities to build on alumni engagement receive scant attention. The MEfDA alumni regional study tours represent one successful initiative that has allowed alumni to learn good practices from their neighbours and develop feasible solutions to specific developmental challenges in the extractive sector. The tours are strategically designed to further capacity building activities by leveraging the long term benefit of regional alumni networks, South to South

engagement, and action and experiential learning to improve sustainable development from mineral resources.

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Collective learning through synergies that promote mental health and strengthen inclusion across contexts: A participatory action research process evaluation

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Increasingly, Participatory Action Research (PAR) is being employed to investigate and consequently address complex social and public health issues, including mental health (Baum 2016, Michalak et al 2015, Oetzel et al 2015). Currently, there is a significant lack of research on how practice partnerships in mental health may increase community engagement and action. These considerations are particularly pertinent in light of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the increasing recognition that addressing mental health is important to realising progress (Votruba et al 2014). TEAR Australia, in partnership with Melbourne University, are currently compiling research exploring barriers and pathways to inclusion for people living with psychosocial disability.

The paper seeks to investigate how PAR has been utilised to inform research partnerships and processes in a psychosocial disability research study in India and Nepal. The paper considers the approaches taken and lessons learned within a multi-phase study which includes:

- the development of research partnerships;
- the completion of a practice review; and
- a data collection ‘Photovoice’ phase.

The research involves a range of stakeholders and collaborators namely: research reference group based in Australia; Nossal Institute for Global Health; and TEAR Australia’s partners—Centre for Mental Health and Counselling (CMC) in Nepal, Emmanuel Hospital Association (EHA) in India and an unnamed TEAR Partner in Afghanistan (TPA).

A multidisciplinary, multisectoral, and multicontext collaboration is crucial for meaningfully exploring broad based solutions for strengthened inclusion and hence, PAR and partnership approaches were adopted. Cargo and Mercer’s integrative practice framework was seen as a lens through which to evaluate this research process (Cargo and Mercer 2008). The framework lists five elements that are core to participatory research—and also align with research in community development: sustainability; accountability; ownership; empowerment; and capacity building. Evaluating this research process holds important lessons for strengthening mental health research and outcomes.

Partnerships for mental health research are important for achieving the SDGs for two reasons. Firstly, for the effective promotion of mental health and well-being globally as good mental health strengthens progress in sustainability, equality, and resilience—and secondly, because of the exclusion often experienced by people as a result of psychosocial disability. Exclusion leads to poor outcomes in other areas of health such as economics and social cohesion (Izutsu et al 2015). As the commitment of the SDGs is to ‘leave no one behind’ partnerships seeking to explore the barriers faced by people with psychosocial disability and meaningful pathways to inclusion, become critical.

Globally, there is a significant amount of quantitative research into prevalence rates of mental illness and the existing treatment gaps in low and middle income countries (LMICs). However, there has been limited qualitative research investigating the lived experiences of people with psychosocial disability in LMICs. This

research adopts a social model for understanding mental illness, as its goal is exploring broader lived experiences. Therefore, the research frames mental illness as ‘psychosocial disability’, which creates space for acknowledging the environmental and social factors that shape the experience.

Methods

PAR aims to understand the world and seeks to change it through collaboration, collective reflection and action (Baum 2006). It has been defined as research that is conducted as an ‘equitable partnership among researchers, practitioners, and community members living with a particular health condition, disability or issue’ (Israel et al 2010).

PAR approaches are versatile and strongly align with the principles and practice of effective community development. These principles include collaborative action; synergies to maximise community benefits; democratising knowledge production; and enabling marginalised groups to engage constructively with complex issues in their communities (Cargo and Mercer 2008). PAR involves significant collaboration between all stakeholders and upholds the perspectives of those most affected within their social context. This sits particularly well within the community development and partnership approaches adopted by TEAR Australia.

Diverse methods for evaluating partnerships and processes in PAR have been described (Khodyakov et al 2013; Schulz et al 2003; Wallerstein and Duran 2010). This process evaluation will utilise the five core elements proposed by Cargo and Mercer (2008):

- sustainability; accountability;
- ownership;
- empowerment; and
- capacity building.

These widely accepted principles are frequently cited in the literature (Caine and Mill 2016, Macaulay et al 2011, Sandavol et al 2011). Cargo and Mercer’s integrative practice framework was developed through a critical literature review process to provide academic and non-academic partners with a structure for evaluating their research processes.

The authors reviewed the research process and have identified learning outcomes and challenges under the five elements of the integrative practice framework for participatory research.

Sustainability

Sustainability is considered as the benefit of the research and also how it relates to the effectiveness of the other four elements. Employing processes which do not uphold the principles of accountability, ownership, empowerment and capacity building will undermine the sustainability of the research (Cargo and Mercer 2008).

Local partners: Learning from lived organisational experience

A partnership philosophy underlies PAR and allows exploration of lived experience from multiple perspectives.

Therefore, research should be guided by those with lived experience and their families, communities and the organisations who work directly with people with psychosocial disability. This is especially true of collective societies, who often understand psychosocial disability in terms of its social and community-level contexts (Guerin and Guerin 2012, Kermode et al 2010).

Sustainability is increased through a good understanding of the local context and traditions (Wallerstein and Duran 2010). Local communities may question the value of external researchers conducting research that may not address the community’s specific challenges (Stacciarini et al 2010). TEAR is working in collaboration with three local and long term partners—CMC, EHA and TPA. These partners have a longstanding presence in, and a thorough understanding of, the communities where the research is being conducted. Their contextual knowledge increases the prospect that research findings will be appropriately utilised and translated into action.

Long term relationships between partners are a key feature of successful PAR processes, partnerships and outcomes. The long term partnerships between TEAR and CMC, EHA and TPA, and the communities with which they work, have strengthened the collaborative process and led to positive outcomes.

Knowledge to practice

The local presence of CMC, EHA and TPA provides support mechanisms in implementing the grassroots actions resulting from the research and the opportunities for iterative feedback processes. CMC works at every level—from contributing to national policy, to training doctors and health workers in diagnosis and treatment, and supporting advocacy and support groups. The findings from this research can be easily utilised in these settings. CMC staff, who were involved in focus group discussions with participants and their families, have already made changes to the ways in which they support community based groups, recognising that there are broader social influences on wellbeing. They also report that there is enhanced understanding of mental health in communities and willingness towards action.

The research partnerships are creating linkages that support cross-organisational sharing and integrating knowledge and action. Further, the research outcomes can be used to inform future organisational approaches, thus contributing to the sustainability of research outcomes.

Accountability

Ensuring that the research process has been accountable to the principles of PAR has involved a focus on local engagement and consideration of different ethics approval processes—emphasising the importance of communication between partners and the transfer of knowledge and formation of a research reference group.

Contextual accountability

The initial research involved conducting a practice review which analysed reports and evaluations from four years of

work by CMC, EHA and TPA. Authoring the review with CMC, EHA and TPA permitted the Australian based researchers to appreciate the different contexts and strengths, successes and challenges experienced by the partners. This helped the researchers to deepen their understanding of the current context and local strategies. Completing the practice review also assisted the research team in triangulating research outcomes from the Photovoice phase.

Ethical considerations

PAR promotes mutuality whereby stakeholders collaborate within an agreed ethical framework. To maintain transparency and promote this shared understanding of the ethical scope, ethics approval for the Photovoice phase was gained from three institutions in three countries. However, the different ethical processes demanded significant time and produced complexity given the three applications were submitted simultaneously but required different information. Whilst resource intensive, seeking these individual approvals honoured the local processes and the cultural and contextual requirements of the partners.

Utilising Photovoice as the methodology for the third phase of research introduced ethical complexities. The research team sought to address concerns identified through other Photovoice research, and ensure that the methodology and process was of a high ethical standard (Flicker et al 2007, Wang and Redwood-Jones 2001, Teti et al 2012). Considerations included informed consent for participants and for photographic subjects who were members of the local communities. This was especially of concern where the person in the photograph was considered a ‘barrier’ to inclusion.

It was important, also, to ensure that the community had an understanding of the research purpose, while respecting the efficacy of the individuals involved in taking photographs of their own choosing and without judgement. Given the marginalisation often faced by people with psychosocial disability, any additional vulnerability resulting from participation in the research needed to be taken into account. These ethical complexities were addressed through training and informing research volunteers about supportive processes—and through facilitating safe linkages to additional supports such as mental health services and DPOs for participants involved in the research.

Communication and knowledge transfer

The timely sharing of information was and continues to be a priority in this research, and has strengthened accountability. Findings from the practice review were shared with partner organisations to allow cross-context learning. In the Photovoice phase, focus group discussions with research participants provided further indications as to the process outcomes, emerging themes and recommendations for action. Additionally, the research team is planning for prompt dissemination of the findings with academic and non-academic partners, and with the communities in which the research has been conducted. Given the wide range of stakeholders involved in this research—partner organisations, the research reference group, academic support,

research participants and local communities—this sharing of knowledge will be challenging, in terms of translation and time, but it remains a priority of the research team.

Research reference group

The formation of a research reference group has strengthened accountability in multiple ways. The group members have extensive experience in different aspects of global mental health and have assisted the research team in framing the research to fill current research gaps. Additional functions of the reference group have been:

- supporting the researchers to ensure that principles of participatory research are followed;
- encouraging TEAR to increase scientific rigour through an academic partnership;
- guiding important decisions throughout the process; and
- monitoring the tenets of the research alongside TEAR’s organisational values.

A challenge has been engaging the group meaningfully during every phase of the research. This particular challenge has also been identified in other participatory research where advisory groups have been part of the process (Hicks et al 2012). The researchers have adopted a mixture of platforms in which to proactively seek input and communicate progress. The level of involvement by reference groups needs to be acknowledged as meaningful, with continual communication around expectations of participation and engagement.

Capacity building

According to Cargo and Mercer (2008), ‘capacity develops according to stages of readiness and reflects the potential... of an organisation, community, or other partner to address health issues that matter to it’. This readiness has developed among various actors in the research partnership throughout the process. For example, with the support of the academic partnership and the research reference group, TEAR staff have been able to build their capacity to produce academic research, provide training in participatory research methods and analyse qualitative data.

Building the research capacity of partner organisations is also a priority. Their readiness to identify and address existing issues relating to psychosocial disability has been enhanced through the process of gathering and disseminating data for the practice review paper, with the shared learnings providing knowledge and insights to all parties. Capacity has also been built through the provision of training in PAR methodologies, specifically in the purpose and use of Photovoice. This training was multifaceted, and involved planning and collaboration between TEAR staff, Nossal Institute for Global Health and key partner staff. Time was spent developing comprehensive training manuals, and conducting formal training sessions with all relevant staff and volunteers. An unexpected capacity-building outcome has involved increased understanding about psychosocial disability amongst research volunteers. (‘People with mental illness and their families are just like us, we came to know

them and their stories' (pers comm. research volunteer, Nepal). Such changes in perspective, where they can be generalised through the research process, are likely to enhance readiness in the community for positive change.

Ownership

Since the commencement of the research process, ownership over the process among partners has been vital to its success. The research design, decision making around parameters and developing mutual understanding of terminology were established through collaborative processes.

Research design

TEAR's partners and communities in which they work were involved in identifying the research need, in shaping the research questions, and choosing the methodology. While traditional research processes can be quite theoretical and involve high levels of technical English, it was important to identify a research methodology that could be understood across contexts, and that seeks to enhance the voices of people with psychosocial disability. There was momentum among the partners around methodologies which could involve those most affected as key research participants, and could bring increased understanding to many people—their staff, people in the communities and their colleagues.

Photovoice 'puts people in charge of how they represent themselves and how they depict their situation' (Booth and Booth 2003), thus giving participants decision making power over the story they tell. Participants framing their own stories, and subsequently being involved in the identification of emergent themes, increases the likelihood that the research will be contextually appropriate and that recommended actions will be applicable to the local context.

Participatory decision making

Collaboration with research partners, as well as being essential to defining the research context, has been vital in shaping the process of the research itself. For example, communication with partners helped to determine that the inclusion of carers or family members of people with psychosocial disability would form a vital element of the research. This has been an important consideration for contextualising the research.

A difficulty the research team has faced has been in attempting to uphold participatory decision making processes in negotiating priorities with the variety of partners and within their diverse contexts. A compounding difficulty was that some of this process was done face-to-face and some from a distance. Inevitably, different partners and groups had more influence in the framing of the research than others.

There have been multiple challenges in striving to promote ownership throughout the research process. Implementing a multi-centric research process across four countries has required a significant amount of time in adjusting the process for each context. For example, TEAR's partner in Afghanistan (TPA) was initially engaged in all phases of the research, but due to security challenges in Afghanistan it

was not possible to implement the Photovoice phase of the research. The team has had to think laterally about alternative methods which would achieve the same goals.

The amount of time spent in communication with all actors, completing different ethics processes, and validating understanding of results has been significantly greater than expected. However, it is also recognised that investing time in these steps is invaluable for building ownership at all levels.

Research terminology

The phrase 'barriers to inclusion' was difficult to translate into Nepali and Hindi. This caused the research team to re-examine the phrase multiple times and discuss what it looked like in each context. During different stages of the research, the team continued to need to clarify the phrase as research volunteers still felt unable to sufficiently explain the term with participants. Further, the research process and outcomes have highlighted that having a psychosocial disability may result in barriers to inclusion, but there are other factors that compound this, such as gender, caste and socioeconomic status.

Empowerment

Within Cargo and Mercer's framework, empowerment is conceptualised as a move towards strengths-based approaches and self-determination.

Organisational empowerment

Since the inception of the research, it has been important that partners understood that the research is not about evaluating their work, but about exploring the strengths of their programmes through the practice review and about gathering diverse community perspectives which add depth and breadth to their programmes. One of the key drivers for the research has been to support partners in upholding their own organisational self-determination and that of the communities with which they work. This has informed the research process as each phase of the research has built upon assisting partners to incorporate the new knowledge into their programmes.

Sharing stories

Employing Photovoice methodology has been an appropriate way of staying true to the principle of empowerment. Families of people with psychosocial disability and participants involved said that taking the photos and telling their stories was a positive experience for them, as they felt heard and supported. Through the sharing of stories with each other, people identified a feeling of solidarity, and it is anticipated there will now be a collective voice towards effective sustainable change.

Implications for research partnerships and PAR processes

Despite the challenges of working through a multi-centric research approach, the findings for all actors have been

compelling. Valuable actions and recommendations for future PAR processes that utilise synergistic approaches are as follows:

Valuable actions

1. Though challenging, the process of gaining local ethics approval has been important for honouring partnerships and strengthening accountability, ownership, capacity building and empowerment.
2. It is important to acknowledge the immense value of working together with long term partners. These partnerships have supported the entire research process and strengthened the process of genuine collaboration. Also, the partners' long term presence and work with communities enhances the possibilities for the utilisation of the research outcomes.
3. Employing innovative PAR approaches, specifically the Photovoice methodology, to explore the lived experience of psychosocial disability has allowed the research to be accessible to all partners and especially non-academic partners. The research has created space to accept diverse forms of knowledge and strengthen knowledge democracy.

Recommendations

1. When employing PAR, it is important that research timelines take into account: different cultural concepts of time; allowing time for translating and contextualising; meaningful participation by all actors; and capacity building at multiple stages. A genuine PAR process takes significantly more time than expected.
2. It is recommended that community based PAR allows room for flexibility and the ability to adapt to local changes. Entering into research within the context of diverse partnerships and environments requires a degree of openness to multidirectional learning and different approaches to collaboration. Rather than following a logical model of implementation, research should be adaptable and responsive to changes along the way.
3. Establishing novel partnerships and collaborative pathways that are fit for purpose within a PAR framework is crucial. All partners should understand the values underpinning the research and the process, and should be working to this end.
4. A commitment to the ongoing process of knowledge sharing, translation and utilisation is required. A key component of PAR is supporting implementation of the action that results from the research. This is more time and resource intense than simply doing the research and leaving with the results. Investing time in follow up conversations with individuals, families and communities, and assisting local partners in translating the research outcomes to localised actions, is of utmost importance.
5. Lastly, it is an imperative for organisations that uphold community development principles, to design and conduct research under the guidance of those same principles.

Notes

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Research collaboration for impact evaluation: A study of gender and WASH in central Vietnam

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The UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) offer a new opportunity and urgency for effective partnerships for sustainable development, calling for new research models and non-traditional forms of data. SDG17, target 16, calls us to 'enhance the global partnership for sustainable development, complemented by multi-stakeholder partnerships that mobilise and share knowledge, (and) expertise to support the achievement of the sustainable development goals'. The 2030 Agenda as a whole promotes integration between goals which requires collaboration across disciplines, sectors and geographies.

This paper examines a research collaboration and unpacks the innovations, enablers and constraints within it. It analyses effective research collaborations to explore the intersection of two SDGs, Goal 5 which focusses on gender equality, and Goal 6 whose focus is clean water and sanitation.

Partnerships in research

Partnerships in international development research have a particular set of characteristics which give rise to certain enablers and constraints. The modalities and configurations of such partnerships are becoming more diverse but typically comprise partners from supporting countries (the global north) and implementing countries (the global south) bringing together academics and practitioners.

As global issues become more complex, there is growing recognition from both researchers and practitioners of the need to collaborate. Practitioners increasingly value evidence and researchers increasingly look for opportunities for applied and grounded approaches. However, Carbonnier and Kontinan (2014) assert that research partnerships in international development reflect the same unequal donor-recipient relationships of international development cooperation. This plays out in unequal funding, unequal knowledge and the utilisation of expert networks in favour of partners from the implementing countries. Capacity development is seen as one approach to avoid a traditional and unequal division of labour in which the implementing country partners organise logistics and collect data and the supporting country partner/s design, analyse and publish the research (loc.cit).

Upreti et al (2012) suggest that research partnerships seek to learn from each other and develop new forms of knowledge production. Capacity development can be used to facilitate a process of mutual learning if it can move beyond transfers of skills and resources to promoting two-way exchanges that improve research outcomes and bring partners into a collective action arrangement. The Swiss Commission for Research Partnerships with Developing

Countries (KFPE) states in regard to the different types of knowledge partners bring to collaborations, 'the more fully the potential for synergies inherent to this knowledge is tapped, the more knowledge and insights are multiplied—and the more promising the research project' (KFPE 2014). Bradley (2007) suggests that in essence, successful capacity building should enhance all researchers' ability (and that of practitioners in the case of research-practitioner collaborations) to define a relevant, needs based research agenda and stick to it.

The Vietnam study

Research aim

Over a 12-month period, the main objective of the study was to examine the effect and impact of Plan International's Gender and Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) Monitoring Tool (GWMT)¹ in three central provinces of Vietnam and its achievement of strategic gender outcomes. The causes and circumstances that led to these outcomes were also explored. Strategic gender outcomes are those that move beyond practical changes in roles and relationships between women and men, to those that indicate a shift in power relations towards increased gender equality (Moser 1993). A gender outcomes framework was used as the basis for design and analysis for the research.²

The partnership and research methodology

The research utilised various methods and a quasi-experimental design to compare the experiences of different groups who had had varying degrees of exposure to the GWMT. Semi-structured interviews with 48 people and participatory pocket voting activities with 139 people in seven villages in Central Vietnam were used to uncover strategic gender changes experienced by women and men of different ages and ethnicities, including people living with disabilities.

The motivation for partnership was based on Plan Australia's interest in partnering with ISF-UTS based on its record of high quality and rigorous WASH research as well as experience working with in-country research institutions (in this case, CRES). ISF-UTS was keen to partner with Plan to build on previous work Plan had done on exploring gender outcomes in WASH programs.

The research concept and hypothesis were defined by Plan Australia and ISF-UTS in 2014 and a proposal for a two-year research study was submitted to the Innovations and Impact Fund under the Civil Society WASH Fund within the Australian Government's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT). The original submission to DFAT was

not successful and DFAT subsequently offered an opportunity to reshape and resubmit the proposal informed by a 12 month funding arrangement.

The collaborative approach between the research partners was designed to ensure academic rigour, ethical approaches, and research quality and integrity as well as ownership of the process and results by Plan practitioners and government partners in Vietnam who were well placed to influence or set policy and strategy.

Summary of research findings

Improved gender equality

The findings of the research are not the focus of this paper and are therefore summarised. The research uncovered considerable positive strategic gender change occurring in the sites where Plan is implementing WASH programming. It was clear that WASH programming contributed to the achievement of gender equality, evidenced by the links participants made to WASH programs, policies or outcomes in general. For example, women were encouraged to participate in WASH related training whereas previously only men took part in such public activities. The research also found that change processes towards gender equality are complex, non-linear, influenced by a range of factors, and can require a range of stakeholders to catalyse and reinforce positive gender equality outcomes for these changes to take place.

Research communication

For research to have impact, the findings must reach those who can use them. This research was intended to inform the practices of the research partners, Plan Australia and Plan Vietnam, their government counterparts in Vietnam, as well as other civil society organisations undertaking work in the WASH sector where there is greater focus on gender and inclusion. All academic outputs have been led by ISF-UTS and co-authored by Plan International and CRES. The research findings have been communicated in English and Vietnamese as full and summary reports and in one journal article.³ A version of this article was presented at the 6th Research for Development Impact (RDI) Conference in Sydney in June 2017 and the work will be presented amongst other global work on links between gender and WASH at the Stockholm World Water Week conference in Sweden in August 2017.

Capacity building through collaboration

The research was designed to provide capacity development for the CRES and Plan Vietnam partners. This was partly due to the funding requirement to describe 'how local research capacity would be developed' but also due to the values underpinning this research partnership which focussed on supporting local research capacity and avoiding extractive research processes. The key innovation in this research was the formal training, 'learning-by-doing', critical reflection and mentoring approaches exemplified by workshops and partnership check-ins. These approaches are in line with the interconnection of the SDGs within the 2030 Agenda.

Training and piloting workshop

The first in-country workshop combined skills training with testing and refinement of research tools that had been developed by ISF-UTS and its partners. Piloting was built into the training which allowed the researchers and practitioners to apply their learning and also strengthen their skills in qualitative research. Post-pilot reflection resulted in real time improvements to the research tools and process. Vietnam-based partners commented afterwards that the research 'reflected the reality of the situation'.

The workshop served to further collaboration within the research partnership. The face-to-face format and discussion allowed active involvement of the local researchers, practitioners and government partners. Participants reflected that they felt their views and opinions were listened to and their contribution was valued. One CRES researcher commented that:

...this training method is active and we can change the questionnaire. Usually it's just provided and we have to use it. This way, we get the knowledge better (workshop evaluation March 2016).

Because the researchers who conducted field interviews and the program staff who managed logistical aspects of data collection all undertook the same training, they were aware of the need for research ethics, merit and rigour but also of flexibility for field work. During data collection itself, remote support was provided as well as clear templates for collation of data. Regular check-ins between ISF-UTS and CRES ensured critical reflection and ongoing improvement of practice. CRES reported that their practice improved along the way and they reminded each other to always ask 'why? why? why?!' (Data collection check in call, May 2016).

Collaborative analysis workshop

The second in-country workshop took a similar learning-by-doing approach where research partners were trained to analyse the research. The workshops outlined, for example, the difference between inductive and deductive analytical processes and the rationale for applying each at different points in the analysis. This contributed to strengthening analytical capacity beyond the specific requirements of this research. Participants were provided with extracts of raw data to work with as well as initial analysis of other data sets which they then deepened, critiqued and contextualised through activities and discussion.

A space was provided for the different perspectives to come together, challenging and contesting early findings and conclusions. Intense debate and discussion took place providing the opportunity for ISF-UTS as lead research partner to learn from Vietnamese-based partners to situate findings in a broader context reducing the chance that data would be misinterpreted.

All Australia based and Vietnam based partners took part in the workshop. All were encouraged to engage with the data. This reduced the risk of surprises when the research findings were later revealed and increased the chances of the research results being used and shared.

Providing space for Plan Vietnam, together with government partners, to examine and discuss emerging findings also strengthened these relationships. Setting aside the time to discuss research communication and to map out the audiences, key messages and appropriate formats in Vietnam could also mean a better chance of results leading to change in policy and practice.

Enablers of the partnership

Funding arrangements and requirements

The success of the partnership was enabled by a number of factors. Firstly, the funding provided through DFAT's Innovations and Impact Fund (under the Civil Society WASH Fund) provided an opportunity to examine a potential innovation—the GWMT. This meant that research could be defined more broadly than a more standard type of evaluation. The research hypothesis and methodology were co-designed by the Australian-based university and NGO partners which meant that the agendas of two partners were more likely to be aligned from the outset. The Fund also required development of local research capacity, which ensured that from the beginning a learning component was included in the process.

Existing relationships

There were a number of existing relationships that were built upon to set up and carry out this research. This allowed the partners to have honest and respectful discussions when challenges or differences of opinion arose. Plan Australia and Plan Vietnam had an established partnership and had worked together on WASH projects since 2006. Since 2011, they had also worked to jointly develop, trial and implement the GWMT. ISF-UTS and CRES had collaborated on previous research and had a good working relationship. Since 2007, Plan Australia and ISF-UTS had had a relationship through membership of the Australian WASH Reference Group—a collaboration between academic and practitioner groups. Plan had also commissioned ISF-UTS to conduct or contribute to various studies and the two organisations shared mutual engagement in sectoral learning events and conferences.

Clear roles and communication

Roles were clearly defined from the outset and were supported by clear lines of communication between all partners during an initial foundational meeting. Roles were defined through contracts (between Plan Australia and ISF-UTS, between ISF-UTS and CRES, and between Plan Australia and Plan Vietnam through the Plan International internal grant funding agreement process) but also through work schedules and project plans. To manage the project and the partnership, a weekly phone meeting was set up between Plan Australia and ISF-UTS and three teleconferences were organised between all partners, including a final reflection on the partnership itself.

CRES commented during reflection that we 'assigned roles that fits with partner's capacity, spent time to make sure all parties understand what and how the research would be performed and defined tasks clearly with feasible deadlines'

(CRES researcher, March 2017). For example, Plan Vietnam and CRES cooperated effectively during data collection that relied on Plan's knowledge of sites, participants and local contacts, and CRES' research practice and rigour. CRES has since drawn on this model to ask for more time to establish clear role and relationships.

Openness and flexibility

The openness demonstrated by partners was also an enabler of success. The already established trust between partners meant that research limitations and flexibility were openly raised and honestly recorded. It also meant that challenges to the methodology and early research results were made in good faith, leading to robust discussions between ISF-UTS and Plan Australia.

Flexibility was demonstrated by partners in changing circumstances. The initial submission for the study anticipated funding of \$200,000 over a two-year timeframe. The resubmitted proposal approved by DFAT scaled back both the time frame to one year and funding to \$100,000 which meant that partners needed to work together to revise the research methodology and design. Flexibility meant that the number of participants and villages could be further scaled back during an early phase of the research. Random sampling was also revised due to local realities in Vietnam that surfaced during the first in-country workshop.

Challenges and constraints

Timeframe and resources

Whilst the funding arrangements enabled the partnership to form around an interesting research opportunity and with a capacity development focus, the funds and timeframe were largely insufficient to support a truly collaborative approach. The workshops and pilot processes were particularly resource and time intensive, yet yielded the most positive outcomes for the partnership. Considerable time was needed to set up and maintain a genuine collaboration including regular communication as well as time to understand the objectives of each partner and subsequently align the research process. Considerable time for discussion was also needed during the analysis and writing stages to build trust and mutual understanding from each party. Investment of such time is needed for any collaboration such as this, yet the funding and timeframe provided by DFAT did not reflect this resulting in all partners making substantial in-kind contributions to cover this short fall.

Undefined mutual capacity development

ISF reflected that there was a missed opportunity for more explicit mutual capacity development, where ISF-UTS would define its own learning needs as part of the design of the learning component. Such learning would have included a more in-depth understanding of the GWMT in-practice, for example, by attending a GWMT session. Deeper learning about the local context would also have aided the research design and analysis of the data. Whilst workshops did result in greater learning by ISF-UTS, other partners and researchers learned a great deal through the overall process

of the research. This could have been a more explicit objective.

Ceding decision-making authority

Interests and agenda of researchers and practitioners are often not completely aligned. Whilst partners demonstrated openness and flexibility, several ‘sticking points’ arose during the research process and partners needed to accommodate others’ interests. One partner reflected on one such example regarding research tools saying: ‘No one was 100 per cent happy with where we landed, rather, we agreed that it was good enough’ (Partner reflection, teleconference, December 2016).

One example was the key data collection tool which was a semi-structured interview containing broad questions but which relied largely on probing. ISF-UTS felt that this was the most appropriate tool to explore strategic gender outcomes with women and men. Plan Australia were concerned that this form of interview would not elicit the type or amount of data required. Recognising ISF-UTS’s research expertise Plan ceded decision-making authority, however a clearer process for reaching agreement could have been built into the process.

Lessons learned

Co-design

Assessing and then describing change processes, particularly gender change, is very complex and this study relied on the multiple perspectives and the contextual insights of each partner to manage this with a reasonable degree of accuracy. Ideally, co-design should have taken place at the earliest stages of the research to consider the research questions, analytical framework and the earliest drafts of research tools. Carbonnier and Kontinen (2014:12) have pointed out the need for seed money for exploratory meetings and joint research design, which is often not available. Although this research involved all partners, including CRES and Vietnam government partners, exploratory meetings may have strengthened the research process and results.

Integration across SDGs

The research was originally designed prior to the adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in September 2015. However, the research topic as outlined, did bring together two critical sustainable development goals: SDG5 and SDG6. Had there been an explicit intention to integrate them, greater effort would have been made to ensure that the research itself supported this.

Conclusion

This research collaboration demonstrated several common characteristics of researcher and practitioner partnerships in international development. However, it also pushed these boundaries to bring about positive outcomes for the research and the partnership itself. There were particular enablers of these impacts such as the funding arrangements, pre-existing

relationships, clear roles, and lines of communication, openness and flexibility of partners. There were also a number of constraints including limited time and resources, and a missed opportunity to establish an explicit mutual capacity building objective which may have been used to maximise the innovations around collaboration and capacity building.

Overall, the research demonstrated a quality process and credible research results. It also demonstrated that researchers and practitioners can bring together interests and agendas that are not completely aligned. Collaboration and mutual appreciation of the distinct but complementary contributions that NGOs and academics can bring to improving development outcomes, can still produce results.

Ultimately, the test of the impact of this research and research partnership is what each individual amongst the partners will take forward into their subsequent roles and experiences, and what effects the research and its findings have both on them, and others, to whom the findings are communicated.

Notes

- 1 For full information on the GWMT, see <https://www.plan.org.au/~media/plan/documents/resources/gwmt-march-2014.pdf> (last checked 07 July 2017).
- 2 The gender outcomes framework draws on research carried out by the Institute for Sustainable Futures at the University of Technology (ISF-UTS) and International Women’s Development Agency (IWDA) in 2009–11 (Halcrow et al 2010). It was developed by Naomi Carrard and Juliet Willetts from ISF-UTS. For more information, see Carrard, NR, Crawford, J, Halcrow, G, Rowland, C and Willetts, JR (2013) ‘A framework for exploring gender equality outcomes from WASH programmes’, *Waterlines: International journal of water, sanitation and waste*, 32(4), 315–333.
- 3 For the full research report, see <http://www.cswashfund.com/shared-resources/references/practical-strategic-changes-strengthening-gender-wash>. The research has also been published in Leahy, C. et al (2017) Transforming gender relations through water, sanitation and hygiene programming and monitoring in Vietnam, *Gender and Development*, 25(2) (forthcoming).

