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Mapping

THE STATE OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE: TRENDS IN KACHIN



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Mike Adair
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Myanmar Survey Research

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Local Governance Mapping

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UNDP MYANMAR

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	II
Acronyms	III
Executive Summary	1
1. Introduction	5
2. Kachin State	7
2.1 Kachin geography	9
2.2 Population distribution	10
2.3 Socio-economic dimensions	11
2.4 Some historical perspectives	13
2.5 Current security situation	18
2.6 State institutions	18
3. Methodology	24
3.1 Objectives of mapping	25
3.2 Mapping tools	25
3.3 Selected townships in Kachin	26
4. Governance at the front line – Findings on participation, responsiveness and accountability for service provision	27
4.1 Introduction to the townships	28
4.1.1 Overarching development priorities	33
4.1.2 Safety and security perceptions	34
4.1.3 Citizens’ views on overall improvements	36
4.1.4 Service Provider’s and people’s views on improvements and challenges in selected basic services	37
4.1.5 Issues pertaining to access services	54
4.2 Development planning and participation	57
4.2.1 Development committees	58
4.2.2 Planning and use of development funds	61
4.2.3 Challenges to township planning and participatory development	65
4.3 Information, transparency and accountability	67
4.3.1 Information at township level	67
4.3.2 TDSCs and TMACs as accountability mechanisms	69
4.3.3 WA/VTAs and W/VTSDCs	70
4.3.4 Grievances and disputes	75
4.3.5 Citizens’ awareness and freedom to express	78
4.3.6 Role of civil society organisations	81
5. Conclusions	82
6. Annexes	87
Annex 1: Composition of township committees	88
Annex 2: Ratings from focus group discussions, members of TDSC and TMAC	91
Annex 3: Community dialogues: action plans	92



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Acronyms

BCP	Burma Communist Party
BSPP	Burma Socialist Programme Party
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CRC	Citizen Report Card
DMA	Department of Municipal Affairs
DRD	Department of Rural Development
EO	Executive Officer
GAD	General Administration Department
GOUM	Government of the Union of Myanmar
HH	Household
HOD	Head of Department
IHLCA	Integrated Household Living Conditions Assessment
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
KNC	Kachin National Congress
KSNDP	Kachin State National Democratic Party
KIA	Kachin Independence Army
KIO	Kachin Independence Organization
LGM	Local Governance Mapping
MMK	Myanmar Kyat
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoH	Ministry of Health
NATALA	Border Areas and National Races and Development Affairs
NLD	National League for Democracy
NGO	Non Government Organization
NUP	National Unity Party
PTA	Parent Teachers Association
PCM	Project Cycle Management
PRF	Poverty Reduction Fund
RDF	Rural Development Fund
SAZ	Special Administrative Zone
SAC	Security and Administration Committee
SLORC	State Law and Order Restoration Council
SLRD	Settlements and Land Records Department
SNDP	Shan Nationalities Democratic Party
SPDC	State Peace and Development Council
TA	Township Administrator
TMAC	Township Municipal Affairs Committee
TDSC	Township Development Support Committee
TEO	Township Education Officer
TFLMC	Township Farm Land Management Committee
TMC	Township Management Committee
TMO	Township Medical Officer
TPIC	Township Planning and Implementation Committee
TPO (or PO)	Township Planning Officer
TRDO	Township Rural Development Officer
TS	Township
UDPKS	Union and Democracy Party of Kachin State
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USDA	Union Solidarity and Development Association
USDP	Union Solidarity and Development Party
W/VTDSC	Ward / Village Tract Development Support Committee
WA/VTA	Ward Administrator / Village Tract Administrator



Executive Summary

This report outlines the results of the Local Governance Mapping (LGM) conducted by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in partnership with the Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA) in Kachin State from November 2014 to January 2015. Drawing on the perceptions of the people and local governance actors, the mapping has captured the current dynamics of governance at the front line and enables an analysis of the participation, responsiveness and accountability for local governance and basic service provision. The report examines processes, mechanisms and the way in which they are functioning for development planning and participation, people's access to basic services and the information, transparency and accountability dimensions of local governance processes in the four selected townships of Tanai, Putao, Momauk and Myitkyina. While the focus of the LGM is on local governance institutions, the roles of the State and Union government authorities and their relationships with the lower levels in a broader governance context are also relevant and, to some extent, reflected upon in this analysis.

Kachin State occupies the northernmost area of Myanmar bordering India to the west and China to the north and east. Kachin has the third largest land area of the 14 States and Regions in Myanmar and has the country's highest mountain ranges. The people living in Kachin State belong to various ethnic groups, primarily Kachins, Bamars and Shans. The four townships of Momauk, Myitkyina, Putao, and Tanai covered under the mapping offer a variety of examples of issues of access and sophistication of the local economy as well as the effects of the conflict in the state. Since 2011, Kachin State has seen the most serious of all the armed confrontations affecting the country, and pending a lasting settlement of the decades-old conflict, local governance systems and mechanisms will be affected by this state of affairs. The information collected as part of the mapping and presented in the subsequent sections must therefore be read and understood as part of the broader geographic, socio-economic, demographic, historical and political context in which the State finds itself.

The legacies of armed conflict, ethnic mobilization and military rule inform and shape the efforts, undertaken since 2012, of reintroducing some forms of popular participation at the local level in Kachin State, in particular the townships and the village tracts and wards. The degree to which Kachin State will be successful in both reflecting its own ethnic diversity while at the same time delivering basic services in an equitable and effective manner will depend largely on the progress made in building local governance institutions and processes that are inclusive and responsive to the needs of the local population. Given the pending peace agreement, perceptions of safety are thus more of an indication of relative change rather than any absolute measure. At the time of the community-level mapping in November 2014 most people felt the security situation had not worsened. The perceptions of this vary between townships and since conflict has been more evident in Momauk, nearly half the respondents felt the situation in the township had worsened although most people (76%) feel secure in their immediate area. Finding a balanced solution to the underlying causes of this conflict remains an urgent challenge for the people of Kachin State.

The mapping finds that the large distances to be travelled and poor communications and infrastructure combined with an unsolved conflict situation create challenges to development stemming from the allocation of human and financial resources. In spite of significant staff

shortages in some of the more remote areas, an important start has been made on developing the necessary management systems to support participatory development, as well as the creation of improvements in **health, education and water supply**. However, familiarity with the necessary processes to convincingly respond to local need is very much lacking and needs much attention.

With regard to **health services**, almost half of the people expressed satisfaction with health services and almost all never felt discriminated in receiving treatment although 60 percent had to pay for the medicines. All health service providers interviewed also mentioned health services provided in their community had improved in the last three years mainly because they are now better equipped with both medical supplies and drugs and new construction or expansion of health facilities. At the same time, there are further requirements of infrastructural improvements and staff capacities. Village Health Committees are part of the social infrastructure that are available to provide healthcare and advice.

The administrative reforms have also brought several improvements to the **education sector**. All the visited townships reported increases in budget resulting in more schools and more teachers especially for primary education. The current proportional numbers of the student body provides a baseline from which improvements on graduation levels through primary, middle and high schools can be targeted. Enrolments per capita are relatively the same between all four townships and this would seem to indicate a reasonable and equitable sharing of resources. A budget for temporary teachers is used in each township to boost teacher student ratios and is an example of the decentralised decision making that is being implemented by Ministry of Education (MoE). All schools have a Parent Teachers Association (PTA) but the main role of the PTAs is limited to providing small repairs and maintenance, especially in rural areas. The responsibility for school management falls mainly on the school principal with backup by the Township Education Officer (TEO). The main issues experienced during the 2012/13 school year were: poor school building condition, low teacher salaries and a lack of teachers. A significant challenge is the absence of local authority over any of their budget resources or decision-making on local issues.

For household **water supply**, issues of both quality and quantity need to be addressed in urban (by the Department of Municipal Affairs (DMA) and rural areas (by the Department of Rural Development (DRD)). There are significant differences between the townships. The approvals and budget releases are decided at the State level and are normally perceived as being arbitrary by township staff.

The historical importance of the township as the administrative and governing unit continues and has been strengthened by the current reforms. In particular, the creation of the Township Development Support Committee (TDSC) and Township Municipal Affairs Committee (TMAC) for rural and urban development affairs respectively in 2013 was designed to create a move towards **increased participation by citizens in planning**. The government-appointed township officials are now called upon to integrate the advice and direction of the two new development committees and even to mentor development processes that can result in greater participatory development plans better responding to locally articulated needs.

In order to align local development with the country's move towards democratization, the roles and relationships between the local committees (most of them new) have been

defined and are in various stages of start-up. The fact that these committees are new means that the membership and understanding of role differs from place to place. The Township Management Committee (TMC) is the core of 'local administration' wherever consultation is required or deemed necessary. The TDSC seeks to represent important elements of society including civil society and the private sector. An important change in the management of township municipal affairs is the government's decision to require an oversight and approval function of the TMAC for the DMA's work on annual tax collection forecasts and investment plans.

The TDSC and TMAC therefore offer good opportunities for dialogue with township administration and represent some diversity of accountability in the decision-making process. These committees and the processes they oversee are designed to support planning and implementation of projects but they are still very much in their infancy. Understandably, there is some confusion about the rationale and detail of processes, criteria, timing and responsibility for decision-making at every level up and capacity development is an urgent need. The TDSC and TMAC member's levels of participation and skills vary across the selected townships. Since the selection of their members originates in the process of creating a nomination committee by township administration, neither committee is fully democratic. Notwithstanding this, their current role and selection process can be seen as a part of a transition which still brings useful diversity of views into the mix. The committee members themselves generally report that they feel accountable to their local communities and unanimously said that feedback and discussion with township administration has changed as a result. However, further support is required for their transparent election and to enable them to perform their role and functions.

There are development funds that provide an incremental source of funding for local needs in Kachin. These include the Poverty Reduction Fund, Constituency Development Fund, and Rural Development Fund (PRF, CDF, RDF) and funds from the Ministry of Border Affairs. While in theory these funds respond to local level needs and decisions; in practice allocation decisions are made at the State or Union level and the volume of funds through these channels will not make a significant impact on the full range of needs or the gaps.

Importantly, the **development funds** (PRF, CDF and RDF) are designed to provide the resources with which to practice skills of bottom up planning and participation and the need to be more transparent at the local level. Except for the CDF, which is known to be 100 million Myanmar Kyat (MMK) per township per year, there is no prior knowledge of the levels of funding that may be expected and fund receipts have been irregular. The funds can be improved through capacity development for management of the funds, monitoring and evaluation, planning at the local level, and improvements in the current generic local planning process. The township development planning process, affected by limited budget, with funding from multiple and confusing streams requires clear guidelines that are grounded in the needs of participatory planning. The operation of the new local development funds must be strengthened by treating them as a pilot with consistent monitoring and mentoring from higher level officials.

The current outputs of the **development planning process**, the annual plan and the implementation plan, need to be made more user-friendly documents that allow the reader

to easily see how basic needs for infrastructure, health and education are coming together in clearly comprehensible projects that are geographically specific, time bound and with well-prepared budgets that can be used as a monitoring tool. There is a clear need for a documented and transparent project management process. The Implementation Plan from the Department of Planning (also referred to as the Compendium of Projects), which is a simple list of projects needs strategic analysis on how various projects fit together to correspond to the development needs of the township.

While the township administration and other institutional actors are making efforts at development and service delivery, the information flow from them to citizens about development projects is still far from adequate. Three quarters of township inhabitants (81% in rural areas) are not aware of any government funds being spent in their area. There is also limited awareness of important governance actors. Only about 10 percent know the Member of Parliament who represents their interests at the State Hluttaw and about 5 percent knew the Township Administrator. While there are many actors in this chain of information flow, the role of the WA/VTAs becomes more important for people at the local level. At the local level, aside from ensuring peace and security, the next four important tasks of the Ward Administrators/Village Tract Administrators (WA/VTAs) identified by local people all have to do primarily with being an **effective information channel** for sparking participation in local development. Whether acting as a spokesperson for the village, organizing community inputs into projects or providing a conduit of information on needs and approved projects, the WA/VTA is the most essential and most consistent point of contact between township administration and the local population. There has been an increase in transparency, as well as increases in participation of elders and cooperation with government in some part due to WA/VTAs ability to pass the information along to their communities using the 10/100 HH representation network, a village public announcement system and monthly meetings with the community.

In addition, the WA/VTAs also perform important roles in the **resolution of local disputes** such as simple land disputes. In considering the first level of responsibility to solve important problems, people look equally to government and the local representative, the WA/VTA. There are nearly equal proportions of respondents - 36 percent and 37 percent - who think the WA/VTA and the State/Region or Union Government respectively should take the main responsibility for **solving the most important problems** in the community.

The plans of government to improve the level of services and standard of living throughout the country need to include the development of better communication, feedback mechanisms and **accountability structures** that embrace a local governance structure as well as civil society organizations. The objective should be to provide a forum for feedback of progress on current reforms and service delivery. Overall, it is the process of planning, implementation and monitoring that will improve governance and such capacity improvements are urgently needed for township development and management. Current performance needs to be improved and a structured approach taken towards developing the necessary institutional and individual capacities. In this effort, the local governance reforms undertaken need to be strengthened.



1. Introduction

Nestled well into the eastern Himalayas, the most northern part of Myanmar is occupied by the State of Kachin with India to its west and China to its east and the north. With the third largest land area and a population of about 1.7 million people, it is home to several ethnic groups, mainly, Kachins, Bamars and Shans. The economy is largely dependent on agriculture but also includes forests with timber production, the jade mines for which Kachin is famous, as well as other mineral products. The State however suffers from a protracted conflict despite a 17-years old ceasefire agreement and efforts to move towards a negotiated settlement for peace are yet to come.

This report outlines the results of the Local Governance mapping that was conducted by the UNDP in collaboration with the Ministry of Home Affairs in Kachin State from November 2014 to January 2015. Drawing on the perceptions of the people and local governance actors, the mapping has captured the current dynamics of governance at the front line and enables an analysis of the participation, responsiveness and accountability for local governance and basic service provision. The report examines processes, mechanisms and the way in which they are functioning for development planning and participation, people's access to basic services and the information, transparency and accountability dimensions of local government processes in the four selected townships. While the focus of the mapping is on local governance, the roles of the State and Union government and their relationships with the lower levels in a broader governance context are also relevant and, to some extent, reflected upon in this analysis.

The report begins with a description of the Kachin State with its historical dimensions and set up of state institutions, and follows on by the introduction of the selected townships under local governance mapping, and continues with the overarching development challenges, government officials and people's perspectives on key basic services of health, education and water supply. In addition to delineating issues that affect these sectors, it focuses on local governance institutions, their roles, use of the development funds and challenges to township management in participatory development. It also delves into processes that determine people's access to information, mechanisms of dispute resolution and roles that civil society's play in accountability structures. The report ends with conclusions and some thoughts on the way forward.



2. Kachin State

Table 1: Kachin State at a glance

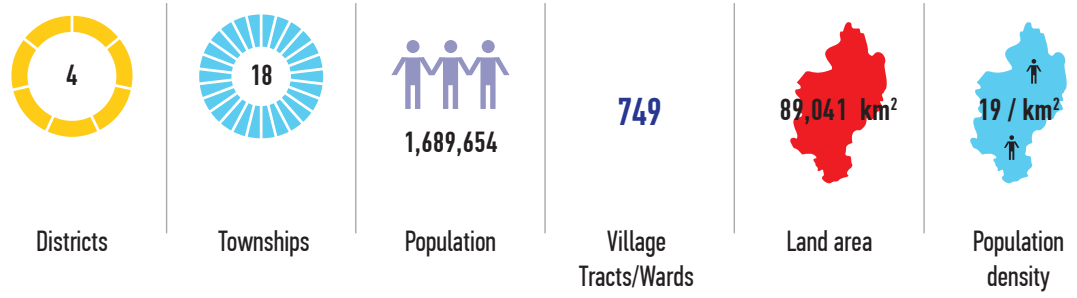
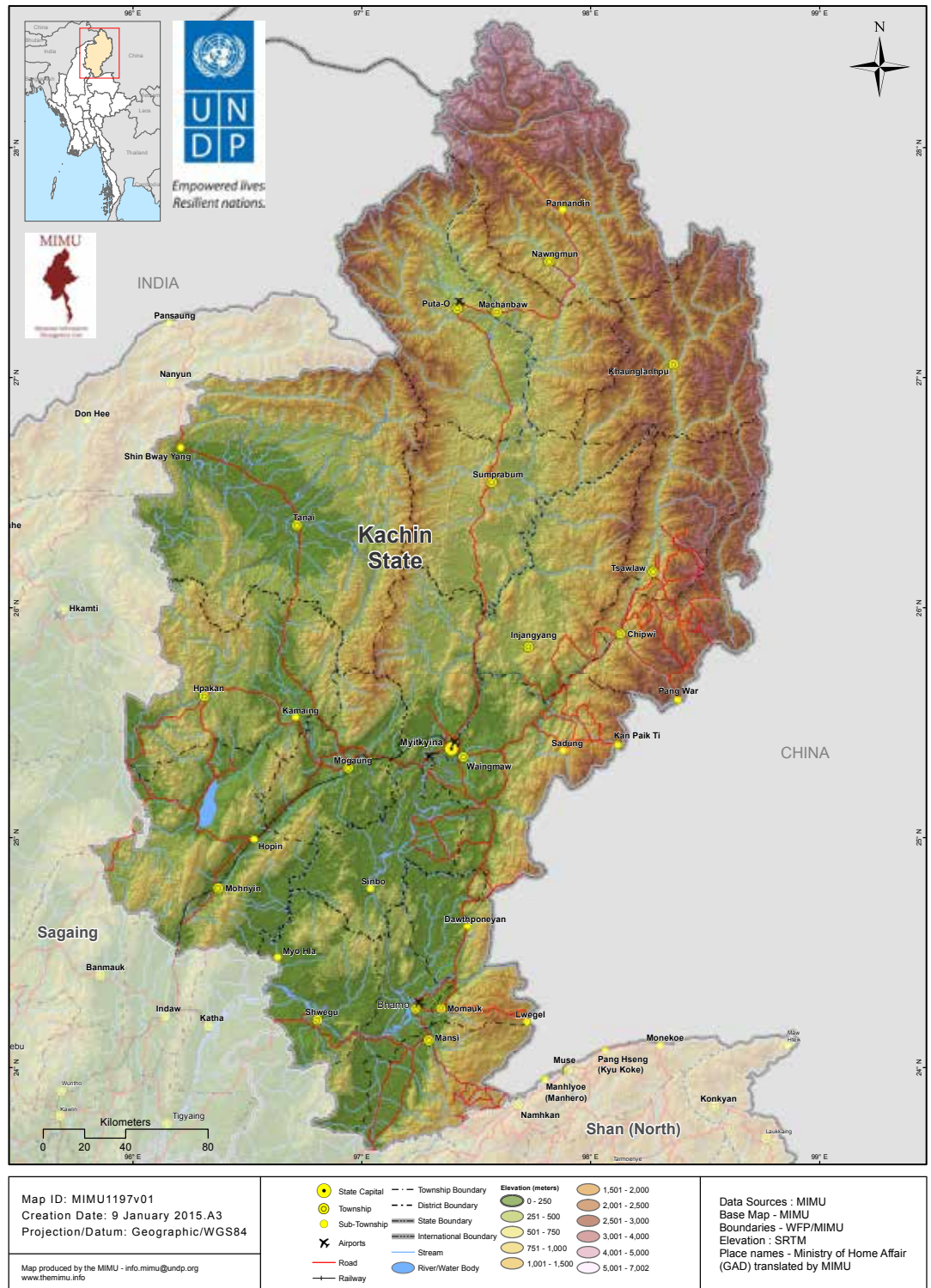


Figure 1: Map of Kachin State

Source: GAD website¹.



Disclaimer: The names shown and the boundaries used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

1. www.gad.gov.mm

2.1 Kachin geography

Kachin State occupies the most northern part of Myanmar and borders India to the west and China to the north and east. The northern tip of the state located at N 28°30' (about the same latitude as New Delhi) is nestled well into the eastern Himalayas with some peaks reaching over 5,800 m. More than 500 km to the south, Kachin touches Shan State. Across its widest east to west point, it measures about 250 km having a long western border with Sagaing State.

Kachin has the third largest land area of the 14 States and Regions in Myanmar. With 89,041 km², it has roughly the same size as Hungary or the Kingdom of Jordan. Its relatively small population of almost 1.7m puts it 12th among the 14 States and Regions, a population size comparable to that of Guinea-Bissau or Kosovo. Kachin State features some of Myanmar's most remote regions. Its international borders with China (the Tibet Autonomous Region and Yunnan Province²) and India (Arunachal Pradesh) are longer than its internal boundaries with Shan State and Sagaing Division including the Naga Special Administration Zone (SAZ).

Kachin has Myanmar's highest mountain ranges. Whereas the south-western parts of the State (Myitkyina, Bhamo and Mohnyin districts and parts of Putao District) extend to flatter hills and river plains (Hukawng basin, Myitkyina plain, Bhamo basin and the Putao basin), its northern and eastern limits (most of Putao District) reach up to 5,889 metres. Hkakabo Razi features as Myanmar's highest mountain, belonging to the eastern stretches of the Himalaya range and the greater Tibetan plateau.

The snow line is at about 4,500 metres, and the higher elevations are thus covered by snow all year round. Several glaciers exist in the area and feed the origins of some of the country's great river systems. The Nmai Hka and Mali Hka merge into the Ayeyarwady in the State. The western parts (Hukawng Valley in Tanai Township) have some tributaries of the Chindwin River. Indawgyi Lake near Mohnyin is the largest in Myanmar, with an area of 209km².

The State's topography gives rise to a diverse climate, ranging from sub-tropical monsoon climate in the lowlands to mountainous tundra-highland climate in the northern-most parts. Its remoteness and elevation have also preserved Kachin's natural environment to an extent, although problems related to illegal logging and poaching are known to be endemic. The rainforests of Kachin State are among the wider region's biodiversity hotspots. Hukawng Valley includes a wildlife reserve near Tanai that covers almost 22,000 km². Hukawng Valley Tiger Reserve is known as one of the world's largest tiger reserves. The Government has also designated 6,500 km² of the valley as the protected forest reserve.³

Kachin's capital Myitkyina lies on the west bank of the Ayeyarwady River. It is the northernmost river port and railway terminus in Myanmar. Other main towns are Bhamo, Mogaung, Mohnyin, Putao and Shwegu. Laiza, at the Chinese border in Waingmaw township, was only a village prior to 1994, but became an important town after the KIO/KIA concluded a cease-fire agreement with the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) and moved its headquarters there. It currently remains under the control of the KIA.

2. Kachin State is adjacent to Yunnan Province's 'Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture' and 'Nüjiāng Lisu Autonomous Prefecture'.

3. According to a report by the Wildlife Conservation Society released in October 2010, only 50 tigers remain in Hukawng Valley. Gold mining in Hukawng Valley has caused some environmental damage.