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Jatim Bebas Pasung: An integrated programme to tackle the physical restraint of people with a mental health condition in East Java Province, Indonesia

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More than a quarter of the world's population has mental health problems at some time in their lives (Steel et al. 2014). However, patients with severe psychosocial disability in low and middle income countries are less likely to receive modern psychological treatment than those in higher income countries—76–85 per cent in low and middle income countries compared to 35–50 per cent in higher income countries (WHO 2013).

Mental health is a key public health challenge in Indonesia. It is estimated that 50,000 out of 400,000 Indonesians with severe mental health conditions were shackled in 2013 (NIHRD 2013, MoH 2015a). Restrictive shackling practices for people with psychiatric disorders, commonly known as *pasung*, are common in Indonesia (Puteh et al. 2011). In this paper, physical and mechanical restraint and seclusion are all included under the term *pasung*.

To tackle this problem, the Indonesian Government has introduced specific policies, such as the 2009 Health Act and the 2014 Indonesia Free from *Pasung*—through a national programme called 2014 IFP. Nevertheless, in 2013, almost 2,400 people with mental health conditions were still found shackled in *Jawa Timur-Jatim*—East Java Province—(DINSOS 2017). Furthermore, the 2014 IFP programme has not provided social reintegration training for people with mental health conditions being discharged from mental hospitals (KOMNAS HAM 2016).

This paper examines an integrated and multisectoral programme called *Jatim Bebas Pasung*, or East Java Province Free from *Pasung* (*Jatim FFP*¹). In addition, we examine the importance of intersectoral collaboration between various agencies in eliminating the practices of *pasung*.

Background

The 2013 Basic Health Survey reported that 14 per cent of Indonesians living with schizophrenia have been physically restrained at some time in their lives (Balitbangkes 2013). The most common causal factors are financial incapacity to access mental health services and lack of knowledge about the availability of related health services (ibid). Despite the introduction of government financed health insurance schemes, such as *Jamkesmas* (public health insurance) and *Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional* (national health insurance), the subjects of *pasung* are commonly not eligible for these schemes because they lack official personal identification, generally because their families are reluctant and ashamed to register them with the Population and Civil Registration

Agency (*Jawa Pos* 2017). Many families also lack knowledge of the availability of mental health services, which forces them to control their family members with mental illness using *pasung* (ibid).

Indonesia Bebas Pasung, or Indonesia Free from Pasung (IFP)

In 2010, the Ministry of Health announced the 2014 IFP programme that aimed to locate, liberate and provide medical treatment for mentally ill people who are confined (MoH 2015a). The 2014 IFP programme has significantly improved the number of provinces supporting a *pasung*-free Indonesia—from 36.4 per cent in 2009 to 82.3 per cent in 2014—as well as increasing the number of *pasung* cases detected—from 211 in 2009 to 5,868 in 2014. Furthermore, the development of particular mental health programmes, such as 'Lighting to Hope for Schizophrenia' (LHS) has improved the capacity of public health workers in health centres and general hospitals to handle mental health problems (ibid).

To support the 2014 IFP, at provincial level the Ministry of Health has also guaranteed supplies of long-acting antipsychotic medications such as *Haldol decanoate*, as a secondary prevention. However, limited mental health budgets at the provincial level and the lack of antipsychotic medications have impeded the implementation of the IFP programme (MoH 2015a). This situation is exacerbated by a lack of mental health services provided by public health centres (*puskesmas*) and district hospitals in Indonesia (ibid). In 2014, 46.4 per cent of *puskesmas* and 55.9 per cent of Indonesia's district hospitals provided mental health services (MoH 2015a). As a result, the IFP programme was extended to 2019, and in collaboration with the Ministry of Social Welfare, will provide post-hospital rehabilitation for people with mental health conditions (*Jawa Pos* 2017).

To support the implementation of the 2019 IFP, the Indonesian Government also introduced the Mental Health Act in 2014 (World Bank 2013). Unlike the previous 2009 Health Act that only emphasised curative aspects in the management of mental diseases, the 2014 Act has used a more comprehensive approach including health promotion, preventive, curative and rehabilitative services for all health care levels in Indonesia (RI 2014).

Jatim Bebas Pasung

Before the *Jatim FFP* programme began in June 2014, Menur Mental Hospital (RSJM) and Ponorogo District Health

Office launched an initial collaborating campaign called ‘Lighting to Hope for Schizophrenia’ (LHS) in October 2013 (World Bank 2013, Kusumadewi et al. 2016). The LHS programme, initiated by the Ponorogo District Government, consisted of a two day workshop and a three week internship programme in the RSJM for health staff and mental health volunteers from public health centres in Ponorogo (RSJM 2016)—and also transformed a newly built unofficial mental health hall into a Community Mental Health Sub-centre (RI 2011). This initiative shows increasing interest and commitment from the Ponorogo District Government to liberating schizophrenic patients from *pasung*. However, a lack of intersectoral collaboration with other government agencies within Ponorogo, the lack of availability of healthcare workers with mental health competencies, and social stigma from communities have limited the implementation of the LHS programme (World Bank 2013).

As a follow-up to the LHS programme and media coverage depicting Paringan village in Ponorogo District as a ‘mad’ village (Setyorakhmadi 2011), the *Jatim* FFP programme was introduced in East Java. This programme was proposed in 2013–14 after several meetings with stakeholders including RSJM, the *Jatim* Health Office and the *Jatim* Social Welfare Office (RSJM 2016). As a first step, the programme was divided into three levels of approaches:

- tertiary level involving stakeholders at the provincial level;
- secondary level involving all district governments in *Jatim*; and
- primary level involving all stakeholders within sub-districts in *Jatim* (ibid) (see Table 1).

At each level, a regional action team comprising all relevant stakeholders was established. The teams then formulated their programmes with an emphasis on three key aspects: strengthening regional policy; empowering human resources; and increasing service acceleration. Furthermore, each district in East Java was mapped and categorised into five categories according to their *Pasung* prevalence status (see Figure 1). This zoning categorisation was based on consensus among the stakeholders. The map was then used as an indicator to determine the target of each regional action team and each area in East Java. Regencies that have succeeded to increase their status to FFP zone will receive an award from the Governor of *Jatim*.

Ponorogo District

Among the 29 regencies and nine cities, Ponorogo District had the highest number of *pasung* cases recorded in *Jatim* (Figure 1, next page). Therefore, this district was chosen as the pilot study for the programme. The district’s geo-economic aspects can be seen in Figure 1.

Even though there are 31 public health centres (MoH 2015b) and a district hospital in Ponorogo, neither psychiatrists nor mental health services were available in 2014 (Ponorogo District Government 2014). Before the *Jatim* FFP programme commenced, all mental health patients were being referred to psychiatric hospitals in Central Java province or two mental hospitals in *Jatim* that are far from

Table 1: Stakeholders

Level of approach	Coordinator	Stakeholders
Tertiary	Implementing team from Community Mental Health East Java Province (comprises <i>Jatim</i> Department of Health and the Department of Social Welfare)	<i>Jatim</i> Department of Health
		Other provincial-level agencies such as <i>Jatim</i> Police Department
		<i>Jatim</i> Bureau of Public Welfare Administration
		Menur Mental Hospital
		<i>Jatim</i> Department of Social Welfare
		Lawang Mental Hospital
Secondary	Implementing team from Community Mental Health Ponorogo Regency (comprises Ponorogo Department of Health and Department of Social Welfare)	Ponorogo Department of Health
		Ponorogo Department of Social Welfare
		Other regional-level agencies such as Ponorogo Police Department
		Ponorogo Public Hospital
Primary	Head of mental health programme in each village	Public health centres in Ponorogo and their healthcare workers
		Paringan village community mental health sub-centre and its healthcare workers
		All Ponorogo village officers

Ponorogo (Suripto and Alfiah 2017, World Bank 2014). Eighty-one out of 2,800 mentally ill persons in Ponorogo were found to be physically restrained in 2013. However, the 2013 and 2014 Ponorogo District Health Office Profile did not mention *pasung* or the number of cases (RI 2011).

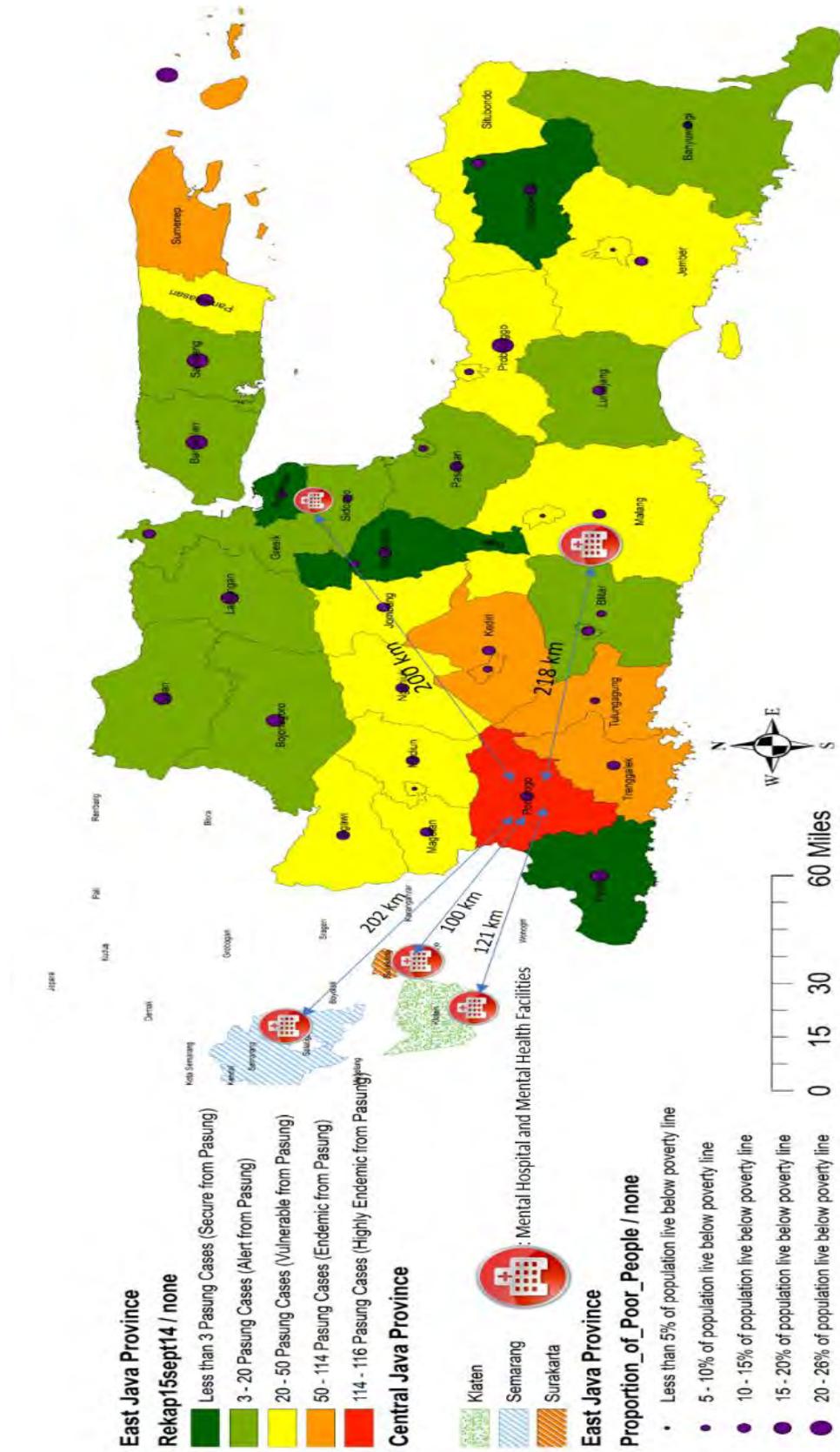
Jatim FFP case study

This case study is based on RSJM internal documents as well as reports from newspapers, government, NGOs, and scholarly articles from databases such as MEDLINE, Scopus, Web of Science, and National Institute of Health Research and Development (NIHRD). The core activities are reviewed in the following sections.

Strengthening regional policy

To achieve this goal, intersectoral collaborations between various stakeholders at all levels were conducted to formalise and adjust the policies from provincial to village level (RSJM 2016). A coordinator led each team, at each level. These coordinators are known as the implementing team of community mental health (TPKJM) at the tertiary and secondary levels, and the head of the mental health programme in each village at the primary level (Dewi 2015) (see Table 1). All coordinators at all levels actively provide suggestions to the governor of *Jatim*. The establishment of critical policies—such as ‘The Circular Letter of the Governor of *Jatim* on the deliberation of schizophrenic people with physical restraint’—is developed as a result of

Figure 1: *Jatim in 2014*



Source: The number of *pasung* cases was taken from internal documents from RSJIM, and the proportion of poor people was taken from the Statistics Indonesia.

continuous discussion with all coordinators at all levels within the provincial government. Consequently, more accurate data collection on victims of *pasung* was obtained in 2014. The circular was upgraded to an East Java provincial regulation in 2016 that has encouraged the development of integrated management of *pasung* victims from case detection, medical rehabilitation, social reintegration through to community participation or empowerment (Kusumadewi et al. 2016).

All related stakeholders actively participated in the development of the technical guidebook for the deliberation of people with *pasung* at the tertiary level and the establishment of a memorandum of understanding with the Ponorogo government (RSJM 2016). In addition, all stakeholders discussed the integration of financial aspects relating to the management of people with physical restraint into the Jatim Local Government Health Insurance Scheme or *Jamkesda* (ibid). Then, the governor issued the East Java Governor Regulation to ensure financial support for *pasung* patients in 2014 (World Bank 2013). As a result, Kemuning Village in Sambit District, Ponorogo was declared free from *pasung* on 20 June 2014.

Empowering human resources

The *Jatim* FFP programme has developed key activities to expand the capacity of its human resources. These include:

- mental health training for health staff at public health centres;
- the development and empowerment of mental health volunteers in villages;
- the formation of collaborating RSJM teams comprising psychiatrists, psychologists and mental health nurses; and
- ensuring collaborating groups exist in public health centres in Ponorogo District (RSJM 2016).

All public health centres in Ponorogo District met the Ministry of Health's 2016 standard mental health indicators by ensuring all *puskesmas* health staff received a minimum of 30 hours mental health training in promoting and preventing mental health; and implementing early detection, early diagnosis, early management, referral and return referral in mental health cases (*Jatim* Department of Health 2016).

Improvement and acceleration of services

The *Jatim* FFP programme aimed to improve access to mental health services. It did this through the development of peer support groups and rehabilitation centres for people who currently have or formerly had a mental illness, by optimising outreach techniques (RSJM 2016) and developing an integrated information system called E-Pasung (World Bank 2013).

The *Jatim* FFP introduced support groups and rehabilitation centres in Ponorogo District. The support group, developed by Ponorogo Health Office in 2014, has become a place where former mental health patients share their stories with mental health volunteers and communities (Kusumadewi et al. 2016). A community organisation known as Care for Schizophrenia Foundation (*Yayasan*

Peduli Schizophrenia) was established to provide support for mentally ill patients after they are discharged from hospital (Dewi 2015).

To improve the surveillance system in detecting *pasung* cases, the FFP programme collaborated with local community leaders, religious leaders and local police. In addition, this programme maximises the use of the mental health volunteers in the villages and healthcare workers in the public health centres (RSJM 2016). The collaboration among various agencies at community level has several purposes, which include: expanding human resource capacity; detecting more *pasung* cases; helping with treatment of mentally ill persons; and lessening the impact of any aggression from mentally ill patients (ibid).

Mental health volunteers can detect *pasung* cases in their villages, approach *pasung* patients' families and/or carers to bring patients to health care services, and refer *pasung* patients to the nearest health care providers (RSJM 2016). Health care workers in public health centres are trained to give mental health education to patients' families so they can provide care for mentally ill patients (ibid).

The *Jatim* FFP has also introduced E-Pasung to provide information about the number of existing *pasung* cases and monitor the progress of the programme in Ponorogo District and East Java Province (World Bank 2014, DINSOS 2016). Through the development of E-Pasung and other outreach interventions, the number of *pasung* cases in Ponorogo District has decreased from 116 in 2013 to 49 on 2 April 2017. E-Pasung has also improved surveillance capacity, with 116 cases detected in 2013 and 152 cases detected in 2017 (DINSOS 2017).

Discussion

The *Jatim* FFP programme has put emphasis on three key points: strengthening regional policy; empowering human resources; and improving and accelerating the provision of services (RSJM 2016). The use of intersectoral partnerships in this programme has changed the mental health management from a curative to a more comprehensive approach—health promotion, preventive, curative, and rehabilitative.

Positive implications

Implementation of the *Jatim* FFP programme has both decreased the number of mentally ill people being physically restrained, and increased the accuracy in registering cases of *pasung* in East Java.

Decrease in incidence

Although the total number of *pasung* cases is uncertain (Wijayanti and Masykur 2016), the *Jatim* FFP programme has reduced the number of *pasung* cases in Ponorogo district due to three core programme activities—policy, empowerment and better access to services.

1. *Policy*: The establishment of policies related to *pasung* has provided a financial support scheme for affected mentally ill people and their families (East Java Province Law Number 86, 2014); and legal certainty for health service providers

(Governor of *Jatim* Decree Number 188, 2013 and The Circular Letter of the Governor of *Jatim* Number 460, 2014). The funding scheme is promoting easy access to mental health services (World Bank 2013) while legal certainty has encouraged health service providers to accept responsibility for providing services (Nurjannah et al 2015).

2. *Empowerment of human resources*: The lack of specialised competence among health staff was identified as a major challenge in providing mental health services at a local level (Kusumadewi et al. 2016). Having competent health care workers, including psychologists, in public health facilities are critical because they can reduce stigma by providing adequate information to families and the wider communities (Keliat 2013, Surtoto and Alfiah 2017).
3. *Better access to services*: The use of peer support groups, volunteers, community collaboration including community rehabilitation, and E-pasung has improved access to mental health services. Collaboration through consultation with many stakeholders has increased the capacity of early detection and the accuracy of data on *pasung* cases through the implementation of E-Pasung. Similarly, mental health information systems have been implemented in other countries such as India and South Africa and proven to be effective in increasing the quality of mental health services at the community level (Upadhaya et al. 2016). The use of peer support groups has also promoted patient motivation and medication adherence in Indonesia that will reduce the incidence of acute mental health cases within communities (Anok et al. 2014, Yuswanto et al. 2015).

Increase in registration of cases

Jatim FFP has increased the accuracy of the overall counts of the number of *pasung* victims through improvement in the surveillance systems used by mental health volunteers, community organisations, and other local stakeholders who intervene in *pasung*. The number of *pasung* cases detected (including existing *pasung* cases, *pasung* patients hospitalised, and patients who have been released) in East Java Province has risen from 1,033 cases in 2014 (*Jatim* Department of Health 2015a) to 2,369 cases in April 2017 (DINSOS 2017). The enhanced surveillance system is supported by an informative system, called E-Pasung which aids the monitoring system since all stakeholders can detect, report, and manage *pasung* cases via this system. The application of adequate mental health surveillance through E-Pasung provides evidence to the East Java government regarding the accessibility and quality of mental health services (DINSOS 2016). Better utilisation of mental health surveillance data through E-Pasung would assist the government in formulating and developing adequate coverage of mental health services in East Java (Zhou and Xiao 2015).

Replicability

To increase the possibility of easy replicability within other regions, *Jatim* FFP uses the pre-existing system division—tertiary, secondary and primary levels (Isfandari et al. 2012). The programme also emphasises enabling health centres to provide mental health services to their local communities (RSJM 2016). These two elements will make it easier to extend the programme to other regions.

Challenges

This programme has shown promising progress in reducing the incidence of *pasung*, however, it needs to be implemented alongside community-based programmes, such as those community-based mental health programmes implemented in Aceh following the 2004 tsunami (Jones et al. 2007, Hugo 2007). This is partly because mental health stigma has a significant influence on a family's decision to turn to *pasung* (Davies et al. 2014). *Jatim* FFP only focusses on *pasung* within a community. There is a pressing need for the scope of this programme to be extended to other health facilities including aged care facilities and prisons—similar to the reforms successfully implemented in Australia (DINSOS 2016).

Conclusion

The three core activities of *Jatim* FFP have reduced *pasung* and increased the accuracy of quantifying the incidence of *pasung*. *Jatim* FFP could also be extended to other regions of Indonesia, because it can be applied within the existing health system with some adjustment for local context. To improve the outcome of the programme, a community-based mental health reform programme is urgently needed, and the scope of the programme needs to be extended.

Notes

- 1 *Jatim* FFP was funded by the East Java Provincial Office and Ponorogo District Government, and RSJM.
- 2 Thanks to the Governor of East Java Province and all the *pasung* team from Menur Mental Hospital (Sinovik RSJM team), Department of Health (Implementing Team of Community Mental Health), Mr E Suchayono, Department of Social Welfare (Implementing Team of Community Mental Health, Mr Yusmanu, Ponorogo District Government, other agencies, and all health care workers who have worked for the success of this programme. We also want to give thanks to anonymous reviewers for your constructive feedback on this paper.

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Ethical engagement for research partnerships and collaboration

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Effective collaboration between government agencies, NGOs, local communities, universities and other research partners is important for achieving development impact. The expectation that partnerships for agricultural research for development (AR4D) will successfully navigate traditional sectoral and disciplinary boundaries is a compelling one. A commonly held assumption is that effective partnerships simply happen.

There are multiple challenges and tensions which surface when researchers collaborate with development practitioners and policymakers to design and implement development initiatives. These range from different research approaches to conflicting timeframes, multiple organisational demands and divergent expectations about how to achieve impact (Caballero 2002). Even in cross-sectoral, participatory development contexts, the use of 'non-academic' skill sets and methods by researchers is rarely rewarded within scientific research organisations. Similarly, academic approaches are often viewed by NGOs, government and local communities as overly theoretical in practise.

A collaboration between Australian, Indian and Bangladeshi partners has found a common focal point to build cooperation for improving impact. Recognising that shared values and visions drive successful partnerships, the project is using ethical research practice to guide an approach to partnering and engagement, especially engagement with local communities. Our approach guides the design and direction of our research activities through processes that encourage deep integration and continuous learning. This paper considers our motivation for pursuing this approach, shares some of the hurdles and tensions in working this way, and celebrates our achievements so far.

Pushing traditional research and practice boundaries

The key drivers for successful partnering and engagement are clear. At the community level, programmes that engage local communities in the co-creation of knowledge demonstrate respect for local values and perspectives. Engagement helps to create ownership of research efforts by communities. Communities have rich insights and aspirations and hold deep knowledge unique to place, time and circumstance (Chambers 2010; Reid et al 2016). Adopting research practices that enable communities to participate in activities that ultimately aim to benefit them, is a natural extension of this philosophy.

At the formal partnership level, creating effective research partnerships capable of facilitating engagement across a broad range of actors is more likely to be successful at meeting project goals. Successful partnerships built on trust, mutual respect and a shared vision are key to realising development impact (Tennyson 2011). Additionally, partnerships which practice participatory and inclusive

approaches are more likely to ensure the sustainability of development interventions.

In the pursuit of genuine partnerships however, it is not uncommon for partners and projects to be confronted with a range of obstacles and tensions (Peachey and Cohen 2016). These are likely to surface when researchers from diverse backgrounds are expected to collaborate with development practitioners and policymakers to design and implement successful development initiatives. These tensions can be methodological in nature, they can derive from divergent institutional expectations, or relate to conflicts in operational and management styles and timelines. Some of the tensions commonly encountered in AR4D partnerships are discussed below.

The realities of partnering for development impact

Implicit in a grand vision of successful partnering for improved impact is the expectation that partnerships successfully navigate traditional sectoral and disciplinary boundaries. In reality, effective engagement between diverse actors and research partners demands multiple enabling conditions which can facilitate cooperation towards a mutual goal. Little attention has been given to accurately identifying and debating enablers and barriers to effective AR4D partnering.

The challenges commonly faced by partners are multi-faceted and interrelated. They include: differences in the value ascribed to specific knowledge types (for example, local knowledge as opposed to scientific knowledge) and the subsequent treatment of that knowledge; the individual organisational mandates and practices which influence decision making about partnering; the interplay of personal and professional experiences and biases; and the broader political and economic drivers which impact the capacity of a project to fulfil its goals.

Some research practice tensions are rooted in deeper historical, institutional and cultural conditions that if not addressed, have the potential to perpetuate entrenched discriminatory or exploitative practices (Freire 1993). The stereotyping of illiterate, poor individuals as incapable of participating fully in research is one example where disempowerment can create tension in partnerships and exacerbate feelings of dependency and apathy among marginalised segments of the community.

The researcher-subject relationship so revered in traditional research ethics approaches is another point of difference to negotiate in North-South (and South-South) partnerships. While these governance mechanisms are intended to 'protect the vulnerable' from potentially exploitative research practices, such relationships and practices at times tend not to facilitate equality and inclusion for participation in research.

Reconciling divergent priorities among research and practice partners is a key negotiation point for any successful partnership (Tennyson 2011). So too is working through the multiple and often conflicting timeframes that govern both project and community expectations in a given project. Managing these requires the proficiency of an experienced project leader working within an environment of trust, respect and cooperation.

In addition to good leadership, the unique skills of experienced knowledge and partnership brokers (and facilitators) can have a role to play in effective partnering (Rhodes 2016). These intermediary roles often carry the space, independence and legitimacy to translate, interpret and engage actors at various levels.

A case for rethinking partnership and engagement

The Australian Centre for International Agriculture Research (ACIAR) funded project, *Promoting socially inclusive and sustainable agricultural intensification in West Bengal and Bangladesh*, or SIAGI, (www.SIAGI.org) is striving to improve our understanding of the drivers, risks and impacts of agricultural intensification, especially on local livelihoods. The project views agricultural intensification as an inevitable process and one that has complex inter-related social, cultural, environmental and economic drivers. Climate change, labour migration and micronutrient malnutrition are examples of drivers of change in this region.

As with other social and economic transitions, well connected and resourced actors have the opportunity to reap benefits from agricultural intensification, while others can be further disadvantaged by them. For example, decision making processes that dictate the distribution of scarce water resources often occur in the absence of transparency or equity. Such exclusionary practices can be a source of community conflict, further marginalising already disadvantaged individuals and groups.

SIAGI is unusual in its exploration of the effect of agricultural intensification on the most marginalised farmers, especially women and the landless. The vast majority of AAR4D programmes remain focussed on working with more secure middle farmers who are better placed to take risks and have more opportunity to engage with research. Working in this context demands the creation of processes which not only facilitate cooperation among partners but actively engages and mobilises typically overlooked segments of the community. Building a more enabling environment for marginalised individuals and groups to participate in decision making processes that affect their livelihood futures is a key project focus. Engaging communities to help shape how, and which, agricultural value chains could be upgraded is one concrete example of our approach to inclusion.

The project's ultimate goal is to provide policymakers at various levels with informed options to promote more sustainable and inclusive intensification practices. Given the enormity of this goal, the SIAGI team have realised that a strong partnership built on trust, respect and collaboration is a critical mechanism for facilitating change.

Equity, ethics and inclusion as drivers of deeper engagement

SIAGI's focus on inclusion and equity dictates direct engagement with marginalised farmers including the landless, women and small holders, alongside larger farming households. SIAGI adopts the view that partnering with farmers helps to create the conditions for change.

This approach demands the creation of processes that facilitate cooperation among partners so that inclusive community engagement and participation are fostered. It also requires capacity building across the partnership and within communities, a topic elaborated on later in this paper.

Typical markers of ethical research and practice include compliance with institutional ethics review and approval requirements. While considered standard procedure at most research organisations, these processes often elicit perfunctory responses to completing requisite paperwork. In addition, for agricultural development initiatives, the incorporation of human research ethics considerations is not yet commonplace. While social science expertise in AR4D programming is increasing, ethical decision making is rarely integrated or formally recognised as a legitimate project activity. From the outset, a deeper, more deliberative engagement with ethical issues was recognised as fundamental to SIAGI's success.

The project team's motivation to place ethics at the centre of project design and implementation was driven by several factors. The first factor was our observation that marginalised individuals and groups often lacked both power and voice to actively engage in decision making processes that affected their livelihoods. A second motivating factor was our observation that communities were more likely than not to have been let down by past AR4D projects. Third, we agreed with Mohindra and colleagues' 2011 observation that communities are dynamic and unique entities and exist independently of project ambitions and should be respected accordingly (see Mishra 2016).

Finally, while the intentions of development organisations may be benevolent, institutional and environmental constraints can heavily influence the direction and reach of individual projects. For example, large concentrations of research and development organisations working in the same communities can have a detrimental impact on all involved. This can include stakeholder fatigue, issues of trust and scepticism, conflicting messages and the influence of existing preconceived expectations in communities about what might be possible. SIAGI is aware of this situation and works hard to avoid further burdening communities in ways that do not benefit them.

Upon realising that community engagement was pivotal in avoiding what the project team viewed as 'development mistakes of the past', effort was made to develop a strategy which could more fully facilitate the inclusion and participation of communities in the shaping of the project¹. This involves an understanding of the principles of procedural justice as seen by both the relatively advantaged as well as disadvantaged sectors of the community. Developing the

strategy had the unexpected benefit of generating interest in ethical practice in AR4D more broadly and inspired a spirit of learning among the partners.

SIAGI's ethical community engagement strategy

Ethical engagement is a feature of good research practice and demonstrates respect towards the capacities and aspirations of fellow human beings. The SIAGI partnership has invested heavily in developing and implementing an ethical engagement strategy that reflects this mindset.

The strategy has multiple purposes and a central intention. While the driving motivation, entry point and scale of interest for engaging ethically with communities might have initially differed among partners, the partnership has been driven by engaging in research which meets the development needs of communities. The process of developing a strategy as research partners forces us to be continuously mindful of orienting our research activities towards development outcomes, especially the needs of local communities. This in turn helps us to create more meaningful relationships with each other and the communities in which we work.

The development of the strategy has also enabled partners to share learning across the research-practice spectrum. It has revealed partners' strengths as well as opportunities to build capacity in a range of research and practice areas. For example, the project has held several cross-learning events where both research and development partners lead intensive hands on workshops to share experiences, methods and approaches. Finally, investing time in developing the strategy has firmly placed ethics at the centre of research practice.

Our strategy is a working document that openly acknowledges the fundamentals of ethical engagement and the tensions that can be raised in working this way. The partnership recognised early on that specific values formed the building blocks of any engagement process. The values the partnership identified as essential to effective and ethical community engagement include respect, dignity, inclusion and equity. Integrating these values into planned activities is the key to realising the benefits these values generate. Within each activity cluster, community engagement is a central feature.