2.2 Population distribution

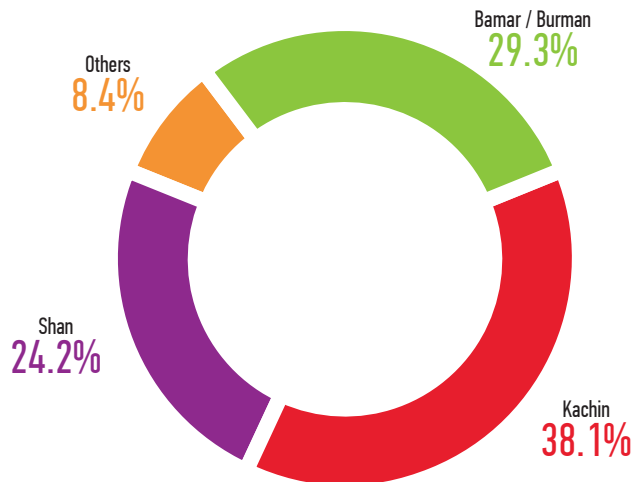
At 19/km², population density is low in Kachin state, but ranges from densely populated plains with over 100/km² in Bhamo and Mogaung Townships to sparsely populated hills and mountains with 2/km² in Nogmung Township.

The people living in Kachin State belong to various ethnic groups, primarily Kachins, Bamars and Shans and ethnic identity is a fluid, intangible and often relational concept not easily reflected in administrative mechanisms and political bodies.

The people living in Kachin State belong to various ethnic groups, primarily Kachins, Bamars and Shans (see Figure 2). As anywhere, ethnic identity is a fluid, intangible and often relational concept that is not suitable for being easily reflected in administrative mechanisms and political bodies. When British colonial administrators tried to rationalize the multiplicity of Kachin's various social, cultural and linguistic communities, they introduced a number of defined and exclusive categories for administrative purposes, which tended to assume static and primordial 'racial' identities.⁴ In the post-colonial and socialist periods the state divided ethnic groups into nations (naingandha), which had their own titular States, and nationalities (tainyindha). Although classifications are often confusing, overlapping and controversial, these have to a large extent remained the basis for contemporary administrative practice.⁵

Each group can be subdivided in a number of sub-groups which are distinct by linguistic, cultural and historical features. The term Kachin was not used until the 19th century, and is not a traditional, indigenous form of group reference. The main subgroups of the Kachin (who call themselves Jinghpaw) are the Jinghpaw,⁶ Lawngwaw (Maru/Lawgore/Lhaovo/Lhaovar), the Lashi (Lachik/Lachid/La:cid), the Atsi/Zaiwa, the Rawang/Nung, and the Lisu.⁷ Other groups sometimes considered Kachin are the Taron/Trone/Karo, Dalaung, Gauri, Hkahku and Duleng. Jinghpaws tend to settle along the Mali Hka and Ayeyarwady, Marus along the Nmai Hka, Lisus and Lashis along the eastern border line, Jinghpaw and Atsis along the boundary with Shan State and Trones in the far North.⁸ Shans mainly live in Putao basin, Hukawng basin, in the south of Myitkyina and along the railroads. Bamars are found mainly in towns. There are also many Chinese, again mainly in urban areas.

Figure 2: Percentage of ethnic groups in Kachin State according to the 1983 census⁹



4. These were recorded and described, among others, in the Gazetteers of Upper Burma and Shan States, published in 1900 and 1901 and used as categories in the regular census.

5. See also: 'Constructing and Contesting the Category 'Kachin' in the Colonial and Post-Colonial Burmese State', by Mandy Sadan, in *Ethnic Diversity in Burma*, by Mikael Gravers (ed.) (2007).

6. Some Kachins use the term "Jinghpaw Wunpawng" to mean all Kachins while "Jinghpaw" is also used to describe one of the Kachin tribes. The 'Jingpo' also form one of the 56 ethnic groups officially recognized by the People's Republic of China, where they numbered more than 130,000 people in the 2000 census. As 'Singpho', the same ethnic identity group is recognized in the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh.

7. The most famous and detailed ethnological study of the groups described as Kachin was written by E. R. Leach, "The Categories Shan and Kachin and their Subdivisions" in *Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure* (1959). Sadan (2007) states that "inevitably, all of these communities are themselves complex entities and their affiliations to the category Kachin have historically been contested, reconfigured and renegotiated at both local and national levels.

8. Myanmar, Hla Tun Aung, Ministry of Education, 2003.

9. Data sources: Thin Maung Than, "Dreams and Nightmares: State Building and Ethnic Conflict in Myanmar (Burma)", in *Ethnic Conflict in Southeast Asia*, (ed. Kusuma Snit Wongse and W. Scott Thompson), Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005, pp. 65-108.; Table 3.3. "Racial Composition of Myanmar's Ethnic States based on 1983 Census. The article lists as original sources "Government of Burma 1987 various issues and Hla Min, *The Political Situation of Myanmar and Its Role in the Region*, 2001.

Jinghpaw is a tonal Sino-Tibetan language. Its alphabet is based on the Latin script, created by American missionaries-Baptists in the late 19th century. Other distinct languages found among the Kachin are Zaiwa, Maru, Lashi, Nung (Rawang) and Lisu. Most ethnic Kachin are Christians (mostly Protestant, but also some Roman Catholic), which is a result of efforts by American, British and French missionaries in the 19th century to spread Christianity to the mostly animist hill peoples in what was then the Frontier Areas of Burma, beginning in the 1830s. Altogether, Buddhists are estimated to make up about 58 percent in the State, Christians 37 percent, and the remainder Muslims and Hindus. The population size per township ranges from more than 200,000 in Myitkyina and Mohnyin, whereas it is under 25,000 in Machanbaw, Chipwi, Kawnglanghpu, Sumprabum and Nogmung (see Figure 3). In Injangyang and Tsawlaw it is even lower than 10,000.

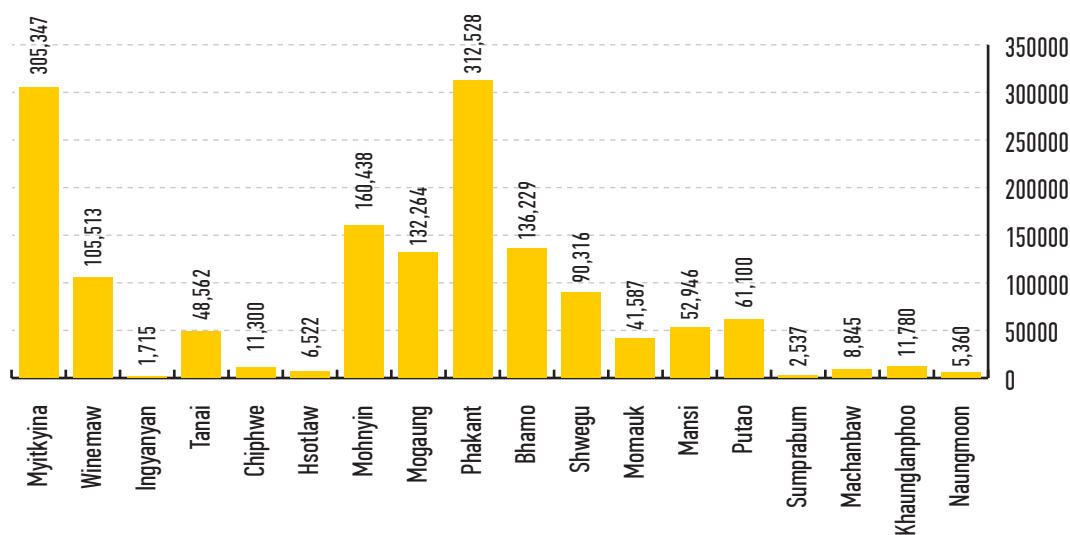


Figure 3: Population sizes per township in Kachin State

2.3 Socio-economic dimensions

The economy of Kachin State is predominantly agricultural. Kachin's agriculture is much less intensively developed than in the Regions of the Ayeyarwady basin to its South. Nevertheless, Kachin produces considerable quantities of rice, corn, groundnuts, pulses and beans, sugarcane and vegetables. A number of eradication programmes (including by the KIO) has helped to replace opium-poppy as an important crop. There are also good conditions for freshwater fisheries and livestock, common in many areas. The forests produce teak and hardwood, as well as charcoal, bamboo and resin. A number of industries are associated with these products, such as sugar mills and rice mills. Weaving and blacksmithing are important cottage industries.¹⁰

The product Kachin State is best known for its jade and most of the jade extracted in Myanmar comes from there. The important jade mines are located in Hpakan township of Mohnyin District (Tawhmaw, Longkin and Hougpa). Annual production figures have exceeded 32,000 tons in recent years with a total value of some US\$2 billion, most of it being exported to China. Other important mineral products are amber, gold, copper, iron ore and gems. The mining operations have been criticized for the extensive environmental damage they cause, as well as for the working and social conditions of mine workers and the affected neighbouring communities. Many social problems such as alcoholism, drug addiction and gambling result among migrant workers separated from their families with a number of suicides each year even appearing to be a result of depression and gambling debt.¹¹

The economy of Kachin is predominantly agricultural. Freshwater fisheries and livestock are also common as is hard wood forests. Kachin is also famous for jade mines as well as amber, gold, copper, iron ore and gems.

10. Myanmar, Hla Tun Aung, Ministry of Education, 2003.

11. Field discussions during the mapping team in Tanai.

Myitkyina, the business centre of Kachin State, is connected to the country's main road and rail network and has the State's main airport. Bhamo is one of the important border trading points between China and Myanmar.¹² The Ayeyarwady River is navigable from Bhamo downwards. In the remote northern mountainous areas, however, the rugged terrain affects the level of socio-economic development of those parts of the State. The risk of frequent landslides and damage caused by floods add to the already unfavourable conditions in those areas.

The IHLCA estimated that about 29% of the population in Kachin State was estimated to be living below the poverty line. About 16% of births in Kachin are still not registered.

Although Kachin State has some of Myanmar's most beautiful scenery and best-preserved environment, tourism has so far not been able to develop significantly due to transport and logistics challenges but mostly as a result of the ongoing conflict in the State. Kachin State has the highest number of townships that can be accessed only with prior permission from the government. Vast areas of land are not controlled by government and are unreachable by public services. Due to the resurgence of conflict in the State since 2011, thousands of people have been displaced and are living in camps where access to clean water and proper sanitation have been noted as highly inadequate. Even within the government-controlled areas, data shows a persistent prevalence of poverty and deprivation. The Integrated Household Living Condition Assessment (IHLCA) estimated that about 29 percent of the population in Kachin State was estimated to be living below the poverty line.

As a result, a sizeable proportion of children in Kachin continue to have some of their most basic needs unmet. Some 13 percent of children in Kachin are less likely than the average Myanmar child to be underweight but are slightly more likely (37 percent) to be stunted (or have low height-for-age). Children in Kachin State are less likely than the average Myanmar child to be born in a health facility (only about 25 percent). About 16 per cent of births in Kachin State are still not registered. Unregistered children are not only deprived of their basic right to a legal identity but are also more vulnerable to exploitation.¹³ On education-related indicators, Kachin fares better than the national average, presumably due to the abundance of faith-based early childhood development centres. The primary school enrolment rate in Kachin is slightly higher than the national average but still not on par with universal standards and only 60 per cent of children attending primary school in the State complete their schooling on time.¹⁴

Hydropower

One of the largest construction projects in the country is the Myitsone Dam in Kachin State. It is located on the Ayeyarwady River, below the confluence of the Mali and the Nmai Rivers about 42 km north of Myitkyina. Once completed, the site would cover parts of the townships of Myitkyina, Waingmaw and Injangyang. The large dam and hydroelectric power development project are being built by government contractors and the China Power Investment Corporation.¹⁵ The dam has been planned since 2001 and is expected to be completed in 2017. Projected to produce 6,000 megawattsof electricity, it will be Myanmar's largest such installation.¹⁶ Six more hydropower dams on the Nmai and Ayeyarwady rivers are also planned.¹⁷

12. Kachin has very close economic ties with China, which is also the main investor in development and infrastructure projects in the State.

13. During the Mapping some local CSOs based in Myitkyina were interviewed who are working on this and other issues related to child rights and child protection.

14. UNICEF Profile for Kachin State, 2013.

15. The Myanmar Government has stated that according to the agreement with the Chinese investor, it would get 10 percent of the electricity generated and 15 percent of the project shares for land use. In addition, the government would charge a withholding tax and an export tax on exported electricity to China. After a 50-year period, the government would totally own the project.

16. The Myitsone Dam is planned to be 1,310 m long and 140 m high.

17. Together, these hydropower dams have been designed to have a maximum total installed capacity of up to 20,000 MW of electricity, which is almost the amount produced by China's Three Gorges Dam, the largest in the world. The present capacity of all operating hydroelectric dams in Myanmar is around 3,000 MW.

Myitsone Dam has become well-known for the political controversies around its expected social and environmental impact. Opposition to the project has come from a wide range of voices, including local villages, the KIO, the NLD, national and international environmental groups and the Myanmar media. About 10-15,000 people near the construction site would be displaced and relocated to newly built resettlement villages. The dam was expected to flood 447 km² including 47 villages, also causing loss of farmland and wildlife habitat. Construction is also feared to affect the hydrological characteristics of the Ayeyarwady River and to prevent sediment from enriching the historically highly productive agricultural floodplains downstream. Responding to this shift in public opinion, on 30 September 2011, in an address to the Union Hluttaw, President Thein Sein announced that the Myitsone Dam project would be halted during the term of his government.

2.4 Some historical perspectives

Although the area that makes up today's Kachin State has had a long history, for instance of Sino-Tibetan peoples migrating south and being fought over by numerous empires and armies, the State itself has a relatively recent history as a single administrative unit. To date, due to long-standing conflicts and rivalries, it has not yet enjoyed an era of consolidated state power and peaceful governance.¹⁸

The southern parts of Kachin State, Mohnyin and Bhamo, and the upper Ayeyarwady valley, were under the influence of Burmese and Shan Kingdoms from early on. After the Pagan era, which ended in the 13th century, the control was contested by Shan states and the Burmese Kingdom of Ava, itself founded by Burmanized Shans. Ava finally succumbed to a Shan confederation in 1527. Thereafter, the Taungoo Kingdom succeeded in conquering the Shan plateau and subdued the most powerful Shan states of Mohnyin and Mogaung, located in what is today Kachin State. While formally subjected to the suzerainty of the king in Taungoo, the local Shan princes, known as sawbwas (in Shan 'saopha'), were allowed to retain their privileges and continued to rule their subjects. Gradually the tribes nowadays described as Kachin practicing shifting hill agriculture, expanded south from their Tibetan and Yunnanese ancestral lands and occupied the hill tracts of the upper Ayeyarwady and Chindwin Valleys, while Shans mainly settled in the plains and along the rivers. Kachin political authority was based on chieftains who depended on support from their immediate kinsmen.

After the British Empire had taken Mandalay, defeated Burma and ended the Burmese kingdom in 1885, it took ten more years to establish British domination over the whole territory of what they called the Kachin Hills. Following their ultimate defeat however, the Kachin tribes were allowed to continue to function according to their traditional forms of governance. According to the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation of 1895, administrative responsibility by the British government was accepted on the left bank of the Ayeyarwady for the country south of the Nmai Hka and, and on the right bank for the country south of an east-west line drawn from the confluence of the Mali Hka and Nmai Hka including the jade mines of Hpakant. That area corresponds to today's Bhamo and Mohnyin Districts and the southern parts of Myitkyina District. The Kachin tribes north of this line were told that if they abstained from raiding areas to the south they would not be interfered with. South of that line peace was to be enforced and a small tribute exacted with a minimum of interference in their private affairs.

18. This brief historical overview is provided to put the current political situation and institutional governance framework into a broader context. It does not aim to comprehensively address the complexities of history which in many cases will also depend on individual perspectives and competing or even conflicting historical narratives. This summary is an attempt to provide a neutral background, while recognizing that even this is contingent, to some extent, on interpretation and construction.

However, relations between the British colonialists and the Kachin tribes did not remain peaceful. Several campaigns of ‘punitive measures’ were conducted against insubordinate tribes in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Administratively, the southern parts of the area were included in Mandalay Division (Bhamo, Myitkyina, which then only included what is now Myitkyina Township and Mohnyin District, alongside Katha District¹⁹) whereas the northern parts were allocated to Sagaing Division, but largely left ungoverned as stated above. The British colonial period saw significant migration of Bamars and Indians into the larger towns of the Upper Ayeyarwady, in particular to Bhamo, and after the completion of the railway line, to Myitkyina.

The British colonial administration included the areas of ‘Burma proper’, which it also referred to as ‘Ministerial Burma’. As parts of Mandalay Division therefore, in Myitkyina and Bhamo the administrative machinery that evolved gradually under British rule was a pyramidal territorial organization comprising Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners, Sub-divisional Officers, and Township Officers in charge respectively of division, districts, subdivisions, and townships.²⁰

The Kachin Tracts were administered by the Deputy Commissioner concerned, who was serving as judge for the trial of serious offenses, with the Divisional Commissioner of Sagaing functioning as the High Court. But the internal administration was left to the tribal chieftains, the duwas, to conduct in accordance with traditional custom.²¹ Alongside the duwa and his tribal subordinates, officials known as *taung-oks*²² were appointed by government to supervise the collection of revenue, and to assist the duwas in the trial of cases and in the performance of their other duties.²³

The subsequent two World Wars saw the development of the Kachin independence movement as well as a military career as one of the avenues for young Kachin men. At the Panglong Conference in February 1947, Kachin leaders, alongside representatives of Shan sawbwas and Chin chiefs, and General Aung San, on behalf of the interim Burmese government, agreed that a newly formed Kachin State would become part of independent Burma, but a large degree of self-governance would be retained.²⁴ The Agreement stated that the Frontier Areas would in principle retain ‘full autonomy in internal administration’ and that the Government of Burma would ‘not operate in respect of the Frontier Areas in any manner which would deprive any portion of these Areas of the autonomy which it now enjoys in internal administration.’ The agreement furthermore guaranteed democratic rights to the citizens of the Frontier Areas.²⁵

The Rees-Williams Committee composed of Burmese and Frontier States representatives in 1947 recommended the creation of a Federal Union of Burma with the Shan and Kachin areas incorporated into Burma proper. While other States were to be guaranteed the right to secede, the Kachin witnesses of the report however assured that ‘if the part of the Kachin area, formerly under the Legislative Council and largely Burmanized, and even Indianized, should be united with the Part I Areas²⁶ to form a new State’, they would ‘willingly guarantee

19. Katha is now part of Sagaing Region.

20. For a detailed description of this system, see J.S. Furnivall, *The Governance of Modern Burma* (1961).

21. Five clans stood out among the Kachins, each led by a duwa. The chieftainship was hereditary, passing to the youngest surviving son.

22. The taung-ok was the counterpart of the myo-ok in the rest of Burma, and was subordinate to the Deputy Commissioner to an Assistant Resident.

23. *The Governance of Modern Burma*, J.S. Furnivall (1960).

24. The Panglong Conference followed the Aung San – Attlee Agreement of 27 January 1947 which had stated that the agreed objective of both Burma and the British Government was to “achieve the early unification of the Frontier Areas and Ministerial Burma with the free consent of the inhabitants.”

25. Panglong Agreement. (http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MM_470212_Panglong%20Agreement.pdf/).

26. The 1937 Constitution provided for constituency areas (Part II) which were represented in a Legislative Council of Burma proper and non-constituency areas (Part I), which included the Kachin Hills.

the rights and privileges of the non-Kachin peoples and freedom to retain their own customs.’ This appears to have been the origin of the arrangement in the 1947 Constitution that among the States of the Union Kachin State alone was excluded from the right to secession.²⁷

Accordingly, Kachin State was formed in 1948 out of the mostly Shan- and Bamar-dominated Bhamo and Myitkyina districts of Burma proper, together with the Kachin Hills, i.e. the larger northern district of Putao, mainly inhabited by Kachin tribes.²⁸ The structures of the new State were similar to those of Shan State, however with some specific rules for Kachin State intended to protect non-Kachins in the State. A Kachin State Council sent 12 members to the Chamber of Nationalities, the upper house of parliament, with the specification that six had to be Kachin and six non-Kachin. In the lower house, the Chamber of Deputies, Kachin State was represented with 7 members. All 19 elected members formed the Kachin State Council.

A special provision in the 1947 Constitution foresaw that no law could be made in the Kachin State Council affecting the rights and privileges of the Kachins or the non-Kachins in the State unless their members were present in majority and voted in favour. The minister for the Kachin State, who was at the same time a member of the Union government and the head of Kachin State, had to be a Kachin. At least half of the members in his Cabinet of State Ministers however had to be non-Kachin. In respect of areas where the non-Kachin formed the majority he had to act only in consultation with the non-Kachin members of the State Cabinet.²⁹

In the next decade or so, conflict within Kachin has ensued between different factions, local chieftains, as well as with border nations. During this period, the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) was also created aiming for independence controlling major parts of Kachin. The political wing of the KIA, called the Kachin Independence Organisation (KIO) exerts influence over Kachin State. Following the 1962 military coup Security and Administration Committees (SACs) were set up at the local level in areas controlled by the Myanmar army, which were chaired by the regional military commander, and by the (military) Minister of Home Affairs at the centre.

The 1974 Constitution introduced the concept that States and Divisions had the same status. Kachin State thus became one of the ‘constituent units’ of the ‘Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma’, made up of 7 States and 7 Divisions. People’s Councils were introduced at all levels of government administration where the central government had control. The basic units of villages/village tracts and wards, towns and townships were established along the lines of how they had been set up in Ministerial Burma the 1920s. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) was built up as a mass organisation following the same territorial structure as the state itself, while all other parties were banned. The party nominally sought to embrace the country’s ethnic diversity, but subordinated any desire for self-governance or even cultural autonomy under central domination. From 1974 onwards, the BSPP’s role in state administration was firmly entrenched in the Constitution itself. In the mid-1980s, the party claimed that over 2.3 million people were involved in fortnightly party cell meetings and other Party activities.³⁰ In Kachin State, this new structure was established in those areas under central government control.

The new structure also foresaw the holding of elections to the various administrative bodies at different levels. For these elections, however, only candidates pre-screened and approved

27. The Governance of Modern Burma, J.S. Furnivall, 1960.

28. Mohnyin District was later separated from Myitkyina District.

29. Burma’s Constitution, Maung Maung (1960).

30. Taylor, The State in Myanmar.

by the BSPP were allowed. While it was not mandatory that a candidate must be a member of the BSPP, in practice most of them were. In Kachin State, such People's Councils were thus set up at State level and in areas under government control at the level of village tract/ward, township. At the central level of government, the *Pyithu Hluttaw* served as the country's legislature, with each of Kachin State's townships represented by at least one elected member.