Consecutive and multiple partnership discussions during both formal project meetings and informal conversations have revealed key enabling conditions for collaborative participation. These include the creation of inclusive and comfortable spaces for engagement; the continuous and ongoing task of building trust in communities where trust has been eroded by unfilled promises and; the need to empower and build the confidence of communities as legitimate contributors and research partners.

Shaping the future of ethical research partnerships

Models which link knowledge with action, or research with practice, can vary radically in how they value and treat

knowledge, in how they characterise participation, and in their understanding of how power shapes decision-making processes and outcomes (Agarwal 2001; Reid et al 2016).

A strong project partnership and collaboration with the community has helped us to actively practice the principles and goals the project aspires to reach—socially inclusive and equitable agricultural intensification. A focus on ethical research and practice has enabled SIAGI to think more deeply about how to engage communities as participants in the process.

Beyond practicing participatory development principles, in the longer term, we expect our efforts to improve the prospect of sustainability of research outcomes. As we settle into Year two of a four-year project, we are busy planning and engaging in capacity building activities across the partnership and in the community.

While the process of reaching a degree of comfort with our approach has taken considerable time and energy, the benefits of travelling down this path have been significant. We have a stronger partnership, a better integrated work plan, and are developing the capacities of communities and ourselves to strive towards improved development outcomes.

We are continually appraising our methods and approaches to ensure the project is not practising discrimination through knowledge or methodological preference and not perpetuating inequitable power relationships related to acquisition and ownership of knowledge (Donnelly 2013). Implementing adaptive management principles and adopting a fit-for-purpose monitoring, evaluation and learning (MEL) plan has helped us monitor our progress. Our MEL plan includes the collection of personal narratives and reflections which help to demonstrate project impact for various individuals and stakeholder groups.

The SIAGI collaboration is grateful to the numerous champions who continue to promote this way of working both within and outside of the partnership. Without this level of support, adopting this approach would have been made more difficult.

Ethics no longer sits on the fringes of project administration and procedural compliance. For SIAGI, ethics is at the centre of how we plan, design, implement and monitor research activities. It influences the way we collaborate as partners and the way we engage with our stakeholders and beneficiaries.

It is important to note that while our approach to ethics follows universal ethical principles such as justice, dignity, fairness and respect, these play out differently across different contexts. Our project sites differ distinctly in their social, cultural, environmental and economic landscapes. Our approach is strongly guided by the experiences of our NGO partners who are deeply embedded in the communities they work. Indeed, it is the quality of the SIAGI partnership and the trust built across it which makes ethical engagement possible.

Conclusion

While still in its early days, the project's focus on ethical research practice has created a space for partners to connect more deeply and empathetically to achieve shared goals.

The process has helped to ensure that research activities engage more meaningfully with participating communities, while building on each partner's strengths. This paper has shared our rationale and lessons for advancing this approach.

We expect the approach to lead to enhanced outcomes on a number of levels despite the path being less than straightforward and presenting a number of challenges. The resulting benefits are central to successful AR4D partnerships and projects. They include the creation of meaningful relationships among research communities; the sharing of learning across the research-practice spectrum; the orientation of research to help achieve development outcomes, and most importantly, including local communities as partners, collaborators and agents of their own futures.

Notes

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¹ The idea to formalise a strategy for ethical community engagement originated in a sister project, *Dry Season Irrigation for Marginal and Tenant Farmers (DSI4MTF)*, also funded by ACIAR.

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Research issues in a recent Zambian mining boom: Some on-site observations

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From 2002, the North Western Province (NWP) of Zambia, previously a quiet rural backwater, became the site of a mining boom. Three large open pit mines, a handful of smaller ones and a rash of artisanal mining and exploration commenced in all districts, but predominantly in Solwezi District. Some 525 licenses, mostly for exploration, were registered in 2013, compared to 20 in 1999.

The previously ignored North West was suddenly overwhelmed with job seekers, businesses and NGOs, as well as by national and international researchers attracted by a mining boom which differed from the much-studied Copperbelt 200kms away. In addition, the mines also recruited consultants to undertake a large number of mandatory studies. As a result of the influx of researchers, communities were inundated by requests for interviews and to participate in focus group discussions and, at first, were delighted to have someone listen to their issues.

The author, who worked with the United Nations in Zambia for seven years, oversaw a five year research programme in the NWP commencing just before the mining boom began in 2002, and documented its impact on Solwezi town during that time. Later field trips in 2012 and 2014 documented the longer term impact.

Introduction

The following research issues arise from an analysis of 105 studies undertaken during the initial mining boom between 2002 and 2015. Almost half of the studies were commissioned by or for mining and related infrastructure companies and included environmental impact assessments (EIAs), and commissioned sectoral studies. One third were for academic purposes while about one fifth were by or for international organisations and NGOs. The majority focussed on the three major mines areas at Kansanshi, Lumwana and Kalumbila. While not all studies were academic research, they all had methodologies and issues in common.

On reviewing the various studies and other reports, and having discussion with many of the players involved in the mining boom, a number of issues became apparent. While some of the information gathered has been informative and a useful addition to the provincial database and those implementing social and economic programmes, other findings and research methodologies have proved problematic.

Key research issues

Lack of knowledge of the local environment

While non-mine related topics are often relevant to examining mining impact they need to be selected after consultation incountry and with an understanding of the NWP and a clear understanding of existing or ongoing

recent research. This was not always the case and the topics and concepts stated in the research projects were often pre-packaged and driven by an individual's, or a company's, own agenda—rather than by local needs. As an Australian post-doctoral researcher said about his proposed research topic:

...‘it speaks to **my** [emphasis added] interests’...its objective was to ‘coordinate community development programmes, social infrastructure, and the employment and business development initiatives of multiple mining projects...

When questioned about his objectives it became clear that he had never been to Zambia and had not consulted anyone about Zambia or mining in NWP.

Comments

Without prior research into the country and current situation, researchers risked duplication of effort and over-researching some communities. Some important subjects were not covered while other topics were relevant to global, rather than local, interests. Having a good grasp of what already existed and consulting locally about priority research needs would have helped improve their relevance and usefulness to those on the ground—rather than just benefitting the researcher.

Resource issues: Time and money

A major issue reported by almost all researchers was the shortage of time available to conduct their research. Only doctoral (PhD) and masters (MA) students had the time to delve more deeply into issues. This showed in their work, although some were limited in what they could investigate because of their meagre financial resources—for example, inadequate funding for transport.

A related issue was that students and academics tended to arrive at their own convenience—timed to fit in with their academic year or reporting requirements of the mining companies—even though these times might clash with the rainy and farming seasons, or annual cultural events which distract both government and communities. For example, some researchers planned to visit rural communities in the wet season—seemingly unaware that roads are often impassable at that time of year—or that many potential informants would be out working in the fields. Ignorance of the province demographics may also have meant—as one author complained in a Lumwana mine report—that ‘villages were not only sparsely distributed but also composed of very few households, just two or three—consequently affecting ability to sample adequate numbers’.

Comments

A shortage of time severely undermines the potential for accuracy, especially when addressing social issues which, by their very nature, may be complex and not what appear

on the surface—or even what informants are initially saying—and seldom allow time to verify information. Another issue is that, traditionally, villagers take considerable time over decision making and time is needed for a hierarchy of opinion seeking and discussion.

Rushed research also hinders the ability to locate government informants and reports—often hard to find.

Lack of preparation

Almost all researchers I interviewed were new to NWP, almost none referenced previous research on the province, and only one listed any of the mine environmental impact statements (EIS) or industry related documents, many of which contained useful local information also available from the internet. Most references listed were international or generic, such as national census results.

Comments

It appeared many researchers had not done their homework. They had a very limited understanding of the broader context and seemed unaware of earlier events. NWP has a rich literature from pre-mining boom days yet it appeared unknown to researchers—most of whom were unaware of the numerous previous community consultations which had taken place, including for EIS processes—which, while not strictly academic, were focussed on the three big mining areas in which nearly all researchers were also interested. This made for a research traffic jam, and occasionally created ‘stakeholder fatigue’—which led to some communities becoming ‘interview savvy’.

A related issue was that researchers often failed to appreciate that government officials and mine social staff in particular, were being contacted repeatedly for information. While well aware of the need to be seen to be open about their activities, the number of enquiries was especially frustrating for busy company social staff who bore the brunt of demands. By the same token, there were government and community representatives who avoided answering some questions which could make it difficult to verify information. Because of their shortage of time researchers expected key informants to just drop whatever they were doing and agree to be interviewed—and were offended and became suspicious if this wasn’t possible.

Bias

Another issue which has become obvious during the analysis of research activities was an apparent bias—especially amongst NGOs and the media—that everything mining companies did was bad and everything NGOs promoted and did was right. This is not necessarily the case. There has been a failure of some researchers to take a neutral view and to recognise there are often shades of grey—not just shades of black and white.

Comments

Mining companies are in the industry to use their expertise and resources to recoup investments and make profits and the industry has had a very negative history. However, the large companies are now under considerable international pressure to follow established principles and are audited socially as well as financially. Any digressions present serious risks to

their reputation, and therefore, their investments. Researchers may need to separate mine management behaviour from the work of mine social teams. This is not to excuse bad behaviour, which has happened, but to recognize there may be subtleties. It is quite possible that ‘the enemy is within’ as a Tanzanian priest involved in mine monitoring pointed out at an Alternative Mining Conference in 2012—meaning government was at fault not the company. A bias was also introduced by the tendency of mining communities to report problems to interviewers—rather than describe the positive things that mining companies have done—which interviewers failed to pick up on. There have been examples of positive information provided being ignored.

Researcher experience and quality of student supervision

A surprising number of the study reports demonstrated weak preparation, inadequate data gathering, limited time in the field, and—most importantly—weak analysis. This was not only a problem with research by some Zambian students and local NGOs but also international consultants and research supervisors. Analyses and recommendations tended to be generic and often unrealistic and included advice on what companies, government and communities ‘should’ do to improve the situation.

Comments

These weaknesses undermine the legitimacy of findings and risk spreading false information. In Zambia, part of the problem relates to the standard of education available, weak supervision and in some cases lack of incountry knowledge by international supervisors.

In a mining boom there is considerable demand for research and a skilled research fraternity could be fully employed if their work was of good quality and did justice to those being studied. Poor quality reports risk misrepresentation, damaging reputations and perpetuating untruths. For the sake of all involved, mining impact is a complex subject which warrants skilled assessment.

Inaccurate results and lack of feedback

As a result of these weaknesses, many of the reports reviewed contained factual inaccuracies—some important and others minor—enabling a false and inaccurate historical picture. There were also misunderstandings or misinterpretations—especially in situations where community passions were running high—and when, unbeknown to the researcher, political games were also being played. Some of those frequently interviewed, as happened in the areas with the most controversy, grew to be ‘interview savvy’ and gave researchers, NGOs and the media what they thought they wanted to hear—generally, that the mining company was very bad—when the reality may have been something else. There needed to be some form of quality control over participation in research.

There was seldom an upfront feedback mechanism to local people, including to the communities researched. Only one of 105 documents reviewed had a translation up front. Rarely do reports—let alone summaries in local languages—get sent to the communities, companies or government. Drafts were almost never provided to

companies or the government for corrections of fact before finalising—especially problematic for the companies. On occasion, they found out about a report when it hit the social media or news headlines—sometimes with damaging misinformation.

Comments

Because of such experiences the Annual Information Form of the mining company First Quantum Minerals Ltd (2016-17), now includes mention of such issues in the section on ‘Risks’:

Such complaints, regardless of whether they have any substance or basis in fact or law, may have the effect of undermining the confidence of the public or regulator in the company...and may adversely affect the price of the company’s securities or the Company’s prospects...

Sometimes such cases were particularly sensitive. In one case a Norwegian NGO report was factually inaccurate and recommended that its government not invest in mining. The company was not given the opportunity to correct the facts before it went public. As Norway is a major investor this was particularly disturbing for the company. In another case, a report for the International Labour Organization inadequately represented a situation and ignored corrections. In a third, the International Council on Mining and Minerals (ICMM) misrepresented comparative Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) contributions because of different definitions used by companies (ICMM 2014).

Follow up

An issue for communities being researched, and in particular for those in Zambia’s mining areas, was that expectations were raised and communities felt that they had been ‘used’ and then left with nothing. This was disappointing and dispiriting, especially for those struggling with mine related issues and who had hospitably welcomed these apparently interested visitors into their villages. The Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) complained about this lack of follow-up in a newspaper column headlined ‘Too much research, very little impact’—pointing out that despite all the research that had been undertaken the problems discussed had not been addressed (Ndashe 2015). The JCTR article noted that some communities had recently been reluctant to participate with their own researchers about their living conditions, because of previous experience where no feedback or funds for improvements had been provided. The JCTR article also noted that people weren’t asking for luxuries—but for basics such as clean water and health services—although many of those needs were being addressed under Corporate Social Responsibility programmes as it was usually the sectoral studies commissioned by the mines that had resources to follow up findings (ibid).

Partnerships

Important partnerships when undertaking community research are those between the researcher or research team and local contacts able to function effectively in the local environment. This is often a poorly appreciated role,

although some local contacts have their names included in the resulting publication or are compensated with a small payment, but local knowledge is essential to being able to navigate—geographically, administratively and culturally—and effectively. However, there is also a risk of bias occurring if the local partner is, for example, a relative of a chief, or a friend of someone in local government.

Another form of partnership occurs when mining companies hire local and/or international researchers to conduct sectoral studies relying on their sectoral and possible local expertise—which, if sufficient time was provided—could be beneficial. Leeds University collaborated closely with a team of Zambian NGO personnel to conduct community consultations. The university researchers benefitted from local knowledge and the NGO personnel benefitted from learning new skills. This interaction was, however, of very limited duration—less than two weeks in two different studies—with no follow-up, so again, was too short to be sustainable.

Conclusion

The North West Zambia mining boom was accompanied by a research boom—research that was not always conducted effectively. As a result, the quality of results was variable. The ad hoc, uncoordinated nature of the research interventions was part of the problem. In particular, some communities suffered from being ‘overstudied’ and resented the lack of any results that were meaningful to them.

It is therefore not necessarily true that collaboration between academia, NGOs, and local government and communities helps provide better research impacts. There are many other factors involved. ‘Helicoptering’ into a mining impacted province with pre-packaged ideas and little background knowledge has the potential to do a disservice to the mining companies, local government and local people. It is largely one sided in its returns and does not—or rarely—contributes to improving the wellbeing of the people being studied.

As the mining situation in Zambia shows, effective research cannot be done alone but requires knowing what else has, or is, going on, and taking time to collaborate with a variety of local players—not just for effective research but to enhance sharing and improving the potential use of findings.

Quality research findings can obviously contribute to the country’s knowledge base and help empower communities—and companies and government to learn how to better manage their responsibilities in mining—but this will not occur if research is undertaken without adequate time, consultation and collaboration.

On reflection, it is apparent that this discretely bounded mining boom which attracted such an army of researchers over a short period of time would have benefitted from the presence of a research advisory, coordinating, and resource body closely linked to implementing and funding bodies. It could have been, and could still be, funded jointly by the companies, government and a donor in conjunction with a local university or institute—and include scholarships and close supervision of students. This idea of prescriptive and coordinated research may be controversial, but is stated in

the interests of producing quality research—and for those affected by this mining boom and their wellbeing—rather than the wellbeing of researchers. It would also be following in the tradition of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute which, as Schumaker (2001) described, ‘...carried out a coordinated research program.’ Filer (in press) noted that this research—commenced in the 1930s—was focussed on the Copperbelt, initiating the first ever studies about the socio-economic and political impact of mining. Those research findings were linked to providing advice to government.

Unfortunately, the North West research ‘horses’ bolted wildly in the first decade of the mining boom, but it is not too late to rope them in for the second decade and continue the Rhodes-Livingstone tradition of academic and organisational coordination for the purposes of producing locally relevant, quality and ethical research of potential use to implementers.

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Private sector partnerships for climate change adaptation: Lessons from a Fijian case study

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Private sector involvement in climate change adaptation (CCA) has long been discussed as an important contributor to progress in sustainable development. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) notes the private sector's capacity for innovation, technology development and financial leverage (Pauw et al 2016) while the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) make clear the need for partnership and collaboration with the private sector to help overcome the challenges climate change will bring to development. In the Pacific, there is also a very clear policy directive for private sector engagement in the Framework for Resilient Development in the Pacific (FRDP) (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS) et al 2016) which provides strategic guidance for Pacific stakeholders on ways to enhance resilience for sustainable development.

Much has been written about partnering with the private sector and subsequent potential benefits for CCA which include new job opportunities, economic growth, poverty reduction and contributing to transformational change (Trabacchi and Stadelmann 2013, Pickering et al 2017). However, there is a lack of real-world examples of government, non-government and community partnerships with the private sector, particularly in developing countries (Pauw 2015). This paper helps address this gap by developing a conceptual framework that proposes key factors thought to be important for private sector partnerships for CCA in the Pacific. This framework is then applied to a specific case in the Pacific, the Fiji Business Disaster Resilience Council (FBDRRC), and its partnership with the Fijian Government, to test the extent to which the proposed factors contribute to a real world partnership.

Historical and international policy context

The private sector's capacity for innovation, technology development and financial leverage is widely acknowledged (Pauw et al 2016) and private sector engagement has become ubiquitous in discussions around CCA for some time. Private sector engagement in development dialogue had its beginnings in 1992 with the launch of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development. Since the early 2000's, numerous initiatives bringing private sector voices to development and CCA discussions have occurred such as 'Business and the Millennium Development Goals: A Framework for Action' (UNDP and IBLF 2003); UNDP's 'Growing Inclusive Markets' initiative (UNDP 2008), the Private Sector Initiative in 2011, and the Private Sector Facility established by the Green Climate Fund in 2013 (Fayolle et al 2017).

From a policy perspective, the SDGs also highlight the need for engagement with the private sector for CCA. Goal 13, Climate Action, highlights the need to work with the private sector to identify adaptation opportunities and to leverage private sector expertise (UN 2016). The FRDP similarly includes the private sector as a key stakeholder under several of its goals (PIFS et al 2016).

Globally, partnerships with the private sector are already occurring on CCA issues. However, there remains a lack of guidance of what successful private sector engagement on CCA initiatives looks like in various contexts—including the Pacific. Most examples see the private sector's interests, expertise and resources being merged into the development and CCA-focussed agenda, rather than development practitioners seeking to understand how their agenda aligns with private sector interests. The following conceptual framework and its application to a case study provides insights and practical guidance on how these shortcomings can be overcome.

Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework proposed for this research draws on literature from the business sector in general, as well as available research from the Pacific. Four key elements (see Figure 1 below) that facilitate effective private sector partnerships for CCA emerge and are described below.

Alignment with local context

For a successful partnership, all partners need to align with the underlying cultural, political, social, economic and geographic contexts in which they are embedded. This is particularly the case when external or ‘outside’ partners enter into a partnership with locally based actors. In the Pacific, the following factors are important when considering partnerships between private sector actors, government and community.

- *Collectivism over individuality:* Collectivism, or prioritising the collective over the individual, is inherent in Pacific culture (Saffu 2003). This practice does not align with the dominant view of how businesses operate (Purcell and Scheyven 2015).
- *Power distance:* In Pacific cultures, power distance (relating to how power is distributed across a culture) means it is acceptable for large and unequal distribution of power to exist in communities and society (Hofstede 1980). Power, hierarchy, and status within a culture impact upon entrepreneurship, and the way businesses function, reflecting the cultural views on traditional hierarchies.
- *Gender:* Traditional gender roles in the Pacific see women typically playing roles in the home and tending to domestic duties. While some examples of successful business-women exist in the Pacific, most entrepreneurs and business owners still tend to be male (ibid).
- *Perceptions of uncertainty:* In the Pacific, ambiguity carries a level of anxiety, and risk taking is something typically to be avoided (ibid). This cultural dimension relates to how new partnerships with private sector actors emerge, particularly in the context of climate change where uncertainty around the future is unknown.
- *Geographic factors:* Smaller economies of scale, remoteness, geographic fragmentation and low density populations make doing business a challenge in Pacific Islands.

High labour, transport and production costs deem some exports uncompetitive and constrain the expansion of markets to international customers.

Good relationships in the Pacific

International business literature notes that for micro- and small to medium enterprises (SMEs), successful business creation and growth is linked to interpersonal networking (Reeg 2013). Past research has shown that informal relationships and trust are significant contributing factors to adaptive capacity in the Pacific (Gero et al 2015). Where institutional capacity is low due to small populations in the Pacific, informal relationships between individuals enhanced the efficiency of information flows (ibid). Research in Samoa, for example, found that personal relationships were critical to how small enterprises operated at the local level (Cahn 2008).

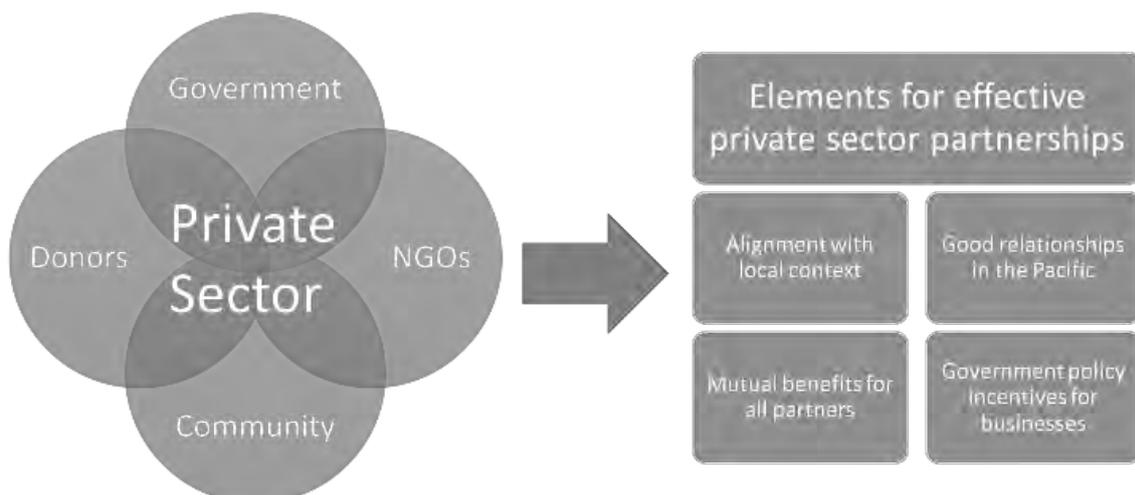
Government policy incentives for businesses

International literature shows that government policy can actively encourage productive entrepreneurship through the development of supportive institutional settings and the reduction of constraints on businesses (Minniti 2008). These helpful government policies include (Minniti 2008, Cho and Honorati 2014, Piza et al 2016):

- policy support;
- financial support;
- capacity building;
- supporting networks;
- value chain support; and
- specific business support.

Government support of business in the Pacific has implications for private sector partnerships. Partnerships require sustainable commitment from all parties, thus private sector actors need stable and supportive institutional environments in which to operate. It is therefore important to understand the policy environment in which businesses operate in order to assess their ability to participate in partnerships for CCA.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework for effective private sector partnerships for CCA in the Pacific



Mutual benefits for all partners

For the private sector, benefits of partnerships may include opening up new business opportunities (Christiansen et al 2012). Concurrently, climate change could modify the typical conditions in which Pacific businesses operate, potentially for the worse in some situations—for example, more frequent tropical cyclones causing business interruption, or fewer tourists to previously popular locations due to altered weather patterns. Adaptation is therefore a necessity for business continuity, and partnering with government, NGOs or communities may better enable risk sharing. From the government’s perspective, public-private partnerships can help lessen uncertainties by sharing risks as well as leveraging expertise and resources (World Bank 2016).

These four elements of the conceptual framework (Figure 1) were applied to the case study, as described in the following section.

Case study: Fiji Business Disaster Resilience Council

The Fiji Business Disaster Resilience Council (FBDR) is a new example of a private sector partnership for CCA given that the effects of climate change necessitate establishing new ways of business engagement with government and other stakeholders on risk management issues. FBDR has relationships with the Pacific Islands Private Sector Organisation (PIPSO), communities, NGOs and UN agencies.

The FBDR officially formed in July 2016 as an additional council of the Fiji Commerce and Employers Federation (FCEF). The two key objectives of the Council are to: strengthen the engagement of the private sector in Fiji with government in terms of resilience, disaster preparedness, response and recovery; and support the private sector in improving its own resilience.

The need for improved coordination with government and the private sector was highlighted during severe tropical cyclone Winston, which struck Fiji in February 2016. The impacts from the cyclone provided the impetus for the private sector to engage in disaster risk management.

An initial planning workshop for FBDR saw participants representing Goodman Fielder, Vodafone Fiji Ltd, Vinod Patel Ltd, Digicel, Westpac Banking Corporation, Bank of South Pacific, Coca Cola Amatil, Fiji Electricity Authority and DHL Express (Fiji) Ltd—come together to discuss coordination. This workshop saw the Council develop their objectives and a clear understanding of support it could provide members.

Both the establishment of the Council, and its ongoing operation, has benefitted greatly from influential ‘champions’ from within the business sector. These champions have been critical in advocating for engagement with Government, in encouraging other businesses to join the Council, and in diffusing lessons learned from the Council to other Pacific Chambers of Commerce at regional and global forums.

Activities of the Council include:

- support to businesses in developing business continuity plans;
- networking with other businesses;
- supporting the government in delivering response, recovery, preparedness and resilience building activities;
- training (for example, on understanding weather patterns, and on disaster preparedness, response and recovery);
- participation in government-led disaster risk management discussions;
- advocacy on behalf of the private sector;
- monthly meetings, with external speakers presenting on relevant topics; and
- informal gatherings to allow for relationship building.

Membership to FBDR is open to all businesses who are members of the Fiji Commerce and Employers Federation (a non-profit body). Membership fees for the latter organisation are minimal, especially for SMEs.

Alignment with local context

FBDR and its partnership with government aligned with local context in two principle ways. Firstly, Council members comprised Fijian-based businesses who were also members of the Fijian Commerce and Employers Federation. The Council and government partners were therefore inherently able to incorporate specific cultural and geographical contexts in their partnership approach, given they were based within that same cultural and geographical context. Documentation and descriptions of FBDR highlight how the Council also provides a local information database and monitoring mechanism (Connecting Business Initiative n.d.).

Secondly, FBDR was initiated from within an existing local coordination mechanism (that is, the FCEF). One benefit of this was that the starting point, objectives and activities were led by the private sector. This follows the ‘development first’ approach to managing risks, which recognises the benefits of embedding risk management into pre-existing institutions, rather than creating new mechanisms. FBDR’s emergence from a pre-existing structure is an important point and contributing factor to its success and that of the partnership.

Good relationships in the Pacific

FBDR understood the importance of building good relationships between key individuals within its own network and with government, civil society and international organisations (FBDR 2016a) and built these into its activities, for example, formal meetings with government and informal networking opportunities. The Council also benefited from having strong leadership with key individuals able to influence and inspire others within the private sector to engage in the Council’s activities.

In a FBDR-led ‘Lessons Learned Workshop’ following tropical cyclone Winston, Council members noted the importance of continuous dialogue and partnership with government to enable effective coordination (FBDR 2016b). Acknowledging the importance of these partnerships links to the fifth Risk Governance Building Block for Resilient Development in the Pacific—key components of

the Pacific Risk Resilience Programme (PRRP) that detail how Pacific communities can become more resilient in the face of climate change and natural disasters (UNDP 2016). FBDRC has established relationships with the National Disaster Management Office (NDMO, the lead national organisation for disaster risk management), the Minister for Agriculture, Rural and Maritime Development and National Disaster Management and other government agencies, which enabled private sector participation in the government led response. This finding aligns with other post-Winston reflections on factors affecting successful disaster response in the Pacific—that coordination and smooth flow of information were enhanced by pre-existing relationships based on mutual trust (PHT 2016).

Government policy incentives and support for business participation

The Government of Fiji's support of private sector engagement is noted in several policy frameworks, highlighting how the government is aiming to overcome the idea that doing business in Fiji is a challenge. For example, the Fiji Green Growth Framework notes that partnerships and strengthened private sector development are key aspects of their approach moving forward, ensuring 'no-one is excluded' (Fiji Government 2014:22). The Fijian Government has also committed to provide an environment conducive to a robust, resilient private sector (Fiji Government 2016). At the Pacific regional level, there are also calls to better enable participation of and partnerships with the private sector (see PIFS et al 2016).

FBDRC is supported by government through several mechanisms, including the provision of information, linkages to specific people in relevant government ministries, formal endorsement of FBDRC initiatives, and participation in government-led discussions (for example, with NDMO). FBDRC has, for example, been offered a place on the Government's Disaster Management Council (FBDRC 2016a). This national body represents the highest level decision makers from government ministries, providing overarching leadership in times of disaster response and recovery. The Council has also been invited to participate in the review of Fiji's draft Humanitarian Policy for Disaster Risk Management (Fiji Government 2016). Such a review enables FBDRC to ensure private sector objectives are represented in national policy.

Mutual benefits for all partners

Successful partnerships are characterised by multi-benefit objectives, where there is an understanding of the commitments and responsibilities of all partners (Sanni 2016). Benefits to members of the Council were clearly articulated and included (FBDRC 2016a, FBDRC 2016b):

- participation in government's disaster management structures;
- access to government's disaster management information (for example, hazard mapping);
- ability to influence government's policies on resilience, disaster preparedness and response;
- support in developing Business Continuity Plans; and
- weather pattern interpretation.

Benefits to government included:

- access to private sector resources and expertise;
- provision of local data on private sector capacity and resources (critical in post-disaster needs assessments); and
- the immediacy of businesses to respond and mobilise resources in post-disaster situations due to their embeddedness in communities.

The effectiveness of the partnership going forward will need to ensure an equal balance of benefits and interests so that both private sector and government partners continue to see value in engaging in the partnership.

Reflections and conclusion

This research has explored an example of a private sector partnership for CCA in Fiji, applying an experimental conceptual framework to test the extent to which key elements identified in the literature were important for a real world partnership case. Application of the framework allowed researchers to understand the factors affecting the success of the FBDRC's partnership with government. Reflections on the applicability of the conceptual framework were provided in order to assist other practitioners in supporting programmes, evaluations and other initiatives that promote private sector partnerships for CCA in the Pacific. The main limitation of this research was the lack of documentation, specifically on the case study, given it has only been formally operating for around one year. This was overcome by sourcing reference material from multiple sources—for example, from UNDP, press articles and media releases.

To summarise, to date FBDRC's partnership with government has been successful for the following reasons.

Firstly, it aligned with the local context, primarily because it was initiated from within a pre-existing Fijian-led business mechanism. This meant that cultural and geographical contextual issues were already embedded within its workings, and perhaps more importantly, that its starting point and objectives were generated by the private sector. The framework initially proposed that acknowledging cultural and geographical context was important for private sector partnerships. This is likely to be more important for partnerships with external (or outside) private sector bodies, which requires further testing and research.

Secondly, good relationships with key stakeholders in the business and government sectors were a crucial element of the partnership's success. The case study highlighted that having such relationships with leaders and individual change agents from the private sector and government was particularly important.