The participatory elements of the structure were essentially abolished with the suspension of the 1974 Constitution in 1988, when Kachin State, as all other parts of the country, were again placed under direct military control and administration. The territorial organisation remained the same, the dominant role played earlier by the BSPP was essentially substituted by the military in the form of the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC). In Kachin, the 27 May 1990 elections for 485 seats in a new national parliament were held in 19 of 20 constituencies.³¹ They resulted in the National League for Democracy (NLD) winning 14 seats. The Kachin State National Congress for Democracy received 13,994 votes, winning 3 of the 9 constituencies where it fielded candidates,³² and the National Unity Party (NUP), which had emerged from the BSPP and was generally understood to be supported by the SLORC, won two seats. The Kachin State National Democratic Party (KSNDP) (10,069 votes) and the Kachin National Congress (KNC) (6,304) as well as some smaller political groups did not get any seats.

Several of the candidates elected in 1990 had been elected BSPP representatives before 1988, some had a military background, and several were World War II veterans or former Kachin student leaders (several had participated in a 1938 strike against the British), and one was a former chairman of the Kachin State Baptist Church and a duwa. One woman, Daw Sein Tin of the NLD, was elected in Shwegu constituency. However, the 1990 elections were not implemented and did not lead to the formation of a national legislature, nor did they have any effect on governance arrangements in Kachin State.

In January 1990, the New Democratic Army - Kachin, the former BCP Unit 101, abandoned the revolutionary cause to cooperate with the government becoming officially recognized as Kachin State Special Region 1 (the areas east of the Nmai River up to the Chinese border). In January 1991, the 4th brigade of the non-Communist KIA also reached a ceasefire agreement with the government becoming Kachin State Special Region 2 (the rest of Kachin State except the southern-most townships).

After a Myanmar army offensive in 1994 seized the jade mines from the KIO, a peace accord³³ was signed, permitting continued effective control by KIO of most of the State, under aegis of the Myanmar military. Following the ceasefire agreement between the KIO/KIA and the Myanmar Government in 1994, which had been facilitated by local NGOs affiliated with the Christian Churches in Kachin State, conditions in Northern Myanmar changed.³⁴ The ceasefire immediately resulted in the creation of numerous splinter factions from the KIO and KIA of groups opposed to the accord, and the political landscape remained unstable.

As a response to the ceasefires, the Myanmar government set up a large-scale programme for the "Development of Border Areas and National Races" and designated 19 'border regions' covering more than a third of the country's area, including the two Special Regions, as beneficiaries of a special development fund.³⁵ Special emphasis was given to transportation, education, health and agricultural activities, including poppy eradication and substitution.³⁶

31. The election in Injangyang Township was suspended due to security reasons.

32. The Kachin State National Congress for Democracy (KSNDP) won the seats in Chiphwe, Sumprabum and Myitkyina (2).

33. The Government of Myanmar and the Kachin Independence Army signed the agreement on 24 February 1994.

34. *The State in Myanmar*, R. Taylor (2009).

35. There was also a Kachin (North-East) Region in Northern Shan State.

36. UNDP and UNODC contributed to a number of these programmes.

A Central Committee for the Development of Border Areas and National Races as well as various sub-committees and regional work committees were set up at central level and in the respective areas.³⁷

In 1993, the military regime began to rebuild direct links with the population and established the Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA). It gradually became the largest state sponsored mass organisation (claiming in 2005 that it had grown to 23 million members). The USDA branches were set up in townships across Kachin State, as in village tracts and wards, where the government had control, which were only approximately three fifths of the State's territory. Membership was "essentially compulsory for civil servants and those who sought to do business with or receive services from the state".³⁸ Division officers of the USDA were often prominent regional businessmen as well as military personnel and civil servants. In 1997, the SLORC was reorganized into the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), which set up a pyramidal structure of similar committees down to the village tract/ward level.

Whereas in the 1950s the Burmese/Myanmar military had barely any outposts in Kachin State, by the late 1990s there were over 150 Myanmar army battalions present with the majority of them stationed after the 1994 ceasefire deal with the KIO. The military played a dominant role in the administrative and economic affairs of the State. The KIO equally used the absence of fighting to consolidate power and military capacity in its area and cooperated, to some extent, with the Myanmar government. For instance, KIO attended the National Convention designed to charter a new Union constitution, but it later stated that their proposals were not considered. In May 2008, the national referendum on the new Constitution was held. The new Constitution made Kachin State a constituent unit of the new Union of the Republic of Myanmar, equal in status to the other States and Regions. Accordingly, its institutions were set up following the 2010 elections. However, when the SLORC asked the KIO to transform into a Border Guard Force (BGF) in 2010, but did not allow any Kachin ethnic party to compete in the elections, the KIO flatly rejected and insisted that the central government 'grant them their rightful place in a federal union and ethnic rights as previously agreed upon in 1947'.³⁹

The KIA is fully funded by the KIO, which raises revenue through taxes (in their area) and trading mineral resources. The KIO maintains an extra-legal bureaucracy in Kachin State and has exclusive control over pockets of territory along the Chinese border. In 2005, the KIO set up its headquarters on a hillside overlooking the border town of Laiza, with a population of approximately 7,500. Within its territory, the KIO maintains a police department, fire brigade, educational system, immigration department and other institutions of self-government. However, by now the official KIA policy goal is for autonomy within a federal union of Myanmar, rather than outright independence.

37. In 1992, the Ministry for Progress of Border Areas and National Races was set up, and in 1993 the SLORC promulgated the Border Areas and National Races Development Law. In 1994, the portfolio of 'development affairs' (i.e. municipal affairs) was added to the portfolio of the Border Ministry, in order to expand its work area beyond the border areas into other urban and rural areas.

38. Taylor, *The State in Myanmar*.

39. KIO Chief of Staff, Maj Gen Gam Shawng.

2.5 Current security situation

Kachin's recent history and place among the States and Regions of Myanmar have unfortunately been characterized by protracted armed conflict. Since 2011, Kachin State has seen the most serious of all the armed confrontations affecting the country, and unless there is a lasting settlement of the decades-old conflict, local governance systems and mechanisms will continue to be heavily affected by this state of affairs. At present, the reach of authority of the Myanmar government extends only to those areas that are under the Myanmar army's military control.

Efforts to move towards a negotiated settlement of the long-standing conflicts in the country saw a serious setback in June 2011 when fighting restarted⁴⁰ after a 17-year-old fragile ceasefire between the Myanmar army and the KIO/KIA, the predominant armed group in Kachin State, broke down. Hundreds were killed and up to an estimated 90,000 people were displaced and continue to live as Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), the majority (est. 70,000) sheltering in KIA-controlled territory, as hundreds of villages have been wholly or partially abandoned since 2011. Civilians in the State also face the risk of landmines laid by both government and rebel forces. A tentative truce resulting from a preliminary ceasefire agreement between the Myanmar Government and the KIO on 30 May 2013 stopped the fighting temporarily but hostilities have since resumed.⁴¹ The deal lacked an effective monitoring and implementation mechanism, and while the fighting has stopped for certain periods, and numerous rounds of ceasefire talks have taken place since 2011, little has been achieved in terms of political dialogue or demobilization.⁴²

In Kachin State, NGOs and UN organizations have provided support for people affected by armed conflict. Given that NGOs had access to both sides of the ongoing conflict, they have played a significant role in helping to respond to the needs of the many displaced persons in ensuring that those who are not in the government-controlled areas were still able to access vital supplies. Increasingly, NGOs have taken on a role beyond the delivery of humanitarian relief and social services in areas inaccessible to government agencies, and have also taken on an active role in peace-building, reintegration and community dialogue.

2.6 State institutions

The 2010 elections simultaneously elected representatives to the two Houses of the Union legislature (*Pyidaungsu Hluttaw*) and to the State *Hluttaw*. They resulted in a victory of the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP), which had emerged from the USDA a few months before the elections and had inherited its assets, networks and leadership, and gained a majority of the elected seats in all elected bodies including in Kachin State. Due to security concerns or a lack of control by the state administration of outlying areas, voting was cancelled in Injyangyang (2) and Sumprabum (2) constituencies, therefore in 479 villages (68 village tracts) out of 2,884, or in 16.6 percent of all villages.

As there were vacant seats in Kachin State, by-elections in the three Pyithu Hluttaw constituencies of Mogaung, Hpakant and Bhamo Townships were planned to be held on 1 April 2012. However, they were cancelled due to security concerns.

40. The fighting erupted in the eastern part of Bhamo near the Ta-pein hydropower plant. Fighting subsequently occurred throughout Kachin State, as well as the north-western part of Shan State.

41. In January 2013, following a series of airstrikes by the Myanmar Army against KIA positions, UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon asked the authorities to "desist from any action that could endanger the lives of civilians living in the area or further intensify conflict in the region". For a thorough analysis of the agreement, and the broader context of the fighting up until mid-2013, see International Crisis Group (ICG) Report No.140, 'A Tentative Peace in Myanmar's Kachin Conflict', 12 June 2013.

42. As recently as on 19 November 2014, Myanmar army units attacked a KIA headquarters near Laiza, killing at least 22 insurgents.

Kachin State Legislature

The elections for the members of the **Kachin State Hluttaw** were contested on the basis of townships, which were each divided in two separate constituencies. As the State has 18 townships, 36 territorial constituencies were formed. As elections were cancelled in two constituencies, 34 territorial representatives were elected (see Table 2 and Figure 4). In addition, four constituencies were set up for the Burman, Lisu, Rawang and Shan ethnic communities of the State, for whom voters registered as Burman, Lisu, Rawang and Shan were entitled to cast a vote in addition to their territorial constituency vote. Altogether, therefore, 38 members were elected for the State Hluttaw.

Constituency	Party	Candidate	Votes
Putao (1)	National Unity Party	Ah Yi	7,042
	Union Solidarity and Development Party	Saw Win Khun	4,170
	Shan Nationals Democratic Party	Sit New Nokham	786
Putao (2)	Shan Nationalities Democratic Party	Li Paw Ye	7,609
	Union Solidarity and Development Party	Phun Yi Min	4,821
Tanai (1)	Union Solidarity and Development Party	La John Ngan Hsai	4,433
	National Unity Party	N. Wonkhan Zaw Lawng	2,965
Tanai (2)	Union Solidarity and Development Party	Kwam Hsaung Hsam Ong	2,678
	National Unity Party	Khin Maung Than	2,489
Myitkyina (1)	National Unity Party	Kaman Du Naw	17,657
	Union Solidarity and Development Party	Tu Ja	17,161
Myitkyina (2)	Union Solidarity and Development Party	Khin Maung Tun	26,073
	National Unity Party	Maung Maung	11,913
	Shan Nationalities Democratic Party	Ngwe Thein	9,201
Momauk (1)	National Unity Party	Hsut Naing	4,827
	Union Solidarity and Development Party	Marang Aung	3,808
	Shan Nationals Democratic Party	Dawson Aung	2,932
Momauk (2)	Shan Nationalities Democratic Party	Myo Aung	9,513
	Union Solidarity and Development Party	Waing	7,160

Table 2: 2010 Kachin State Hluttaw election results (townships selected for the mapping)

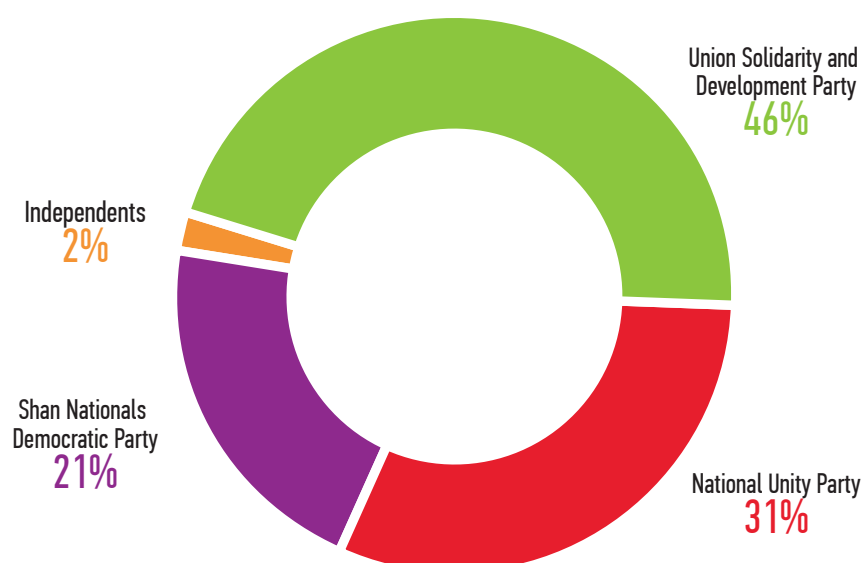
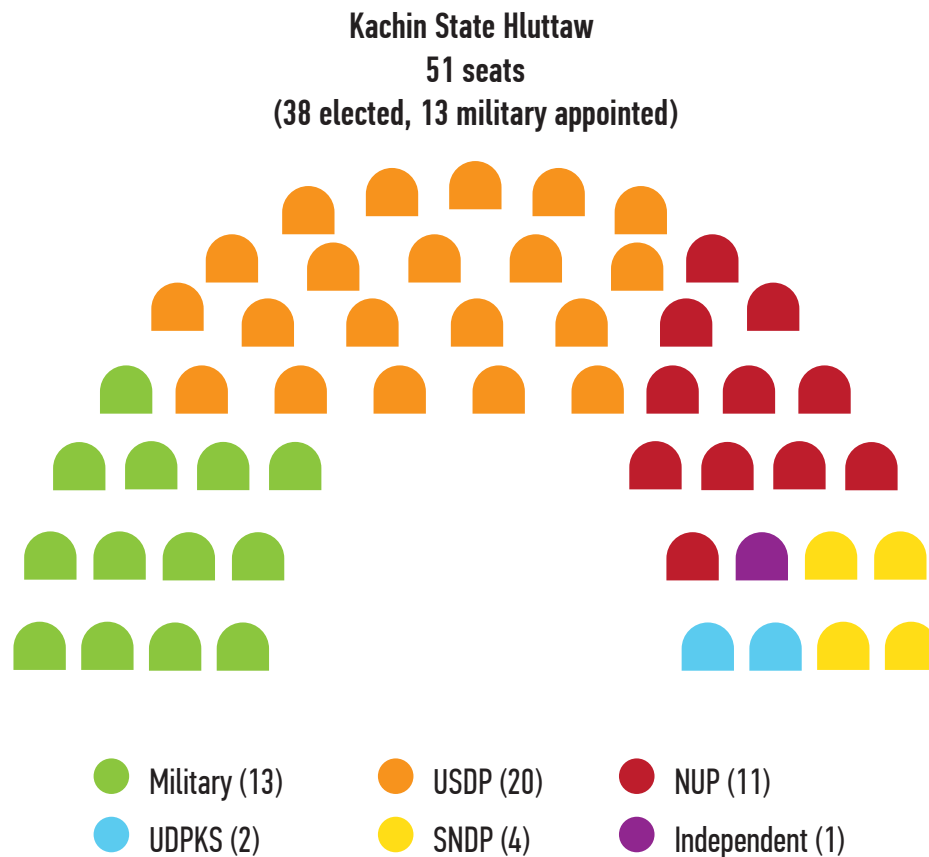


Figure 4: Votes received (percentage, rounded) by various parties in the Kachin State Hluttaw elections in 2010, excluding the four ethnic constituencies

The **State Hluttaw** is formed by: 1. Two representatives elected from each township in the State; 2. representatives elected from each national race determined by the authorities concerned as having a population which constitutes 0.1 percent and above of the population of the Union; and 3. representatives who are the Defence Services personnel nominated by the Commander-in-Chief for an equal number of one-third of the total number of Hluttaw representatives elected under (1) and (2), i.e. one quarter of the total number of members (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Kachin State Hluttaw composition



In the **State Hluttaw**, the USDP holds 20 and the military 13 of the 38 elected seats. The National Unity Party (NUP), holding 11 seats, is represented more strongly in Kachin Hluttaw than in any other State or Region. The Shan Nationalities Democratic Party (SNDP) holds 4 seats, and the Unity and Democracy Party of Kachin State (UDPKS) has two, winning the seats in Injyangyang (1) and Chipwi (2).⁴³ One independent candidate, in Tsawlaw (2), was also elected. The USDP and the NUP had fielded candidates in 29 territorial constituencies. The SNDP had 17 candidates. In Tsawlaw (2), only independent candidates competed. There were altogether 6 independent candidates. Almost 260,000 votes were cast for the four ethnic constituencies, with the NUP winning the Burman seat (with 104,297 votes), the SNDP the Shan seat (with 52,238 votes), and the USDP winning the Lisu and Rawang seats.

The term of the Region or State Hluttaw is the same as the term of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, i.e. five years. All Hluttaw members are men. The legislative activity of the Kachin State Hluttaw has so far been rather minimal. In 2012 and the first half of 2013, only the minimum required State laws essential for budgetary and planning purposes were adopted. As instructed by the central government, in 2013 a Municipal Law was also passed.⁴⁴

43. The number of votes received by the winning candidates was low, with 475 in Injyangyang (1) and 1,928 in Chipwi (2). Alay Par, who won the Injyangyang (1) seat with 475 votes, is the Minister of Municipal Affairs in the Kachin State government.

44. These laws essentially comprised of the State Development Plans and the Budget Allocation Law. The Municipal Act was passed in 2013.

The head of **executive branch** of the State is the Chief Minister. Members of the State Government are Ministers of the State. The institutional framework for Kachin State follows that of other States and Regions and is prescribed in detail in the 2008 Constitution, as well as the respective laws adopted for the State and Region Hluttaws and Governments in 2010. The State Government was established on 31 January 2011. La John Ngan Hsai, elected in Tanai (1), was appointed as Chief Minister, Rawajon, USDP, as Speaker and Sai Myint Kyaw, USDP, as Deputy Speaker of the State Hluttaw.

In addition to the Chief Minister, the State Government also comprises of 13 Ministers and the Advocate General of Kachin State (see Table 3).⁴⁵ All political parties represented in the State Hluttaw are also members of the State Government. The USDP holds the Chief Minister post as well as 5 regular ministerial portfolios, plus two ethnic races' ministers. The NUP holds the Ministry of Transport and the position of Minister for Burman affairs. The SNDP holds the Ministry of Electric Power and Industry. The Minister of Security and Border Affairs is by constitution held by a representative of the military. The representatives elected for the ethnic minority constituencies in the State, i.e. the Burman, Shan, Lisu and Rawang communities, are automatically members of the State Government, but do not have a ministry of their own. All members of the Kachin State Government are men.

Name	Function	Party
La John Ngan Hsai	Chief Minister	USDP
Col Than Aung	Ministry of Security and Border Affairs	Military
Nyunt Aung	Ministry of Finance	USDP
B Htaw Zaung	Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Breeding	USDP
Aung Naing	Ministry of Forestry and Mines	USDP
Khin Maung Tun	Ministry of Planning and Economics	USDP
Kaman Du Naw	Ministry of Transport	NUP
Maung Shwe	Ministry of Electric Power and Industry	SNDP
Alay Par	Ministry of Municipal Affairs	UDPKS
Baukgyar	Ministry of Social Affairs	USDP
Pa aka Khin Maung Swe	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Burman)	NUP
Khin Pyone Yi	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Shan)	SNDP
Ah Hsi	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Lisu)	USDP
Gwam Ring Dee	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Rawang)	USDP

Table 3: Composition of Kachin State Government

The relatively large size of the State government⁴⁶ and the fact that both the Government and the Hluttaw are dominated by the USDP and the military means that there is no significant difference between the Hluttaw as the legislative and oversight body, and the State Government as the executive branch. Given that there is no 'opposition' party, the political dynamics in Kachin State are rather characterized by collective action and consensus, with the main 'opposition' to the State government coming from those groups and parties which have so far remained outside the formal state structures and are part of the peace negotiations.

45. August 2014.

46. Only Shan State Governments has a higher number of members.

Union legislature

For the Union legislature, the Pyithu Hluttaw and the Amyotha Hluttaw, 16 and 12 representatives were elected for Kachin State respectively. As one of the smaller States, Kachin is one of the few States/Regions that have a higher number of representatives in the Amyotha Hluttaw (where it is the most 'overrepresented' constituent unit) than in the Pyithu Hluttaw where it is also rather over-represented, simply due to its relatively small population.

For the seats in the **Pyithu Hluttaw**, each township served as a constituency. Hence, altogether 18 members were elected from Kachin State to the larger one of the two Houses of the Union legislature (see table 4). 14 seats were won by the USDP, two by the NUP and one each by the Shan Nationalities Democratic Party and the Unity and Democracy Party of Kachin State.

Table 4: 2010 Pyithu Hluttaw election results for Kachin State

Party	Constituencies contested	Votes	Percent	Seats
Union Solidarity and Development Party	16	238,852	50%	14
National Unity Party	17	117,928	25%	2
Shan Nationals Democratic Party	9	75,656	16%	1
National Democratic Force	2	36,218	7%	-
Unity and Democracy Party of Kachin State	2	11,170	2%	1
Independent	1	569	<1%	-

As there were vacant seats in Kachin State following the formation of the Union Government in 2011, by-elections in the three Pyithu Hluttaw constituencies of Mogaung, Hpakant and Bhamo Townships were planned to be held on 1 April 2012. However, they were cancelled due to security concerns and the seats have remained vacant.

For the Amyotha Hluttaw, each Region and State is assigned 12 seats. These are elected on the basis of groups of townships. As there are 18 townships in Kachin State, Chipwi, Tsawlaw, Injyangyang were combined to form one constituency, as were Mansi and Shwegu and the cluster of Putao, Sumprabum, Nongmung, Machanbaw and Kawnglanghpui. Mohnyin Township was divided in two constituencies for the Amyotha Hluttaw. The USDP won six of the 12 available seats in Kachin State (see Table 5). The Shan Nationals Democratic Party which received 26 percent of the vote in this election won only one seat, while the National Unity Party which received about 25 percent of the votes won three. The Unity and Democracy Party of Kachin State (in Myitkyina) and an independent candidate (in Chipwi, Tsawlaw, Injyangyang constituency) also won a seat each.⁴⁷

Table 5: 2010 Amyotha Hluttaw election results for Kachin State

Party	Constituencies contested	Votes	Percent	Seats
Union Solidarity and Development Party	8	170,274	43%	6
Shan Nationals Democratic Party	8	104,060	26%	1
National Unity Party	8	99,836	25%	3
Unity and Democracy Party of Kachin State	3	18,261	4%	1
Independent	1	6,953	2%	1

47. In both of these constituencies the USDP had not fielded any candidates for the Amyotha Hluttaw election.

Legacies shaping local governance reforms in Kachin State

The legacies of armed conflict, ethnic mobilization and military rule inform and shape the efforts, undertaken since 2012, of reintroducing some forms of popular participation at the local level in Kachin State, in particular the townships and the village tracts and wards. Voices critical of the prevailing power structures have not yet fully come to the fore in the State in the past three years, at least not within the institutional framework set up by the Constitution and subsidiary legislation. The elections to the Village Tract and Ward Administrators took place outside the scope of the wider political party spectrum, and returned many individuals who had already served in the system earlier. The process was managed by the GAD, and likely excluded individuals considered having affinities with the ethnic armed insurgency. Moreover, the areas controlled by the non-state armed groups and affected by conflict were not included in these processes.