Thirdly, government support was a critical factor in the success of the partnership. Such support was demonstrated in policy considerations and the inclusion of private sector interests in decision making bodies and policies.

Lastly, having clearly defined and understood mutual benefits for private sector and government stakeholders was a key component of the success of the partnership. Both partners had incentives to participate and their engagement

allowed them to gain something in various ways—for example, access to information, upskilling and influence.

The partnership model of FBDR with government has been widely acknowledged as an effective means of improving private sector engagement and coordination in the Pacific. For example, the Vanuatu Chamber of Commerce and PIPSO recently launched a similar Council called the ‘Business Resilience Committee,’ and a Pacific Regional Resilience Council is also being planned. The uptake of this model of private sector partnerships elsewhere indicates its value beyond the Fiji experience and how it resonates with both private sector and government stakeholders. As experience grows over time, further lessons and experiences from Fiji, Vanuatu and at the

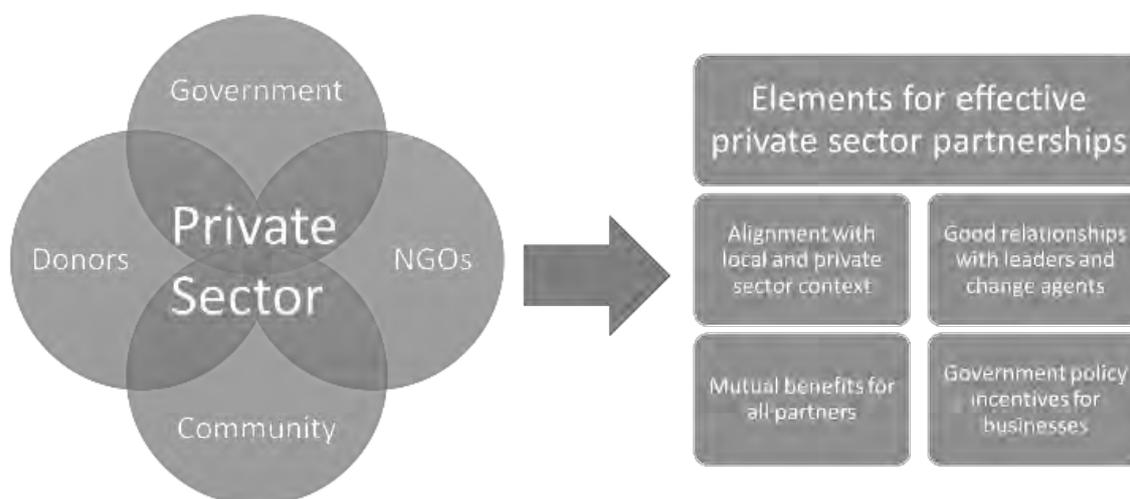
regional level can be shared to enable emerging private sector partnerships to effectively contribute to CCA and sustainable development more broadly.

Given the above findings which highlight the usefulness of the conceptual framework, we therefore propose the following slight alterations to the first two components (see Figure 2 below).

The FBDR partnership case study has demonstrated the value of the conceptual framework (with the above small changes) for understanding components required for successful private sector engagement on CCA. It therefore provides a useful tool for development partners, NGOs and donors to inform their strategies for engagement with the private sector in the Pacific.

Figure 2: Revised conceptual framework for private sector partnerships in the Pacific

1. Alignment with local and private sector context
2. Good relationships with leaders and change agents



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Shifting from supply to demand: Opportunities for improving humanitarian response in urban disaster settings

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Rapid onset disasters such as earthquakes and floods can destroy years of development gains. While well-coordinated post-disaster recovery efforts by aid actors (including local and international NGOs, United Nations agencies, governments and others) can bring lasting improvements, poorly conceived and executed approaches can lead to weaknesses in efficiency, effectiveness, and impact. The situation is more complicated in urban areas where there are competing interests, a multiplicity of actors and complex governance.

The humanitarian aid system, largely unchanged in 75 years, is in effect organised on a supply-based approach, exemplified in recent years by the adoption of the ‘cluster system’ (OCHA, 2005). While clusters have largely been found to be beneficial (Humphries 2013), in urban areas they have been problematic (IRC 2015). The growing interest in adopting area-based approaches (ABAs) may provide opportunities for more effective post-disaster recovery efforts. ABAs, in essence, take on a developmental perspective in post disaster relief to recovery operations, meaning, among other things, the need for greater ownership by local actors, timeframes that are geared primarily towards affected populations rather than those of agency and donor requirements, and people-centred approaches. To these ends, ABAs offer opportunities for agencies to shift from a supply-driven approach towards one that, if well implemented, is demand-driven.

The current aid architecture: Largely supply-driven

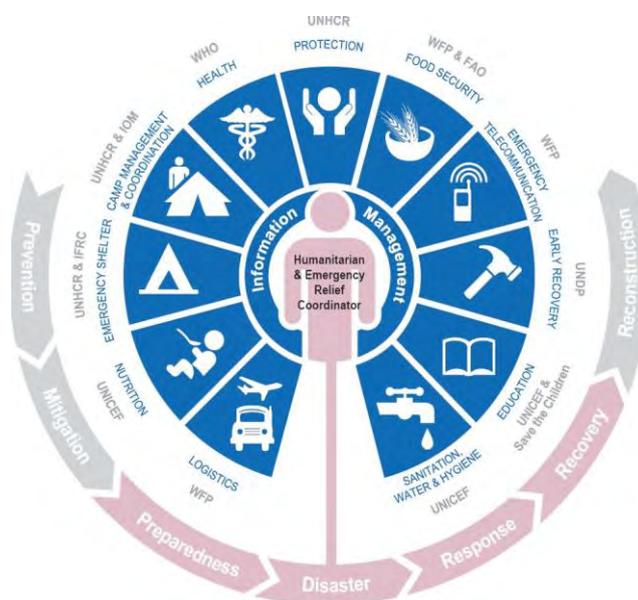
It is well-recognised that the humanitarian aid system, in its current form, is struggling to meet the increasingly complex challenges it faces. One influential think-tank, the UK-based Overseas Development Institute (ODI), argues in their report, ‘Time to Change’, that, ‘the formal system faces a crisis of legitimacy, capacity and means, blocked by significant and enduring flaws that prevent it from being effective’ (Bennett, 2016, 7). This view was reflected at 2016’s first World Humanitarian Summit (WHS), with the agenda to ‘rethink aid’. The WHS acknowledged that ‘woefully under-resourced humanitarian response’ has to ‘do much more far better’ (UN 2016, 2). Part of this acknowledgement is the scale of need. According to the United Nations, the number of people in need of aid in 2017 was 92.8 million in 33 countries, which required funding support of US\$22.2 billion (OCHA 2016). This compares to the need of US\$20.1 billion in 2016 for 87.6 million people in 37 countries, and US\$2.7 billion in 1992, when the first UN appeal was launched (ReliefWeb, 2015).

The current system to date has developed largely based on the assumption that disasters occur in locations where there are few resources, and for which large amounts of

external assistance are needed. Such locations are almost always rural in nature. Mitchell’s ‘Four Cs Model’ (Mitchell 2014) provides an analysis of four kinds of aid approaches and the underlying assumptions behind them. A *comprehensive* approach, where the aid system assumes there is little or no local capacity, for example in large-scale responses to rural famine; *constrained*, describes where the operating environment is limited, for instance due to conflict; *collaborative*, concerns where aid agencies ‘fill in the gaps’ not provided by government (an example would be the 2010–12 Pakistan floods) and *consultative*, where agencies provide support to strong local governance structures, usually in middle-income countries. Mitchell calculates that, so far, the comprehensive approach has dominated previous actions, and accounted for roughly half of all humanitarian aid expenditure, compared to only five per cent for consultative approaches.

The supply-driven nature of aid is illustrated in the structures of coordination adopted by operational agencies. Chief among these is the ‘cluster approach’, adopted as part of the Humanitarian Reform Agenda (OCHA 2005) instituted by the United Nations following weaknesses in effectiveness, in particular to aid responses in Darfur. The term ‘cluster’ implies that organisations engaged in respective sectors ‘cluster together’ to provide a better coordinated response. This is in recognition that humanitarian aid provision is mostly organised into sectors, according to the kinds of goods and services provided by type. Common types, or sectors, include water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH), health, nutrition and logistics. Figure 1 illustrates

Figure 1: The cluster approach to humanitarian aid after disasters (OCHA)



clusters as originally envisaged. At the centre is the Humanitarian and Relief Co-ordinator, who is tasked with managing the cluster approach and providing information to its members. In-country teams are known as Humanitarian Cluster Teams (HCTs). Each cluster is led by two international agencies, almost all of whom are UN agencies. Clusters are also intended to be co-led by host governments who have borne the disaster, and are intended take on full leadership sometime after a disaster, when recovery efforts are well underway.

The cluster approach therefore organises aid delivery according to what agencies supply, and in doing so, the system has worked relatively well: a meta-evaluation of 18 evaluations and agency reports found that, ‘overall, the Cluster Approach has increased the effectiveness of humanitarian action, suggesting that it is a worthwhile mechanism to pursue’ (Humphries, 2013, Introduction).

The urban ‘game-changer’

The cluster system’s implementation in response to the complexities of the urban environment has however been problematic. As the International Rescue Committee (IRC) observes, ‘The traditional cluster system does not lend itself to the complexity of needs, services and systems across an urban landscape with humanitarian agencies struggling to deal with the complexity, density and built environment of towns and cities or [un]able to take full advantage of the potential a city has to offer’ (IRC, 2015). The cluster system can also (inadvertently perhaps) exclude local organisations just after an emergency when a large number of external actors usually arrives (which can happen in particular in urban areas). As Grünewald et al (2012) found after the Haiti earthquake, ‘local authorities... complained that three months after the earthquake they felt “like strangers in [their] own city”’. This is a particular problem in urban areas, where meaningful action often relies on the functioning of complex systems of governance.

Aid delivery, and how it is organised, needs to adapt to towns and cities. In the same year of the Haiti earthquake (2010), the World Bank produced a report that referred to rapid urbanisation, and threat of more urban disasters, as the ‘urban game-changer’ (World Bank, 2010). The Haiti earthquake, which may have killed upwards of 220,000 people², especially damaged cities such as the capital Port-au-Prince and Leogane. For many aid agencies, the Haiti earthquake was a ‘wake-up call’ concerning the need to ‘think urban’: a review of 13 international NGOs after the earthquake found them to be largely unprepared for an urban response. As one INGO country director reflected, ‘An assumption made was that working in urban contexts would be easier than working in rural ones; which in fact was the opposite’ (Clermont et al 2011: 3).

Particular urban challenges encountered by agencies in this disaster (and common to other urban disasters) included:

- complex land ownership arrangements;
- large amounts of rubble that needed shifting;

- the complexity and competing interests of governance systems (from formal levels of government to more informal gangs);
- difficulties of coordinating efforts among competing agencies;
- working with government;
- density/lack of space; and
- damaged infrastructure.

The World Bank’s ‘game-changer’ description is appropriate: urban growth is happening fast, and means a new operating environment for humanitarian response. Over half the world’s population is now urban, and increasing. UN-Habitat estimates that city growth is in the order of one million people per week or around 180,000 people a day, the consequence of cities expanding, rural to urban migration, but most significantly, people being born into towns and cities. In 1950, 30 per cent of the world’s population was urban, and by 2050, 66 per cent of the world’s population is projected to be urban (UN, 2014). Of the additional 2.5 million new urban dwellers to be added between 2014 and 2050, 90 per cent of these will be in fast growing towns and cities in Asia and Africa (ibid).

Shifting to a demand-driven approach: Area-based approaches

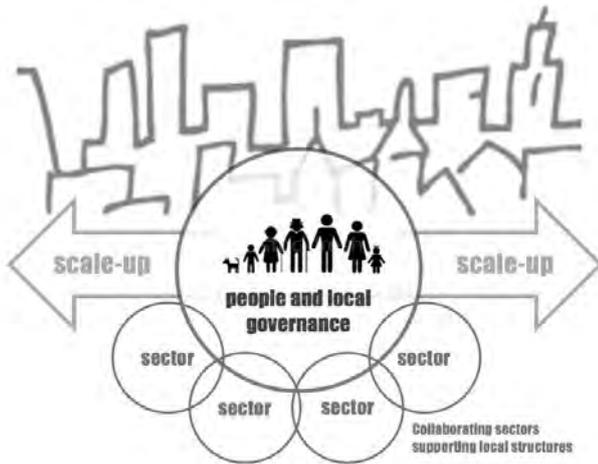
In the last seven years since the Haiti earthquake, many agencies and donors have invested resources into improving urban responses. The aid system itself has to some degree become urbanised as evidenced by the number of new initiatives, such as the launch of the Global Alliance for Urban Crises (GAUC)³; the work of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee’s (IASC) Reference Group Meeting Humanitarian Challenges in Urban Areas; various programmes from donors (for example DFID’s east Africa Research Fund, focussing on urban systems) and coalitions such as the Stronger Cities Initiative⁴.

A number of approaches are also underway to address this need, such as improvements in assessment approaches⁵. Another is area-based approaches (ABAs) which have gained increasing attention over the last few years as an approach that places people and locations at the centre of actions. ABAs can be defined as actions that ‘support people after a disaster in a specific location to transition effectively from relief to recovery; it works with existing structures and can be scaled up’ (Sanderson and Sitko, 2017). Figure 2 (next page) illustrates this definition (Note: the graphic places ‘people and local governance’ in the centre, in contrast to OCHA’s cluster diagram, illustrated in Figure 1, where the Humanitarian and Emergency Relief Coordinator is the centre of attention).

ABAs have been used in some recent disaster recovery operations to good effect. Following efforts to enact post-disaster housing following Typhoon Haiyan, which struck the Philippines in 2013, Stodart (2016) records that a benefit of a settlements perspective is that it ‘involves the consideration of other aspects of community life beyond shelter and how these aspects all fit together physically and

functionally'. And, following the 2010 Haiti earthquake, UN-Habitat (2013) advocated that urban recovery should take a place-based approach, in that wherever possible, communities should rebuild in the locations they were originally based in if it is safe to do so.

Figure 2: Area-based approaches to humanitarian aid after disasters (Sanderson and Sitko, 2017)



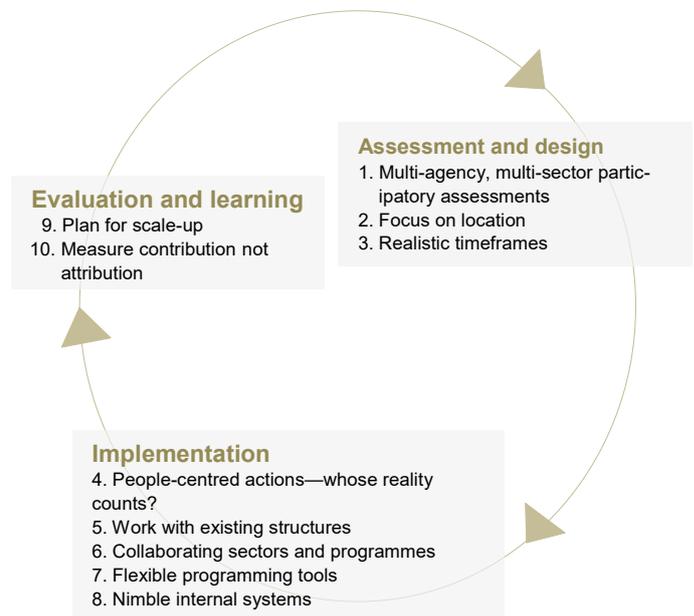
A number of organisations have backed ABAs. For example, the IASC advocates adopting ABAs, arguing that ‘higher impacts are possible if activities are designed and coordinated through geographical/spatial, community-city-based and inter-sectoral approaches, which better link where people live and work, markets, basic services and availability of social safety nets’. The Global Alliance for Urban Crises⁶ submission to HABITAT III in October 2016 advocated the need to ‘Adopt area-based approaches to programming and coordination’ in relation to recognising the scale, nature and complexity of urban crisis (GAUC, 2016). The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (2011) argues that ABAs help to improve clarity and understanding in programming effectiveness, by providing a clear location and set of actors to engage with.

ABAs in development programmes have been known broadly by a number of different names, including integrated development programmes, slum upgrading, sites and services projects⁷, neighbourhood and settlement approaches and multi-sector planning. USAID’s Office of US Foreign Disaster Assistance in particular has promoted the idea of shelter and settlements, arguing that it is necessary to consider the wider spatial needs of ‘settlement-based assistance’ and a ‘neighbourhood approach’ which aim to engage with communities in a holistic manner, rather than being driven by one sectoral priority, such as shelter.

In research recently undertaken by the author into ABAs, a number of humanitarian practitioners were interviewed to gather their experience on how ABAs worked in practice and a literature review was undertaken. Findings from the interviews and literature review were collated into a ‘Guidance Note for Humanitarian Practitioners’ (Sanderson and Sitko, 2017), which comprises ten principles, organised according to the project management

cycle: assessment and design, implementation; and monitoring, evaluation and learning. (See Figure 3).

Figure 3. Ten ABA principles according to the project management cycle



The principles draw both from good practice in post-disaster recovery and from developmental approaches for working in urban areas in low and middle income countries. This is because, faced with such complexity, effective urban post-disaster recovery is a process undertaken with the engagement of a large number of actors. Using Mitchell’s (2014) terminology cited earlier, implementing agencies in urban areas are better suited to adopt collaborative and consultative approaches, which are more akin to developmental models, rather than assuming they can fix everything, which they certainly cannot, with a comprehensive approach. For example, principle seven in Figure 3, concerning ‘flexible programming: adaptive management’ refers to the application of action planning methodology (Hamdi and Goethert 1997) for engaging neighbourhood decision-making in slum upgrading projects. Approaches include, among other things, being ‘problem based and opportunity driven’; ‘embracing serendipity’; ‘being non-reliant on complete information’; and, ‘focusing on starting points, rather than end states’.

A strong emphasis, also drawn from developmental approaches, is the critical need to be people-centred in all approaches. This for example is embodied in principle four, which poses Chambers’ seminal question, ‘whose reality counts?’ (Chambers, 1995)—is it the needs of aid agencies and donors, or rather of affected populations? Another key point, adapting Chambers’ question, is to ask ‘whose disaster is it?’ meaning that effective recovery works best when it works through and strengthens existing structures. To these ends, principle five, ‘work with existing structures’, argues that, ‘activities must engage with existing structures, even if these are weak (otherwise, such structures may be weakened even further)’ (Sanderson and

Sitko, 2017). Leadership needs to be local, and at a variety of levels, with international actors playing a support role. As an example of this, following the 2015 Nepal earthquakes,

local government structures provided a strong lead (in the early relief stages) of several of the affected districts in coordinating the response efforts of local and international NGOs, through regular meetings with senior government officials, as well at local level with Village Development Committees (VDCs) and Ward Citizen's Forums (Sanderson et al, 2015).

This point is substantiated by another principle five—to 'work with existing structures'.

A common critique of humanitarian response and recovery programming is the creation of parallel structures, for example setting up medical services that ignore existing societal structures within an affected location, and may undermine pre-existing health care supply services (Clermont et al, 2011). As the study recommends, the role of agencies therefore is to support local structures and approaches, 'even if this takes longer and is, in some instances, more difficult' (Sanderson and Sitko, 2017:17). Such a view is shared in The Sphere Project's recently revised urban guidelines: "Depending on the capacity of the local authorities, the humanitarians' role may be more about facilitation and enabling than direct service provision" (Mountfield, 2016:11).

Several of the principles (such as the use of action planning) challenge the use of traditional project management tools and approaches. To these ends the Guidance Note provides tools and approaches to fit this, such as correct use of logframes and the use of new approaches such as adaptive management, 'a programming approach that combines appropriate analysis, structured flexibility, and iterative improvements in the face of contextual and causal complexity' (Chambers and Ramalingam, 2016:2). In a similar vein principle ten recommends measuring contribution to change, and not individual project attribution, to overcome the obsession with short term individual project outputs. Concerning the need for improved collaboration, principle six, 'collaborating sectors and programmes', calls, among other things, for clear leadership to ensure co-ordination and collaboration and clarity among agencies of who is doing what.

Concluding comments: Taking a more developmental approach to urban disaster recovery

The introduction to this paper referred to ODI's 'Time to Change' report (Bennett, 2016). The recommendations from that report were threefold: to 'let go of power and control', given that humanitarian aid can 'exclude those who do not act like organizations within the formal system'; to 'redefine success', that is, to rethink what is realistically achievable; and to 'remake humanitarian action' through adopting a people-centred approach, in particular in long-term crises.

These recommendations find particular resonance and urgency in urban programming if post-disaster efforts by

humanitarian actors are to become more suited to the challenges at hand. 'Letting go of power and control' therefore means agencies ceding greater power of decision-making and agency to existing power-structures. 'Redefining success' may mean for example considering longer time periods for relief and recovery operations (beyond those of agency and donor timeframes, which are often short), where funds might be used more appropriately as investments to meet long term needs, not just in the short term—for example on whether to spend funds on relatively expensive transitional shelters instead of aiming for permanent housing). Finally, 'remake humanitarian action' could mean that aid embraces and exploits the opportunities present within cities, such as the presence of markets and resources, and ingenuity and innovation. In summary, the challenge is to learn from what works well in urban developmental approaches, and reconfigure urban humanitarian response to work towards better demand-driven approaches.

Notes

- 1 Inaugural Judith Neilson Chair of Architecture.
- 2 The final numbers of fatalities are uncertain and are contested.
- 3 A coalition of more than 65 organisations—from local authorities, humanitarian, development, and urban actors—to prevent, prepare for, and respond to urban crises.
- 4 A two year programme focussing on improving urban assessment approaches, led by the International Rescue Committee, the Norwegian Refugee Council and World Vision, with funding from the UK's Department for International Development.
- 5 See for example Mohiddin and Smith's (2016) review of assessment approaches; also work undertaken by ALNAP (Sanderson and Knox Clarke, 2012) and ACAPS' (2015) urban assessment guidelines.
- 6 The GAUC is a coalition of 'more than 65 organizations—from local authorities, humanitarian, development, and urban actors—to prevent, prepare for and respond to urban crises'.
- 7 The 'contribution to change' approach is 'focused on assessing positive and negative changes to the lives of affected people and other local stakeholders, in the medium term following a disaster event' (Few et al, 2014, 7).

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Partnerships for self-determination: The Cuba–Timor health cooperation

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This paper uses the Cuban–Timor–Leste health partnership to illustrate desirable principles in aid partnerships. For all its problems, Timor–Leste has graduated one thousand doctors in the past decade, created clinics in all rural districts and has seen substantial improvements in some critical health indicators. Over this period, Cuba was by far the most important partner in health training and health services. We consider what it was about this partnership that facilitated substantial gains in both human capacity and human development.

We argue that development partnerships promoted by the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are not immune from aid failure, in both economic and human development terms and that there are problems of a democratic deficit in external aid, together with the parallel problems of 'aid trauma'—through bubble economies, aggravated inequality and failures in human capacity building.

Development partnerships, democracy and aid trauma

We ask if 'development partnerships' (DPs) can escape the historic problems of aid regarding local democracy, failures to meet stated goals and actual damage through 'aid trauma' (Anderson 2008). We also observe the historical links with earlier demands for 'privatisation'.

'Development partnerships' represent a broader and more poorly defined category than the 'privatisations' they largely replaced in development debates in the late 1990s. 'Public private partnerships' (PPPs) were promoted by the World Bank in the 1980s and 1990s, though definitions of this idea were 'extremely vague' (Mitchell-Weaver and Manning 1991:45). At the same time, the World Bank emphatically backed privatisation of state owned enterprises (SOEs), based on the findings that privatised SOEs performed better at generating operating surplus, profits and overall productivity (World Bank 1994). This test, however, did not take account of the wider social objectives of public services and SOEs, relying instead on the idea that commercialisation would introduce the allocative magic of 'the market', albeit in most cases oligopoly markets.

More than one trillion dollars in SOE assets were privatised between 1980 and the early 2000s (Brune, Garrett and Kogut 2004) and 'privatisation' became a dirty word. Fiercely resented in Latin America, Africa and Asia in the 1980s and 1990s, the term was virtually abolished (along with 'structural adjustment programmes') at the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank in September 1999. Thereafter, the emphasis was more clearly on various forms of public-private partnerships (or 'participations'), which were said to have 'similar benefits to privatizations' (Hemming 2006).

Soon after the abolition of 'privatisation' from the IMF–World Bank lexicon, the MDGs were adopted by the United Nations. Most of these goals relied on the United Nations Development Programme's popular human development indicators, leaving to one side the means of achieving them. However, goal eight carried the major theme of 'development partnerships', explicitly with 'the private sector', specifically with global 'pharmaceutical companies' and linked to the IMF and World Trade Organization (WTO) 'rules based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system' (UN 2000). Those specified means were in turn criticised for linking attractive humanist goals with corporate neoliberal ambitions, so as 'to legitimize the policies and practices implemented by dominant capital and those who support it' (Amin 2006:6). Expensive new medicines, fortified by WTO-backed patent rules, were a source of aggravation (Intellectual Property Watch 2015).

PPPs and DPs were rapidly identified as a new mechanism for an old aim—a greater 'open door' to foreign capital with reduced levels of social regulation. One writer highlighted the 'conceptual inconsistencies underlying public-private partnerships that lead them to deliver results opposite to those they claim' (Miraftab 2004). These partnerships often assumed the form of privatisations, with the associated problems—in particular higher prices, quality concerns and less social accountability (for example, Barlow 2008:58). As it happened, corporate sector dissatisfaction with the pace of the new private investment opportunities under the MDGs helped drive a more systematic agenda for the SDGs of 2015 (Quintos 2015). It is too early to say much about the influence of the SDGs but we should reflect on the problems of earlier, similar programmes.

The aid industry of more than USD\$140 billion per year (OECD 2017), has shown little correlation between expenditure and stated aims. Firstly, large aid projects (for example in infrastructure and services) with private foreign companies typically undermine local democracy. Despite the Paris Declaration claims of official development assistance fostering local ownership (OECD 2005), there is minimal local accountability for most large aid projects. Even reports on the outcomes of these projects are often masked by the cloak of commercial confidentiality. Aid regimes tend to substitute cultures of charity and external dependence for those of justice, citizen's rights and democratic accountability (Anderson in Leach et al. 2012). As the industry has its own logic, it is no accident that most aid programmes have no exit strategy. Yet 'development' is a necessarily political process which should remain in responsible and accountable hands.

Secondly, the problems of debt obligation and policy leverage, corruption amongst aid programme elites, and aid trauma, compound this undemocratic dilemma. 'Aid trauma' (Anderson 2008) as a concept helps identify damaging

features of the aid industry. Relatively small groups of highly paid foreigners can inflict social and economic damage through the creation of inflationary enclave bubble economies, failures in human capacity building and corrosive inequality—seen as relative deprivation. Highly paid advisers contribute to massively unequal, apartheid-like ‘bubble economies’ (Sogge 2009), which are both unstable and generate resentment and violent crime (Braithwaite 1979; Fajnzlber, Lederman and Loayza 2002:1). A few years back, two of the three most expensive cities in the world were said to be N’Djamena in Chad and Luanda in Angola (Mercer 2011; UN Habitat 2008), simply because of the long term presence of resource companies alongside highly paid UN and aid agency personnel.

Several systematic analyses, involving many countries, show the consistent and large scale failure of aid in its stated objectives. In the 1990s, when economic growth was the benchmark, Boone (1995) found that aid ‘does not significantly increase investment or growth’, regardless of the form of government. Donor countries blamed the failures on corrupt local elites (certainly one part of the problem), leading another study to suggest that aid should be made conditional on ‘good governance’ conditions (Burnside and Dollar 1997). Yet another study contradicted this claim, saying that aid failed across all manner of recipient regimes (Easterly, Levine and Roodman 2003). Finally, two IMF-commissioned studies looked at the impact of aid on infant mortality. Masud and Yontcheva (2005) found that bilateral aid did not reduce infant mortality (but NGO aid could), and that ‘only government education expenditures’ reduced illiteracy. A follow up study found that doubling health aid could be linked to a two per cent reduction in infant mortality (Mishra and Newhouse 2007). This was completely inadequate for the targets of the MDGs. The sober conclusion must be that the human development impact of most official development assistance is marginal.

The Cuban Timor-Leste health partnership

It is instructive to compare a development partnership with some quite different features to the typical corporate-led projects. The Cuban Timor-Leste health cooperation is a large health training project, without the neoliberal features: a public sector to public sector programme, without private participations. The ethos remains one of public service rather than commercial contracting. There was staged capacity building, with the objective of replacing Cuban doctors with local doctors.

The programme grew from a meeting in February 2003 between the then Cuban President Fidel Castro and then Timor-Leste President Xanana Gusmao. At first, 20 scholarships were offered, but by December 2005 the offer had grown to 1000, based on a comprehensive plan to create one doctor for every 1000 inhabitants (pers comm. 2007a). That made it the largest health worker training operation outside Latin America. The first students were sent to Cuba for training in December 2003 and a small group of Cuban doctors arrived in Timor in April 2004 (Medina 2006).

Some aid money was at first used to contract the Cuban doctors but, from 2006, ‘the Cuban Government (paid) the

wages of all its doctors and charged our (Timorese) medical students nothing’ (PMC 2006). In 2011, after oil and gas revenues began, the Government of Timor took over the payment of Cuban doctor salaries, at Timorese rates. Cuba’s doctors work under the direction of the local Department of Health, as public servants. Their approach—subject to local priorities—has been to go to areas where basic services are absent, and to focus on preventive healthcare, supplemented by clinical medicine (MEDICC 2008).

In their first five years, Cuban doctors carried out 2.7 million consultations and estimated that they had saved more than 11,400 lives (CMB 2008, Table 4). They also maintained health services during Timor’s 2006 political crisis, including regular visits to the internally displaced persons’ camps (PMC 2006; Zwi et al 2007). But the core of the programme was creating ‘the doctors of tomorrow’ (pers comm. 2007b), through the hundreds that trained in Cuba and the hundreds more who trained at a Faculty of Medicine set up in Timor-Leste’s National University in December 2005 (pers comm. 2007c, CMB 2008).

The ideology of the training was a distinct humanist version of ‘social medicine’, ideas inherited from a wider Latin American tradition and developed in Cuba (Anderson 2010). Fidel Castro said: ‘Our mission is much greater than to capture a few dollars. Our mission is to create a doctrine in relation to human health, to demonstrate an example of what can be done in this field’ (Castro 1999). A number of these ideas were adopted by the Timorese.

Although local jealousies can lead to scepticism and claims of poor quality training, Cuban medical certificates are one of the most widely recognised in the world, including in the USA (ECFMG 2008). High quality health outcomes in Cuba are well recognised, even by Cuba’s ideological opponents (World Bank 2004:157–158). As the training moved to Timor, local community and Christian values were added. Dr Rui Araujo, Health Minister from 2002 to 2007 (and Prime Minister at the time of writing), wrote that the training emphasised ‘responsibility to society...critical thinking, flexibility and openness to knowledge exchange’ (Araujo 2009:3).