Questions such as accountability and public participation in local decision-making processes cannot be considered entirely disconnected from the political dynamics in any given locality. While neither this summary nor the mapping as a whole focuses on the political dimension of transition or the peace process in Myanmar, or in any given State or Region, not taking into account the overall context of the conflict dimension and political reform dynamics would not do justice to a comprehensive mapping of the local governance situation on the ground. Increasingly, questions such as the spending of public funds for development projects, and the accountability of office holders for their administrative actions will gain a political dimension, as Myanmar gradually moves closer to a genuine multi-party environment.

In the ethnic States like Kachin, such questions will also play a key role in the further development of Myanmar's quasi-federal system overall, and the terms of settlement in the peace process specifically. A clear delimitation of roles and a definition of responsibilities between local administrators and civil servants on one side, and political or interest groups representatives on the other side, will be required. In particular, services should be provided on the basis of equal rights and equity.. The degree to which Kachin State will be successful in both reflecting its own ethnic diversity while at the same time delivering basic services in an equitable and effective manner will depend largely on the progress made in building local governance institutions and processes that are inclusive and responsive to the needs of the local population.

The information collected as part of the mapping and presented in the subsequent sections must therefore be read and understood as part of the broader geographic, socio-economic, demographic, historical and political context in which the State finds itself.

The legacies of armed conflict, ethnic mobilization and military rule inform and shape the efforts, undertaken since 2012, of reintroducing some forms of popular participation at the local level in Kachin State, in particular the townships and the village tracts and wards.



3. Methodology

3.1 Objectives of mapping

The Local Governance Mapping (LGM) is carried out in collaboration with the Ministry of Home Affairs, General Administration Department (GAD). The LGM seeks to examine local governance and governance issues related to basic local service delivery across Myanmar's States/Regions, with a view to better understanding the processes, mechanisms and dynamics of governance at the township level and below. It was designed to predominantly make use of qualitative data, related to experiences and perceptions of citizens, local administration and other stakeholders with these questions in mind:

- To what extent have reforms so far enabled local governance actors and institutions to be more responsive to the needs of people?
- What are prevailing attitudes on access to basic services in the community and what dynamics underpin the relationship between the state and people with regard to service delivery (i.e. primary health care, primary education, drinking water)?
- What new spaces have been created or are emerging for the people of Myanmar to participate in community decision-making and have a voice?
- Despite the local governance reforms being applied on a fairly uniform basis across Myanmar's States, what differences are emerging as a result of unique local conditions?

As such, it is an effort to understand the state of play for local governance today, and highlight some of the innovations that are emerging across the country.

3.2 Mapping tools

In Kachin State, a number of mapping tools were deployed to understand the operating environment at the region and township level and related to the above questions, people's and service providers' perceptions on three key aspects of local governance:

1. Development planning and participation;
2. Access to basic services;
3. Information, transparency and accountability.

The mapping tools include:

Community survey (Citizen Report Card – CRC): The number of townships selected varied according to the size and population of each state or region. In Kachin, four townships were selected and a survey conducted in November 2014 comprising 96 residents in each township (384 people in total). The questionnaire focused on the core principles of local governance and the satisfaction and experiences of people using basic services provided by government (such as basic healthcare and primary education).

Service Provider interviews: In addition to the service users (the people), Service Providers (SP) (school principals, teachers, healthcare facility managers, healthcare staff and the VTAs) in the wards/and villages were also interviewed, focusing on the service delivery process and their interaction with citizens using the services. 56 interviews were conducted.

Community Dialogues: Similar issues were discussed collectively in a Community Dialogue (CD), which was held in each of the wards/village tracts where CRC-surveys were conducted, where different groups present in the community (including women, youth and elders) participated alongside service providers and the Village Tract/Ward Administrator (VTA). The objective of the CDs was to identify issues of governance emerging in relation to service

delivery and local administration, and to discuss potential solutions to various problems that could be managed at the community level.

Township background studies: Additionally, to deepen the understanding of the functioning of township governance in each State/Region, a background study was conducted in the selected townships. Semi-structured interviews held with key civil servants from relevant departments. Interviews with Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) representatives were focused on how governance actors in different townships had interpreted and implemented the recent reforms related to good governance at the local level.

Interviews, focus group discussions with State actors: Discussions were held with government officials at the State level using open interviews and focus group discussions, with a view to understand their perceptions and experiences regarding the functioning of administration at the township level, and to reflect on their own role in providing support to lower level government institutions.

3.3 Selected townships in Kachin

The selection of townships within each State and Region is done trying to capture various socio-economic differences, rural and urban characteristics, ethnic and minority groups and post-conflict/ceasefire areas. Based on these criteria Tanai, Myitkyina, Momauk and Putao were selected. Table 6 and 7 below shows the locations and reasons for selection of the townships, as well as the selected village tracts and wards.

Table 6: Selected townships

No	Selected Townships	Characteristics
1	Myitkyina	Urban, developed, diverse ethnicity and religions, accessible; high population density, high levels of economic activities, district town
2	Tanai	Medium level of development, economic activities (gold, amber mines, agriculture), medium accessibility, ethnic mix including Naga people, migrant population because of mining, medium security
3	Putao-0	Up-north (far from Myitkyina), small, least developed, rural, diverse ethnicity (Jingphaw, Tibetan and others), district town, good security
4	Momauk	Close to Bahmaw, IDP camps, security medium

Table 7: Selected village tracts and wards

Townships	Selected village tracts and wards
Myitkyina	Alam VT
	Tat Kone Ward
Momauk	Kya Kan Dut VT
	Ah Lin Kaung Ward
Putao	Lan Taung
	Pu Taung
Tanai	Tain Kawk
	Ta Ron (Tayon_Shinbweyan)



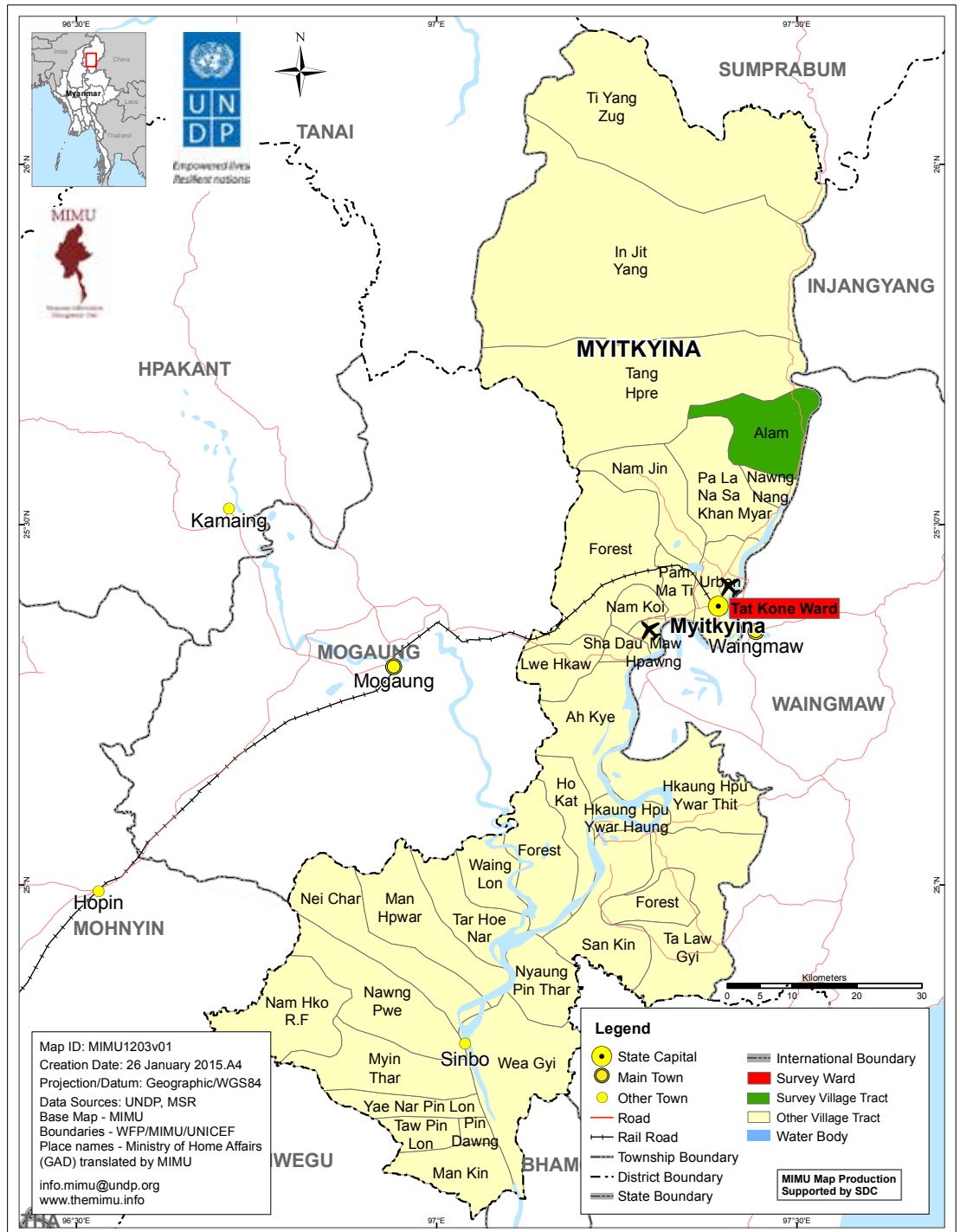
4. Governance at the front line – Findings on participation, responsiveness and accountability for service provision

4.1 Introduction to the townships

The four selected townships offer a variety of issues of access, sophistication of the local economy as well as the effects of the unsolved conflict described in Section 2.

Myitkyina township is home to the state capital bearing the same name. It is reasonably well served by road and air connections to other cities (Yangon, Mandalay and Putao) as well as by river to other areas. Its population of approximately 230,000 is more urbanised which presents a different balance of challenges for development. The 64 villages lying at varying distances from the capital have more opportunities for trade of agricultural products but once again, problems with rural roads and other basic infrastructure present constraints.

Figure 6: Myitkyina township



Disclaimer: The names shown and the boundaries used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

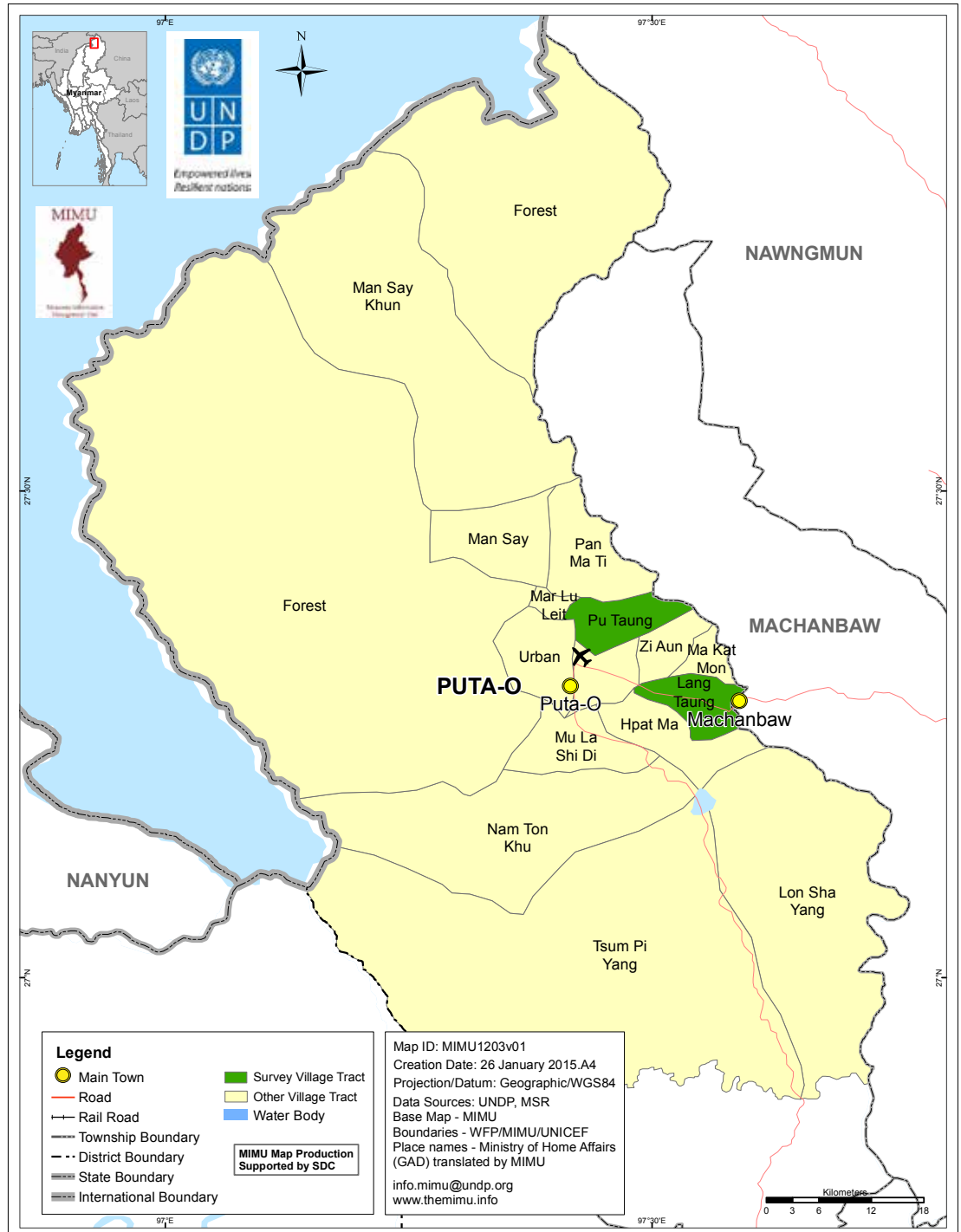
In the south, **Momauk** is reached easily from **Myitkyina** on a road undergoing further improvements. An important trading center linking Myanmar with China lying to the east, it is also a flash point for conflict and carries the legacy of recent conflict with has significant problems with IDPs, abandoned villages and agricultural land. 41 percent of the 45,800 population turned out for the 2013/14 elections. It is a largely rural area with 273 villages requiring many improvements in village to village roads, a natural precursor to other socio-economic improvements.



Figure 7: Momauk township

Putao (Putao-O) is characterized by its remoteness and proximity to the Himalayas. It is served by an air link from Myitkyina and a poor road which contributes significantly to the cost of living with market prices being considerably higher as a result. Its distinctive character is testified to in part by the high voter turnout of 71 percent in the last elections. The population of 59,000 is distinctly rural and highly dispersed with 83 villages in 14 village tracts. Outlying villages have very significant problems of access, some of them being supplied only by what can be loaded on the back of a mule. It has significant tourist potential because of the mountain scenery and trekking available but this has yet to be capitalized on.

Figure 8: Putao township



Tanai is the smallest of the townships surveyed and it has a population of 27,200 inhabitants. Tanai is located on the northwestern side of the state with a trade link to India. It is remote and difficult to reach and requires a drive of at least 5½ hours to cover the less than 200 km from Myitkyina. It had the smallest voter turnout of the four townships surveyed at 15 percent. Tanai has a large migrant population who come to work in the mines that dominate the economy of the area. As in the other townships, infrastructure for the rural areas is weak which contributes to the isolation of the area and the presence of the continuing conflict and flashpoints. There is a significant area of the township that is also devoted to a national park, known as a tiger reserve.

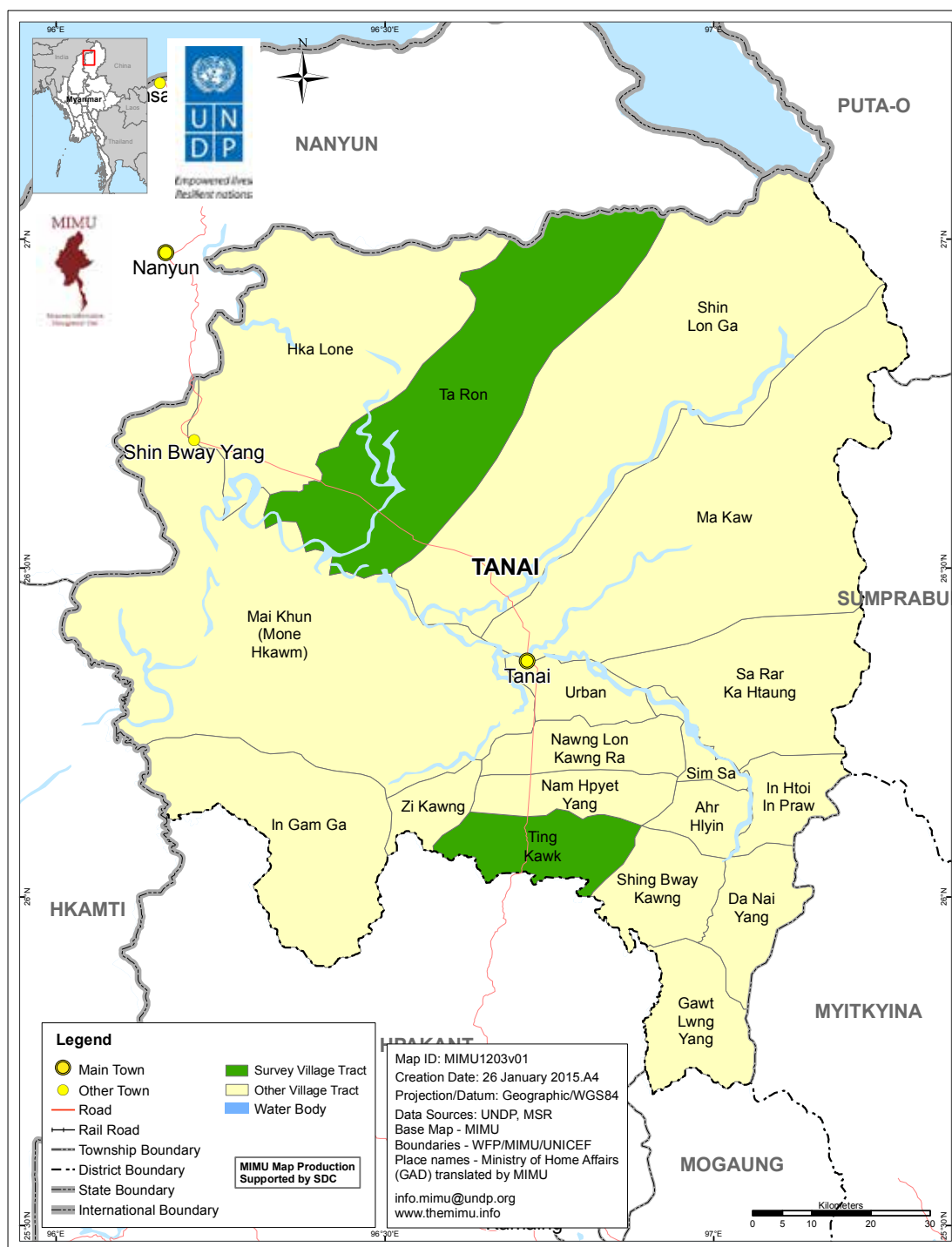


Figure 9: Tanai township

Table 8: Overview of selected townships

Township	Geographic	Access	District	Population	Municipal wards	Village tracts	Villages
Momauk	Southern; borders China; conflict issues; 41% voter turnout in 2013/4 elections	Reasonable road undergoing further improvements	Bhamao	45,799	3	26	273
Myitkyina	Central; state capital; 38% voter turnout	Highway and air connections	Myitkyina	229,719	31	29	64
Putao	Northern; remote; distinctive; (highest voter turnout - 71%)	Poor highway and air connections	Putao	58,806	10	14	83
Tanai	North western, remote, India border, conflict issues; lowest voter turnout - 15%)	Very bad un-surfaced highway	Tanai	27,205	10	11	60

4.1.1 Overarching development priorities

All townships face similar kinds of challenges in expanding their local economy, improving basic services to their citizens and in particular in improving access to the more rural areas. The need for reliable all weather roads between townships and the districts is a key priority along with the need for a reliable electricity supply 24 hours a day. Even the municipal areas in all four of the townships covered in the mapping do not have reliable electricity. Telecommunications including the availability of mobile phone signal and internet services are sporadic and unreliable. In Myitkyina Township, close to the state capital, infrastructure is only slightly better.

Notwithstanding the improvements that have been made (and due to the very low starting point), the service providers and local people point to continuing challenges in all the major infrastructure areas. There is a strong agreement on the importance of the top five necessities although the individual weights reflect local conditions (see Figure 10 and Figure 11). Road infrastructure is almost always ranked as the issue of highest importance. Relatively similar importance is accorded to the next four priorities: improved access to safe water; increased economic opportunities as well as health services. Existing hardtop roads are almost always in poor repair with broken and potholed surfaces. Although there is often evidence of construction about to take place, some have reportedly been in this “getting done” condition for many years. The road from Myitkyina to Tanai is a case in point. Although there is evidence of current construction of bridges, local inhabitants can recall promises to provide a proper all-weather road going back to their youth. “We’ll believe it when we see it”, is the patient response. There are significant equity issues that arise from the lack of roads connecting municipalities and villages in all townships. In Putao for example, there are villages where travel is so difficult that one primary level teacher apparently had to walk for 14 days to take up his post. In such areas, there are few or even no students who graduate with a Grade 11 certificate (the last year of secondary school). Similar problems exist for the supply of rural health care services in such areas and even motorcycles cannot be used in some areas during the worst of the rains. The highest proportion of responses classified as “other” in the mapping are for challenges in electricity supply.

Figure 10: Citizens' perceptions of the most important problem in their village tract or ward

The WA/VTAs interviewed pointed to poor education as the most challenging problem in their areas. The same priorities were also reflected in discussions with the development committees and township administration alike.