In early September 2010, the first group of 18 East Timorese doctors graduated in Dili. They had completed an internship in Timor-Leste after six years of studies in Cuba and were immediately registered as ‘General Basic Doctors’. They began their ‘social service’ working in rural areas.

By 2014 around 800 had graduated and almost 600 of those were working as public sector doctors (Anderson 2014; Xiaohui Hou et al. 2016). Between 2010 and 2015 Cuban trained Timorese doctors came to comprise more than 90 per cent of the country’s doctors (Xiaohui Hou et al. 2016:5) and were working in all subdistricts. The Cuban doctors had pulled back to training roles and specialist work in the regional and national hospitals. Although there was frustration over limited salaries and the lack of postgraduate opportunities, there appeared to be virtually no economic migration, not even to Timor’s private clinics (Anderson 2014). An independent survey in 2014 reported that 99 per cent of Timorese doctors wanted to continue to work for the government/public health sector (op.cit:7). By early 2017

more than 900 Timorese were said to have graduated as doctors (Horta 2017).

Improvements in under five and maternal mortality since independence (see Table 1) must reflect the contributions of the hundreds of Cuban doctors and the subsequent hundreds of Cuban-trained Timorese doctors. There were also above average improvements in lower respiratory infections and diarrhoeal disease (WHO 2015).

Table 1: Timor-Leste, critical health indicators, 1990–2013

	1990	2000	2013
Under 5 mortality (per 1,000)	172	110	55
Maternal mortality (per 100,000)	1200	700	270

Source: WHO 2015

Improvements in other areas were not necessarily doctor related. Immunisation of one year olds for DPT3 (combined diphtheria, pertussis and tetanus vaccine) rose from about 50 per cent in 2000 to about 80 per cent in 2013—while access to improved water sources rose from about 55 per cent to almost 70 per cent over the same period (WHO 2015). In early 2014 doctors reported the progressive eradication of malaria in Lautem and Viqueque districts, as a result of integrated programmes of vector control, preventive measures and systematic doctor treatment (Anderson 2014).

Other areas show little to no progress, most importantly in child malnutrition. A survey in 2013 found half of all East Timorese babies to be stunted (MDS 2013). That was down from 58 per cent in 2010 but higher than the 49.4 per cent of 2002 (WHO 2012). Breastfeeding has been encouraged and was quite high, but anaemia amongst mothers and babies was high (MDS 2013:6-7,13,18). Progress in reducing the high levels of tuberculosis was slow and substandard in regional terms (WHO 2015). A major constraint was under-investment. In 2013 only 1.3 per cent of GDP was invested in the country's health sector, compared to the developing country average of 5.6 per cent (UNDP 2015: Table 9).

The Cuban Timor-Leste health partnership has had a powerful but under-remarked impact on the Timorese health system. At 2017, the small country had around 1000 doctors and medical graduates, more than 90 per cent of them from this programme. Despite frustrations, the expected 'brain drain' has yet to materialise. That may be linked to the scale and ethos of the training, alongside Timorese community orientation and the cohesive 'gravity' of the new doctor cohort.

The expanded human capacity of the health system must take credit for many of the preventive and service-linked improvements, in particular reduced infant and maternal mortality and advances in some areas of infectious disease. Further, the programme did not contribute to the inflationary dual economy by virtue of remaining inside the health system. Cuban doctor salaries did not rise above local

levels. Since 2012, the numbers of Cuban doctors have been reduced and pulled back into training and specialist roles.

Conclusion: Sovereign regulation and partnerships

While this partnership has had a unique history, the general lessons must include recognition of the value of large scale human capacity building programmes, combined with a strong public service ethos. The plan to replace foreign health aid workers by training locals ensured that this programme maintained its 'exit strategy', minimising aid dependence and aid trauma. Cuban doctors on local wages and within the public service also helped reduce dual economies. This approach contrasts with other 'development partnerships' which involve large foreign corporations, highly paid professionals, corrosive dual economies and ongoing tenure.

Independent peoples might better regard themselves as responsible and sovereign—rather than 'recipients'—in a development environment which prevents inflationary, unequal and exclusionary bubble economies, builds national and indigenous technologies and institutions, and expands large scale investment in human capacity (Anderson 2012). Partnerships which address these problems should better contribute to developmental and democratic national self-determination.

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Partnering for development impact: Innovation in Indonesian agricultural systems

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For Indonesia to maintain its current four to six per cent gross domestic product growth trajectory, it has been estimated that productivity in agriculture will need to increase by 60 per cent over the next 15 years (Oberman et al 2012). There is broad consensus on the various pathways to achieve this goal: boosting yields, shifting production to higher value crops, reducing post-harvest losses, strengthening infrastructure and transport logistics, and increasing access to land, capital and credit.

However, effecting these changes may be challenging as agricultural productivity growth in Indonesia is expected to plateau from a relatively strong annual 1.7 per cent between 1982 to 2008, to just 0.6 per cent from 2008 to 2050—due to the low availability of additional land, the already high intensity of inputs (particularly in Central and West Java) and low existing levels of investment in agricultural research and infrastructure.

The majority of Indonesia's poor live in rural areas, and almost 43 per cent of the labour force is employed in agriculture (ILO 2014), with 60 per cent of the poorest Indonesians living on small farms (Tuttle 2012). Agriculture is critical to food security for many rural households and a key pathway out of poverty, through the development of viable value chains.

Innovation is seen as one mechanism to support continued growth in agriculture and the economy more generally. Like many countries grappling with the challenge of fostering innovation, there are systemic failings in the link between knowledge generation through research in Indonesia and the wider processes that put this knowledge to use. The key challenges to achieving effective agricultural innovation practices in Eastern Indonesia lie, firstly, less with the generation of good ideas—which exist in significant numbers in the public research institutes (RIs)—but more with a lack of interface with agricultural industry players who can take these ideas to scale. Secondly, there is a lack of accompanying mechanisms (funding and facilitation services) to support mutually beneficial collaborations.

This paper reflects on the experiences of the Applied Research and Innovation Systems in Agriculture (ARISA) project to catalyse agricultural innovation by bringing RIs and private sector (PS) actors together in partnerships. Facilitating partnerships to catalyse innovation requires capacity building of individuals as well as institutional change. This paper examines the approaches to partnering for innovation, successes, challenges and lessons learnt.

The ARISA Project

The ARISA project is a four year project, funded by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), and

implemented by the Commonwealth Science and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO). ARISA takes a partnership brokering approach supporting six collaborative projects between RIs and the PS to incubate and deliver technology and agribusiness solutions that support improved livelihoods for smallholder farmers in eastern Indonesia.

A small grant scheme was used to initiate a series of partnerships between RIs and the PS. Expressions of interest had to demonstrate the partnership's potential to significantly increase household income of at least 1000 farmers. Each project requires a collaboration between an RI and the PS that jointly works to achieve a benefit for smallholder farmers. For example, partnerships have introduced new technologies that support improved farm-level production and processing—such as improved plant varieties, growing techniques, better nutrition of livestock, or cost-effective reduction in pest and disease management. PS partners include companies that provide higher quality inputs, better access to markets for inputs and sale of goods, as well as finance.

Current partnerships are focussed on:

- developing a profitable integrated cassava production and processing system;
- fodder, animal husbandry and market development in the beef and dairy sectors;
- integrated pest management in shallots;
- dual cropping, financing, and marketing of maize hybrids and mung beans; and
- cultivation and processing of hybrid sugar varieties.

The lessons and experiences in the partnerships are used to feed into broader discussions with the Indonesian Government on the opportunities and barriers to the expansion of research-private sector partnerships that can help translate and deliver ideas and solutions from research to farmers in order to integrate markets. The impact logic of ARISA is that the demonstration of successful partnerships between the public and private sectors will stimulate 'crowding-in' and replication so that partnerships of this sort become part of standard practice. This may happen through market incentives, or through direct interventions by government and the PS to build capacity and spearhead institutional and policy change.

Understanding the research and business environment in Eastern Indonesia

The government has been an active player in agricultural markets through subsidies on staple food production, allowing importation of cheap food imports, and establishment of companies and policy interventions (FAO

2013). Government interventions plus the remoteness of many islands and paucity of infrastructure have often resulted in low profit margins in these areas, disincentivising the PS from research and development, and market development (Oberman et al 2012). The result is a patchy presence of PS actors across Indonesia outside of Java Island, often with limited capacity. Although this is evolving, as demand for agricultural products grows the Indonesian Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) has promoted sustainable agriculture through public-private partnerships (PPPs) since 2010 (FAO 2013). There is however still a limited pool of potential PS companies for RIs to partner with in applied research.

ARISA has aimed to address some of the constraints faced by PPPs. The PS partners involved with ARISA are diverse, ranging from large multinationals to small to medium enterprises (SMEs), and local cooperatives. While multinationals and large companies may have the resources to partner with RIs, they are also more likely to have their own research expertise in-house that is very distant from the geographic areas of development. SMEs, who may have more to gain from RI collaboration, are located within the regions but often find it more difficult to invest in these kinds of partnerships because of a lack of capacity.

ARISA works mainly with regional universities, which have a mandate to teach, conduct research and undertake public services. They are experienced at working with 'communities' and engaging with government, but do not have a strong history of PS engagement. Where there has been past contact with the PS, it is usually transactional (for example, testing or certification of animal feed, or environmental impact assessments), and is generally dependent on the individual networks of key researchers. In general, the university processes and incentive structures do not encourage PS engagement as they do not count heavily towards promotion cases which depend on traditional 'science' metrics of journal papers. Although there is increasing recognition for the need to engage with the PS, limited organisational strategies or guidance exist on how to achieve this.

Many of the RIs and the PS companies in ARISA have limited experience working together other than in historically simple, fee-for-service contracts. This mode of partnership is largely insufficient for the kind of innovation required to support smallholder livelihoods and rural development, which requires changes to market access, regulatory arrangements and the development of new supply chains.

ARISA approaches to partnerships strengthening between RIs and PS

ARISA takes a partnership brokering approach to ensure that:

1. RIs become more outward facing and business literate, in order that their research has a better chance of being commercialised and scaled for increased impact; and
2. the PS perceives the practical value of the RIs' research in developing new markets that benefit smallholder farmers.

A number of mechanisms are employed to create the dialogue necessary to understand differing sectoral perspectives, to build the trust to work effectively together, and to initiate the institutional transformation required for research commercialisation. These are described below.

Partnership agreements and reviews

RI and PS partners spend one to two days in a facilitated workshop to co-develop a non-legal partnership agreement to guide their collaboration. The partnership agreements document roles and responsibilities, individual and joint expectations and risks, contributions, communications and governance structures. Shared individual objectives articulated by both RIs and the PS are key. This has included the RIs seeking to also collaborate with local government in on-the-ground extension services to attract a variety of businesses actors into the value chain to increase effectiveness (for example, beef, maize, dairy and IPM). It has also included RIs and the PS collaborating to change the policy landscape in certain commodities (cassava and beef) so that the markets are more functional and accessible to smallholders. Discussion of risks is key to parties understanding constraints and challenges that may impede the partnership, fostering a relationship where dialogue is open and frank.

Business model and results chain

Each partnership develops a business model and results chain during a facilitated workshop. This workshop is crucial in creating an understanding between RIs and the PS about how the business model needs to function to support impact and the roles that each partner plays to ensure the sustainability of the markets. It is an interface that allows each partner to see the gaps and determine joint solutions to commercialisation. For SMEs, this workshop has been key in developing skills on market strategy and interventions.

The results chain maps out the activities planned by partners and how these are expected to lead to outcomes and impacts. This activity forms the basis of monitoring and evaluation activities, and also plays an important role in reinforcing a shared understanding of responsibilities, challenges, assumptions and goals.

Progress and partnership reviews

Partnerships are not static and in market systems they must evolve continually in response to changing demand and supply issues, price and market fluctuations and government policy. Best practice in partnering involves regular interactions and assessment of progress. Therefore, on a 6 to 8 monthly basis, progress and partnership reviews are facilitated by ARISA staff during which challenges and potential solutions are discussed, changes to the business model and results chain are made, and reflection occurs on the health of the partnership and whether additional partners are required.

As a result of this process, ARISA supports learning and adaptation within the partnerships and their on ground activities. There is increasing awareness of the need to: create organisational changes, such as mobilising farmers for information dissemination; create institutional mechanisms and incentives within RIs to partner with the PS—not just

smallholder farmers and government; and: build capacity with RIs and the PS to work more effectively together for research commercialisation and farmer benefits. As the understanding of the market system increases, additional organisations are also added to the partnership to ensure ongoing innovation and diversity in the sectors and a pathway to scaling impact. For example, in the beef intervention it was important to bring in a cattle traders association in addition to a beef processing company to ensure farmers had alternative markets

Vignette: Evolving partnerships to support innovation in maize farming, Lombok

This partnership started with a focus on innovation in maize production introducing hybrid varieties of maize planted at high densities, intercropping maize with pulses, and other changes to crop management and fertiliser practices. Access to information, credit and inputs has been an additional key constraint for farmers in Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB). The partnership brought together the University of Mataram (UNRAM)—who could provide technical expertise and had strong relationships with farmers; Syngenta, who could provide inputs (seeds and herbicides) on time and support farmer learning through field schools, and originally, Asia Crop Solutions (ACS)—who would provide finance to farmers and guarantee purchase of maize harvests. ACS was sold and the new owners withdrew from agriculture. This profoundly impacted on the project. As a result alternative credit arrangements and different channels for crop sale, with stable prices, had to be found to guarantee markets for farmers. UNRAM adapted their role to be more of a broker, negotiating and facilitating equitable market access for farmers. In late 2016, this resulted in Bank NTB becoming a formal partner with Syngenta and UNRAM, providing low interest credit to farmers.

Reflections, achievements and challenges

Developing adaptive learning processes

Many of the organisations involved in ARISA had a traditional view of research/private sector partnerships at the outset of the project. For example, researchers tended to focus on scientific solutions to low yields or unreliable production, and companies were looking to research to solve a specific question (for example, feeding rations or crop varieties). These relationships were largely transactional, and did not, on-the-whole, see the non-science challenges inherent in the system (for example, ineffective supply chains). Through the partnership activities, especially results chains and review processes, partners have been able to reflect on where their project is facing problems and co-develop solutions.

There is increased awareness of the potential of partnerships to move beyond transactional, consultative relationships as the partners learn more about each other, and their strengths and weaknesses, to more collaborative modes of engagement. For example, RIs are starting to see the value in partnering with PS for greater impact (scale, sustainability)—while the PS sees value in RIs (who often

have well established community relationships) to help establish better PS connections at the community level, and the potential for social science insights to help the PS understand their customers better.

Building capacity to engage

One of the biggest realisations for the ARISA team early on in the process was that we had over-estimated the capacity of RIs and the PS to work together. The capacity building undertaken by ARISA has ranged from:

- peer-to-peer learning events between RIs where 'institutional entrepreneurs' share experiences about partnerships;
- businesses experiences of working with RIs;
- training on customer engagement in focussed on the value add of research, pitching ideas to PS and negotiating deals;
- a visit to Australia to experience more complex value chains, engage with companies that have research as a core part of their business model, and engage with Australian facilities which are commercialising research (for example, CSIRO and University of Queensland UniQuest); and
- innovation fairs where researchers pitch their research to companies to receive feedback and potentially develop relationships.

The overall aim has been to initiate discussions on a wider institutional basis between the RIs and the PS about what constitutes valuable research for commercialisation rather than pursuing research enquiries divorced from market realities.

Future capacity building will focus on the development of business units embedded in the RIs (that is, intermediation units) which are able to engage with the PS and develop long term collaborative RI/PS partnerships. This is based on the Australian model RIs have used to commercialise their research.

Challenges

Any agenda to foster both practice change and development outcomes is bound to face challenges and setbacks. For ARISA these can be categorised as: challenges at the partnership level as partners grapple with new cultures, skills, and ways of working; challenges pertaining to the broader business environment in Indonesia; and challenges of fostering unpredictable and diverse processes of innovation and meeting development impact goals set by donors.

Differences in sectoral drivers and incentives for research and business

Research and PS partners have, at times, struggled in reconciling the different values, motivations and needs they have within the partnerships. Researchers are driven by community impact and professional achievement, while the private sector is focussed on the ability to make profit normally within relatively short timeframes which is often at odds to the scientific process. It has sometimes been difficult to get the larger PS partners in ARISA to engage with some of the partnership processes (outlined in the section on the ARISA Project), which require an investment

of staff time and resources without immediate or direct return on this investment. As a result, ARISA, through mentoring, has used the more regular activity progress meetings to address partnership challenges.

Though the smaller companies—usually based in the local area—are often more willing to engage in partnership activities, they have at times found it harder to maintain their involvement under pricing pressures (for example, changing beef regulations impacting on niche markets and premium prices). One response to this pressure has been to use the partnership to engage with government agencies and influence policies and programmes at the provincial or district level to help encourage business opportunities. For example, with the District Government, the beef initiative has focussed on developing a strategy for niche market herbal beef produced on Sumbawa Island to attract sustained PS investment.

Within the research teams there has been a high dependency on key individuals—usually senior researchers—to drive the partnership research activities, partially due to the hierarchical nature of the RIs but also their higher capacity to engage in cross-sectoral partnerships. These individuals are very busy with academic responsibilities. Their lack of availability and limited alternatives has at times been frustrating for the PS as progress has been slower than expected. ARISA is focussing on developing the skills of some of the more junior researchers to engage with PS.

Market dynamics

Compared to traditional research projects, partnerships with the private sector have been more exposed to external shocks, such as policy announcements or market dynamics. In some instances, this has affected the ability of the PS to engage adequately in the partnership.

ARISA has played a key role in facilitating and brokering additional partners to account for this. In the beef intervention, when the government allowed importation of cheap Indian beef and buffalo, the SME was unable to compete. The ARISA team has brokered meetings with larger companies more able of buying cattle and wearing price fluctuations. It has also supported the RI in partnering with the government through policy engagement to create a niche market in herbal beef on Sumbawa Island.

In the maize intervention, ARISA has facilitated linkages to a finance provider, Bank NTB to ensure farmer have access to credit so that they are able to buy necessary inputs. This tripartite model with Syngenta, UNRAM and Bank NTB will be scaled out in the 2017-18 growing season.

Business expertise within the ARISA team

In the initial stages of the project, grant selection was sometimes based on a strong research focus rather a deep understanding of the market functionality and sustainability. This was partially due to the ARISA team not having anyone who had strong local business expertise. From year two, this changed with the contracting of an Indonesian business consultant onto the team who understands market dynamics in the agri-business sector. Both the consultant and project management have increasingly

focussed on brokering more collaborative partnerships with a range of actors for market sustainability.

Donor demands and timeframes vs practicality of research to commercialisation process

ARISA is funded by DFAT and fits into a suite of projects in Indonesia that are regarded as markets for the poor (M4P). All of the research has had commercialisation potential, and the partnerships were selected based on this. However, the timeframes for getting research to market-ready stage to actual commercialisation can be long. Scaling the agricultural innovations through the market system has been challenging due to price volatility in some commodities, weak business environment in Indonesia and the lack of capital for smallholders. Finding the right partnership and developing the right but flexible business model is time consuming.

Aid projects tend to be more linear, have shorter time frames and expect rapid impact. This is in sharp contrast to research commercialisation processes which are unpredictable and multidimensional and require longer timeframes to support institutional change. High expectations from the donor have proved challenging. Ongoing dialogue between CSIRO and DFAT has been important in discussing challenges and agreeing on pathways forward.

Lessons learnt

The partnerships will continue to evolve in response to market changes, government policy and the increasing confidence and experience of the partners. The learning of both the partner organisations in Indonesia, and the ARISA team have been significant, and includes:

- We underestimated the extent of the capacity building required to support research/private sector partnerships and the time and skills required to build these. A better model may have been to work directly with research institutes on business models, understanding and identifying the range of private sector partners and the broader market dynamics before allocating the partnership grants.
- The process of reaching partnership agreements has often been more useful and valuable than the agreements themselves. In some instances the 'formal' document has been a distraction, with the unintended consequence of triggering a bureaucratic approval process. However the process and discussions involved have been fundamental in strengthening the relationship between the different partners.
- Our assumptions regarding the effectiveness of bilateral partnerships in this context were optimistic. In reality, the business environment in Eastern Indonesia is underdeveloped and mostly made up of small actors, often with significant sectoral challenges. Multi-stakeholder platforms, that include a range of actors including government and industry associations, may be more effective in fostering systemic change required to enable RI/PS partnerships and broader innovation.
- There is a need for intermediaries to help broker these partnerships. At present ARISA is acting in this role and brokering relations between the PS, RIs, civil organisations and government. However, this is not sustainable beyond the life of the project and there is a need for local intermediaries to assume this role, which may include

NGOs, brokering companies or agri-business platforms. There appears no public agency is operating in this space. ARISA is still exploring how it could use capacities of existing intermediaries to build partnerships, as well as strengthen these organisations.

Concluding remarks

The reality of the institutional setting of the RIs in Indonesia is that traditions of research practice and modes of funding and professional performance rewards need considerable transformation before partnerships with the PS can become common practice. The initial support and resourcing of the ARISA partnerships has developed some of the capacity to bridge these gaps and the project has seen partnerships shift from pure transactional exchanges of resources to collaboration with a deeper appreciation of the legitimising role of RIs for the private sector in negotiations with

government agencies and in building relationships with farmers. The final 18 months of the project will focus on strengthening the partnerships as part of catalysing change in the agricultural innovation system in Indonesia.

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Participation in urban renewal projects in Iran: An initial review of Mashhad, Shiraz and Tehran

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This paper considers participation and collaboration in urban renewal projects in three cities in Iran. Based on this initial research we will make suggestions for future urban regeneration studies. Goal 11 of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development defines sustainable cities and human settlements and highlights the need for citizen participation and inclusion in planning (United Nations General Assembly, 2015). Urban planning in Iran can be traced back to ancient times, for example to 2700 BC in the city of Shoush, and reached its peak during the period of the Safavid Empire (1502-1736) with the construction of roads, mosques, bazaars and public buildings (Rasoolimanesh, Jaafar and Badarulzaman, 2013).

Today, in Iranian urban planning, the past and the present vie for dominance and although some efforts are being made towards preserving the cultural heritage, centrally planned modernisation continues to dominate and contemporary urban planning and management suffer from a lack of participation from stakeholders, residents and private organisations as Bahrainy and Aminzadah (2007) found:

In Iran, large cities such as Tehran, Mashhad, Isfahan, Shiraz, and Tabriz, the decision-making and implementation of urban projects are not typically consultative.

Methodology

This review examines recent examples of urban design in Iran as a preliminary to engaging Mashhad residents, local government and planning experts in identifying urban needs. We will then evaluate proposed prototype designs of specific neighbourhoods in the city. Digital participation tools will be used to engage residents. The emphasis of the study is public participation and the interrelationships between residents, government, planners and the market and how they affect the process and product of urban renewal projects.

Urban change

Urban areas are complex and dynamic reflecting processes that drive physical, social, environmental and economic transition. The historic cores of Iranian cities encompass many valuable buildings, historic landscapes and monuments. These areas are the product of a complex process of interaction between humans and the physical environment which has taken place over many centuries. Until the early twentieth century, the historic core of these ancient cities had been in a continuous process of slow change creating a sense of continuity and cohesiveness. Even large-scale interventions carried out by rulers, maintained a degree of respect for, and adaptation with, the past. Modern

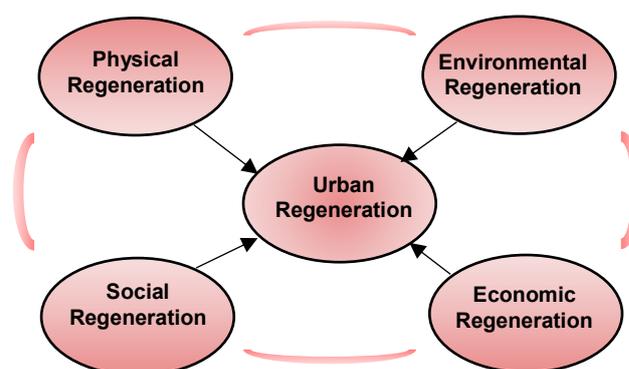
developments in the early twentieth century, however, changed this integrated, adaptive and evolutionary process (Izadi, 2008).

Sustainable urban regeneration

Today, sustainable urban regeneration is a priority of many development policies (Alpopi and Manole, 2013) moving beyond the aims, aspiration, and achievements of urban renewal which essentially is a process of physical change, urban development and urban revitalisation. Although urban revitalisation suggests the need for action, it fails to specify a precise method of approach. Urban regeneration implies that any approach to tackling the problems encountered in towns and cities should be planned with a longer-term, more strategic, purpose in mind (Roberts, 2008).

Lang's (2005) model of urban regeneration (see figure 1), suggests that the process entails a simultaneous focus on physical regeneration, social regeneration, environmental and economic regeneration. This broader focus on four dimensions of change embraces a greater set of factors than just the architectural and infrastructure issues of urban design.

Figure 1: The concept of urban regeneration (Lang, 2005)



Strategy and partnership in urban regeneration

The challenge of the 1990s was to ensure that the questions of who benefits and who should benefit were placed at the forefront of discussion on urban regeneration (Robinson and Shaw, 1991). Frameworks relating to governance, use of partnerships and networks, and collaborative planning indicate the possibility of more inclusionary and effective approaches to strategy-building for urban regeneration (McCarthy, 2007). A strategic vision and framework needs to emphasise a genuine multi-sectoral working partnership

and co-ordinated and integrated initiatives, rather than focussing on single issues. In particular, it requires a long-term commitment, rather than stressing short-term outputs and costs; and the development of local regeneration strategies (Carter, 2008)

Community participation

Arnstein (1969) considers that participation with citizens may equate to citizen empowerment. However, in lower levels of participation the action is only formal, with no true power handed to citizens (Abbaszadegan, 2010). In focussing on partnerships in relation to community participation for regeneration, community development, and empowerment, it is useful to focus on three models of partnership, drawing upon the work of Mackintosh (1992).

- The synergy model suggests that by combining knowledge, resources, approaches and operational cultures, partner organisations will be able to achieve more than working on their own.
- The budget enlargement model is based on the knowledge that by working together the partners will gain access to additional funds that neither could access on their own.
- The transformational model (with a somewhat different focus) assumes that there are benefits to be gained by exposing the different partners to the assumptions and working methods of other partners (that is, it will stimulate innovation as part of a continuing process of development and change).

As the three examples show, they have applied the synergy and budget enlargement models. Transformational models, which challenge existing institutional and political arrangements and practices, are not evident. This study aims to explore the transformational space with digital tools.

Figure 2: The map of Iran, showing Tehran, Mashhad and Shiraz, the three study cities (Source Google Maps: fin)



The current urban planning system in Iran

The structure of Iranian institutions which formed and reformed through time is characterised by a powerful centralised system. The comprehensive and detailed planning model that has prevailed in Iran since the Second World War has been criticised on both theoretical and practical grounds for its many deficits, and from the 1960s, has been replaced in Western countries with more appropriate models such as strategic and participatory planning (McCarthy, 2007) and incremental planning (Turner and Wakely, 2015). However, in developing countries such as Iran, comprehensive planning continues to be used, as it has for five decades, remaining the officially preferred urban planning paradigm. Many of the criticisms levelled at the comprehensive model focus on the rigidity and stagnancy of its plans. Other concerns include the lack of interest in public participation; the reliance on model planning frameworks; raising land-use maps to the status of final documents; the lack of engagement with the real and changing world; and the lack of concern for the ability of the town to implement the plan (Farhoodi *et al* 2009).

Urban renewal projects in Mashhad

Mashhad is the second largest metropolis in Iran and is a city of great religious significance with millions of global and local pilgrims visiting the holy shrine of Imam Reza (AS) each year. Many have settled around the shrine (Rahnama, Kharazmi and Amini, 2016). As a city of religious significance, the political, economic and religious benefits rather than public or private benefits play a key role for any kind of development (Izadi, 2008).

Mashhad has 2,300 hectares of damaged areas along with problems such as heavy traffic, growing population, unsafe structures as well as historical elements (Rahnama, Kharazmi and Amini, 2016). The Supreme Council of Architecture and Urban Planning shows that about 3200 hectares of Tehran are in need of urgent renovation (Azizi, 2014). The central regions of Mashhad, which are considered damaged areas, still act as the linchpin of the city's urban economy due to the holy shrine. But Samen region, which is the district surrounding the holy shrine and is the original urban core of Mashhad, provides a very poor quality of life and is considered an improper area for citizens to live in' (Javadzadeh, 2013). The redevelopment of this region is one of the important urban projects in Mashhad.

Redevelopment in Samen district of Mashhad

To assess the sustainability of urban renewal projects in Mashhad questionnaires were randomly distributed among the 380 people residing in Mashhad city. Samen district has been developed in parallel with the holy shrine but with different policies based on the different political and social views of the holy shrine and distressed areas. The Mehrazan Comprehensive Plan adopted in 1992, considered the old, historic physical structures around the holy shrine were unworthy and were targeted for bulldozing. As a result of the urban redevelopment plan the district has lost most of

its old buildings, local business, historical urban spaces and local residents which have been replaced by modern hotels, shopping malls, new urban spaces and streets (Sarkheyli, Rafieian and Taghvaei, 2016). Thus conventional demolition and modernisation processes are proceeding as before.

Social considerations in this redevelopment plan were very weak and the only form of participation was financial partnerships with temporary and permanent exhibitions held to advertise investment opportunities and investment packages. Anecdotally the level of the residents' trust in the municipality and the redevelopment plan declined and many residents left the district (Asgharpour Masule and Behravan, 2010). Before the recent renewal program, the district's population was estimated at 58,000 with about 13,000 residential, retail and official plots (Asgharpour Masule and Behravan, 2010). By 2011, the population had declined to 32,851 due to displacement and compulsory acquisition of land by the Mashhad Municipality (Sarkheyli, Rafieian and Taghvaei, 2016).

The results from the study area led us to conclude that during the past decade there had been no intention or specific systematic and targeted programs to control, guide or organise the urban spaces. Municipality managers' actions were limited to physical control and provision of services. Our study shows that public participation was low and the need for green spaces is emphasised (Ghesmi Shah Goldie, Ullah Farhoudi and Allah Ezati, 2015)

Redevelopment in Tehran

Tehran is a strategic and symbolic city at the intersection of the historic east-west (Silk Road) and north-south trading routes, and at the foot of Mount Damavand, which at 5,678 meters is the highest peak in Iran. After the city's decline in the Middle Ages, it came to prominence when chosen as the capital of the Persian empire in 1785 (Madanipour, 1999). Over the last 50 years Tehran has experienced rapid population growth and physical expansion and rundown neighbourhoods are common. To address the deterioration of the built environment of the inner city, Tehran municipality established a principal renovation organisation which implemented a number of renewal projects (Abbaszadegan, 2010). But renewal was undertaken without consideration of its consequences resulting in an increase in urban problems. Today, regeneration plans for deteriorated zones is one of the main challenges to urban management (Azizi, 2014).