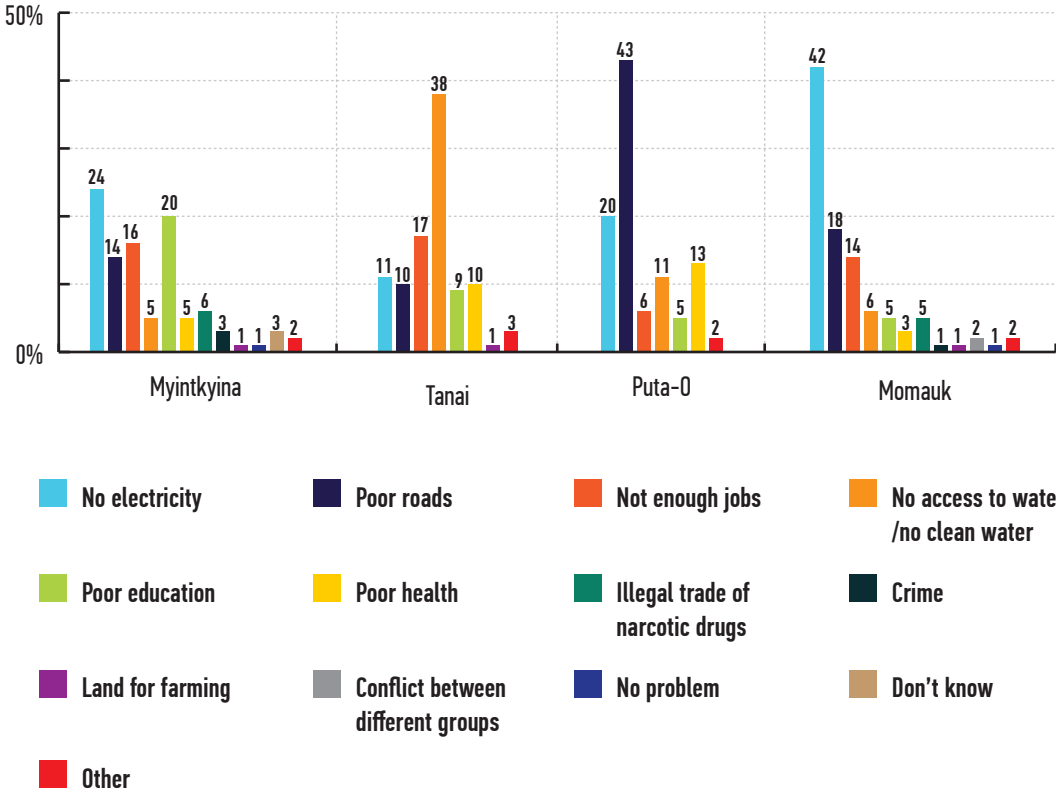
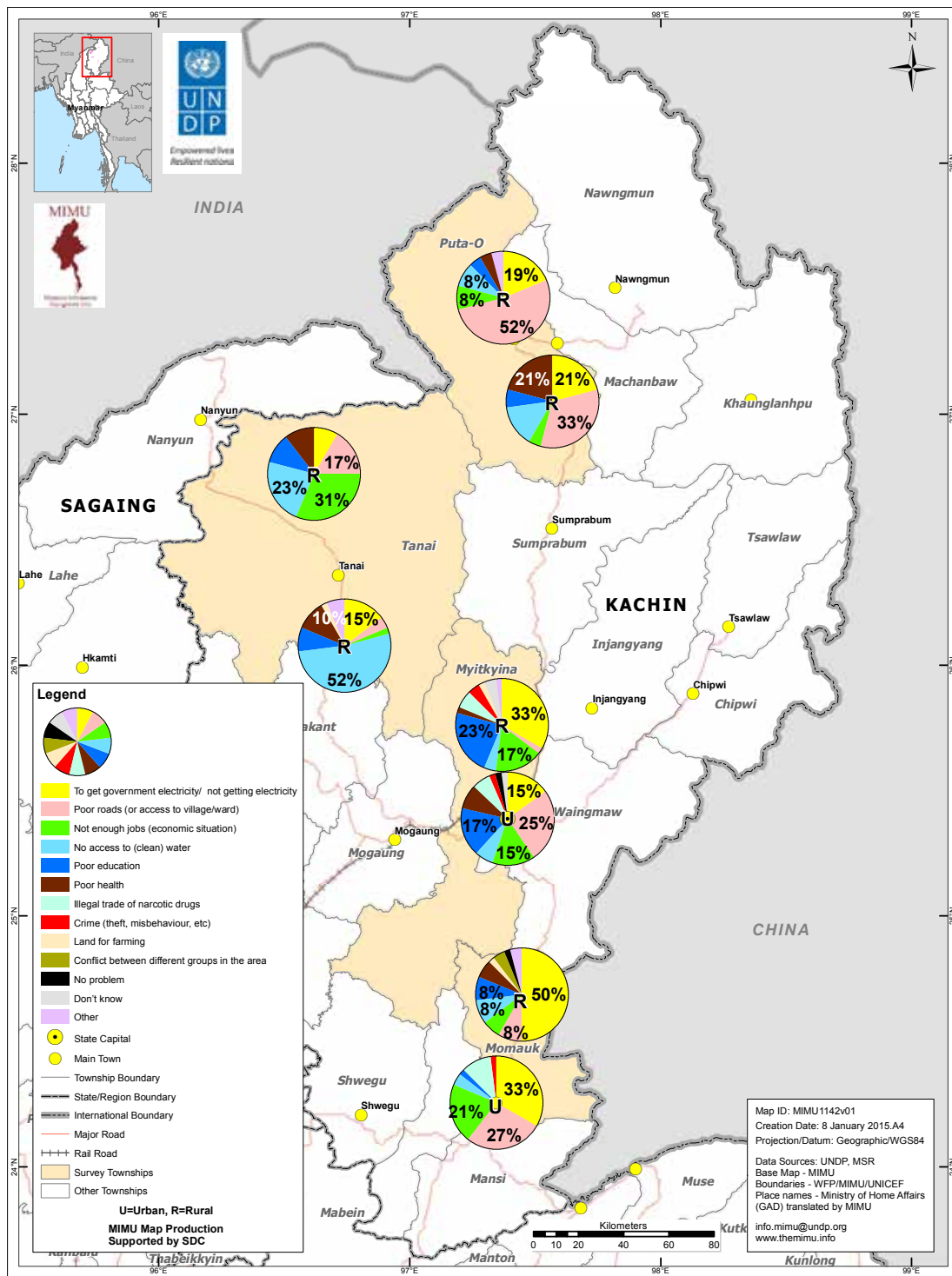


Figure 11: Citizens' perceptions of the most important problem in their village tract or ward



4.1.2 Safety and security perceptions

In any country and at any time, safety and security are always an immediate and highly subjective feeling that responds to current events. In the case of Kachin State there is yet to be a durable peace agreement signed between the government and the KIO. Perceptions of safety are thus more of an indication of relative change rather than any absolute measure. At the time of the mapping in November 2014 most people felt the security situation had

not worsened (see Figure 12). The perceptions of this vary between townships and since conflict has been more evident in Momauk, nearly half the respondents felt the situation in the township had worsened although most people (76%) feel secure in their immediate area. Finding a balanced solution to the underlying causes of this conflict remains an urgent challenge for the people of Kachin State.

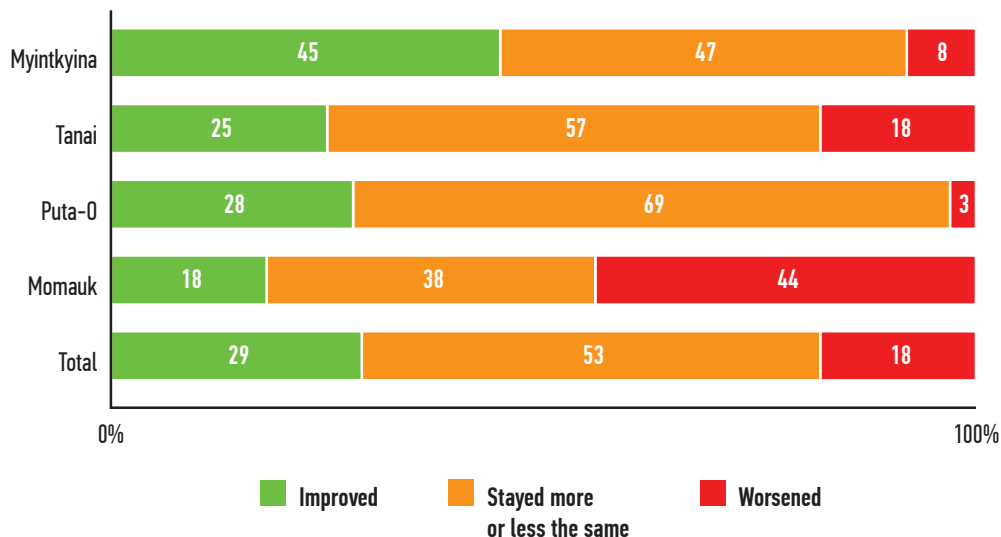


Figure 12: Changes in safety situation in village tract/ward

There is also a consensus in many townships that the levels of criminal activity have been reduced and that a combination of law enforcement and community crime control are the cause of this (see Figure 13).

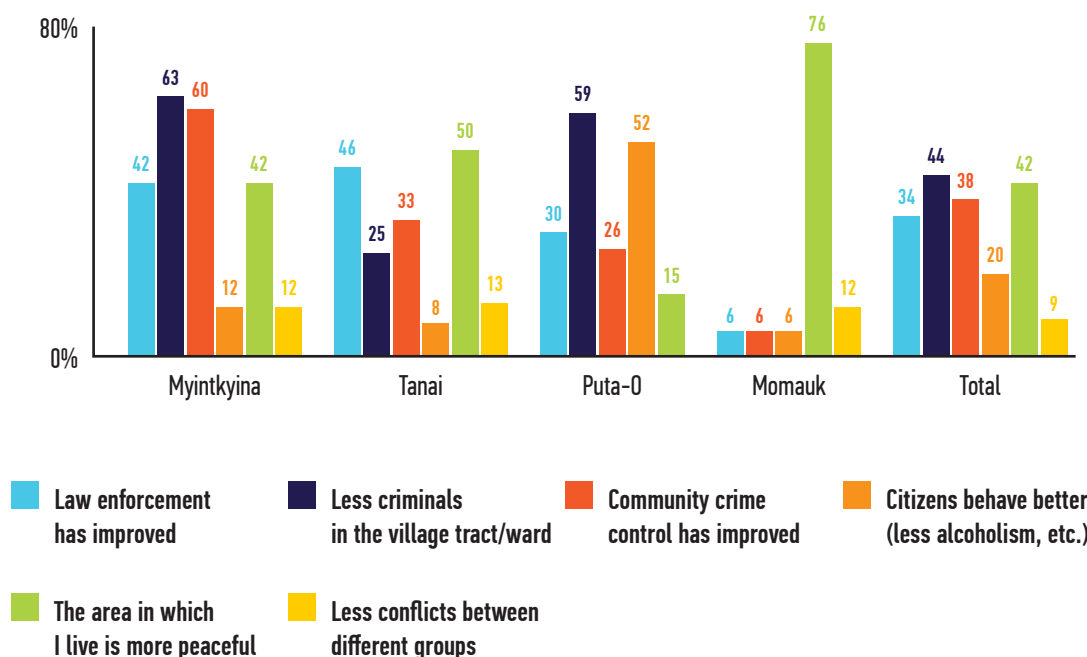
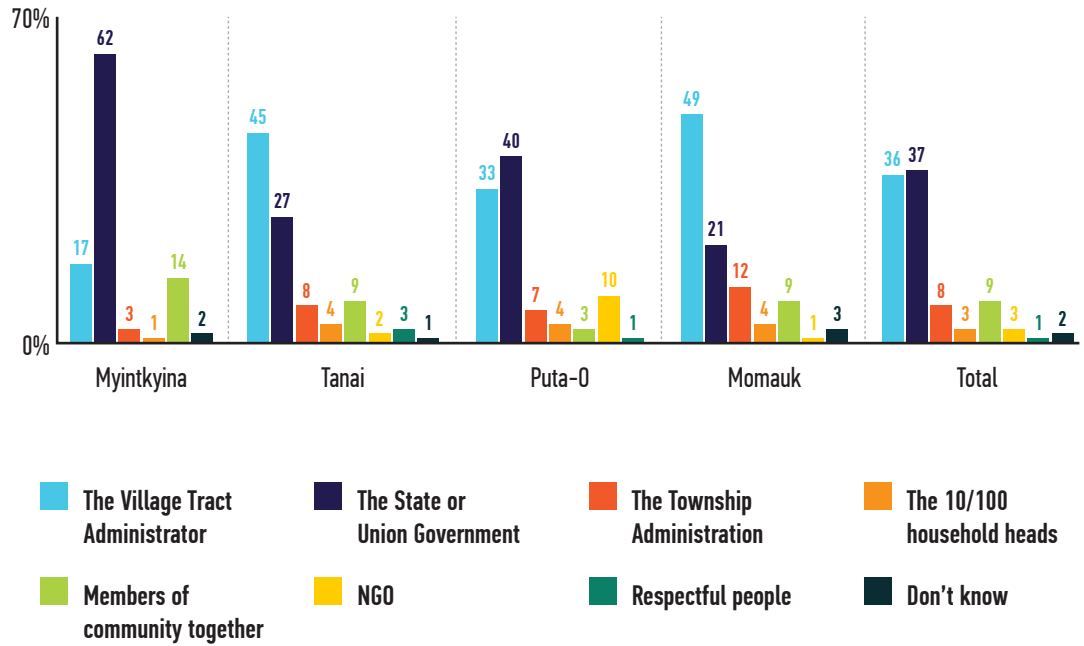


Figure 13: Reasons for improvements in the safety situation in the village tract/ward over the last 3 years

In considering the first level of responsibility to solve important problems, people look equally to government and their local indirectly elected representative, the VTA (see Figure 14).

Figure 14: Actor responsible to solve the most important problem



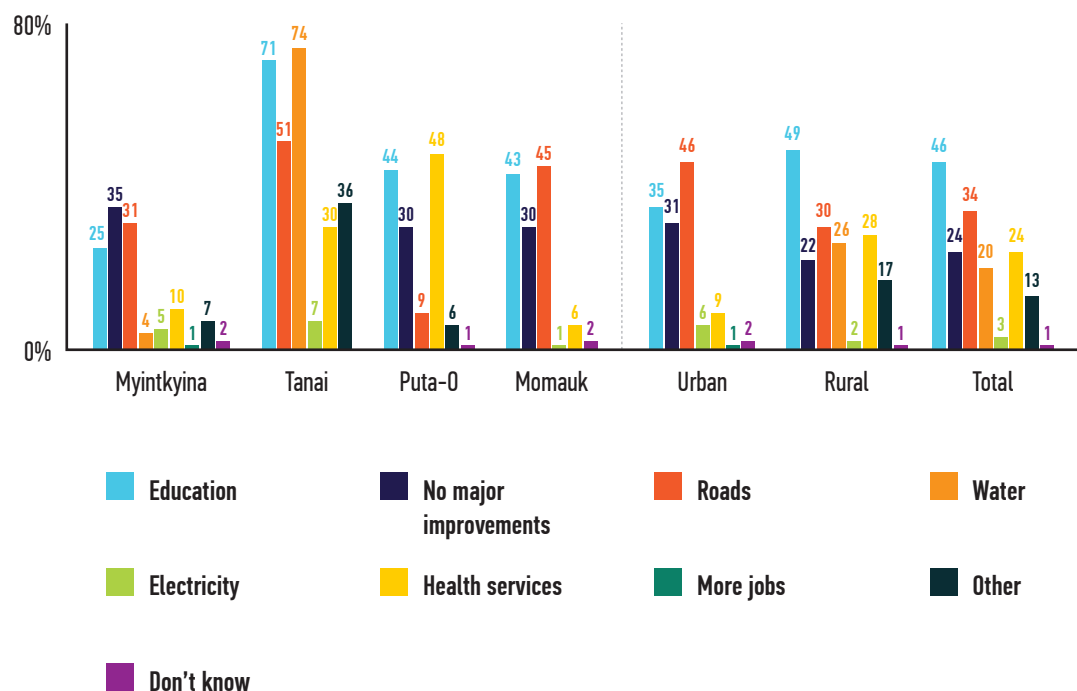
WA/VTAs suggested that the government should invest in development - roads, education, health, and peace - achieve a cease-fire agreement with ethnic armed forces.

There are nearly equal proportions of people--36 percent and 37 percent--who think the WA/VTA and the state/region or Union Government respectively should take the main responsibility for solving the most important problem in the community. Of the remaining 27 percent of respondents, 9 percent say that the main responsibility lies with the members of the community together and 8 percent with the township administration. Very few respondents consider 10/100 household heads, NGOs and community elders as the most responsible people. Seven of eight WA/VTAs believe that the State/Region or Union Government should take accountability for most of the important problems. Three of them said that the township administration had not yet taken any effective action on those problems. The WA/VTAs suggested that the government should provide more investments in roads, education, health, etc. and achieve a cease-fire agreement with ethnic armed forces.

4.1.3 Citizens' views on overall improvements

Given the depth of citizens' needs and the low starting point against which satisfaction of current achievements is measured, it is not surprising that outstanding needs closely mirror the areas where improvements have been made. The citizens also noted a strong appreciation of improvements that have been made possible over the recent past (see Figure 15).

Figure 15: Most important improvements made by the government over the last three years



High on the list of improvements is education perceived by 46 percent of inhabitants, with a spike of 71 percent in Tanai, due to increased government spending. Improvements in roads were noted by 34 percent of the population overall. Forty-five percent of Momauk and fifty one percent of Tanai residents pointed to current road improvements, especially in Tanai owing to the ongoing current (early 2015) bridge construction. With regard to water supply, 74 percent of Tanai residents say there have been improvements as a result of government spending. All the others find little or no evidence at all of improvements in the sector. In the health sector, almost half of the Putao residents perceived improvements. On the other hand in Momauk, only 6 percent of people believed that the current health services had benefited from government spending. Rural people notice improvements in education whereas urban residents perceive improvement in road infrastructure. Majority of WA/VTAs mentioned improvement of facilities or services in health and education in their areas.

4.1.4 Service Provider's and people's views on improvements and challenges in selected basic services

Apart from the citizens, the township administration also perceived improvements over the last few years. The TA, GAD staff and heads of all the line departments that were interviewed expressed a keen interest to deliver public services to the people. There are some illustrative examples of their work and attitudes, of success stories and nascent innovations that could be capitalized on and further shared in other townships and states/regions.

The line department heads outline the service delivery activities and challenges that they face:

1. Road improvements (inter town and village to village);
2. Expanding safe drinking water supply and ensuring wells are protected from contamination during the rainy season;

3. Responding to increased school enrolment with increased number of teachers, teaching equipment, expansion of school/ classroom and repairs of the facilities;
 4. Improving quality of health service and the facilities and;
 5. Improving the supply of full time electricity and reliable telecommunications.
- the areas where improvements have been.

Health Services: service provider views

Health facility managers from both urban and rural areas confirmed that health services had improved in the past three years due to increase in medical staff and drugs along with an increase in preventive health care.

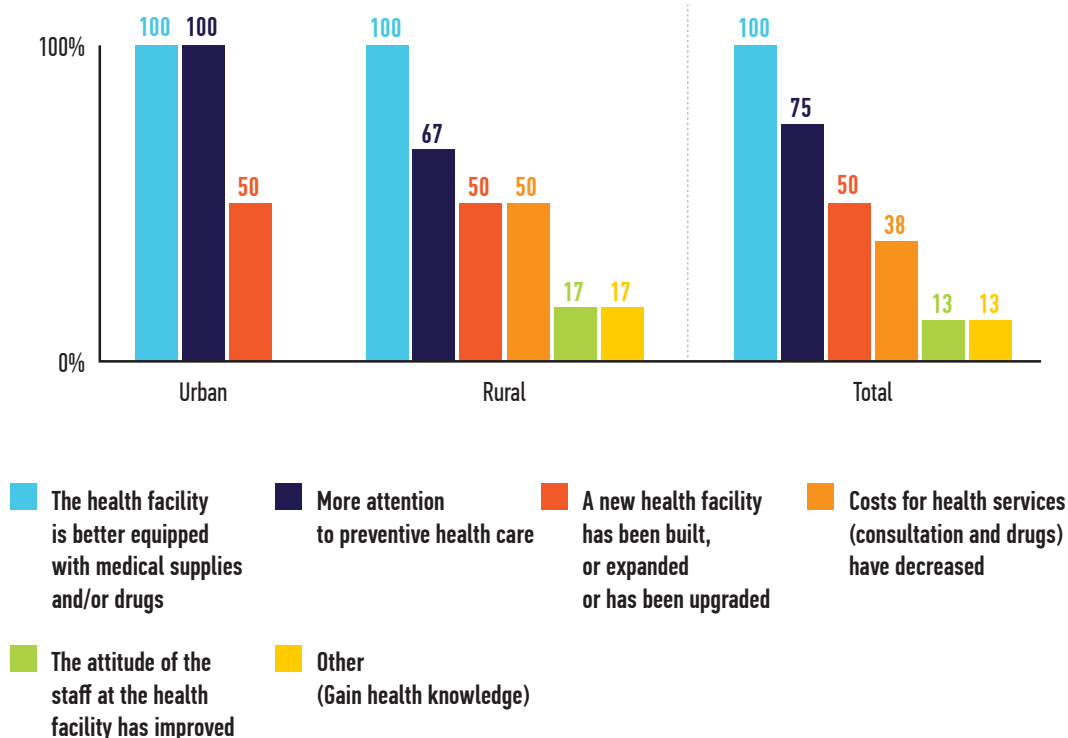
The Township Medical Officers (TMOs) in Tanai, Putao and Momauk are medical doctors who split their time between their management responsibilities as well as their personal contributions to curative and preventive care. Myitkyina is an exception where the township officer responsible spends his full time on management. Interviews were carried out with 23 health services personnel from Kachin State. All were from public health facilities and most were female. All mentioned health services provided in their community had improved in the last three years mainly because they are now better equipped with both medical supplies and drugs (urban and rural personnel alike were unanimous on this point), they have now a new or an expanded facility and there is a reduction in costs for consultation and drugs. Most health staff mentioned an increase in number of female health care staff in the previous three years (see Figure 16). Sixty-two percent of health staff pointed to an increase of activities in preventive health care. (See box below regarding the TMO Momauk.)

Urban and rural based healthcare staff have different attitudes about the reasons for health service improvements. New construction or expansion of health facilities was quoted as responsible for improvements by 60 percent of urban based health staff compared to only 25 percent for rural staff. Attention paid to preventive healthcare was found important to service improvements by 80 percent of urban based staff but by only 38 percent of their rural colleagues. A decrease in the costs for consultation and drugs was pointed to by 80 percent of urban staff but only 13 percent in rural areas. In rural areas, only 13 percent of rural staff attributed improvements in service to their improved attitudes whereas in urban areas this was true for 60 percent of them.

Nearly all health facility managers said that consultation, treatment, essential drugs and supplies are given free of charge at their facility.⁴⁸ Most of them post the regulations for the supply of medicines on notice boards (75%) but only some (25%) directly explain them to patients and normally only when and if they are asked. Respondents also mentioned that they are called upon to provide treatment outside the immediate area of their responsibility but just over half only have sufficient staff or budget with which to carry this out. The way most managers ensure equity of treatment at their facility is by giving free treatment to all.

48. The mapping team heard anecdotal reports of exceptions to this policy. It must be said that the remuneration of medical staff needs improvement and that often “contributions” from grateful patients are not refused. There is a fine line here since it is part of that culture to quite genuinely offer gifts in such situations although clearly the policy is to move towards a completely free service.