In 2008 the Renovation Corporation of Tehran established local renovation offices in dilapidated neighbourhoods with the aim of facilitating the residents' participation in the renovation process. Members of these offices are from local district boroughs, local counsellors, local clergy, members of local stakeholders such as women's leaders, local retail representatives. The scope of work of these offices is:

- Facilitation: to recognise stakeholders and making regular meeting with residents.
- Publicising and promotion: to enhance economic and social status.

- Institutionalising: to promote organising social as well as economical groups that advocate renovation and rehabilitation of the deprived neighbourhoods.

Redevelopment in Khoobakht district of Tehran

The selection of Khoobakht in the district of Imam Ali (AS) in Tehran as the case study is important as a wide range of renewal models have been tested there (Sajjadzadeh, Parto and Palizi, 2016). For the first time in Iran a participatory renewal procedure was introduced and will hopefully be a pioneering example for future projects. Our research was carried out to evaluate the level of participation in Khoobakht project.

We found that there had been local participation, most of which occurred in the planning and implementation phase. In the stage of diagnosing and future perspectives of the district, participation was less, mostly because of the professional nature of this stage. There was no participation in supervising the implementation (Samineh and Andalib, 2016). Some claim the intervention approach of this project was technocratic, authoritarian and top-down (Abbaszadegan, 2010) but what is important is that there was a decision to move to a more participatory approach to planning.

Other related research about the effects of the urban renewal project on residential satisfaction concluded that in decentralised renewal projects, residents' satisfaction increased with indices of green and public space, population density, access to leisure centres and value of residential units (Sajjadzadeh, Parto and Palizi, 2016).

Redevelopment in Shiraz

Shiraz is one of the six prominent ancient cities in Iran and is known as its cultural capital and the destination for local and overseas tourists. Since 1997 the historic core of Shiraz and its quarters have been under significant re-consideration by the local authority and a new system of city centre management was established to engage a number of institutions and organisations alongside the local authority to resolve the issues of the city. In part this was a reaction to the brutal changes driven by the central government and the rapid urban sprawl and loss of vegetation. This changed the direction of the city centre planning and management and involved local empowerment and decentralised decision-making.

Sang-e Sia redevelopment

The program for regeneration of Sang-e Sia quarter, the historic core of Shiraz, has been the initial outcome of the trend of decentralised decision-making (Izadi, 2008).

The local authorities established a partnership among all major stakeholders involved. At local level this allowed for the mobilisation of the local resources and an opportunity to reconcile divergent interests and secure consensus among all stakeholders. The local authorities offered a set of practical policies, a comprehensive financing strategy, and an integrated approach dealing with both development and conservation concerns. The new approach was more

sensitive to local needs and a convergence between different approaches concerning the historic environment (Hanachi and Fadaei Nezhad, 2010). This new style of project management saw the planning as a process whereby the program could be adapted during its implementation. It was an innovative way of planning, deciding and acting which considered a series of practical factors regarding the changes and also local potential in each stage (Izadi, 2008). The main idea was to introduce a dynamic plan of action that was adaptive and flexible.

Although several creative strategies utilised by the local authority in this program to involve various public development agencies, we found that there was still a lack of direct involvement of residents and community groups in the process of decision making, planning, design, and implementation (Izadi, 2008).

Conclusion

For 50 years Iran has been using imported planning theories and government structures to deal with modern urban development. This is valuable in providing solutions for some urban issues, however, the shortcomings of development plans, government structure, and practical approaches have raised concerns and resulted in valuable inner-city areas falling into decline. The problem is one of governance which does not allow diversity and enrichment of institutional capacity. This is true from decision-making through to providing services (Farzaneh, 2011).

Generally, although urban development consultant engineers and architects are involved in the development plan for cities' comprehensive plans as part of a special participation sector, they are not given the chance to participate in the decision-making process; the same applies to public opinion. Currently, the ways the private sector can participate in development planning and urban reconstruction is not clear. At this stage instead of giving priority to the needs and purposes of the public and giving powers to the municipality or to public participation, the demands and politics of central government remain an unalterable backdrop. Priorities are given both to the local actors, (in the terms of reference); to the experts (during plan making), and to the central government itself (in terms of final sanction) (Farhoodi *et al* 2009). This is also true of urban renewal projects in Iran.

The government, urban planners, and architects should act as facilitators and catalysts in the planning and design process to create an apparatus for people-centred planning to promote the feeling of locality and foster a more place-focussed public reconstruction policy. We also conclude that in an activity as complex as urban design, particularly in a traditional context such as considering the old textures of Iranian cities, application of a thorough process may serve a significant goal by itself in capacity building, empowerment, education, and public awareness (Bahrainy and Aminzadeh, 2007).

We will test these theories in the next stage of our research. As Iranian people are interested in modern digital methods of communications, digital participation will be

used for engaging both citizens and stakeholders in the urban regeneration projects. This allows them to apply strategies in a more integrated, flexible way and allow for longer-term approaches.

These methods and insights will be applied to this project. Readers are invited to contact the authors to learn more about the forthcoming analysis and results.

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Power politics and collective action: Lessons for supporting gendered coalitions

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The literature suggests that women's movements, coalitions and collective action have been instrumental in the promotion of progressive policy change in the gender space (Weldon and Htun 2013, Batliwala 2008). At the same time, it is increasingly recognised that we need to get beyond the mantra that 'politics matters' in international development (Hudson and Leftwich 2014). This raises a number of questions as to how coalitions seeking to progress gender equality emerge, how they operate and evolve, and how they are best supported.

This paper presents a synthesis of findings from the Developmental Leadership Program's (DLP) research into politics, gender and coalitions. The first of these pieces of research, by Hodes et al (2011), explores South Africa's National Working Group on Sexual Offences (NWGSO) and their efforts to influence progressive reform of national rape laws. The second study by Tadros (2011) illustrates six case studies of coalitions in Egypt and Jordan which have been working to advance the gender equality agenda, identifying a series of factors for success in this space. Denney and McLaren's 2016 report investigates the Pacific Leadership Program's (PLP) support to a range of reform coalitions throughout the Pacific, with case studies from Vanuatu and Solomon Islands working towards reform in the gender space. Most recently, Fletcher et al's 2016 paper, also focussing on the Pacific region, includes five case studies from Tonga, Fiji, Papua New Guinea (PNG) and Kiribati to explore how coalitions are working to address gender inequality across a diverse spectrum of local, national and international activities.

Through an exploration of these studies, this paper interrogates how the nature of a coalition's formation, purpose, leadership and ownership drive the way in which that coalition functions, and sheds insights into how better to support the work of such coalitions. In particular, this paper raises important questions as to if, and how, external actors and donors can support local processes which challenge gender norms and engage in contentious politics in smart ways.

Why coalitions? Why gender?

Reform coalitions have been central to the DLP's work since its inception 10 years ago: 'At the heart of the politics of everyday life, and especially the politics of development, are coalitions' (Leftwich 2012:4). In many respects, this is a natural extension of DLP's foundational focus on developmental leadership, because in order to understand processes of change it is necessary to understand how individuals and groups work together as part of these processes.

Leadership is an important part of this focus, but leaders need coalitions (whether formal or informal) in order to get things done. Coalitions are particularly important for overcoming collective action problems, and can both advance social change and build capacity within civil society and other organisations (Leftwich 2012:3).

The DLP adopts a broad understanding of a coalition as '... individuals, groups or organisations that come together to achieve social, political and economic goals that they would not be able to achieve on their own' (Leftwich 2012:5). As such, a coalition may be a formally recognised and registered entity, or a less formal, loose affiliation of groups and individuals that coalesce around a similar theme. A coalition can be intentional or ad hoc, short lived or long term, within or between organisations and sectors; and operate across a spectrum of local national and regional activities.

It is also acknowledged that much governance work, and work on the political economy of development, has been gender blind (Browne 2014). This has tended to mean that informal and non-public political spaces and institutions have often

been ignored. Furthermore, it has tended to mean that the gendered nature of collective action and coalitions has also been downplayed. This is despite evidence that women's movements and organisations have been critical in promoting progressive gender policies (Weldon and Htun 2013, Batliwala 2008). Indeed, it is noted that: 'Coalitions are particularly important for overcoming collective action problems and can both advance social change and build capacity within civil society and other organisations' (Leftwich 2012:3). As such, DLP's research on coalitions and elites has attempted to explore how coalitions form, function and engage with the power dynamics of gender relations and female leadership. This recognises the importance of collective action in addressing unequal power relations and socially constructed ideas, but also recognises the gendered nature of collective action as well as the opportunity structures and constraints that this faces.

Coalition formation: Critical junctures, triggers and formative events

DLP's research suggests that a change in the political structure, or a 'critical juncture', and the presence of a major threat is often the trigger for the formation of a reform coalition. Policy windows or 'critical junctures' have often provided a catalyst or opportunity for change—both positive and negative—which would be less likely under other circumstances (Collier and Collier 1991, Leftwich and Wheeler 2011). These triggers may be internal or external—taking the form of financial crises, natural disasters, or processes of democratisation—and create a moment or window for institutional and policy change through collective action.

In the cases of South Africa's attempts for progressive reform of national rape laws, this 'critical juncture' took the form of a national political change and democratic transition which provided the necessary trigger for the emergence of a coalition and opened up new space for engagement with the state (Hodes et al 2011). Gendered coalitions typically emerge in openings created by such events, where controls on participation in political space have been relaxed and actors are able to seize the space for engagement before it closes again (Tadros 2011).

For Fletcher et al (2016), these catalysing moments were conceptualised as 'formative events', occurring in ripe sociopolitical contexts, that brought people together to build upon existing alliances and work in a concerted way. These 'formative events' can take a variety of forms, and may manifest in seemingly negative events or triggers such as threats to hard fought gains, or retrogressive state actions in violation of women's rights (Tadros 2011, Hodes et al 2011, Fletcher et al 2016). For example, PNG's anti-sorcery related violence coalition catalysed in response to the 2013 murders of prominent human rights defenders, while Fiji's human rights coalition galvanised in response to perceived threats to constitutional protections for human rights (Fletcher et al 2016). In a South African context, these 'rolling triggers' manifest in the 2005 rape allegations against the Deputy President, which both energised the coalition into action and was considered crucial to generating public support for the coalition's work (Hodes et al 2011).

However, these formative events can also emerge through engagement with, or intervention by, international actors. Two of the case studies explored by Fletcher et al (2016) were formed in the wake of externally facilitated meetings or conferences. Tadros (2011) concludes that international actors and regional events can help create greater space for local actors to operate and be a mechanism that enables ideas, strategy, development and sharing. Referring to one of the Jordan case studies, Tadros notes:

The British Council sought to create an enabling environment for actors to come together to discuss the issue, their own capacity development needs and working towards arriving at a common agenda...The role of the British Council as an enabling agent was critical for building bridges within government agencies and across the government-non-government divide (2011:22–23).

Fletcher et al (2016) agree that external actors can play an important role in creating space for, or capitalising on, potential formative events. However, it is cautioned that events that are entirely extrinsic and disconnected from local contexts are unlikely to produce sustainable coalitions (Fletcher et al 2016:11). In order to effectively facilitate an enabling environment for the emergence of coalitions, external actors need keen political analysis skills to understand and predict formative events, as well as seize upon such opportunities (Tadros 2011, Leftwich and Wheeler 2011).

Pre-existing networks and relationships: Inclusiveness and informality

The importance of prior networks for coalition formation has been documented in a range of DLP research, particularly around social, class, professional and educational networks (Leftwich and Wheeler 2011). DLP's more recent research into gendered coalitions has reinforced the importance of more informal relationships, networks and alliances in shaping the formation and function of coalitions seeking to bring about transformational change, particularly in restrictive contexts where coalition members may be subjected to personal risk (Tadros 2011). As Tadros notes in regard to a discussion of one of the Egypt case studies:

Informal networks have helped to create bridges between coalitions and their opposition in safe, non-confrontational settings...Informal networks allowed activists to escape from and circumvent politically repressive measures adopted by the regimes (ibid:42).

Furthermore, as Hodes et al (2011) explain, personal networks allowed coalition members to leverage their own existing relationships to directly approach key individuals to garner their support and, in doing so, build a strong foundational base of women's rights organisations and community groups. However, it is cautioned that informal networks can also undermine the work of gendered coalitions, particularly in situations where they perpetuate unequal power dynamics (Tadros 2011). Drawing on the example of a women's rights coalition in Egypt, Tadros (2011) explores how the coalition's practice of decision making during relatively closed, informal gatherings (such as in airport waiting lounges)—instead of fostering democratic decision-making processes—compromised the

cohesiveness of the coalition by seeming to devalue some of the smaller organisational representatives (Tadros 2011:42). Echoing these concerns, Hodes et al note, in relation to the South African case study, that:

...informal networks are often also transient...the loss of certain key members due to disagreements...resulted in the loss of the informal networks that these members had established with important parliamentarians over years of cultivating alliances (2011:21).

Furthermore, while a broad network and support base can be important for coalitions, maintaining solidarity across a large coalition has the potential to reduce the group's objectives to the 'lowest common denominator' (ibid:15). In these situations, there is often a trade-off between coalition inclusiveness on the one hand, and the ability to foster consensus on the other. This has spawned debate over the nature of coalitions as inclusive entities. Denney and McLaren (2016) suggest that coalitions do not always have to be inclusive, and that coalitions with comparatively exclusive membership practices can still achieve results, particularly in bringing about legislative change. Using the case study of a PLP-supported coalition in Vanuatu, they explain:

WISDM [the coalition] is the most exclusive coalition, with taskforce membership only from the public service and parliament. While civil society played a role earlier in the process...they were not involved in the coalition that eventually brought about the electoral reforms allowing for reserved seats for women in municipal councils. This appears to have been due to an explicit strategy acknowledging that ultimately, legislative change only needed government support to be passed (ibid:4).

While in this case, the passage of legislative reforms was deemed a success, it is acknowledged that these exclusive processes may prove a barrier to achieving the broader attitudinal change required to underpin the implementation of such policies (Denney and McLaren 2016).

Shared values, conflict and consensus-building

Shared values, a common understanding of the problem, and a joint vision for the reform can create a sense of solidarity among coalition members (Leftwich and Wheeler 2011). Fletcher et al (2016) articulate that—while coalitions may have a shared purpose and/or objective—different interests, values and motivations often exist within a coalition's constituents. Tadros notes that a '...feature of coalitions is that their constituent parts may have significant or minor differences' (2011:12).

As such, the formation of a coalition often necessitates a process of aligning diverse interests (Fletcher et al 2016). In the South African case study, Hodes et al note that a divergence of perspectives within the coalition and debate over controversial issues was considered a 'healthy' aspect of the group's functioning, '...as it allowed members to hear different voices and perspectives on issues, and ultimately resulted in a more nuanced understanding of the complex legal issues at stake' (2011:14). Indeed, space for

the articulation of shared values within a coalition can foster a sense of solidarity and commitment within the group:

Aligning or 'bundling' diverse interests enables a coalition to increase its support base and influence, but requires careful compromise...Articulation of shared values within a coalition (and having space to work towards this) can generate a sense of solidarity and commitment to a 'greater good' beyond shared interests (Fletcher et al 2016:14).

However, it is acknowledged that these processes of debate and dialogue need to be carefully mediated, as a failure to do so could result in fundamental division among coalition members (Hodes et al 2011). Fletcher et al (2016) use the case study of Tongan women in a business coalition to illustrate the ramifications of a divergence of member perspectives on the eligibility of women working in the informal sector—resulting in significant fragmentation within the group.

Coalition leadership

The DLP's research into coalitions emphasises the importance of exploring leadership as a process, looking beyond individual leaders in order to understand the power structures which permit the emergence of collective leadership (van Notten 2010, Dasandi and Hudson 2017). For some of the case studies explored as part of DLP's body of research into gendered coalitions, leadership was understood and practiced as a shared process. Hodes et al note the importance of leadership structures being determined through consensus rather than imposition, particularly in so far as coalition leaders are seen to be representative of constituents:

Accountable and transparent leadership is essential for maintaining solidarity, motivation and active participation of a coalition's members' (2011:3).

Similarly, a number of the Pacific case studies explored by Fletcher et al (2016) practiced leadership as a process of adaptation and negotiation. Using the example of the Fiji human rights coalition, Fletcher et al note:

Where no one person could be identified as a single leader of the coalition, this created space for different individuals to step forward in different ways in order to drive the agenda forward. This notion of leadership was largely based on responding to needs, expertise and opportunity, rather than the more fixed leadership that is often hierarchical in nature' (ibid:16).

However, for other case studies, leadership was still primarily understood as a characteristic of an individual leader in a more fixed, hierarchical model (Fletcher et al 2016). For these case studies, the limitations of style of leadership were apparent. For example, in the Tongan women in business coalition, where leadership was vested with the group's founder, the momentum of the group became inextricably linked with the energy of the president to the point where—when the president's term was finished and a new leader was elected—the group diminished and ceased meeting (ibid). These concerns were echoed by other case studies, with recognition of the desire to move away from a centralised leadership model to a more horizontal

and negotiated model where leadership is shared among a number of individuals (ibid). However, this sort of shift may prove challenging in practice, particularly in situations where the very networks and relationships through which coalitions form and function are attached to key individuals as group leaders.

Framing the issue: ‘Soft advocacy’ and the potential for backlash

The way in which coalition aims and objectives are ‘framed’ can be critical for success, particularly for those working in the gender space where directly challenging gender and social norms can be risky and can prompt backlash (Fletcher et al 2016, van Notten 2010, Leftwich and Wheeler 2011). DLP’s research into gendered coalitions has articulated a variety of strategies for framing gendered work. In the case of the South African coalition, Hodes et al (2011) explore how the group situated their efforts for progressive rape law reform within the broader framework of human rights in order to align with constitutional imperatives and priority areas identified by political leaders in their democratic transition. Conversely, in the Egypt and Jordan case studies, Tadros (2011) articulates the need for coalitions to package their messages ‘appropriately’—to correspond with familial, cultural and religious traditions. For these coalitions, it was crucial to maintain public perceptions of cultural authenticity in order to combat opposition from those who labelled such coalitions as ‘agents of the West’ (Tadros 2011:29).

For the Pacific coalitions explored by Fletcher et al (2016), challenging gender norms and interrogating cultural and religious power dynamics carried a large amount of transformative potential, but coalition actors acknowledged the sensitive nature of this work and the potential for it to generate backlash. As such, a politically salient strategy for this kind of work was using ‘backstage politics’ or ‘soft advocacy’ to promote change in quieter and subtler ways (Fletcher et al 2016, Tadros 2011, Denney and McLaren 2016, Hodes et al 2011).

Hodes et al (2011) note that these processes of ‘backstage politics’ are particularly effective in situations where relationships exist between civil society and state actors. In these cases—and particularly in one-party states such as South Africa—more direct, adversarial advocacy may antagonise state actors and reduce their propensity for engagement (Hodes et al 2011). Tadros concurs, noting that:

...engaging in informal ‘back-stage’ politics is equally, if not more, important than formal channels of engagement in these ‘closed’ political spaces. Policy influence heavily relies on informal relationships rather than strictly formal citizen-state engagements. The ‘formal’ faces of advocacy...play a secondary role to informal processes in eliciting change, which is often facilitated by informal, backdoor processes of negotiation and mediation between coalition leaders and key players (2011:iv).

Lessons for supporting coalitions

DLP research recognises the agency of individuals, organisations and collectives. At the same time, it is acknowledged

that coalitions are shaped by the societies and power structures from which they emerge, and also reproduce or challenge these as part of their engagement with the world.

But networks, leaders and coalitions are not free agents. And windows of opportunity do not guarantee successful institutional innovation or change. All DLP research projects, and much other work, shows clearly that agents of change have both to understand and work within, and often against, existing institutional, cultural and, inevitably, political contexts and structures of power. Yet structure, while constituting restraint, is not destiny. There is always opportunity, always room for manoeuvre by agents (Leftwich and Wheeler 2011:10).

Understanding the structural constraints and the relationship between the two is a critical aptitude for both members of coalitions and those who seek to support them. For donors, this necessitates a trained workforce, both locally and internationally, with political analysis skills in the gender field that enables them to ‘work politically’ with understanding and sensitivity (Tadros 2011).

As Tadros (2011) notes, the availability of foreign funding can serve as a major incentive for individuals and organisations to participate in collective initiatives. All of the Egypt case studies were recipients of foreign funding, but there were differences between the cases with regards to whether there was already a local initiative, or whether it was initiated more directly by the donor (Tadros 2011). Similar findings were present across the Pacific case studies, where there was deemed to be a difference between intrinsic and extrinsic motivations to form coalitions, depending on funding availability (Fletcher et al 2016).

Furthermore, it has been suggested that the presence of external funding can lead to coalitions being perceived by the public as ‘creatures’ of the donor, or as being driven by financial or professional incentives, rather than commitment to a cause (Tadros 2011). As such their work and legitimacy can be severely undermined by questions regarding the integrity and commitment to the cause.

In addition, the presence of external financing can lead to competitive funding practices, acting as a source of conflict between coalition members (Hodes et al 2011, Fletcher et al 2016). This necessitates donor transparency when it comes to external contributions to parties within a coalition (ibid). It was also suggested that when monitoring the work of a coalition, donors need to consult with as many of the coalition members as possible rather than relying on feedback given by those receiving and/or managing the funding (Tadros 2011).

Fletcher et al (2016) also note that a group’s focus can become dictated by the need to shape their work to ‘fit’ within externally defined funding silos. In Tonga for example, case study participants spoke about tensions between organisations that received project-based funding—which often required them to reshape themselves and their work to fit into a particular funding window—and organisations that received core funding and often saw themselves as having ownership over specific thematic issues (Fletcher et al 2016).

Denney and McLaren (2016) surmise that it is not the volume of funds which is important, but the processes by

which they are allocated and the flexibility with which they can be used. This includes making funds available specifically for promoting collective action between sectors within civil society (ibid). In several cases, funding earmarked by international development agencies and other funders for the establishment of a coalition—and early consensus-building between members—played a crucial role in the formation of the coalition, and its subsequent success (Hodes et al 2011, Fletcher et al 2016).

The large majority of development processes are locked into ‘project-out’ or ‘intervention-centred’ rather ‘context-in’ or ‘context-centred’ approaches (Roche 1999, Cartwright 2017). In the former, the focus is on the organisation and the project and how that will or should change the situation. In the latter, the focus is also on how changes in the context are rendering an intervention more or less effective or relevant.

Because development is much more than a technical process, its course will depend on the changing context, will be affected by critical junctures and exogenous contingencies, will face setbacks, and will require ‘work-arounds’, as complexity theory suggests. Planning tools and activity management which cannot take account of, and respond to, this complexity will be counterproductive for donors and recipients—and for development. Likewise, expectations about timing must allow the space and time for local processes to be worked through, otherwise the work will be donor driven—a serious risk to sustainable success (Leftwich and Wheeler 2011:15).

As a range of research now suggests, the need to adopt more flexible and adaptive approaches is becoming clear (Andrews et al 2017). However, it is also recognised that a number of organisational and bureaucratic obstacles remain in achieving this, and which are in part associated with the political economy of donors themselves (Carothers and de Gramont 2013).

Conclusion

Through an exploration of DLP’s recent research, this paper has articulated a series of factors which shape the formation and function of gendered coalitions. In particular, this paper has examined how critical junctures and key ‘political openings’ create space for the emergence of such coalitions, the importance of informal and pre-existing networks in forging alliances, and the different conceptualisations of leadership present in these processes.

In doing so, this paper sheds insights into how better to support the work of such coalitions, interrogating the role played by donors and external actors. This paper suggests that while donors can play a role in creating space and providing an enabling environment within which coalitions can function and thrive, acute political analysis skills are essential in order to ‘think and work politically’ in support of local processes. The presence of donor funding—while often incentivising coalition formation—can also be a challenge in so far as it has the potential to compromise a coalition’s agenda in accordance with funding priorities, and reinforce perceptions of foreign ‘ownership’ of a coalition’s work.

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Women and marginalised group inclusion in Pakistan smallholder agriculture

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Inclusive engagement and adoption outcomes have become key concepts in international discussions on development with emphasis on providing employment and poverty reduction in developing countries. In particular, social inclusion has become a core framework in many aid-recipient countries and women's empowerment in particular now rates highly on the development policy agenda in countries such as Pakistan. This paper draws on the experience and outcomes of a Social Research Project (SRP) on *pro-poor collaborative* development in Pakistan that was part of a larger, multi-disciplinary program involving technical commodity-based projects (CBPs) in mango, dairy and citrus production and mango value chain development. The program was part of an Australia–Pakistan Agricultural Sector Linkages Program (ASLP) funded by the Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR). The SRP was introduced after the conclusion of ASLP Phase 1 (ASLP1) that involved only the CBPs. In ASLP1, the CBPs had focussed on economic growth in rural Pakistan through improved production techniques and improved value chains, but did not specifically focus on improving the situation for the rural poor and marginalised and hence did not seek to engage marginalised groups such as women and smallholder farm households. ASLP2 sought to remedy this by adding the SRP to the original four CBPs.

The aim of the SRP was to encourage and facilitate pro-poor collaborative development in Pakistan by undertaking the necessary social research to underpin the four CBPs. This initiative was to focus on two types of collaboration: (1) collaboration between the CBPs and target recipients in selected *focal villages*; and (2) collaboration with and among the four CBPs to exploit potential synergies. The SRP worked in a number of focal villages in the districts in which the four CBPs operated. The program operated in the provinces of Punjab and Sindh, but for the purposes of this paper we focus on Punjab because we now have longitudinal survey data for that region that show outcomes and impacts of the SRP (Spriggs and Chambers 2015).

We believe that an integrated and holistic approach to building capacity among marginalised and vulnerable groups leads to a greater chance of success for sustainable rural development, especially if interventions are collaborative and place-based. This paper explores the nuances and lessons learned from social and technical collaboration to enhance the engagement of marginalised groups, especially women in smallholder agriculture.

Marginalised groups

Of importance to Australian international researchers and aid workers was the announcement by Foreign Affairs Minister Julie Bishop at the National Press Club on 18 June 2014 that gender programs will be one of six foci, especially

the empowerment of women and girls through greater engagement in programs. Regardless of their objectives, she declared that 80 per cent of investments must 'effectively address gender issues in their implementation'. This message was reinforced recently by the Foreign Affairs Minister's address to the Australasian Aid Conference on 15 February 2017. 'The driver for addressing poverty reduction and expanding opportunities for people, businesses and communities will be economic development' (Australian Government 2017).

In most developing countries, women are among the poorest and most disadvantaged groups in society (Denton 2002) and Pakistan is no exception. The status of women in Pakistan is shaped by socio-cultural law prescribed by the Hindu traditions, Islamic social norms and the lack of policy for improvements (Punjab Commission on Status of Women 2016). Early marriage and family violence is common in rural areas (Ahmad and Murad 2010). The landless and those from a different ethnic or religious minority and those with disabilities constitute what is called the marginalised in society. As women in smallholder communities are disadvantaged by gender across all marginal groups they are the focus of this present paper.

Women face discrimination in access to education, health services, income generation opportunities, assets and productive resources (land and credit) and to services like agricultural extension (Talat and Rashid 2009; Nosheen 2010 and Farnworth and Colverson 2014). This disadvantaged position is reflected in Pakistan's rank of 143 out of 144 countries on the gender gap index measured on indicators of education, economic contribution, health and political representation (World Economic Forum 2016). This huge gender gap leads to the women's marginalisation, especially in rural areas.

Rural women provide 43 per cent of the agricultural labor force worldwide with their varying role from crop production to the post-harvest management of crops and livestock production (FAO 2011). They play a prominent role in seed preparation, collection and application of farmyard manure, husking maize, food processing, and storage (Taj et al 2012; Nosheen et al 2008 and Ahmad et al 2009) and subsistence livestock production (Ranjha et al 2009). Women in Pakistan are also important contributors and play multiple roles as unpaid workers at family farms, and low paid farm labor (Ahmad et al 2009). However, their contribution has never been reflected in GDP (World Bank, 2009) and so are considered passive members/workers in the traditional patriarchal farm and family system (Goheer 2003).

Prioritising women's concerns, priorities, and needs is vital for the development of the agriculture sector in Pakistan (Prakash 2003). It is evident from research that community-driven development projects, that actively

involve communities in planning, decision making, and investment resources, contribute more in promoting gender equality and women's empowerment (World Bank 2011). However, the review of community-driven projects by the World Bank, IFAD and FAO (2011:55) showed that '...there is abundant evidence that untargeted community-driven development can bypass women and the poor' as higher participation of women in some of the community development projects does not reveal the equal access and benefits to women. Therefore, the inclusion of small farming households and women requires innovative community engagement approaches like place-based community development focussing on women's needs and priorities (Iftikhar et al 2009).

SRP methods of inclusion were grounded in adult learning principles, especially those focussing on the agricultural priorities and issues of the target beneficiaries—change that was demand led rather than supply driven. Methods included using visual ethnographies to ascertain knowledge about and training needs for the value chain and marketing of relevant commodities. The establishment of community service centres by the SRP enabled a safe place for women to gather and to be trained.

We argue that collaborative engagement with researchers and local stakeholders (especially target recipients in focal villages in Pakistan) is a more successful strategy for the inclusion of women and marginalised groups than technical training of smallholders alone.

Analysis of the Impact of the SRP

The analysis used information gathered in a pre-ASLP2 (i.e. post-ASLP1) survey and a post-ASLP2 survey in three villages, one in each district where ASLP was operating. The pre-ASLP2 survey was undertaken in early 2012, while the post-ASLP2 survey was undertaken at the end of 2015, about six months after the completion of the SRP.

The villages were in the districts of Sargodha, Jhelum and Faisalabad and represented a similar spatial location with similar spatial characteristics. We refer to these villages as V1, V2 and V3 respectively. The three villages represented different levels of intervention by the Commodity-Based Projects (CBPs) and the Social Research Project (SRP). V1 benefitted from both the SRP and the CBPs, V2 benefitted from the CBPs but not the SRP and V3 was a control village which did not benefit from either the SRP or the CBPs.

The two surveys were conducted in 100 low-income households selected at random in V1 (34 households), V2 (35 households) and V3 (31 households). The surveys were by personal interview and involved the same households both at the start of ASLP2 and again after its conclusion. In each household, the male head of household and the female spouse were both interviewed separately. The surveys included questions related to household characteristics and their assessments and preferences on a variety of issues and the same questions were asked for both surveys. For the present analysis, we were concerned with their assessment of the impact of the Social Research Project of ASLP2 on the spouses.

Spousal involvement in household decision making

One possible impact of the SRP on women's empowerment concerns their role in decision making involving money. In both the pre-ASLP2 and post-ASLP2 surveys we asked female spouses a number of questions intended to elicit their perception of their role in seven types of decision-making in three broad categories including:

- (a) Household expenses
 1. Everyday household purchases (e.g. food)
 2. Large household purchases (e.g. TV)
- (b) Farm business expenses
 3. Purchase and sale of livestock
 4. Purchase and sale of farm inputs/outputs
- (c) Large irregular expenses
 5. Dowry
 6. Education
 7. Medical

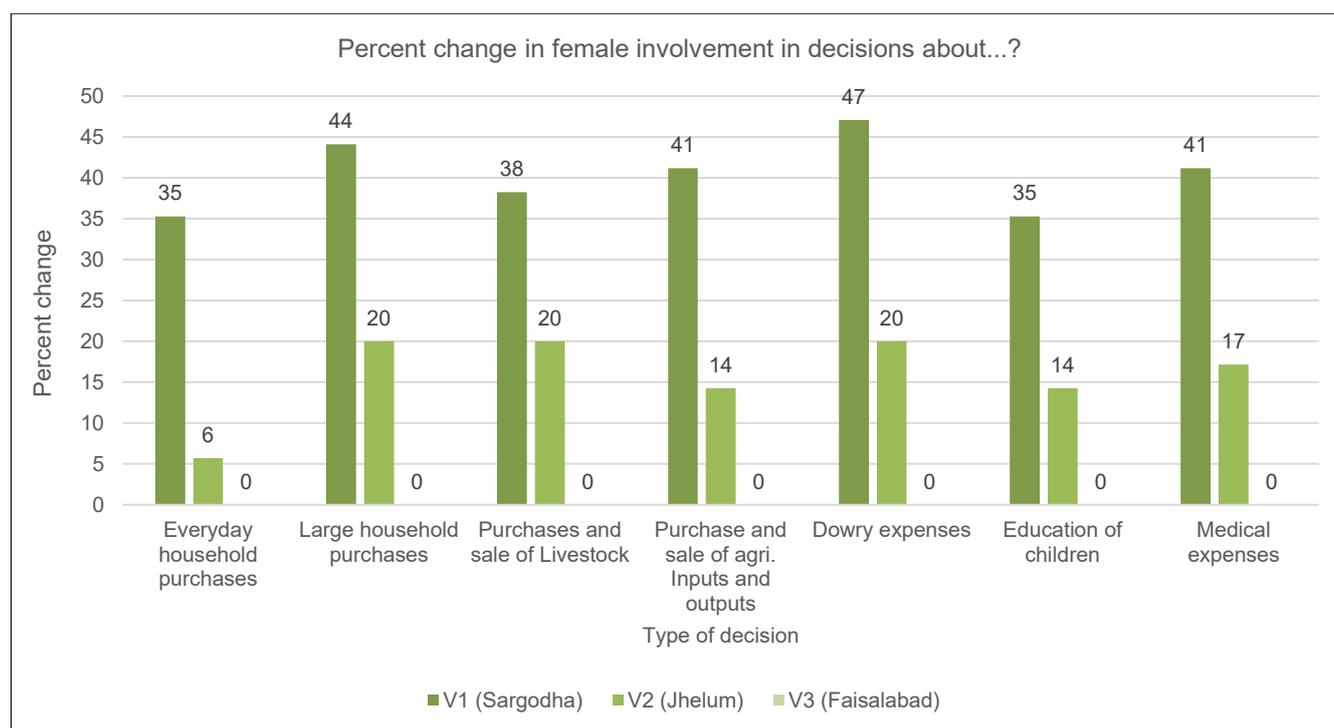
We asked: 'Who makes the decision about ...?' The spouse was given four choices:

- 1 = head of household,
- 2 = you (the spouse),
- 3 = both the head and spouse together, or
- 4 = other.

Figure 1 (see next page), shows the change in spousal involvement in decision making between the pre-ASLP2 and the post-ASLP2 surveys for the three villages and with regard to the seven types of decisions. The change is expressed as a percentage of the total sample size for the particular village. Thus, for example, in V1 (village in Sargodha) where the SRP and CBPs both operated, the change in spousal involvement in everyday household decisions was found to be 35 per cent out of a total sample size of 34. This was derived from an increase of spousal involvement from 17 in the pre-ASLP2 to 29 in the post-survey, an increase of 12.

As Figure 1 shows the per cent changes for all types of decisions increased the most in V1 where the SRP operated. There were smaller increases in V2 where the CBPs operated but not the SRP. In V3 we found no change in spousal involvement in decision making for any of the seven types of decision. For example, out of a total sample of 31 in V3, only 3 spouses were involved in everyday household decisions in the pre-ASLP2 and this number remained the same in the post-survey. Using t-tests of mean difference the average responses in V1 were found to be significantly greater than in V2 over all types of decision except type 3 (purchase and sale of livestock). For this type of decision, the average response in V1 was found to be significantly greater than in V2 only at the 10 per cent significance level. These results suggest strongly that the SRP had a positive incremental effect over and above the CBPs in enhancing female spouse involvement in household decision making.

Figure 1: Comparison of the involvement of female spouses in household decision-making between the pre-ASLP2 survey and the post-ASLP2 survey



Further, using similar t-tests and a 5 per cent significance level, the average responses in V2 were found to be significantly greater than in V3 over all types of decision except type 1 (everyday household purchases). These results suggest that the CBPs had a positive incremental effect compared to the situation where there was no ASLP2 involvement.

Usefulness of the Community Service Centre

One of the key innovations requested by SRP participants in the focal villages was the establishment of a Community Service Centre (CSC). The importance of place-based sites for the engagement of marginalised groups in a low trust society cannot be overemphasised. The CSCs serve as capacity-building hubs for target beneficiary groups focussing on:

- development activities;
- training activities for men, women and youth;
- training by partner country commodity based teams; and
- other service groups such as health workers and NGOs.

In the post-ASLP2 survey in V1, we asked respondents: ‘how useful is the Community Service Centre?’ The responses are summarised in Table 1.

As may be seen, the respondents were fairly positive about the usefulness of the CSC and the total responses were the same for both female spouses and male heads of household. Construction of the CSCs in each of the focal villages of the SRP has enabled villagers to have a common meeting place. Apart from skills training, value addition activities (particularly for females) and meeting with outside experts (e.g. health educators and financial advisors), the CSCs are also fora for social activities involving collaboration with

other households (i.e. bridging). The CSCs have also served as hubs to roll out activities from focal villages to four to five surrounding villages.

Table 1: Post-ASLP2 survey responses in V1 (Sargodha): ‘How useful is the Community Service Centre?’

According to...	Not at all	Somewhat	Very	TOTAL RESPONSES
Head of household (male)	1(3%)	17 (53%)	14 (44%)	32
Spouse (female)	1 (3%)	17 (53%)	14 (44%)	32

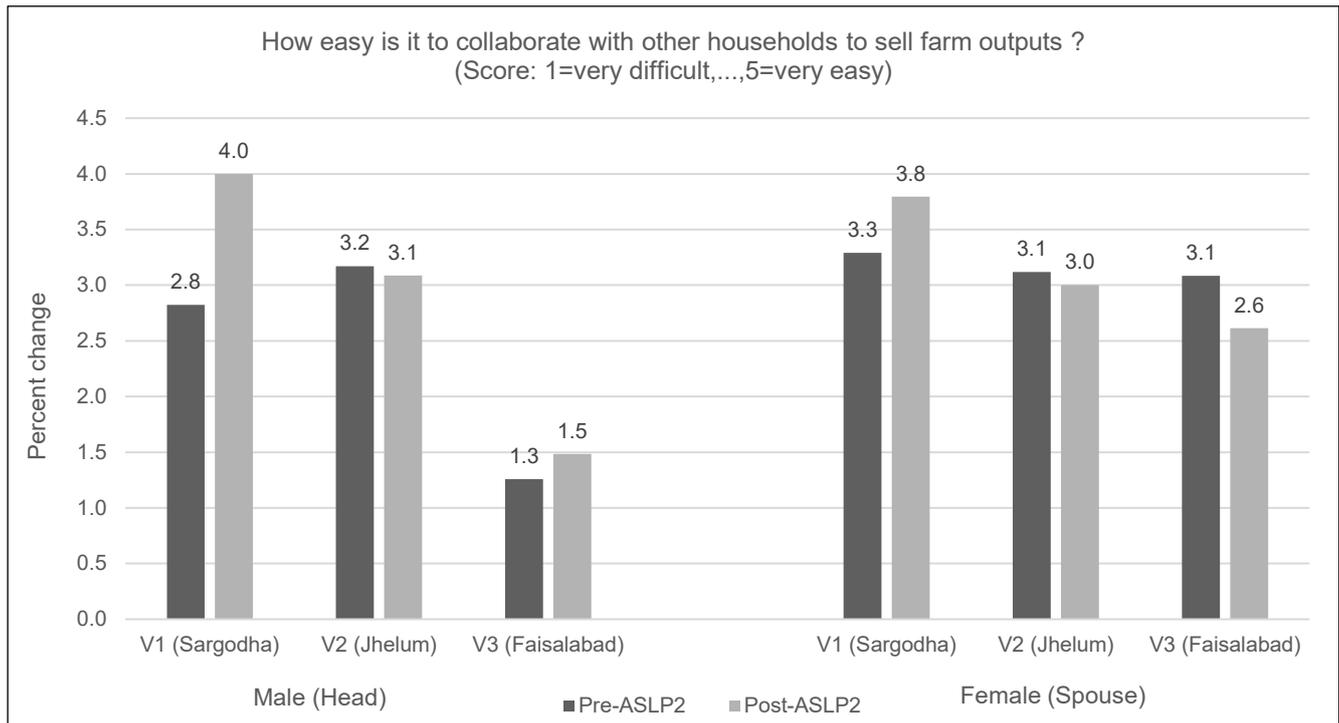
Some of the respondents to the post-ASLP2 survey commented:

- *Our children are spending their time in positive activities we feel that our families have become more productive.*
- *Social Research project gave skill trainings to my wife, now she is earning from vegetable nursery and I am working on farms.*
- *I received KG (kitchen garden) training, now I am growing vegetables in my home.*

Collaboration with others outside the household (bridging)

Bridging is an important way to achieve economic outcomes that are often not possible if working individually or within the household. Examples include joint selling of outputs, joint purchase of inputs and building a community

Figure 2: Comparison of willingness to collaborate with others between the pre-ASLP2 survey and the post-ASLP2 survey



storage facility. Unfortunately, as Qadeer (2006:237) suggests ‘...social trust has gradually eroded as a result of divergence of interests and increasing disparities and the state’s failure to endure safety and security for all citizens. By the 2000s, Pakistan has become a society of low trust’ and this makes bridging activities very difficult to achieve. In the pre-ASLP2 and post-ASLP2 surveys, we asked respondents in the three villages about their attitude to collaboration with other households to sell outputs together. The weighted average responses for each village are summarised in Figure 2 above.

The individual responses receive a score of 1 to 5 depending on the perceived level of difficulty in bridging with other households. Thus, a score of 1 indicates collaboration is perceived to be very difficult, a score of 3 is neutral (neither easy nor difficult) while a score of 5 indicates collaboration is perceived to be very easy. Consider first the result in village V3 (Faisalabad). Unlike V2 and V3, this village missed out entirely on ASLP (both ASLP1 and ASLP2). The results suggest that given the absence of ASLP, male (heads) viewed collaboration with other households to be relatively difficult and much more difficult than their spouses. This is consistent with other findings (Spriggs et al. 2017) that, *ceteris paribus*, females tend to find collaboration with others easier than their male counterparts. The relatively high weighted average response for V1 and V2 suggest that ASLP (both ASLP1 and ASLP2) has had a positive impact on male perception of the ease of bridging.

What is also particularly interesting is what happens between the pre-ASLP2 and post-ASLP2 surveys. The perception of ease of collaboration with other households has increased significantly for both male heads and their spouses in V1, a village which benefitted from the SRP.

However, this was not found to be the case in V2, which had benefitted from the CBPs but not the SRP. This suggests that the Social Research Project has had an additional impact on the perception of ease of collaboration with other households.

Did the ASLP2 program meet the needs of participants?

Finally, we wanted to get an overall assessment from the spouses on whether ASLP2 addressed their needs. The results of this assessment are provided in Table 2 (below) for both V1 and V2.

Table 2: Post-ASLP2 (female) spouses: ‘To what extent has ASLP2 addressed your needs?’

Village	Not at all	Partially	Fully	TOTAL RESPONSES
V1 (Sargodha)	5(15%)	13(38%)	16(47%)	34
V2 (Jhelum)	19(73%)	7(27%)	0(0%)	26

These results suggest that in V1, which benefitted from the SRP in addition to the CBPs, most spouses perceive that ASLP2 has met their needs fully or partially. However, in V2 where there were CBPs but no SRP, most spouses said the ASLP2 program did not meet their needs at all. The main unmet needs of spouses included:

- more help with agricultural value adding activities (e.g. making pickles);
- more help with non-agricultural economic activities (e.g. embroidery); and

- provision of health services (health training, set up a local health dispensary or medical facility).

Learnings from the Social Research project of ASLP2

It is clear from our analysis of results that in V1, the village in Sargodha where the Social Research Project (SRP) operated, there was a positive effect on the empowerment of women as compared to the villages where there were only commodity-based projects or no projects at all. Women in V1 (Sargodha) were more collaborative with each other, found the community service centre to be beneficial for meetings and smallholder training and were empowered to become more engaged with household decision making. The interventions of the SRP were grounded in adult learning principles that sought the engagement of marginalised groups in identifying their own socioeconomic needs, including in agricultural production, business and marketing and working together in a loose learning alliance to meet those needs. Where the SRP worked closely with CBPs, as in V1 (Sargodha), collaboration enhanced adoption outcomes. In ASLP2 the purview of the SRP was necessarily restricted, but by acknowledging cultural constraints and the cultural values of women and girls in particular, the building of community service centres provided safe and trusted learning places in a village.

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How does networked civil society bring change?

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There is interest among international development practitioners to understand more about how networked change happens, and to generate sufficient evidence to suggest principles and guidance. The focus for many studies has been on network components or governance (Oxfam 2014), exploring what effective civil society networks¹ look like. This paper asks what change looks like when it is delivered through a network. Do the attributes of social change brought about through collective group actions justify working in these groups? Connected to these questions is a more practical consideration—when is collective action the appropriate strategy and when is it not?

This paper presents an analysis of commonalities and differences of 17 coalitions, networks or alliances supported by Oxfam. All have been successful to some degree in meeting their goals. The analysis aims to build causal theories associated with jointly led change as a starting point for decisions on how, when, and why to work with joint, coordinated action.

An Oxfam commissioned review of NGO sector literature about networks, coalitions and alliances (Stuart-Watt 2017) identified characteristic outcomes of a ‘successful’ network as:

- a louder, more credible civil society voice;
- expanded access to decision makers;
- mutual organisational advantage through skill sharing and broadened exposure to each other’s practices; and
- less risk through unity of voice, rather than advocacy from a lone organisation.

The review also analysed feedback on the structural elements that had contributed to a network’s success, identifying two commonly cited areas. Firstly, local ownership in agenda setting, financial contribution and shared responsibility for coordination—secondly, tangible goals and action plans, which allowed flexibility to shift between short term and long term views of the target for change. These areas can be taken as well-evidenced guidelines when planning and building a network, as many NGOs choose to do. But why choose a networked approach in the first place?

The literature suggests that networks are seen as a tactic in international NGO objectives for civil society strengthening and sustained change. By partnering with local and national networks, international NGOs can ‘help empower communities to address an area of concern without necessarily setting the agenda’ (Rabinowitz 2016 in Stuart-Watt 2017). However, the logic that a network remains the best, or only, way to achieve this outcome remains largely untested, as do assumptions beyond the outcome that civil society strengthening is the right goal and that it creates a ripple effect to benefit marginalised groups through policy and normative change.

The review states:

Many reports provide advice and strategies for working with or brokering coalitions and networks. However, there is little discussion about why NGOs decide to work with coalitions and networks in the first place and what problems coalitions and networks are best suited to solve...This misses a fundamental step in that INGOs may assume coalitions and networks are always positive and do not question whether or why a coalition or network is the most effective tool to address a problem before setting out to broker one (Stuart-Watt 2017:22).

Methodology

Oxfam Australia began by identifying projects from the last five years known to be implemented mainly through civil society networks and which had sufficient documentation of both design and results to avoid lengthy field-based discussions. Selection was based on recommendations from Oxfam Australia’s country programme teams. In total, 15 projects were selected. A further two from Oxfam’s case study series, Partnering for Impact, were added later. These were not Australian-funded.

Research focussed on the need to fill a gap in describing actual change, rather than the attributes of networks. There were two key questions.

- How do coalitions, alliances and networks that partner with Oxfam participate in political process to achieve policy and practice that benefits people?
- What does change look like when it is delivered by a coalition, network or alliance?

Project attributes were grouped using considerations of context, mechanisms (purpose, structure and tactics) and eventual outcomes.² Because the best way to illustrate change seemed to be to describe it, six of the projects were also selected for case study, with efforts made to draw out unusual or unique attributes that would add nuance to the grouping exercise. These cases are summarised in Table 1.

The analysis framework kept in mind the assumption noted in the introduction, that civil society strengthening led to positive change for the poor and marginalised. There was no desire to disprove these assumptions but there was an intent for the research to add nuance to the theory, including the possibility of circumstances where it was stronger or weaker.

Advantages of networked action across contexts

As well as analysing project documentation, the reviewers conducted interviews with in-country project staff focussing on the advantages of working in coalition, where partners interact with each other in comparison to direct partnerships,

Table 1: Network case study summaries

Project	Overview	Standout characteristic
Vanuatu Civil Society Disability Network (2013–14)	The Vanuatu Civil Society Disability Network focussed on increased representation of disability issues in decision making. It built confidence of different organisations and leaders within them to take up spokesperson and negotiation roles.	Government partnership: Inclusion of different government ministries in planning contributed to the speed with which the network achieved recognition and success in disability-inclusive policy.
LISTEN Pakistan (2013-current)	Leverage Women's Rights in Social Transformation of Elected Nominees (LISTEN) created a member organisation that connected women with political and civil society process locally, at district level, nationally and regionally.	Magnitude and diversity of membership: LISTEN connected women of all backgrounds, from doctors and lawyers through to home workers, across 30 districts. In total, 1,200 women are a part of the LISTEN network.
PARL Sri Lanka (2011-current)	The People's Alliance on the Right to Land (PARL) played a significant role in land tenure cases against the government. It continues to mobilise and advise communities, and to work nationally towards resolutions and policy protection on compulsorily acquired land.	Local organic demand: From the beginning, PARL has been responsive to demand from local communities and their newly formed CBOs. It provides legal advice on an ongoing basis, where needed. Thus, as well as a national network, PARL is a direct service provider to vulnerable communities.
Close the Gap Campaign Australia (2006-current)	The Close the Gap campaign is intergenerational, designed to sustain 25 years of advocacy and technical advice to government to improve the health status of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (Indigenous) Australians.	Public recognition and support: Using proven health statistics to show the inequality of health status between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, the Close the Gap campaign gained rapid recognition and support. Over 220,000 people have signed the Close the Gap pledge.
India Responsible Business Forum (2015-current)	The India Responsible Business Forum is working on a long term strategy for encouraging businesses to meet guidelines for accountability and transparency. The forum liaises directly with representatives of India's Top 100 companies.	Transparency without naming and shaming: The Forum pulls together public domain information in a way that can be easily accessed and compared by civil society, including media and workers' rights groups, who then leverage the data as they see fit.
LID Timor-Leste (2016-current)	Originally aiming to fill the gap of community mobilisation in negotiations on inappropriate government land development, the Land and Inclusive Development (LID) project quickly developed a broader agenda—civil society partnership with government on economic development strategies and policies. It brought together two local and two national networks, to strengthen their coordination and joint advocacy.	Addressing causes of land acquisition: Networks associated with LID started out protecting communities against government land acquisition. While this remains important, the networks now seek a deeper role in decisions on land development in line with economic policy—the cause—as well as land acquisition—the symptom.

where partners interact with or through Oxfam. Common advantages were:

Neutrality from political factions

Where political factions were strong, all local agencies were subject to accusations of bias. A network involving an international NGO was less likely to be accused of political leanings. This allowed a more impartial, yet locally driven, rights-based stance.

Government preference for networks as partners

In contexts where local organisations struggled to maintain perceptions of impartiality, governments often preferred to work with a network over an individual agency, to avoid accusations of favouritism in the civil society sector.

Governments were also more likely to accept research and policy briefings prepared by multiple agencies as the risk of bias or inaccuracy of findings was lessened.

Strength in numbers for visibility and protection

In contexts of restricted freedom of speech, a network provided visibility and shared responsibility for what was being said. Actions and opinions could not be assigned to any one organisation. This was particularly beneficial for local Community Based Organisations (CBOs) whose members sometimes faced risk speaking out directly.

Government as a network member

Network sustainability and success was greatly enhanced in some cases by including government as a member. As well

as demonstrating to the public and partners that political will was in place, this tactic guaranteed legitimacy and government endorsement of research and policy outcomes. In some of the more restrictive contexts, government inclusion was mandated.

Data and analysis the government can use

In some contexts, networks were more effective in sourcing and reporting population data than government. This brought great value to governments in terms of data mining and analysis. While organisations were also providing this service as sole agents, working together on data led to broader reach and more targeted policy advice than organisations were achieving in isolation. This was particularly the case for interconnected district or provincial networks where the information was of use to mid-level and national governments.

'Watchdog' advantages of international/local combinations

In contexts of high corruption perceptions and/or low press freedom, monitoring government process was difficult and controversial. By working with, and funding, local NGOs and CBOs, Oxfam had greater immunity from accusations of an imposed international agenda, while local partners had a central and somewhat protected hub for sharing observations.

Analysis findings: Network purpose and structure

The purpose of a network drives its formation, structure and actions and is the starting point for planning a networked approach—though as noted in the introduction, there are literature gaps on why a network rather than another form of action is right for the purpose. This purpose is not only policy influence. Some networks follow a path all the way to policy change while others focus on enabling the best conditions for that change to occur. The Oxfam examples in this review were clear on their purpose almost by default, because they used project frameworks including articulated theories of change which pinpointed their role. Purpose fell across three categories summarised in Table 2. However, a crucial observation from the sample is that purpose in design does not always reflect purpose in reality. Most networks in the review evolved to encompass all three characteristics to some degree, given time.

A number of trends concerning network purpose and structure across the cases reviewed were noted:

Network as a project tactic or a project outcome?

While many projects in the sample were building networks as a tactic to achieve project objectives, the majority saw network building as a project outcome in itself, in line with the assumption that networks would sustain civil society engagement and collaboration over time.

Agenda setting and policy goals

Seven of the 17 projects set their agenda after forming. This was more likely when network building was a project

outcome. In these situations, the group needed to be active before moving to joint problem definition.

Network history—existing or startup?

Projects were more likely to start up networks than to support those already existing. However, even in start-up situations, CBOs were usually already working with each other and with Oxfam. Project funds made it possible to draw these partners together in new ways.

Table 2: Comparison of network purpose

Purpose	Description	Number in sample
1. Drive specific change	Partners pooled their skills and community/ government reach on the assumption that many voices, from many directions, could have more impact than a single voice.	7
2. Strengthen civil society participation	Partners focussed on local level empowerment and inclusion in political decision making.	9
3. Enhance learning and coordination	Partners came together to improve programme effectiveness through joint planning.	1

Network size

Ranging from three to 1200, the networks in this review demonstrated good function and results at all sizes. However, the larger networks needed more coordination and administration to maintain quality connections.

Network formality

For this analysis, formality was defined as having terms of reference (ToR) in place. It was more usual for networks to remain informal, which staff believed contributed to responsiveness. However, groups operating under a ToR—including division of roles and responsibilities—saw this formality as absolutely essential to functioning effectively.

Coordination

Staff highlighted a central coordination point as vital. This usually fell to Oxfam, particularly at the beginning of projects and with startup networks. As networks stabilised and matured, trust between partners allowed for Oxfam to step back and for local organisations to share or take over coordination roles.

Funding

Few networks were accessing funds beyond Oxfam, and only two were collecting member contributions. Shared financial responsibility is recognised as an attribute to strengthen collective ownership and reduce power tensions (Stuart-Watts 2017). This observation may reflect a need for greater

Table 3: Network tactics

Tactic	Included	How did networked action add value over individual action?
Mobilisation	<p>Calling the public to act or speak on behalf of affected communities (rallies, petitions and social media/online actions), showing solidarity and support for their priorities.</p> <p>Calling affected communities to take action, and to recognise and endorse action from the public taken on their behalf.</p>	The reach and community ownership of public mobilisation increased and was no longer seen as 'Oxfam's campaign'. It was also safer and more politically neutral than local organisations calling independently for action.
Media and messaging	<p>Self-placed materials and messaging (paid/unpaid) to raise awareness and shift public perceptions.</p> <p>Proactive media engagement including TV, radio and print/online journalists, to change public discourse on issues.</p>	Network members pooled different channels so that messages had greater reach and audience, including at local levels. A broader set of media relationships was also available to the network and its members.
Research, evidence, expertise	<p>Analysis of policy areas including budget and business case scenarios.</p> <p>Social and geopolitical research for government, partner and media use, and to inform the network's internal decisions and directions.</p> <p>Expert advice and consultation in policy process.</p>	Networks pooled their research skills and their data. As a result, knowledge of local situations was more representative and current, reflecting shared agendas. Networks also connected different levels of information so that organisations at national level had clear insight into local priorities, sometimes across several locations.
'Insider' advocacy influence	<p>Work done directly with policy makers in government and corporations, for instance:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • lobby representation of public and partner priorities; • technical support to government to achieve accountable promises; and • 'inner sanctum' confidential negotiations with power holders. 	A networked approach to insider advocacy at times opened doors, particularly when government preferred to work with networks over individual agencies. It also brought the full weight of a sector to bear, with individual negotiators becoming figureheads for united advocacy. Advocates gained greater visibility into what other insiders were doing.
Empowering civil society	<p>Work done directly with civil society to strengthen long term participation, through:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • skills in planning and analysis; • project management for local CBOs; • intra-network mentoring; • building leadership and confidence levels to assume power; and • building individual champions inside and outside network membership. 	Member organisations learned not only from Oxfam but also from each other—the scope and volume of interagency support was broader. However, being part of a network also increased pressure and expectation on local organisation's performance and results.

efforts to shift perceptions of Oxfam as a donor, rather than a partner.

To identify how tactics were used in networked approaches, the analysis sorted activities into five categories:

- mobilisation;
- media and messaging;
- research, evidence and expertise;
- 'insider' advocacy; and
- civil society empowerment.

It is important to recognise that all of these tactics can be, and are being, delivered by individuals and organisations working independently. Table 3 provides the detail of these categories, what they encompassed and what advantages

were possible under a networked approach. Within the limited sample, it appeared that mobilisation, media and research consistently benefited from networked action. Insider advocacy and civil society empowerment also showed advantages to working in networks, but it was difficult to conclude whether these advantages were consistent compared to actions and support from individual organisations.

Civil society voice and influence: Outcomes of networked action

Staff taking part in interviews were asked how a networked approach contributed to outcomes in ways that an individual approach might not have done. They identified the following attributes:

Empowerment and profile for local organisations

Empowerment of local CBOs and community voice was fundamental to influence. In a network, empowerment was often evident when local organisations took a more visible role than previously, or formed subgroups of specialised skills and interests to push relevant organisational priorities.

Vertical and horizontal reach into geographically isolated local issues

Connecting Oxfam's existing partners with one another multiplied geographical reach for monitoring and reporting up to national level. This built an evidence base that reflected community-level imperatives in national level policy. It became more feasible for national policy influence to be driven by local data and insights.

Magnified sense of movement and support

Networking the voices and actions of organisations or individuals in more than one location created a perception of civil society movement and demand greater than it may have been in reality—what is known in campaigning terms as a 'buzz'. This was further enhanced by connection and motivation between networks operating locally, so that they too felt they were part of something larger than their own scope of work.

A single voice, a united front and a long term entity

Relationships built within networks in the sample were solid and long term, not only with Oxfam but with each other. Member organisations—or individuals in the case of LISTEN—were like minded at the start. Staff talked about goodwill, enthusiasm and passion as drivers for sustained joint action. Networks could show a united front with consistent messages and calls for change. All networks in the sample showed intent for long term collaboration and expansion, and some were exploring alternative funding mechanisms in recognition of project expiry dates.

Conclusions

The case studies in this paper provide evidence of the possibility that collective action supports the empowerment and greater participation of civil society in public policy dialogue that lead to development outcomes that benefit the most marginalised groups. The review process found an additional assumption for consideration. That of vertical networking to bring change at scale. This is a pivotal policy change assumption at the heart of social accountability programming (Green 2017). The review found it to be a significant advantage of networked action in the examples given. With a network in place, there was a clear channel as well as a clear intention to transfer data between levels of

influence and mobilisation. The conclusion is that wherever there is a strategy to utilise community voice for policy argument, a network is likely to enhance its success.

The examples and the methodology in this review cannot 'prove' that in every case the assumptions are valid, or consistent, even among the sample. Of the projects in this review, very few are visualising and directing efforts all the way through to the end of the pathway. The positive bias of examples in the review make it impossible to draw conclusions on the wrong setting, timing, or political landscape for a networked approach. Networks always seem to be a good idea. The question is whether they are a better idea than working in direct partnership or independent influence. The answer is dependent on a number of strategic considerations in context.

Notes

- 1 Many alternative terms are used to describe a group working in this way, for example, network, alliance, coalition. For the purposes of this review, the term 'network' seemed most inclusive of different structures and setups, and has been chosen as the noun to describe civil society groups in general.
- 2 Realist theory-based research centres on the idea that for social change, every context is different; therefore, even if exactly the same mechanisms are applied the outcomes will differ (Pawson and Tilley 1997, Befani 2012). In the networks analysed, mechanisms also differed. The authors chose a realist framework for analysis so that differences of mechanism and outcome, cause and effect, could be placed more easily in context, without expectation that results across cases would appear similar.

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Delivering the promise of international agriculture and food and nutrition security

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The challenges ahead for agriculture, food and nutrition security in our region are immense. Competing pressures on soil, water, nutrients, and space for agricultural production are only expected to increase as a result of population growth, economic development, and climate and environmental change. Malnutrition continues to be a key development challenge, particularly in the Indo-Pacific region where many countries experience both persistent undernutrition as well as rising obesity rates—a complex phenomenon coined the double burden of malnutrition.

Many international donor agencies, including the Australian Government, have a clear commitment to respond to these challenges and support targeted interventions in sustainable agriculture and food and nutrition security. A number of Australian-based NGOs, universities and applied research organisations are very active in this space. Longstanding capacity building, research and advocacy projects have served to improve food and nutrition security and sustainable agriculture in a large number of low-to middle income countries. These projects have produced significant societal impact, such as raised productivity and income levels, more inclusive and gender-sensitive economic growth, better use of scarce natural resources, improvements to the sustainability of local farming systems, better diets and reduced cases of undernutrition and stunting. However, we recognise that there is still much more to do to achieve Zero Hunger, the 2nd Sustainable Development Goal, (SDG 2) through sustainable practices and systems.