Figure 16: Reasons for improvements in health care according to health care managers and staff



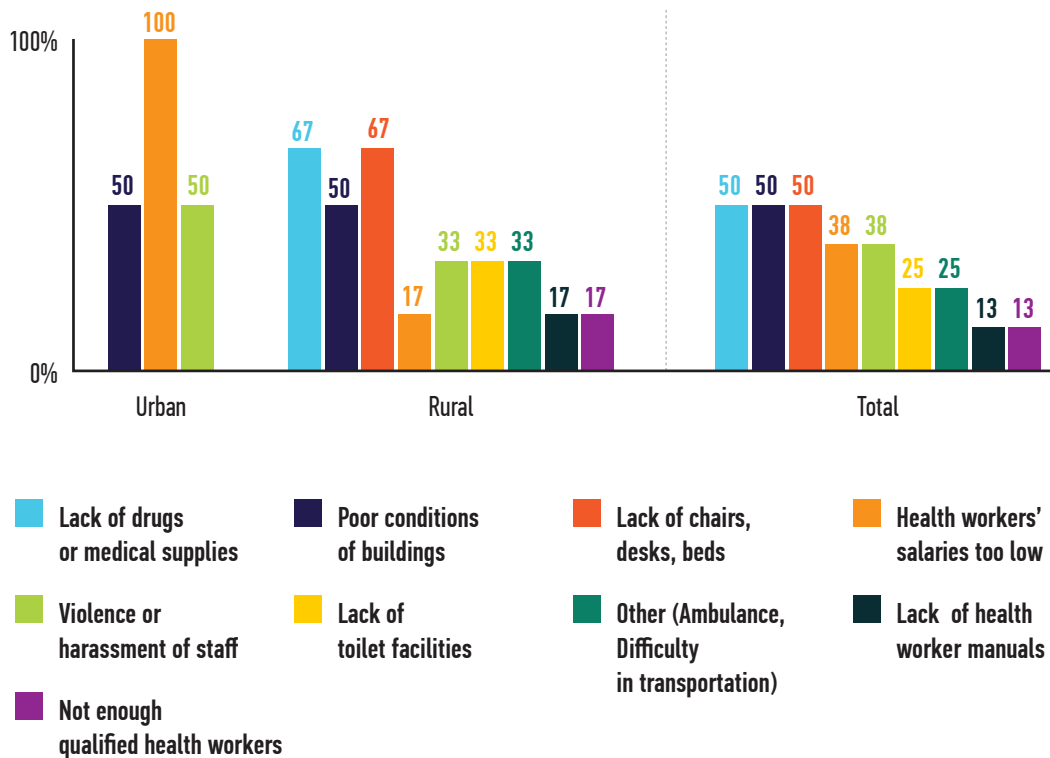
Village Health Committees (VHCs) are part of the social infrastructure available to provide healthcare and advice. Although 50 percent of the managers believe that these committees are performing and know their duties very well⁴⁹, their opinions are equally split in terms of whether they meet monthly, quarterly or at all. Eighty-three percent of the managers' said that fewer than 50 percent of the committee members were women. In the community-level mapping, only 12 percent of citizens mentioned the existence of the VHC in their community and that they essentially provide labour and small repairs to the health facility. Half rated the performance of their VHC as good and over half meet at least once every three months.

Along with the noted improvements there are significant challenges in many areas due to shortages in staff and budget. In terms of how well equipped their facilities are, the most commonly experienced problems were poor conditions of buildings, a lack of chairs and desks as well as a lack of drugs or medical supplies (see Figure 17). Except for sterilizers and refrigerators which are rarely found, all other equipment and medicines are either partially or always available. Fifty percent of managers pointed to a continuing lack of drugs and medical supplies, the indigent condition of buildings and shortage of essential furnishings. The lack of toilet facilities and unavailability of an ambulance were cited by a further 25 percent with a lack of written procedures/ manuals and insufficiently qualified staff making up the balance equally (13% each). The low level of salaries and violence or harassment of staff was cited as problems by 38 percent of managers. Thus, most believe that further support is needed for improvements of basic infrastructure in their facility, improved funding for medical equipment and medicines as well as for staff salaries.⁵⁰ More staff is particularly needed to improve the quality of the accommodation that the Ministry of Health (MOH) provides locally.

49. Mostly the duties are to provide labor for small repairs and to support communications about disease outbreaks. In some places these committees also provide nonmedical care and food to people who are ill or may also be involved in providing transportation if needed.

50. In rural areas 13% of staff believe they are not getting a fair salary for the work they are doing. Interestingly, in the urban areas this figure is 83%.

Figure 17: Shortages/problems experienced during 2013 according to health facility managers



Responsibility for managing health facilities is shared between the health manager, health assistant and Township Health Officer fairly equally.

Responsibility for managing health facilities is shared between the health manager, health assistant and Township Health Officer fairly equally. Regarding visits made by health officials to the health facilities, of health managers interviewed most received visits from the health assistant for routine inspections. Of all problems, most were reported to the TMO and about half of all problems lodged were at least partially solved as a result of the managers' interventions. Overall the support received from all levels of the health care system was regarded in a positive light by health managers.

Box 1: Momauk's TMO finds ways to combine his twin passions for preventive health care and computer science.



Momauk's Township Medical Officer Dr Htet Aung began his duties there in April 2014. They include:

1. Provision of clinical and curative care
2. Pursuit of a variety of programs for public and preventive health
3. Human resource management and facilities administration

The facilities include the township and two sub-township hospitals, four Rural healthcare Centers each with four sub centers located at the village tract level. He has had a long-term interest and has developed considerable skills in computer programming, using them to good effect in developing a variety of visual wall displays (see for example, Impact Indicators) and tools to help him communicate more effectively



in his job. He showed us a variety of interactive maps that he had constructed for presentations that he can carry around on his iPad.

He spoke passionately about his interest in preventive health care. This interest has been combined with his programming skills in his creation of software to programme and monitor a number of activities. These include:

1. Primary healthcare
2. Immunization programs
3. Disease surveillance
4. Family healthcare
5. Nutrition education
6. Health System strengthening
7. Monitoring of the regional malaria resistance project
8. Implementing the School Health Week in July or August of each year
9. Activities to mitigate mother to child HIV transmission

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(Health Impact Indicator of Momauk Township)

Sr.No	Indicator	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
1	CBR	22	23	13.5	11.3	12.9
2	CDR	3.2	3	3.8	3	3.3
3	IMR	10.7	7	7.3	8.6	17.2
4	U5-MR	24.3	11	17.8	10.5	18.8
5	MMR	0	0	0.8	0	0.83

He said that he would like to be able to more consistently plan his activities in advance, but that the urgent demands of the job and dealing with the immediacy of a wide variety of problems, regularly defeats his resolve.

There are efforts being made to address some of the challenges through capacity development programmes such as the new national programme that has been launched for the training of auxiliary nurse midwives in each of the four townships. This programme is designed to help the MOH achieve their target of 80 percent of skilled attendance at births. The MoH also supports alternative healthcare through the work of their Department of Traditional Medicine. In Putao, a clinic that has opened only in the previous month was providing complementary health services.⁵¹ The TMOs in all four townships were asked about their views of complementary medicine and generally they were not aware or had a low opinion of such services.

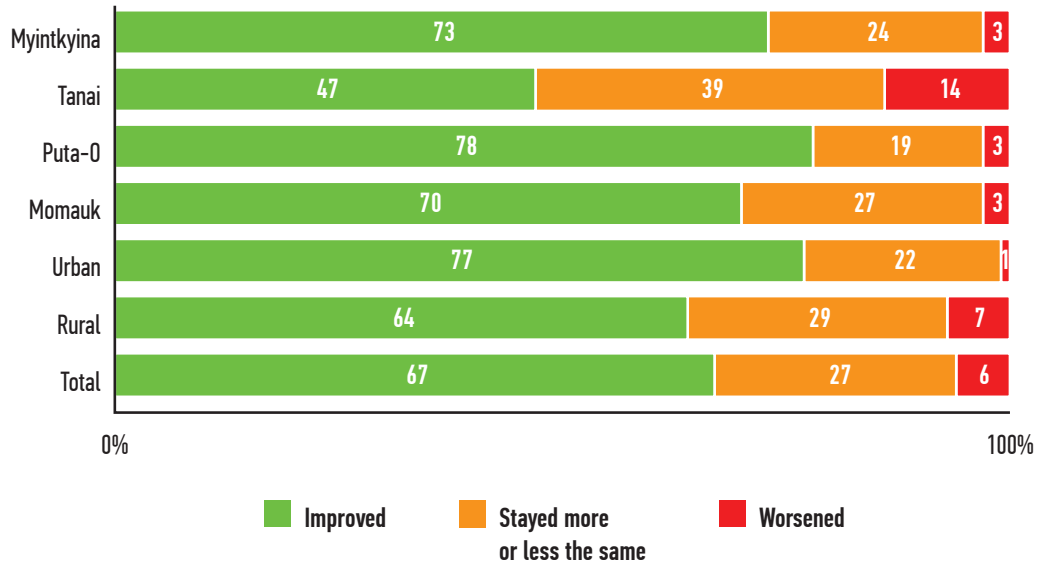
An important challenge for MOH is thus to ensure that allopathic practitioners are willing to refer patients and deal collaboratively with traditional medicine as an adjunct in national health service provision.

51. In Putao 8% of respondents reported they used traditional medicine. This figure is the highest in the survey and reflects no doubt the proximity to the Himalayas and the nearby traditions of Bhutanese, Sikkim and Tibetan medicine. The public market there has a stall with an interesting display of traditional remedies including increasingly well-known and expensive cordyceps sinensis (<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3121254/>).

Health services: Citizen's views

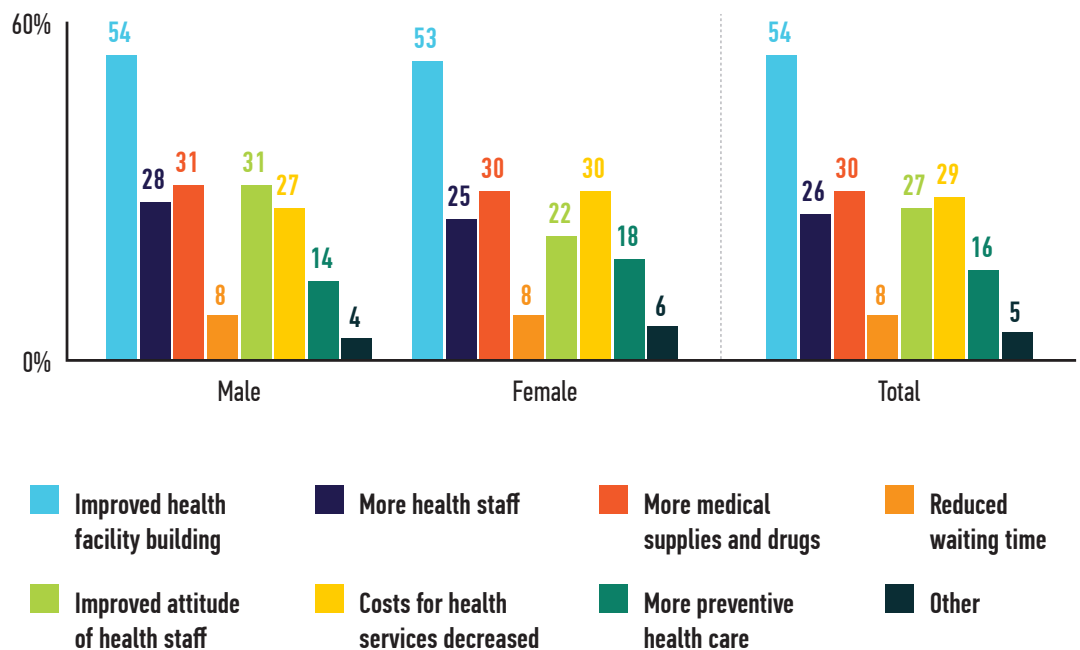
Two-thirds of the citizens felt that primary health care services had improved over the last three years (see Figure 18).

Figure 18: Perceived changes in primary health care services over the last three years



Over half of both men and women cited improvements in health facility buildings as the reason for improved health care services, with roughly 30 percent of people citing increased availability of medical supplies and a decrease of costs (see Figure 19). About 15 percent of people appreciated improvements in preventive health care. About half the people expressed satisfaction (48%) with health services.

Figure 19: Reasons for improved health care



For healthcare the more remote areas rely almost entirely on public services (92% in Tanai⁵² and 80% in Putao) although Myitkyina and Momauk (48% and 54%⁵³ respectively) favour private practitioners (see Figure 20). Urban people are almost three times more likely to use private over public services whereas rural areas almost always (83%) use public clinics. And about 57 percent acknowledged that they had to pay for medicines at the government health facility.

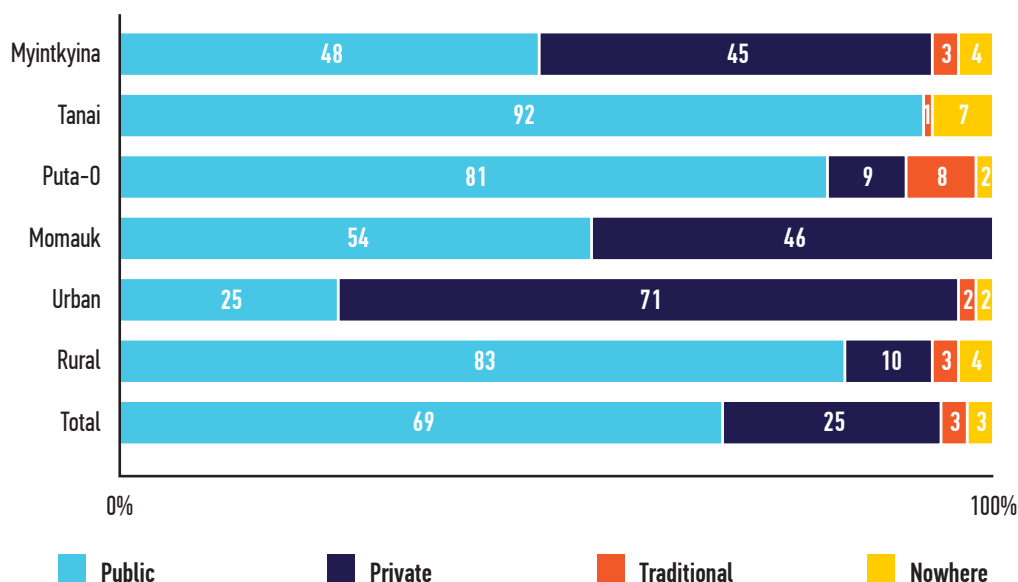


Figure 20: Use of public versus private healthcare

Education: Service provider views

The recent reforms have brought several improvements to the education sector. All the visited townships reported increased budgets resulting in more schools and more teachers. The education programme in Myanmar has been supported by The World Bank and Australia’s Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. This assistance has targeted operational costs which is used to fund free textbooks and exercise books for primary and middle schools, first initiated three years ago, and the MMK 1,000 reward for a student’s enrolment in primary school. Also under discussion is the provision of budget for primary school uniforms to further ease the burden on families, and also to extend the benefit of free textbooks and exercise books to include high school students. The Ministry of Education has also introduced school grants and stipends as one way of making it easier for poor people to send their children to school.

Table 9 below provides information on the basic education resources inventory.

52. Inhibited no doubt by the poor quality of the road to Myitkyina.

53. There are private clinics 12 miles away in nearby Bhamau.

Table 9: Basic education resources inventory

Township supplied data on education (Rural / urban split not available)					
	Tanai	Putao	Momauk	Myitkyina	Totals
Population reported by township	27,205	58,806	45,799	229,719	361,529
Primary schools (PS)	20	62	65	102	249
PS students (G1-G5)	6,866	8,746	8,170	32,675	56,457
PS teachers appointed	151	442	318	1,277	2,188
PS (local / daily wage)	N/A	N/A	143	58	201
PS appointed teacher: student ratio	1/45	1/20	1/26	1/25	-
All PS teacher: student ratio	1/45	1/20	1/18	1/25	-
PS enrolment per capita	0.25	0.15	0.18	0.14	0.16
Post-primary schools	9	9	14	30	62
Middle schools (MS)	3	6	4	14	27
Branch MSs	-	5	-	-	5
MS students (G6-G9)	3,722	5,369	5,255	25,646	39,992
MS teachers appointed	68	124	132	599	923
MS teacher: student ratio	1/55	1/43	1/40	1/43	-
MS enrolment per capita	0.14	0.09	0.11	0.11	0.11
High schools (HS)	2	3	9	13	27
Branch HSs (managed by other HS)	-	4	-	-	4
HS students (G10-G11)	973	1,818	1,235	9,582	13,608
HS teachers appointed	32	62	60	320	474
HS teacher: student ratio	1/30	1/29	1/21	1/30	-
HS enrolment per capita	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04
Student Ratios					
PS students per HS student	7.1	4.8	6.6	3.4	4.1
PS students per MS student	1.8	1.6	1.6	1.3	1.4
MS students per HS student	3.8	3.0	4.3	2.7	2.9
	Tanai	Putao	Momauk	Myitkyina	Totals
All enrolled students	11,561	15,933	14,660	67,903	110,057
PS enrolment per capita	0.25	0.15	0.18	0.14	0.16
MS enrolment per capita	0.14	0.09	0.11	0.11	0.11
HS enrolment per capita	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04

It is only the first two years of primary school that have been affected by the new policies. The current proportional numbers of the student body provides a baseline from which improvements on graduation levels through primary, middle and high schools can be targeted. The effects of the contribution of the daily wage teachers to improve teacher student ratios is clear and comes together with the threat of compromise on education quality. If teachers are assigned in poorer, more remote areas (which does not seem unlikely), equity issues are also present. It is notable that teacher student ratios for middle school are the lowest with the best teacher student ratios found in high schools.

Enrolments per capita are relatively the same between all four townships and this would seem to indicate a reasonable and equitable sharing of resources.

Enrolments per capita are relatively the same in all four townships, which indicates a reasonable, and equitable resource allocation. Interestingly, Tanai has a much higher level of participation in primary school per capita: almost double of any other townships. This may be due to the special efforts of the Township Education Officer (TEO) who with the support of the WA/VTAs has been engaged in promoting attendance. The declining enrollment rates observed in high school provides evidence of the challenge in creating a more educated population that is aligned with the Ministry of Education’s (MOE) vision statement (see picture Myitkyina TEO).

Figure 21 below underlines the challenges that exist in educational attainment. Currently half of all students enrolled are in primary school, a little over one third in middle school and 13 percent only in high school. Further improvements in facilities, increasing teacher student ratios overall especially at middle school, creating boarding facilities at high school levels as well as bursaries / scholarships for poorer families should all be considered as ways to raise enrolment in middle and high school.

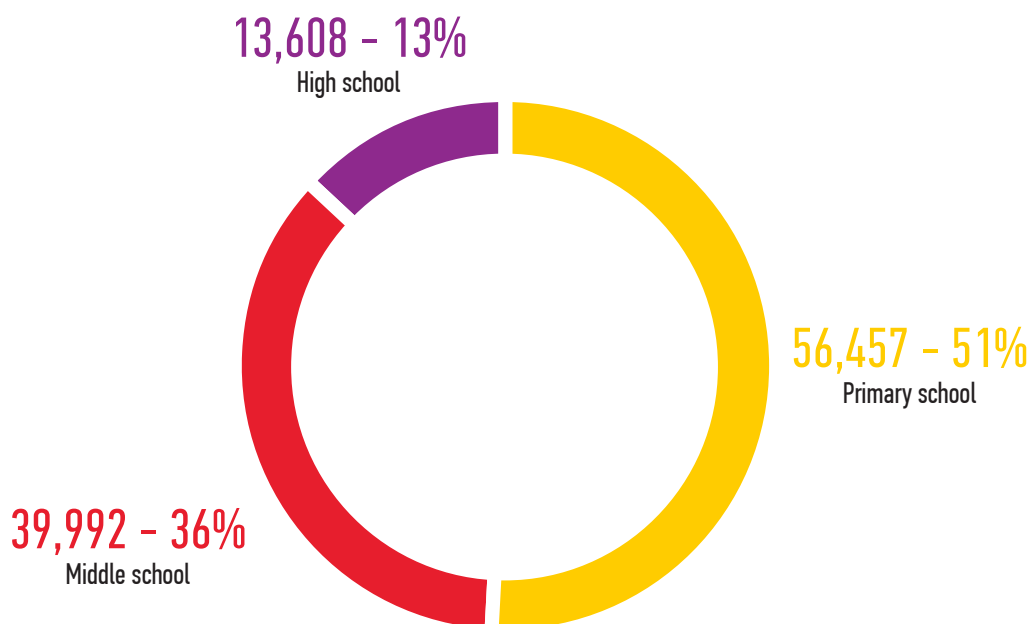


Figure 21: Proportion of All School Enrolments for 2014/2015 in 4 townships

A budget for temporary teachers is used in each township to boost teacher student ratios and is an example of the decentralization of decision making that is being implemented by MOE nationally.

A budget for temporary teachers⁵⁴ is used in each township to boost teacher student ratios and is an example of the decentralization of decision making that is being implemented by MOE nationally. In three of the four townships visited, these temporary teachers can apparently be locally appointed and paid. After one year of experience and one month of training, these temporary staff can become permanent teachers. In the case of Myitkyina Township the hiring and appointment letter is done by the State government. Although the temporary teachers have a positive impact on teacher student ratios, the TEOs point out that the use of these teachers is not effective in promoting quality education.

The rationale for the appointment of the temporary teachers was discussed with the State Education Officer (SEO) who indicated that the programme is motivated by a shortage of teachers nationally. Part of the reason is the shortage of teaching facilities at the State education college where the yearly graduation rates for new teachers simply do not meet the needs.

With regard to articulating a state or national policy on education, the TEOs generally could not comment although the Myitkyina TEO had several charts in her office to illustrate policy directions (See picture). With regard to the “1+4” policy⁵⁵, this was originally intended to



54. Often referred to as “daily wage teachers”.
55. One principal and four teachers per school.

address the needs of remote areas and the Ministry needs to strengthen the attention paid in some townships to teacher student ratios. In Myitkyina Township there are rarely only four teachers in a primary school. In deciding on staff levels, primary schools in Myitkyina are categorized as level A through E with level E being the most remote and requiring special attention. The Myitkyina TEO's major satisfaction is the opportunities that arose after the administrative reforms and reorganization. These included the opportunities for staff promotion and recognition, which was very welcome and important for the morale. Increasingly there are awards and end of year ceremonies that recognize outstanding teachers as well as students. The increase in number of classrooms is also good news.

Box 2: Momauk TEO – making a difference in education

Daw To Malang Roi is Momauk's TEO and is working hard despite staff shortages to improve the quality and coverage of education in her township. She is keen to provide a balance in the curriculum and says they also include sports, work in the school garden, art and music. Inter-school competitions help to motivate teamwork and achievement in the various schools.

She uses school enrollment week and school awards week as opportunities for easy contact with parents and elders. Monthly tests and feedback to the students is also a feature of their system and they try to discuss any behavior or performance problems with parents, although this is difficult she says, in areas where the parents themselves are also lacking formal education experience. It is education policy that students who need assistance, receive additional tutoring.