Overcoming water scarcity limitations to food production

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO 2009) has suggested that if we are to feed a global population of over 9 billion by 2050, food production will have to increase by up to 70 per cent over levels achieved in the first decade of this century. A significant proportion of the increasing demand will be for meat and dairy products, which are water intensive. Furthermore, at current rates, yields for most cereal crops are increasing on average at a little over 1 per cent per annum (Fischer et al 2014), which is less than is required to meet projected production targets. Whilst increasing the area of irrigated and dryland production is also a possibility, water scarcity will compound the problem. There are relatively few available new sources of water in Asia, although Africa may offer better prospects. Furthermore, competition for water for industrial, domestic and environmental uses is increasing. Alternative solutions are to try and boost water productivity as measured in terms of crop per drop, and to increase recycling and reuse of water for agricultural production.

How can we promote sustainable intensification?

Directly related to increasing crop per drop is the broader issue of sustainable intensification of agriculture. Put simply, we have to produce more food off a decreasing area of agricultural land without further damaging the environment. In some respects, there is an opportunity to do this in many developing countries, where current yields are way below biological potential. However, sustainable intensification depends as much on political goodwill, appropriate policy and legislative settings, incentives, farmer education and supply chain factors as it does on technical innovation. On the technical side, a limiting factor is not access to scientific knowledge of how to increase yields, but our tendency to work in

disciplinary silos. We have to ensure that approaches in new projects focussed on rural development are specifically multidisciplinary and that the key focus is on outcomes that genuinely raise living standards of the poor and improve environmental health and quality.

Phosphorus security is frequently the missing piece from food-energy-water (FEW) nexus discussions (Cordell 2016). Phosphorus underpins the FEW nexus—ignoring phosphorus threatens to destabilise our food systems, while including it opens up a whole range of opportunities addressing multiple SDGs. For example, creating local ‘renewable fertilisers’ from excreta/wastes supports farmer livelihoods, improves soils, stimulates sanitation/hygiene, reduces water pollution and reduces nations’ risks of importing fertilisers from geopolitically risky regions.

How can we promote nutrition security?

Exploring the impact of gender segregation in agricultural science and how being sensitive to gender and diversity can enable greater agricultural efficiency is crucial. Viewing agriculture through such a lens will help to focus attention on the strategic needs of women and the children in their care. Nutrition-sensitive agriculture and value chains targeting the nutritional needs—especially of women and children—requires interdisciplinary and multisectoral approaches and partnerships. It must also be done within the context of ethical and sustainable food systems which highlight the movement of nutrients through food systems and issues of equity in relation to who decides who gets what food containing what nutrient profile (Alders et al 2016).

Looking to the future

In response to our current food and nutrition security challenges, the Australian Council for International Development (ACFID) has launched a new Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Security Community of Practice (CoP) which aims to leverage an extensive collective body of work and expertise to facilitate more structured and strategic discussions between partner institutions and sectors. It is a forum for sharing and learning, a community where new ideas are discussed as well as generated, and provides a platform for collaboration and joint activities. The CoP also seeks to be recognised resource that the Australian Government and ACFID can draw on for expert evidence-based input and commentary on projects, programmes and policy relating to

sustainable agriculture, food and nutrition security. The CoP is a national network of professionals from academia, NGOs and managing contractors working on issues pertaining to agriculture, food and nutrition security in international development. It is informal, and designed to facilitate sharing of information, best practice and networking. The CoP objectives include:

- to share technical expertise and experience in research, project design, delivery and participatory monitoring and evaluation of agriculture and food security programmes to contribute to mutual learning and best practice;
- to encourage discussion from a broad range of stakeholders and support the creation of cross-sectoral partnerships to promote programmes of innovation in agriculture and food security in support of nutrition-sensitive agriculture through an interdisciplinary lens; and
- to represent a resource of expertise on agriculture, food and nutrition security to ACFID and the Australian Government and provide input on high-quality briefings and evidence-based policy papers.

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Secure, safe, sustainable and ethical food systems

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Defining and facilitating the transition to safe, sustainable and ethical food systems that contribute to human and planetary health is amongst the greatest challenges facing our world today (Alders 2017, FAO et al 2017, Glopan 2014). Agriculture and the food system play a key role in nutrition, health and food security. It provides for the primary sources of energy along with essential nutrients, while simultaneously being a source of income, creating jobs and earning foreign exchange (Schönfeldt et al 2017). Focussing on producing enough calories per person to feed all, food systems in the 20th century responded with an enormous increase in the quantity of food produced and witnessed the globalisation of agricultural commodities and food products. At the start of the 21st century, food systems had also delivered the double burden of under and over nutrition, contributed to degradation of ecosystems, resulted in farming families becoming the working poor and perpetuated women carrying the major burden of health problems and poverty (Conway 2012, Demaio and Rockström 2015, Whitmee et al 2015).

To achieve nutritious, secure, safe, sustainable and ethical food systems, the interlinkages between all Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) must be explored and optimised. Planetary Health, defined as ‘the health of human civilization and the state of the natural systems on which it depends’ (Whitmee et al 2015), provides a solid framework to guide this transformation.

Current constraints to food security and systems

Constraints to food security and systems include the growth in population and consumption exceeding the planet’s bio-capacity, thus nutritional inadequacies are related to global resource decline which affects species survival, including the human species (Crist et al 2017). Policy constraints include the lack of integration of agricultural, health, environmental and socioeconomic policies and inadequate recognition that good food is essential to good physical, mental and cultural health (HLPE 2017). Food production policies do not account for either quality or quantity and as a result society does not adequately recognise and value the true cost and benefit of quality food (Demaio and Rockström, 2015, HLPE 2017).

Food systems have no incentives to deliver the nutrients lacking in quality foods—such as vitamin A, iron, zinc, iodine and protein (Schönfeldt et al 2016) and do not yet adequately focus on or monitor the presence of chemicals such as antimicrobials and pesticides (Cribb 2014). The nutritional needs of people across the life cycle—including pregnant and lactating women, children, adolescents and the

elderly in particular—are not yet adequately addressed (Alders et al 2016, Merchant 2014) nor are gender, race/colour/ethnicity, poverty and forced displacement. This limits access to resources and the possibility to achieve optimal nutrition and wellbeing (Conway, 2012, Merchant 2014).

Agricultural frameworks, including subsidies and trade agreements, do not currently support the production, distribution and marketing of food that promotes good health, while also accounting for the external costs to communities, public health, the global economy and the planetary ecosystem (Conway 2012) and transparency, accountability, traceability and proportionality are not adequately addressed and so undermine sustainability of food systems (Alexander et al 2017, Caplan 2017).

Working towards nutrition-sensitive food value chains and food systems

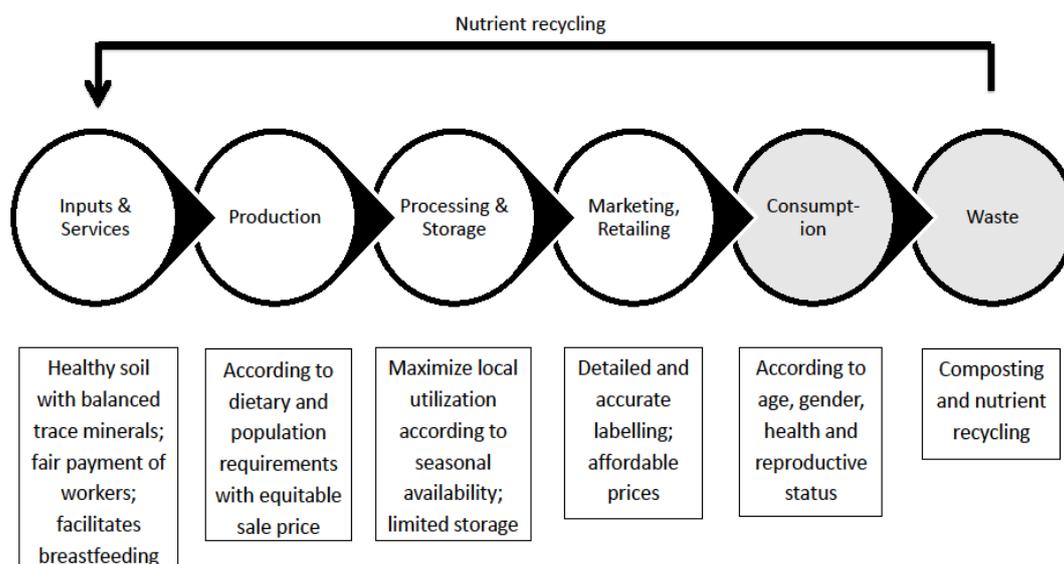
Our food systems are based on the movement of nutrients, including water, along value chains. The flow of capital along a value chain is monitored and regulated with relative precision. The flow of nutrients from the soil, while of crucial importance, requires increased attention as our world now battles with widespread micronutrient deficiencies across low, middle and high income countries. The tracking and recycling of nutrients and their equitable distribution and consumption amongst nations, communities, households and household members is of utmost importance to ensure that our food value chains become nutrition-sensitive and based on the principals of regenerative agriculture (Figure 1 next page).

Multicountry, multisectoral statement regarding sustainable and ethical food systems

Experts from 17 countries across six continents representing practitioners, researchers, policy makers and community development workers gathered from 30 November to 2 December 2016 at the University of Sydney to communicate priority areas in nutritional and environmental health for current food systems. The three-day workshop focused on four key issues:

1. The acknowledgment that current food systems are not sustainable, and fail to provide nutritious and safe food and water to support good health for all.
2. The need for consensus on the transformation of food systems to address current challenges, to ensure good health for our planet, animals and humanity.
3. The need to work together as a global society to change our food systems to produce ethical, accessible, safe and nutritious food for all.

Figure 1: Critical components of nutrition-sensitive food systems (adapted from Alders et al. 2016)



- The recognition that the responsibility of achieving balanced food systems lies with individuals and representative bodies of our societies.

The statement from the workshop was shared with participants in the 4th International One Health Congress and 6th Biennial Congress of the International Association for Ecology and Health (Alders 2016).

Going forward

In support of the sustainable development goals, our future food systems will need to:

- be resilient to climate change including making systems equitable, sustainable (environmentally, socially and economically) and resilient to weather variability;
- assess nutrient recycling with a focus on the nutrients generally lacking in diets, for example vitamin A, iron, zinc and iodine, including emerging nutrients of concern such as protein, folate and vitamin C;
- provide diets suitable to the life stages and cuisines of sub-populations;
- minimise or eliminate all forms of tillage and prevent over-grazing and over-cropping;
- be based on ecosystem, human and animal health needs dictating production levels using sustainable systems adapted to local agro-ecological zones;
- contribute to evidence and rights-based policymaking on access to food for humans and animals (domestic as well as wild); and
- provide full socioecological accounting (adopted from Alders et al. 2016).

Conclusions

Agriculture, health, education and infrastructure sectors must work together closely to ensure that food can be produced and utilised efficiently and effectively to achieve the SDGs.

Food producers and harvesters can contribute to enhanced physical and mental health and in the process make the health of the planet more resilient (Alders et al 2016).

Ethically and sustainably nourishing 9 billion people by 2050 will involve direct action from all levels of production. A planetary health approach to the production of sustainable, ethical, nutritious and safe food delivered with minimal waste has the potential to promote human, animal and environmental health. As governments worldwide grapple with unsustainable health budgets, nutrition-sensitive, regenerative agriculture and value chains, bolstered by more effective policy frameworks can help stop malnutrition and ensure that food produced delivers maximum health and livelihood benefits.

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Partnerships for the sustainable intensification of farming systems in lowland Cambodia

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Sustainable intensification and diversification

Traditionally, agricultural intensification has been defined in three ways: (1) increasing yields per hectare; (2) increasing cropping intensity and; (3) changing land use from low-value crops to those of higher market prices or have better nutritional content (Pretty and Bharucha 2014). The ‘intensification’ based on crop improvement by combined plant breeding, chemical fertilisers, pesticides and energy supplied by fossil fuels was successful in bringing about the Green Revolution. However, many governments are seeking to move towards more sustainable agroecosystems, aiming to shift some of these components towards ‘natural’ ones without significantly trading off productivity. Sustainable intensification (SI) is defined as a process or system where yields are increased without adverse environmental impact and without the cultivation of more land (Royal Society 2009). This process should also be commercially viable and sustainable. In this new project funded by the Australian Centre for International Research (CSE-2015-044), we work in public-private-producer partnerships to help rice farmers to improve their farming systems, sustainability and livelihoods.

Drivers of sustainable intensification in Cambodia

Economic development in Cambodia has recently undergone transformation with a shift away from agriculture towards labour-intensive industrial and service sectors. By 2010, agriculture’s contribution to Gross Domestic Product had fallen to about 27 per cent while that of the manufacturing industry had soared to 27 per cent and the service sector had risen to 39 per cent (Theng 2014). During the past 10 years, the availability of farm labour has declined, with 700,000 people moving to the garment industry alone. The populations of rice-growing villages are ageing as young people migrate to the cities for work. Farmers report that their sons and daughters each send home US\$30–40 per month (Prasong and Itaru 2014). People will continue moving to the cities because of the likelihood of earning a higher income there—around US\$100/ per month. To achieve a similar income on a farm would require each person to tend three hectares (ha) of rice alone, which is almost impossible as 28 per cent of families have less than one hectare of land. As farm labour for rice farming is declining there is a rapid move towards mechanisation and direct seeding has now largely replaced transplanting in lowland rice farms.

Potential role of conservation agriculture in sustainable intensification

The most common constraint for intensification is the lack of water available to grow a dry season crop after wet season rice. Due to high rainfall in Cambodia in September and October, there is significant residual water remaining in the soil after the wet season that could be exploited by crops rather than weeds as is the current situation. In many areas, farmers also have access to limited water for supplementary irrigation from rivers, irrigation schemes or tube wells. By growing a dry season rice crop or a non-rice crop on residual soil water, smallholder farmers could potentially more than double their annual income.

Dry season rice crop

Despite dry season rice yields (4.2 t/ha) being significantly higher than those in the wet season (2.8 t/ha), dry season rice makes up only about 20 per cent of the total area grown. A major risk is that rats are attracted to small and isolated dry season rice crops.

Dry season non-rice crops

Potential non-rice crops for the dry season include maize, mung bean, peanut, sorghum and sunflower. One major constraint is that non-rice crops are often not adapted to the soils of the lowland system, where soil compaction is common as a result of wet cultivation. Non-rice crops such as mung bean and peanut often do not grow well due to their shallow root systems caused by being confined to the topsoil above the hard pan. It may be possible to minimise the problem by deep ripping and breaking up the hardpan although this comes with considerable effort and therefore cost (Mitchell et al 2013). In addition, mulching with rice straw can increase the establishment of a dry season mung bean crop, suppress weed growth and conserve soil water (Bunna et al 2011). Another major constraint is that lowland rice farmers are not familiar with growing non-rice crops.

One option, which has been successful on deep friable upland soils, is to direct seed drought tolerant crops such as sunflower in November on the residual soil after harvest of the wet season crop. Best results are achieved with no tillage, where loss of soil water is minimised (Martin 2014). A major constraint on this no-tillage system is that Cambodian farmers are reluctant to give up ploughing before planting, which results in loss of soil moisture. In the lowland, farmers also traditionally burn rice residue that reduces mulch cover and risks burning the newly establishing non-rice crops.

Another major constraint is the lack of fencing, because free-range grazing and scavenging by cattle makes growing a non-rice dry-season crop very difficult.

Dry season vegetable crops

In the lowland, there is often sufficient residual water after the wet-season rice crop to enable vegetable production where supplementary irrigation is available. Diversifying with a dry season vegetable crop can provide nutritional food security and can potentially be more profitable than rice, although water available is still a major constraint (Newman et al 2014). Cambodian vegetable production is insufficient to meet current consumer demand and Cambodian imports 40–60 per cent of its vegetables. The vegetable industry in Cambodia suffers from low yields, high postharvest losses (25–40 per cent) and requires approximately five times the labour input of rice.

Crop-cattle trends

In a 2012 survey of the mainly upland area of Battambang Province, farmers who only grew crops made up the largest group (68 per cent), followed by those who grew crops and kept cattle (26 per cent) and those specialising in cattle (6 per cent) (Martin et al 2016). Farmers appear to be unaware of the potential benefits for non-rice crop residues to be kept for feeding cattle or returned to the soil for soil improvement. The average number of cattle kept per cattle-keeping household was 4.1 and more than half of families kept three cattle or less. The main reason for low cattle numbers is that crop mechanisation has replaced draught animals. Lack of labour is a critical barrier to raising cattle and households are losing at least US\$800 per year from cattle if the current daily wage for farm labour of US\$5 is assumed. Hence, the trend is for farmers who either specialise in cattle production or stop keeping cattle due to declining availability of labour.

Key research challenges for conservation agriculture-based sustainable intensification

Cambodia's rice production is constrained by low yield potential, low quality inputs, expensive credit and under-developed extension services. A lack of irrigation water and infrastructure limits production of rice, non-rice or vegetable crops. Potentially, smallholder farmers could more than double their annual income by growing a non-rice crop like mung bean on residual soil water remaining after the wet season using no-till methods. Key research challenges needed to encourage sustainable agriculture are:

- developing an integrated cropping-livestock systems approach to viable no-tillage production of dry-season non-rice crops;
- defining suitable cropping patterns that meet and support environmental sustainability criteria and as well as market demands, that also provide additional net profit for small holder farmers;
- reducing the unit of greenhouse gas emission per unit of rice grain yield through optimising fertiliser applications and mid-season drainage using lifecycle assessment and;
- minimising impact of pesticides on the environment through integrated pest management.

Policy and institutional aspects of scaling of research findings

The key policy and institutional aspects of scaling of research findings are:

- encouraging public-private partnership based on the creation of farmer groups or cooperatives ('hubs') that collectively obtain knowledge and services of innovative techniques from available local resources in the public and private sector;
- support local farmer groups, entrepreneurs or other value chain partners to develop commercially sustainable business that meet farmer needs;
- supporting Provincial Departments of Agriculture through education and improving the quality and accuracy of information channels from input suppliers to farmers based on public-private sector partnerships and;
- education of farmers' children in schools to stimulate them with exciting farming innovations.

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Science communication for sustainable development in Malaysia

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This paper analyses the Malaysian Government's use of science communication strategies for sustainable development. We focus on the communication strategies used in the biodiesel fuel industry as a viable alternative in managing the sustainability of the Malaysian palm oil industry. Increasing global populations are leading to increases in demand for food and fuel putting pressure on depletable and renewable resources (Abelson 1996:3) raising sustainability issues in the palm oil industry. Palm oil is one of the world's most consumed vegetable oils and provides both food and fuel. Malaysia and Indonesia produce 96 per cent of the global palm oil exports (USDA 2009) and Malaysia accounts for 11 per cent of the world's oils and fat production, and 27 per cent of the export trade of oils and fats (MPOC 2017:6).

We consider the Government of Malaysia's science communication strategies and specifically their strategies for promoting sustainable development in its biodiesel industry. Our research involved a two-level analysis. Between 2010 and 2011, we undertook interviews with policymakers and those involved in the Malaysian palm oil industry and between 2010 and 2016 analysed relevant reports and policies. In-depth interviews were conducted with six policymakers and palm oil experts in Malaysia and a literature review was undertaken into science communication.

Sustainable development and palm oil production

The UN-sponsored World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED 1987) defines sustainable development as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'. The conceptual underpinnings of sustainable development are twofold: first is the concept of the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given. Second is the idea of restrictions applied by the state on the environment's capacity to fulfil both present and future needs (Mebratu 1998). These concepts create a vigorous linkage between environmental improvement, social equitability and poverty alleviation by means of sustainable economic growth (loc cit).

In the Malaysian palm oil industry large private estates, many of them foreign owned, comprise 61 per cent of the total plantation area. The Federal Land Development Authority holds 14 per cent, independent smallholders 14 per cent, with the remaining 11 per cent held by federal or government-linked authorities.

Despite positive economic benefits the expansion of the palm oil industry, specifically the increasing area of oil palm plantations, is leading to negative social, environmental and economic problems including the displacement of rural communities, deforestation, soil erosion and the

loss of biodiversity (Rahmat 2016). These negative factors have become a major issue provoking debate about the impacts of the industry on the environment and human rights (Yusoff and Hanson 2007; Nazir and Setyaningsih 2010). Linking the negative and positive impacts of oil palm with sustainable development, where both present and future needs should be seen as inseparable, would require decisions being based on scientific knowledge that in turn requires science communication.

Models of science communication

Today, it is vital for scientists to understand science communication, including its risks, and be able to communicate their research findings. There are several models of science communication strategies. These are:

The deficit model

This entails communication between laypersons and experts and is derived from a premise that the public is generally ignorant of the scientific truth in relation to technical probabilities and risk assessment (Schuefele 2014). In this model, a linear strategy would need to consider communication between laypersons and experts.

The public engagement model

This model concentrates upon the kinds of content that makes up two-way conversations between science and various publics. Such debates include the scientific aspects of new technologies. For this kind of public engagement, a communication strategy would need to consider the communication content between science or scientists and different publics.

Science as 'mediated' reality

The third model of science communication builds further on traditional engagement models. This model acknowledges the fact that the majority of encounters that members of the public experience with scientific issues, outside of formal education, do not encompass any form of straightforward public engagement (Schuefele 2014:1357). Online and offline media are the key vehicles through which citizens gain access to this kind of 'mediated' reality. A strategy for this model would need to take greater account of the public and incorporate online and offline spaces. Science communication needs to make use of artefacts i.e. both conceptual and physical that generally reflect the cultural assumptions and orientations of their designers (Medin and Megan 2014). Consequently, strategic science communication must pay heed to culture and its associated divergent ways of viewing the world (ibid).

Communication of environmental risks

This is a rational and instrumental model of communication of (Weingart et al 2000) which subscribes to a linear

information flow among the spheres of science, politics and the public. It assumes that 'the content of the information passes on unchanged and initiates political action almost automatically, following the 'rational logic' of the information obtained' (op cit 2000:262). Better cognitive learning processes and information are seen as the solution to ineffective communication among the three spheres. In the process of communication of risks, there is inevitably a juxtaposition of experts versus laymen or experts versus the public. A strategic approach to this model of science communication would entail an understanding of cognitive learning processes between the three spheres and how experts communicate risks to laymen and the public.

Experts, including scientists, play a role in science communication. The government may play a role in training scientists through research and capacity building and may invite scientists to take advisory roles within government agencies or government think tanks. The use of science communication strategies to support the government's introduction of new technological initiatives is, nonetheless, under researched.

Who are experts? Two apparent streams surface concerning experts. First, their expertise is not given but had to be earned or created. Second, expertise functions in peripheral areas of science i.e. on topics that are neither conclusively agreed nor concluded (Turner 2001:141). From a sociological view, a subjective means of knowing is taken into account (Hornidge 2014) and the role of experts in this sense is pivotal in that they are 'officially accredited definers of reality' (Koppl 2010).

In science, technology and society a deficit model prevails as a theoretical assumption requiring the role of experts for decision making. It is a mode of communication, according to the public understanding of science, between laypersons and experts (Maranta et al 2003:153). The assumption is that the public is, in some way, ignorant of the scientific truth relating to technical risk assessment and probabilities (Frewer et al 2003). Hence, the scientific model seeks to correct the knowledge gap between the originators of scientific information (the scientific elite) and the subsequent scientific literacy of the recipients of the information (loc cit). Experts, through their level of knowledge can to varying degrees, communicate their knowledge to the decision-making processes. They shape what one makes of knowledge societies because of the strategies they use for communicating their knowledge to audiences from different knowledge domains, and the kinds of authority they claim to have.

We analyse our qualitative data by contents analysis and by discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is aimed not only at the inquiry of different meanings but is also a search for what cannot be said. Taking into account the interpretative approach in sociology, the study examines the discourse of policymakers and industry experts on sustainable development, from the sociology of knowledge approach to discourse. Discourse is understood as 'concrete material practices of language in use which constitute the reality they are dealing with' (Keller 2005) with, among others, the notion of 'dispositif', defined as an 'infrastructure of discourse production and as a device for the

realisation of power effects of discourse'(loc cit). Conversation is key in enacting the reality on an everyday basis.

Bioeconomy as Malaysia's sustainable development sociotechnical imaginari vision

The pivotal actors in the country's palm oil industry, the Malaysian Palm Oil Board and Malaysian Palm Oil Council, have been striving for improved sustainability. Many key players in the industry have begun initiatives towards sustainable goals. These schemes have not fully met the expectations of those consumers and environmental groups who are demanding sustainable palm oil production. In addition, there is a cohort of NGOs and other groups who argue that the palm oil industry is inherently unsustainable, and should be eliminated or reduced (Aikanathan 2013).

However, Malaysia's palm oil biodiesel policy is moving towards achieving sustainable development. Learning from strategies for sustainable development in the biodiesel industry in Germany and the US corn bioethanol industry, it is clear that government protection is vital to an infant industry (see Rahmat et al 2016). In Malaysia the biodiesel policy focuses on both foreign and domestic investment. Malaysia has had a comprehensive biofuel program since 1982 and biodiesel is produced under the Promotion of Investment Act 1986. As a leading global producer of palm oil, Malaysia has the potential to be a key producer of palm oil diesel. However, as palm oil biofuel production is costly, it is not viable to produce when the prices of inputs for palm oil production are prohibitively high.

Malaysia envisions a bio-economy model of sustainable development but needs to design an extensive national biofuel policy, as bio-economy is on the agenda and the consumption of fuels is continuously rising. This model of sustainable production and consumption of renewable fuel could occupy a pivotal role in the economy but investment is necessary for improving the sustainability of future long-term development. While we argue that science communication should be analysed in light of the national scientific image of a bio-economy model of sustainable development, engaging in such a model of science communication has several challenges.

Challenges in striving towards sustainable development

There are several issues in the Malaysian biodiesel industry that have contributed to its lacklustre performance including the instability of palm oil biodiesel exports. New facilities need to be installed to further develop biodiesel capacity and at present, the government provides subsidies for the construction of facilities at existing refineries. The Malaysian Government allocated US\$16 million for low interest loans in 2004, US\$3.3 million for federal grants and US\$3.8 million from Petronas (a Malaysian Government-owned oil and gas company). But currently production in biodiesel plants is well under capacity and in 2011 total production in Malaysia was only six per cent of the total capacity of 2.7 million tons from 23 biodiesel plants.

The domestic palm biodiesel industry faces disadvantages regarding duties (Basiron pers com 2013). Malaysia has export duties of 30 per cent for both biodiesel and crude palm oil (CPO), while Indonesian duties are two per cent for biodiesel and 16.5 per cent for CPO (Wahab 2012:4). The Malaysian Government believes demand for biofuel will be stimulated by the crude palm oil domestic tax exemption (Rahyla et al 2017) but it is likely that this policy will increase the price of palm oil which may contribute to Malaysia's drop in rank among other producers, which are more competitive.

Other negative factors include the regular coverage by NGOs and others of sustainability issues related to land degradation, greenhouse gas emissions, biodiversity loss, land tenure issues, labour issues, social issues, biofuel and biodiesel implementation issues and policy issues. In light of these issues, what strategies can be employed and who are the actors in science communication pursuing sustainable development?

MPOB, federal government and industry: Key actors and strategies

The three key actors in science communication for biodiesel research are the Malaysian Palm Oil Board, the federal government and the biodiesel industry. The federal government communicates technical standards in biodiesel, incorporating expert knowledge in a standard setting. Malaysia's Department of Standards has accredited Malaysia's first biodiesel blend, Envo-diesel (B5), according to the National Standard in 2007 (Mamat 2009). The B5 program of the biofuel/biodiesel industry produces a fuel blend of five per cent biodiesel with 95 per cent petroleum diesel. The new program is currently operating only in the central region of the peninsular and is difficult to find in Kuala Lumpur (Wahab 2012:3).

The Malaysian biofuel industry is a more active communicator. It has pointed out that plans to increase the biodiesel portion of the blended fuel from B5 to B10 and eventually to B20 should be properly implemented. The producers believe that palm biodiesel should receive government incentives. According to former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed, the government should be the main actor in supporting the industry as biodiesel is not currently economically viable (pers com in 2015). He also felt that Malaysia should focus on other value-added products and food production.

The third actor is MPOB, which mainly communicates through consultation and stakeholder meetings. The national biofuel policy was designed through consultation with stakeholders, based on MPOB research findings since 1982, and was guided by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and relevant EU policies. The Malaysian Government has invested in biodiesel technology research and development from the Standard and Industrial Research Institute, MPOB and local universities.

The pivotal roles of the federal government and MPOB are demonstrated in scientific knowledge production on biodiesel. The government supported research and development

as a way of producing environmentally friendly renewable energy resources. In addition, the Malaysian Biodiesel Association demonstrates Malaysian interest in the biodiesel industry¹ but currently, there is no comprehensive national policy on biofuel and biodiesel production (Rahmat 2016).

There is little scientific basis in palm oil biodiesel research. According to prominent economist Jomo Kwame Sundram (2016), Malaysia does not do enough research on palm oil biodiesel even though the country's palm oil companies could benefit from it. The basic objective of Malaysia's biofuel industry is to reduce petroleum imports and as Mahathir Mohamed (expert interview 2010) suggests, the development of biodiesel palm oil is a backup strategy to support the palm oil industry; in the event of a palm oil price drop, biofuel and biodiesel will become value-added products.

Concluding remarks

The palm oil industry contributes significantly to Malaysia's economy. It generated employment opportunities for around 860,000 workers in 2006, and supported the livelihoods of two million people. Biofuel and biodiesel are seen as viable alternatives in managing sustainability in the Malaysian palm oil industry. Research and scientific knowledge production in these two fuels should, ideally, combine with science communication. However, it is currently hindered by the lack of a comprehensive policy for the country's biofuel industry and by higher biodiesel production costs compared to alternative fuels. There is a need for linking these negative and positive externalities of industry with the concept of sustainable development, where future and present needs can be seen in unison.

Note

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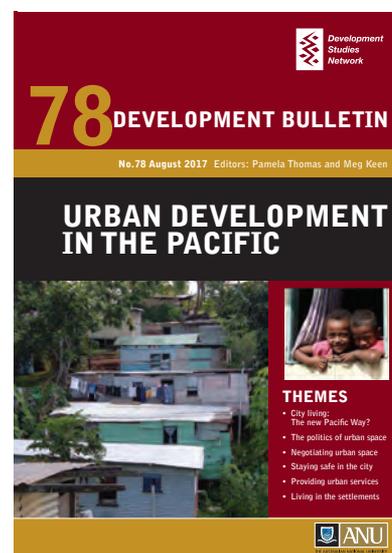
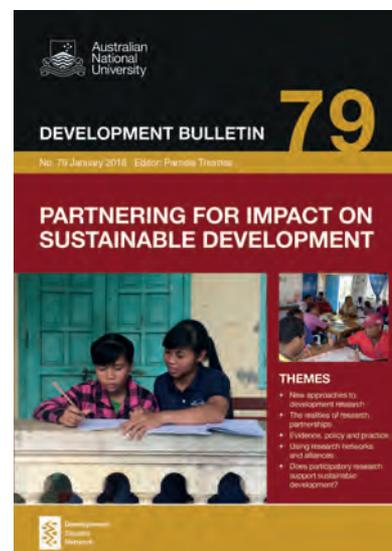
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