School attendance and proper behavior is promoted by the principals and teachers with local parent teacher associations. Complaints from parents when they are received, are mostly to do with the standards and performance of contractors doing facilities expansion. In such cases she contacts the engineering staff in the township departments and the construction monitoring group. She will also travel to the field with the Township Officer who is the chair of the Monitoring Committee to try to resolve issues. She notes that complaints are not very common. There are six construction companies that are involved in new school construction and repairs. Although there is variability among them, she keeps an eye on them and says they are normally doing the work to a satisfactory level.

She believes that education coverage in the township is quite reasonable and that the teacher student ratios, even in more remote areas, are acceptable. Girls' enrolment is higher and normally hovers around 60:40 over the boys at each level.

We asked what particular achievements she feels most satisfied with. She noted that when she arrived, 16 schools had been closed due to the security situation. She is very happy that seven of these have now been reopened. Another area of satisfaction is her ability to transfer and move teachers to where they are most needed. She is also pleased that the quality of school closing ceremonies at the end of the year is getting better and showing more evidence of pride in education. The enthusiasm is clear and the schools are successful in getting parents and local well wishers to contribute to the various awards and prizes to the students.

In obtaining feedback on the quality of education and students' experience, only some TEOs are able to point to regular discussions between teachers, parents and the TDSC and only some are aware of and try to target available funds for local development⁵⁶ such as the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) or the Rural Development Fund (RDF) as a response to school needs in addition to the regular budget from the Ministry of Education. The TEOs mentioned are appreciative of the weekly meetings held by the Township Administrator. In Myitkyina these meetings also provide an opportunity for the TEO to interact with the WA/VTAs. Meetings with school principals at the end of each month are also part of the normal practice for most TEOs.

Feedback from principals and teachers

All school principals mentioned that the quality of primary education has improved in the last three years, mainly due to the increased number of teachers and the introduction of the system of free books. Additionally, there are non-formal education opportunities for primary school dropouts up to the age of 14 through the use of important "post primary schools". Children who may have dropped out to work to contribute to the family income then have the opportunity to attend evening classes. This is a particular priority in Momauk and in Myitkyina, which have 14 and 30 such schools respectively. At over half the schools, the principals and teachers reported they do not provide extra tuition. At the same time, the school principals and the teachers highlighted continuing issues as follows. The main issues experienced during the 2012/13 school year for nearly all principals were: poor school buildings, lack of toilets, low teacher salaries and a lack of teachers (see Figure 22). Similarly, the primary school teachers also pointed out the nature of challenges and conditions in schools such as the basic school infrastructure, the lack of support and encouragement from parents for their children, school equipment and teaching aids and finally, the numbers of teachers. Most schools have 5 classrooms available for teaching that have walls, a roof and a blackboard. The number of toilets⁵⁷ varies between 1 and 4 per school. However, the majority of schools are not equipped with safe drinking water, hand washing facilities or adequately clean or separate toilets for boys and girls. It was also pointed out that there are no townships with programmes for children with learning or physical disabilities although all the children who are able to attend regular classroom study without disturbing the classroom are welcome to attend according to the TEOs.

The responsibility for school management falls mainly on the school principal with backup by the TEO. Nearly all schools were visited for a routine inspection during the 2012/13 academic year from the TEO or representative while visits from higher level representatives were conducted in only one or two schools. The purpose for nearly all visits was for inspection. In some areas almost every complaint made to the TEO was either not successfully resolved or was still pending. School principals were more likely to mention support from their own colleagues as the most frequent and useful and some could not name any significant support received from higher government education offices or their representatives. Almost all principals said that the condition of school buildings needs to be addressed by the Ministry of Education. A significant challenge is the lack of local discretion over budget resources or decision making power on local issues.

57. During the mapping process, schools were observed that had used the CDF for constructing the missing toilets.

The most commonly mentioned and cost effective way to improve the quality of education was to enhance the focus on and encourage more efforts from parents and teachers for better performance by the students. Almost all thought that an active and involved community would improve current education levels in their community. All schools have a Parent Teachers Association (PTA) some established as far back as 1927. The main role of the PTAs has historically been limited to providing small repairs and maintenance, especially in rural areas. No principal could state anything positive about the performance of their PTA. No PTA has over 50 percent female membership and over half of them only meet once or twice a year. For more than 50 percent of the PTAs, membership is determined either by election, appointment or a mixture of both. Nearly all principals had neutral or negative opinions regarding the awareness of the PTA of its duties and capability of fulfilling them. This is further substantiated by the low participation rates of the parents (10%) in the PTAs as indicated by parents of children in school.

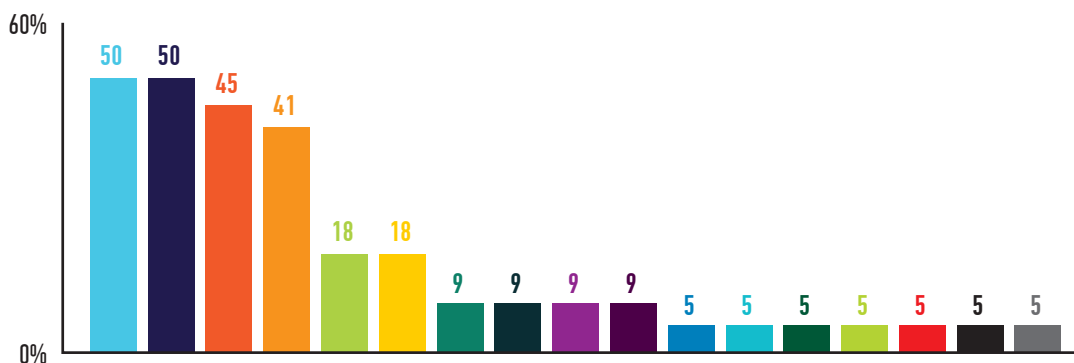


Figure 22: Three most important challenges for their primary school to further improve the quality of education

- Basic infrastructure (including Water, Electricity, Latrine)
- Weak in giving support and encouragement by parents
- School furniture, equipment/ Teaching aids
- Number of teachers
- Teaching with ethnic language/ dialects
- Insecurity of school and its surroundings (incl. natural disaster risk)
- Quality of teachers
- Staff housing
- Being healthy for children
- Not enough clean drinking water
- Access roads to school
- Cooperation between parents and teachers
- Opportunity to study/ should provide nutritious food
- Insufficient number of classrooms
- There are no curtains in the classrooms so the teacher's voice is not clear
- Having discipline
- To get time for sports and sports materials

Education: Citizen's views

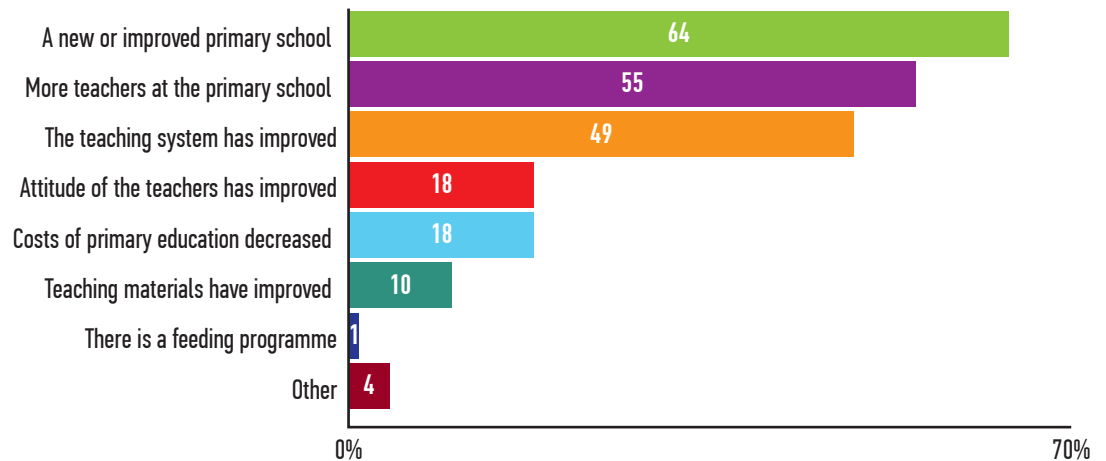
People have a high level of appreciation of the improvements in quality of primary education over the last three years. Myitkyina excluded, 52% mentioned that the situation had improved and, 80 percent on average in the three other townships perceived improvements as well (see Figure 23). About 66 percent mentioned that they were satisfied with the quality of primary education.

Figure 23: Changes in quality of primary education over last three years



The three main reasons cited for improvements included new or improved primary schools and more teachers or improvements in the teaching system (see Figure 24). It was also reported that the attitude of the teachers has changed and/or that costs for primary education had decreased (18% each). Ninety-six percent of parents with children in primary school mentioned that their child was receiving equal treatment as other children in his or her class. This is consistent with the interviews with TEOs and discussions at township level during mapping.

Figure 24: Reasons for improvement of primary education



Altogether 43 percent of people reported having been invited to a meeting with the education department to discuss primary education in their communities. The meetings reviewed matters relating to school buildings, coordination between parents and teachers, the state of the school compound, encouraging regular attendance and creating a school fund. The most common suggestions for improving the quality of the schools were: building more classrooms or schools (61%), improving school facilities like having more toilets, providing more desks and chairs (51%), increasing the number of teachers (44%), improving the quality of teachers (30%) and providing better or more educational materials (27%).

Box 3: Using open discussion and flexibility to negotiate action

There are immediate advantages that can result from consultation between township administration and communities using open attitudes and facilitation skills. An example arose during the Community Dialogues on education in Alam Village Tract. A discussion was held on the quality of education, with the school and local community agreeing on several positive features of current service including appreciation for primary education being available free of charge. Parents also appreciated the fact that children were able to improve their knowledge of Myanmar language. There was agreement as well that many challenges remained for local schools including the lack of fencing and proper toilets.

To show their own strong interest and commitment to support a broad range of improvements, parents agreed that they would provide labour to build the necessary fencing and toilets for the children. At the same time, the supportive environment provided by the Township Administrator allowed the VTA to request for additional investment in this village that was required.

This kind of collaboration between officials and the local population allowing issues to be discussed and the community to offer voluntary service is a good example of how improved relationships and positive action can result from open discussion. In this case, the community's offer of voluntary service also shows trust in the Township Administration and helps to motivate his necessary follow-up and interventions on their behalf.

Source: Short Summary of Community Dialogue on Local Governance Mapping Project in Alam Village Tract, Myitkyina Township, Kachin State.

Water Supply: Service Provider perspective

For household water supply, issues of both quality and quantity need to be addressed in urban (by DMA) as well as rural areas (by DRD). Throughout the townships (52%) and municipal areas (31%) alike, a communal shallow well is common although a deep tube well is increasingly available for urban dwellers where densities are higher (65% in towns but in only 1% of rural areas).⁵⁹ A private water supply connection (inside a compound) is virtually unknown (1%). There are significant differences between the townships. In Putao, 86 percent of water supply is from shallow wells and in Tanai the tube wells are hardly seen (0% and 2% respectively).

In rural areas, another significant water supply technology used by DRD is gravity flow to a centrally located tank in the village, where a reliable surface supply is feasible. Usually this water is piped from a stream and a small weir constructed for the purpose. Normally a 2 inch

59. During the mapping process, schools were observed that had used the CDF for constructing the missing toilets.

pipe is the standard for delivering the water to the tank. For the gravity fed systems there is normally one tank supplied in a village. Anecdotally, the DRD managers were able to report on recent improvements. In Tanai for example in the first financial year they implemented projects in five villages to address basic infrastructure. In 2014/15 they were able to provide funding and implement projects such as wells for household water supply fitted with hand pumps, which were provided in 17 locations.

In Putao, the Department of Rural Development Officer (DRDO) estimated that about 40 percent of the water supply needs was fulfilled by wells, about 30 percent by gravity fed tanks and the balance of 30 percent by household collected water from nearby creeks and small streams. The wells in the area are very prone to seasonal problems and maybe dry for up to three months for March, April and May. He provided the following figures for the two budget years as shown (Table 10). Other townships were not able to provide the same figures.

Table 10: Example of budget releases from the State, for rural infrastructure - DRD Putao

Item	FY 2013/14 MMK millions	FY 2014/15 MMK millions	% Change
Roads	28.2	189.2	571%
Bridges	60.9	100	64%
Water	0	102.5	N/A
Solar	102.8	12	-88%

The approvals and budget releases are decided at the State level and are normally perceived as being arbitrary by the department staff. The releases do not necessarily total the amounts asked for and the requested priorities are not always reflected in the approved projects. The officer could not explain the rationale of the percent change figures above. The task of the department is mostly to implement the projects with the funds that are provided.

Water supply: citizen's perspective

Supply of household water remains a challenge in many parts of Kachin although the situation has not worsened significantly anywhere. Tanai has been successful in improving water supplies according to 70 percent of respondents (see Figure 25). On the other hand in Putao, 78 percent reported no improvement. Discussions held locally during the mapping revealed that water tables are low and seasonally very low (See picture). Rural areas overall have been much favoured by the activities of DRD and its water supply programme.

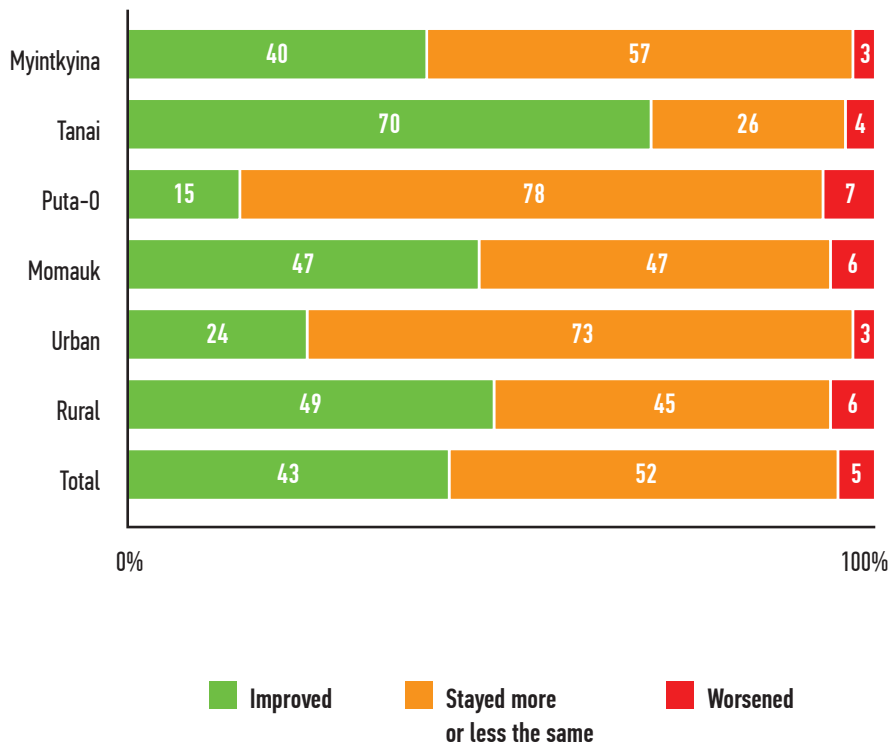


Figure 25: Changes in access to drinking water

Figure 26: Source of drinking water

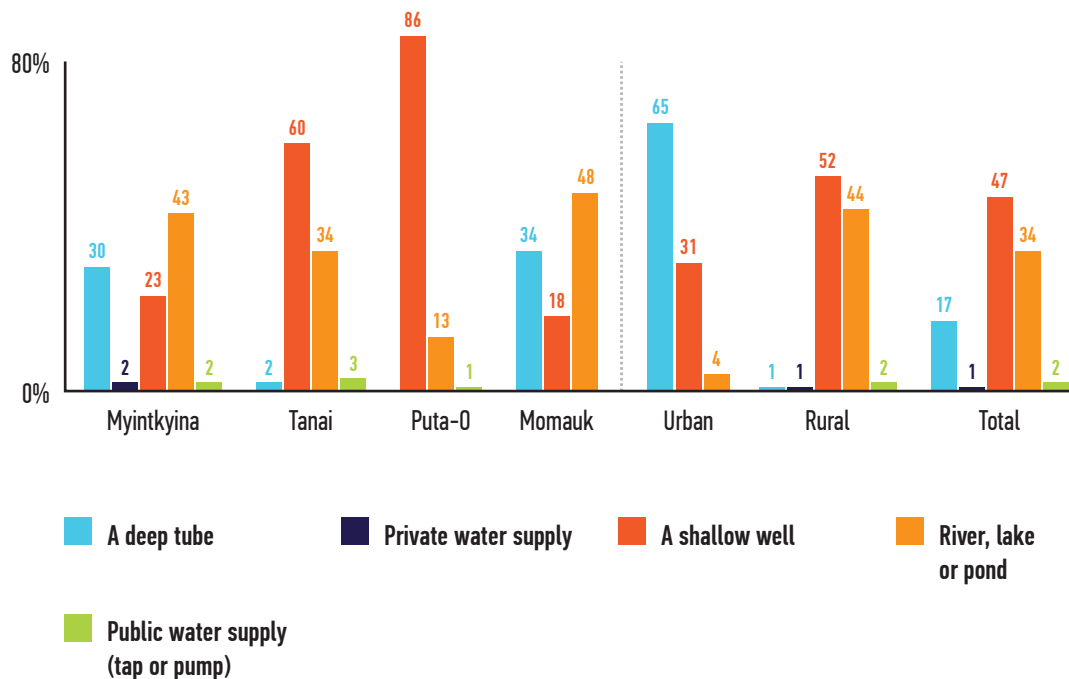
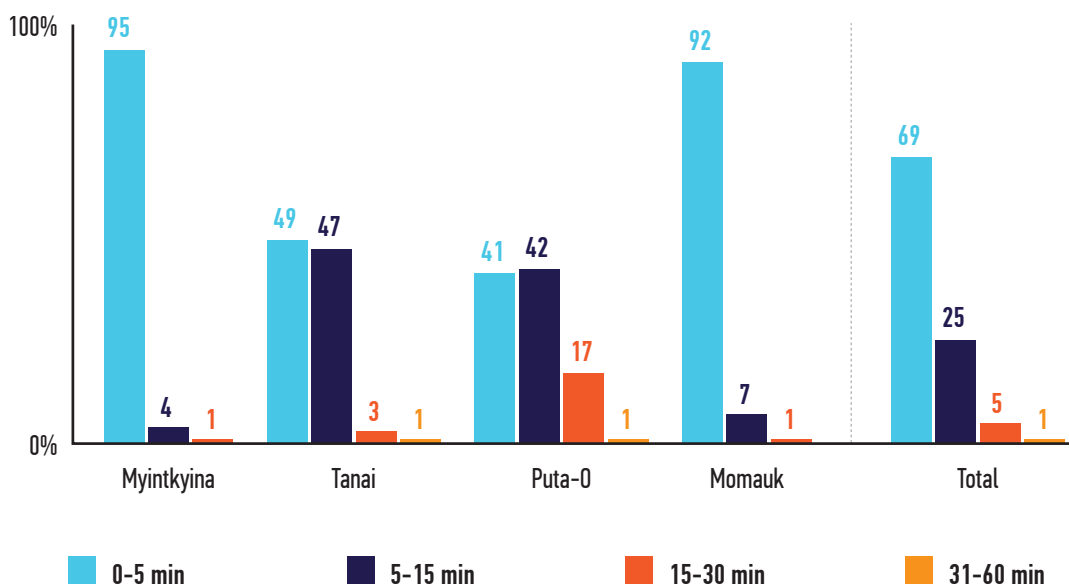


Figure 27: Time to get to water source (minutes)



Notwithstanding the improvements the people of Tanai and Putao townships are most affected by the lack of proximity of water with almost half of Tanai people and 42 percent of the people in Putao have to walk up to 15 minutes to reach their water source (see Figure 27).

4.1.5 Issues pertaining to access services

Comparing and contrasting citizen perceptions of changes in services with those of line departments and township administration points to some differences but also illustrates the need for better communication between different parties.

In order to access quality services of the type and at the location required by the local community, there is a need for the following: 1) enough staff, 2) with the proper skills and experience, 3) project budgets for timely interventions that are 4) informed by good quality consultations with local people. During the mapping, the departmental staff and local people alike spoke frankly about the challenges in all these areas.

Current staff shortages

There are high levels of vacancies in township administration and in the line departments that provide basic services. On the basis of the per capita staffing in the figure below (see Table 11), the State and the Union government are doing reasonably well for some sectors in balancing scarce resources between the townships as can be seen by the similarity of many of the numbers between the four townships. The lower numbers of per capita staff for Myitkyina Township seemed particularly alarming and counter intuitive since it would be easier to post and maintain staff close to a more urbanized area. In addition the low per capita staffing for health in Putao needs urgent attention. The DMO expressed his concern about staffing. He also fills the position of TMO that has been vacant for a long time. There is only one other doctor other than the DMO in the township. He is assigned to the sub township of Macham Baw.

Township	Tanai	Putao	Momauk	Myitkyina	Total
Population (TS reported)	27,205	58,806	45,799	229,719	361,529
Staff Type (excludes locally appointed)					
General Administration	2.0	1.0	2.2	0.4	0.8
Education	12.4	15.3	15.8	1.4	6.3
Health	5.2	2.7	4.7	0.8	1.9
Planning	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.1
Municipal Affairs (DMA)	2.9	0.4	1.0	1.9	1.6
Rural Development (DRD)	1.0	0.5	0.6	0.2	0.3
Total	23.7	20.0	24.3	4.7	

Table 11: Government human resources per 1000 inhabitants as reported by the township administration

There are very significant problems with current budget requirements and numbers of staff that can be appointed. For essential services like health, vacancy rates run from a high of 74 percent in Putao to 29 percent in Myitkyina (see Table 12). The programme to train auxiliary midwives is part of the response to this but the staffing situation has not really improved.

Table 12: Staff vacancy rates (Jan 2015) as reported by townships

Township	Tanai	Putao	Momauk	Myitkyina	Total
General Administration	35%	21%	23%	9%	20%
Education	13%	16%	15%	44%	19%
Health	54%	74%	42%	29%	49%
Planning	56%	93%	40%	0%	64%
Municipal Affairs	75%	68%	73%	74%	74%
Rural Development	65%	78%	85%	70%	74%
Total	34%	28%	25%	52%	34%

Capital budget processes and issues of participation

Budgetary information in particular is not transparent and often unreliable. Historically, resource allocation decisions are made at a high level and thus there is little interest in improving quality of financial information and estimates at a lower level and the chain of accountability for quality of effort is hardly monitored. Unfortunately this only results in a self-perpetuating cycle.

The overview of government capital budgets directed at village and township level asset creation (see Table 13 below) is a case in point. The year 2014/15 was the first year in which civil servants sought to get more traction in seeking and using the inputs of the development committees that was established in 2013. The historical reality of budgeting has been that such decisions have been made at the highest level. In 2013/14 this was still the case and expenditures in the State responded more to immediate needs decided from month to month or quarter to quarter and depending on availability of revenues.

The figures below obtained from the State Government reflect the newness of the process and the difficulties in trying to allocate resources where they are needed in light of budgetary constraints.



Government Budget Source	2014/15 (approved) MMK million	% Total this year	2015/16 (est.) MMK million	% Total this year	% Change
Education	51,686.3	23%	14,207.4	24%	-73%
Health centres	11,153.6	5%	8,675.1	15%	-22%
Construction	131,260.0	58%	11,959.0	21%	-91%
Border Affairs	17,603.0	8%	11,286.9	19%	-36%
DMA (State)	3,964.6	2%	4,543.4	8%	15%
DRD (Min Livestock, Fisheries and RD)	12,220.0	5%	7,582.6	13%	-38%
Total Capital Investment by Government	227,887.5		58,254.4		-74%

Table 13: Overview of Kachin Capital Investments from Government Budgets for 2 years for villages/ TS

Source: State Department of Planning and Economic Development report for 2014/5. Estimate for 2015/6 are the currently adjusted budgets determined by state level processes and (as yet) informal consultation with the Union level. Figures disaggregated to the township level were not available. Note: Unspent funds cannot be carried over from year to year.

In all townships visited for the mapping there are huge unmet demands for infrastructure, education, health and water supply. At the same time the current discussion on funding for the New Year is only 74 percent of what was available in 2014/15. The figures above are tentative but have been adjusted down from the township level requests received, apparently in negotiation between the State and Union officials and in consideration of likely revenues.

4.2 Development planning and participation

Prior to the reforms that started in 2011, Kachin and other states and regions had been governed by a State Peace and Development Council including the TA and a GAD appointed official normally serving between two and three years, and who is the key player in local administration. In this position the TA is supported by a Township Management Committee (TMC) whose role goes back prior to the current reforms. The TMC is principally composed of the head of various key line departments including planning, agriculture, education, revenue, municipal affairs and the police.⁶⁰

The historical importance of the township as the administrative and governing unit continues and has been strengthened by the current reforms. In particular, the creation of the TDSC and TMAC for rural and urban development in 2013 was designed to create a move towards participatory local planning. The appointed township civil servants are now called upon to integrate the advice and direction of the two new development committees and even to mentor development processes that can result in greater participatory development plans that can respond to locally articulated needs. These kinds of partnerships between government departments and local communities are challenges even in countries with long established democratic traditions. Notwithstanding the keen desire to liberalize and to follow the best examples of more equitable development, the legacy of almost two generations of a highly centralized and autocratic public service is an extremely significant challenge.

The historical importance of the township as the administrative and governing unit continues and has been strengthened by the current reforms. In particular, the creation of the TDSC and TMAC for rural and urban development affairs in 2013 was designed to create a move towards bottom up planning.

60. Presidential Notification no 27, 2013.

4.2.1 Development committees

The Township Committees and the processes they oversee are designed to support planning and implementation of development interventions but they are still in their infancy. Understandably, there is some confusion about the rationale and detail of processes, criteria, timing and responsibility for decision-making at every level and capacity development is an urgent need.

In order to align local development with the country's move towards democratization, the roles and relationships between the local level committees are still in various stages of finding their roles. The fact that these committees are new means that the membership and understanding of roles sometimes differs from place to place. In order to provide a standard for governance, these disparities should be closely examined and rectified. The following are the key points regarding Committee roles and the variability in membership and function (See Annex 1 for the tables):

Township Management Committee (TMC) – TMC is comprised of township line department and chaired by the TA with line departments. It is the core of 'local administration' wherever consultation is required or deemed necessary. It consults regularly (or at least as required by the yearly TPIC planning process) with the TDSC and TMAC. There are nine members. The TA, Police and Planning Officers are found consistently in all four townships. Other membership varies. The Agricultural Officer is a member in two (Putao, Momauk), the TEO in one (Putao), the Municipal Affairs Officer (MAO) in two (Tanai, Myitkyina), the Deputy TA in three (all but Tanai). There are no women members.

Township Development Support Committee (TDSC)⁶¹ – TDSC acts as a sounding board for the TMC offering contact with township representatives from different sectors of society, through the VTAs⁶² elected through the 10 HH system. Three of the four visited townships have seven of the members in place (Tanai 6). Several members are appointed which is not provided for (Tanai 4, Myitkyina 4). The person elected by majority of the committee members acts as the chair and in most cases it has been a representative from the community. The citizen member has acted as a Chairperson in all townships except in Tanai (where the business representative acts as Chair). The representatives for farmers and CSOs are missing in Putao. The Executive Officer for DMA and the Deputy TA are missing in Tanai. There are no female members in the committee.

Township Municipal Affairs Committee, (TMAC) – The State Development Affairs (Municipal Affairs) Law approved by Kachin State Hluttaw in May 2013 led to the establishment of the TMAC and allocated duties and responsibilities to the TMAC and the Executive Officer of the DMA. The TMAC acts as an executive body for decisions implemented by the DMA. The TMAC plays a significant role as the DMA needs to obtain their approval before new municipal project proposals can be sent to the State government. They are also responsible for examining the budget estimates put forward by the Executive Officer. Additionally, they have the powers in setting rates for taxes and fees concerned with development works. There should be seven members in the TMAC according to the State Development Affairs (Municipal Affairs) Law. Tanai and Momauk reported that they have six members. There are two women members serving - one in Tanai and one in Putao.

A very important change in the management of TMAC is the state government's decision to require an oversight and approval function of the TMAC for the DMA's work on yearly tax collection forecasts and investment plans.

61. TDSC established by Presidential Notification No. 27/2013.

62. This is in fact not based on an election by popular and majority vote. Instead, the TA appoints a committee of the local elders (and influential people) who in turn appoint a representative from each group of 10 households. These 10 household appointees come together and elect their chairperson from their number. Since it is based on initial selection of an elders' group by the TA, the method needs to be revisited to provide for greater transparency and consistency with democratic norms.

Box 4: Improved relationship between TMAC and DMA

The Executive Officer of DMA Myitkyina was unique in describing his relationship with TMAC as “fruitful and beneficial” to his function. The need to discuss tax rates and collection methods is important he said, since the committee members have first hand information and can be persuasive in communication efforts with local citizens. They have regular meetings to discuss issues that include such things as garbage collection and infrastructure projects. Before the establishment of TMAC, his relationship was mainly with the TMC but they were not required to approve activities of the DMA. Now TMAC has an oversight role and an approval function for activities including revenue budgets as well as new projects.

The Executive Officer said that the citizen chairperson was persuasive and powerful on the committee and was able to provide leadership and understanding amongst the other citizen representatives. Since the Chairperson has credibility in the community, the resulting plans of the DMA are more easily presented to the community. He welcomes this relationship and finds it has improved the functioning of his department. In particular it has helped to reduce the problems regarding the understanding of the need for and collection of taxes.

This well considered and useful relationship could be discussed as a model for other townships. It also provides some ideas for how TDSC and TMC could forge further beneficial aspects to their relationship.

There are other committees that are involved in planning as well. One of them is the **Township Planning and Implementation Committee (TPIC)**. The township plans that are currently compiled by the Township Planning Officer (TPO) and the TPIC are at present merely a **compilation of the individual sector plans**. No budget is available at the township level for their implementation and they are not used to inform the actual planning process of the sector ministries yet. In addition, the **Ward and Village Tract Development Support Committees (W/VTDSCs)** offer the closest contact to rural dwellers. Comprising village representatives, they seek to represent the voice of rural people in the assessment of development needs. They are also supposed to advice and support the WA/VTA in carrying out his/her duties and submit issues to TMC that remain unresolved at township level. Most WA/VTAs interviewed believed that the W/VTDSC is active.

These committees and the processes they oversee are designed to support planning and implementation of projects at different levels but they are still in their infancy. Understandably, there is some confusion about the rationale and detail of processes, criteria, timing and responsibility for decision-making at every level and capacity development is an urgent need.⁶³

Annex 1 shows the composition of the key committees and illustrates difference between different townships. The levels of participation and skills of the TDSC and TMAC members vary across the selected townships. However, further support is required for their transparent election and to enable them to perform their roles and functions.

63. A good first step would be to have a handbook on planning and implementation processes with some charts and diagrams that can be mounted on the walls of the various offices and officers involved in these processes. Myanmar government offices have lots of evidence of the popularity of displaying such tools.

Issues mentioned by TDSCs, TMACs, and WA/VTAs

TDSC and TMAC members frequently spoke of the huge change that is now going on with the implementation of the current democratic reforms whereby they are able to have direct meetings with the township administration and line departments.

In the discussions during mapping, the TDSC and TMAC members frequently described the change that is now going on with the implementation of the current democratic reforms. For the first time, they are able to have direct meetings with senior township administration and line departments to discuss local needs and to have a direct input into the planning and management of community projects. They have a deep appreciation for the tectonic nature of the shift. They also point to a number of shortcomings in the relationship with township administration and the planning process which is, they admit, is in its early stages of development. Almost every WA/VTAs interviewed indicated that they received information and knew about plans for their village tracts/wards from the TAs, and monthly GAD meetings, for the most part. Furthermore, they had to attend meetings regularly regarding plans for their village tracts/wards. All WA/VTAs except one was aware of township level committees and their functions.

Necessary preconditions for this relationship to function well include knowledge on both sides (the committees and township administration and departmental staff) of the theory and practice of participation. Key to this is a climate of openness and the ability at the township level to mentor and support the community⁶⁴ in the evolution of their ability to articulate needs. Many civil servants are inclined to appreciate the potential of these changes; their work experience does include examples of behaviours or tools that would work. This change is mainly taking place in a “learning by doing” process and there is no training or mentoring that is available.



64. And especially the key governance and information sharing role of the WA/VTAs as mentioned elsewhere in this report.

Box 5: Assistant Township Administrator in Tanai “Learning by Doing”

Tucked away in Kachin State’s northwest is Tanai Township, a rugged and beautiful part of Myanmar. Rather unusually, Tanai’s Assistant Township Administrator is a woman.



Daw Aye Mya Mu was brought up in Swe Bo in Sagain and graduated with a degree in geography in 2007. She was encouraged by her uncle to sit the civil service entrance exams in February 2010 and by the end of the month she got the result that she had been selected. Her first appointment was as a First Division Clerk in Tanai Township. When she heard she was going to Tanai she was a bit apprehensive as were her parents but her curiosity and the

opportunity of the job sustained her interest and she moved to take up her position. She has now been in Tanai for five years. In the beginning she had to go through some basic training and sit for regular tests. Her first promotion was after three years of service and because of her performance and skills she was able to leapfrog two position levels and be promoted from First Division Clerk directly to Assistant TA. “Learning by doing is the way”, she says. “I have to get involved in both the normal budget processes and the administrative work for the TA. This is a very busy position, maintaining contact with so many township committees, organizations and individuals. I also have to advise on human resources, public relations and resolving internal complaints. My day is very full and I frequently have to work to 9 or even 10:00 PM. What I most enjoy in my job is working with other people, and the feeling of satisfaction in completing a task with them is really satisfying.”

4.2.2 Planning and use of development funds

The establishment of the TDSC and TMAC is certainly an important achievement that can develop to form the core of the participatory process at township level. However, it can only develop if the TA and TMC are fully on-board and can address challenges whenever there is confusion over the management issues at stake. The TDSC and TMAC are development committees that offer a good venue and opportunity for bottom up development planning, coordination and monitoring of implementation. It is here that the newly mandated processes of citizen-government consultation can begin to be practiced to enable all players to develop new skills as well as management and decision making behaviours that will produce local assets that match more closely the actual needs on the ground. The establishment of the development funds is designed to provide the resources where the opportunity for engagement between government and township committees takes place.

1. Poverty Reduction Fund (PRF): The PRF was established as a Presidential initiative in 2012 to address rural development and poverty, and is therefore only available for infrastructural projects in village tracts. It was initiated in the 2012-13 financial year. During the first two years, each State/Region received one billion kyats (totally 14

billion kyat-14 million USD) while for the financial years 2014-15 and 2015-16 the total amount available has increased to 50 billion kyat (50 million USD), while the amounts allocated to the various States and Regions varies between one and 15 billion kyat (15 million USD), depending on the poverty situation of each State/Region. Most State and Regions still receives one billion kyat per year, while Kachin and Rakhine receive the highest amount of 15 billion kyat (15 million USD) per year and Chin, Shan and Kayin receive five, four and two billion respectively. The management and administration of the fund is still “delegated” to the GAD Executive Secretary within the State Government and falls therefore under the GAD’s responsibility.⁶⁵ The projects are small and should be implemented by the village tract people themselves under supervision of the VTA and the Township Administration.

2. Rural Development Fund: The RDF is a small State fund that is operated by the GAD. Part of the revenues that are collected by the GAD at the township level on behalf of the State Government (like land, mineral and excise tax) are used for this fund, of which the total amount can differ substantially each year. The allocation criteria and the selection process are the same as for the PRF.

3. Constituency Development Fund: The CDF is budgeted as current revenue and expenditure under the State Hluttaw budget. Each township received 100 million kyat (100,000 USD) from the CDF irrespective of the population size of the township for the implementation of small projects in both rural and urban areas. The selection procedure is similar to that of the PRF only in this case the budget ceiling of 100 million Kyat per township is known beforehand and the elected Hluttaw members need to approve the projects before they are submitted to the State Government.



65. Nixon, Hamish, and Jolene, Cindy; 2014: Fiscal Decentralisation in Myanmar: Towards a Roadmap for Reform page 3.

4. The Area Development Fund of the Ministry of Border Affairs: As a response to the ceasefire agreements, the Government of Myanmar set up a large-scale programme for the “Development of Border Areas and National Races” and designated 19 ‘border regions’ covering more than a third of the country’s area as beneficiaries of a special development fund. This included the Kachin/North-East region.

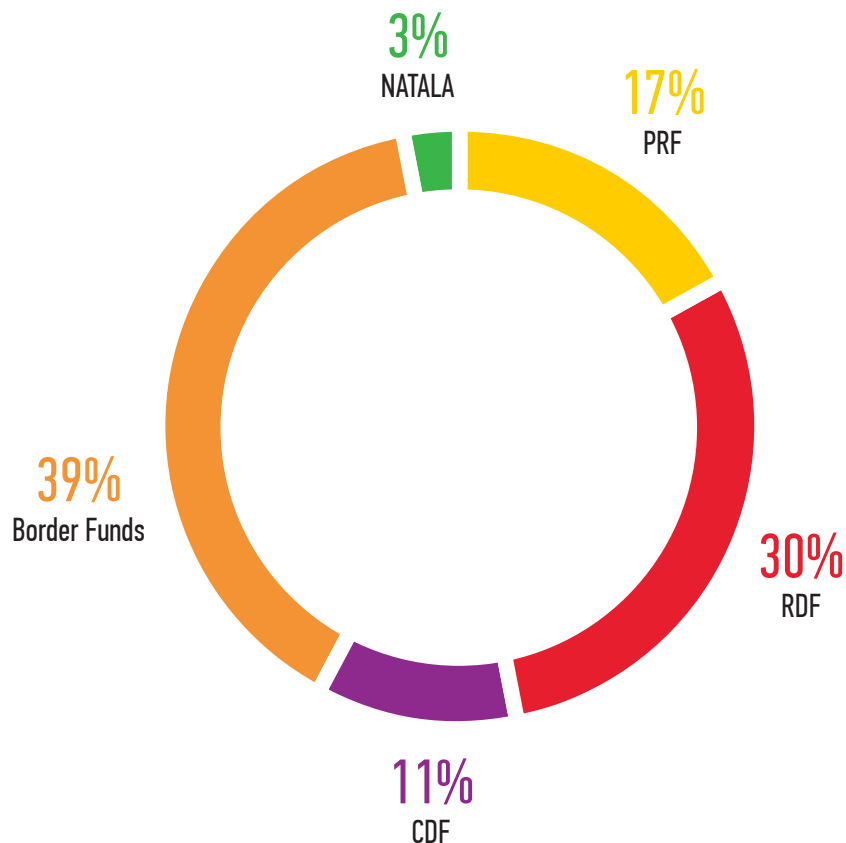
These development funds provide an incremental source of funding for local development. These funds are supposed to respond to local level priorities although the allocation are made at the State or Union level and the volume of funds through these different channels will not make a significant impact on the full range of needs or the gap shown below (see Table 14).

Development Fund	Tanai MMK m & %		Putao MMK m & %		Momauk MMK m & %		Myitkyina MMK m & %		Totals	All Funds %
	m	%	m	%	m	%	m	%		
PRF	300.5	43	18.4	2	116.0	26	196.3	15	631.2	17
RDF	-	0	191.4	16	22.4	5	909.5	67	1,123.2	30
CDF	100.0	14	95.4	8	97.0	21	100.0	7	392.4	11
Ministry of Border Affairs Funds	178.7	26	896.9	75	218.6	48	145.0	11	1,439.2	39
NATALA	115.0	17	-	0	-	0	-	0	115.0	3
Total	694.2	100	1,202.0	100	454.0	100	1,350.8	100	3,701.0	100
Of which:										
Roads	400.5	58	46.5	4	330.8	73	614.1	45	1,391.9	38
Bridges	-	0	60.4	5	-	0	163.7	12	224.1	6
Voc. schools	-	0	-	0	-	0	58.6	4	58.6	2
Schools	6.2	1	38.9	3	68.2	15	50.0	4	163.4	4
Health facilities	17.5	3	7.5	1	13.4	3	34.9	3	73.3	2
Water	137.0	20	575.3	48	30.7	7	119.2	9	862.2	23
Solar	50.0	7	102.8	9	-	0	58.0	4	210.8	6
Land dev.	-	0	49.4	4	10.9	2	5.0	0	65.3	2
Other	83.0	12	321.2	27	-	0	247.3	18	651.5	18
Total	694.2	100	1,202.0	100	454.0	100	1,350.8	100	3,701.0	100

Table 14: Budgets for development funds in 4 TS (2013/14) (Figures are from township administrations)

The figures for these development funds are insignificant compared to the government’s capital budget. Set against the 2014/15 figure of MMK 227,887.5 million, all five development funds together add to only MMK 3,701 or 1.6 percent.

Figure 28: Budgets for development funds by TS (2013/14) in four Mapped Townships



Although much is said about the importance of the CDF and PRF, the Border Funds (at 39%) account for almost half of the budget compared to CDF and PRF together (28%). The Border Affairs Funds and RDF together, account for almost 70 percent of all development funds spent in the four townships. The total amount is MMK 3.7 billion (USD 3.7 million). Per capita budgeted figures for the year are shown in Table 15 below.

Table 15: Per capita budgets in MMK thousands (=USD) per person

All Development Funds for 2013/14

Development Fund	Tanai	Putao	Momauk	Myitkyina	Totals
Population (TS reported)	27,205	58,806	45,799	229,719	361,529
PRF	11.05	0.31	2.53	0.85	1.75
RDF	-	3.25	0.49	3.96	3.11
CDF	3.68	1.62	2.12	0.44	1.09
Border Funds	6.57	15.25	4.77	0.63	3.98
NATALA	4.23	-	-	-	0.32
Total	25.52	20.44	9.91	5.88	10.24

4.2.3 Challenges to township planning and participatory development

The planning and application process lacks a dynamic nature and is not well known. The job of the Planning Officer in each of the four townships is more of a clerical function in which the officer collects the results of a standard form that has been sent to line departments, collates them without any analysis and sends them to the district department before they go to the state government for further work on the priorities and decisions.

Project compendium showing a tabular presentation of projects by name, the source of funds (whether union, state, or loans and grants), the start date, the completion date and the intended benefit. These are for Putao.

စဉ်	အကြောင်းအရာ	လုပ်ငန်းစီမံကိန်း					အကျိုး သက် ရောက်မှု
		ကုန်ကျမည်ခွင့်ကြေး(ကုန်သွယ်ရေး)			စတင်မည် ကာလ	ပြီးဆုံးမည် ကာလ	
		ပြည် ထောင်စု	ပြည်နယ် အစိုးရ	အခြား အဖွဲ့အစည်း			
၁	ပြည်ထောင်စုဝန်ကြီးဌာန၊ အထွေထွေအုပ်ချုပ်ရေးဦးစီးဌာန ပုတာအိုဗြို့ (ပထမဦးစားပေး)						
၁	ဆောင်ရွက်ဆဲလုပ်ငန်းစီမံကိန်း						
၁	မေတ္တာတည်ရှိရိပ်သာတည်ဆောက်ခြင်း ၁၀၂' x ၃၄' RC နှစ်ထပ်		၉၄၂		၁၄.၂၀၁၄	၂၀၁၅.၀၁	
၂	လုပ်ငန်းစီမံကိန်းသစ်များ						
၁	ပုတာအိုဗြို့နယ်အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးမှူးနေအိမ်		၃၅.၉၀		၁၄.၂၀၁၅	၂၀၁၅.၀၁	
၂	ပုတာအိုဗြို့နယ်ရုံးဝင်းအုတ်တိုင်းကန်ခြင်း		၆၆.၇၃		*	*	
၃	IP စတားတယ်လီဖုန်းတပ်ဆင်ခြင်း		၇.၀၀				
၄	ပုတာအိုဗြို့နယ်တွင်း ကွန်ပျူတာ(၁)နှင့် မီးစက်ဝယ်ယူခြင်း		၂.၅၀		*	*	
၃	စီမံကိန်းရေးဆွဲရေးဦးစီးဌာန(လုပ်ငန်းစီမံကိန်းသစ်များ)						
၁	ပုတာအိုဗြို့နယ်ဝန်ထမ်းအိမ်ရာတည်ဆောက်ခြင်း		၄၀.၀၀		၁၄.၂၀၁၅	၂၀၁၅.၀၁	
၂	ပုတာအိုဗြို့နယ်ရုံးဝင်း အုတ်တိုင်းကန်ခြင်း		၇.၅၀		*	*	
၄	ဆည်မြောင်းဦးစီးဌာန (လုပ်ငန်းစီမံကိန်းသစ်များ)						
၁	ပုခိုချောင်းဆည်တည်ဆောက်ခြင်း		၄၅.၃		၁၄.၂၀၁၅	၂၀၁၅.၀၁	
၂	နမ့်ခမ်းတံဆည်တည်ဆောက်ခြင်း		၂၃၀.၀၀		*	*	
၃	ဆာရီခမ်းတံဆည်တည်ဆောက်ခြင်း ၈၀၀၀၀၀၀လုပ်ငန်း		၂၀.၀၀		*	*	
၄	မော်ဘူး(၁)ဆည်တည်ဆောက်ခြင်း		၆၅.၀၀၂		*	*	
၅	မော်ဘူး(၂)ဆည်တည်ဆောက်ခြင်း		၈၄.၀၀၇		*	*	

The different development funds designed to respond to local development priorities are not known or transparent at local levels. There is no knowledge among the development committees of the criteria or terms or conditions under which these funds can be spent. Except for the CDF where the amount is known to be 100 million MMK per year, there is no prior knowledge of the levels of funding that may be expected under PRF and RDF and fund receipts have been irregular.

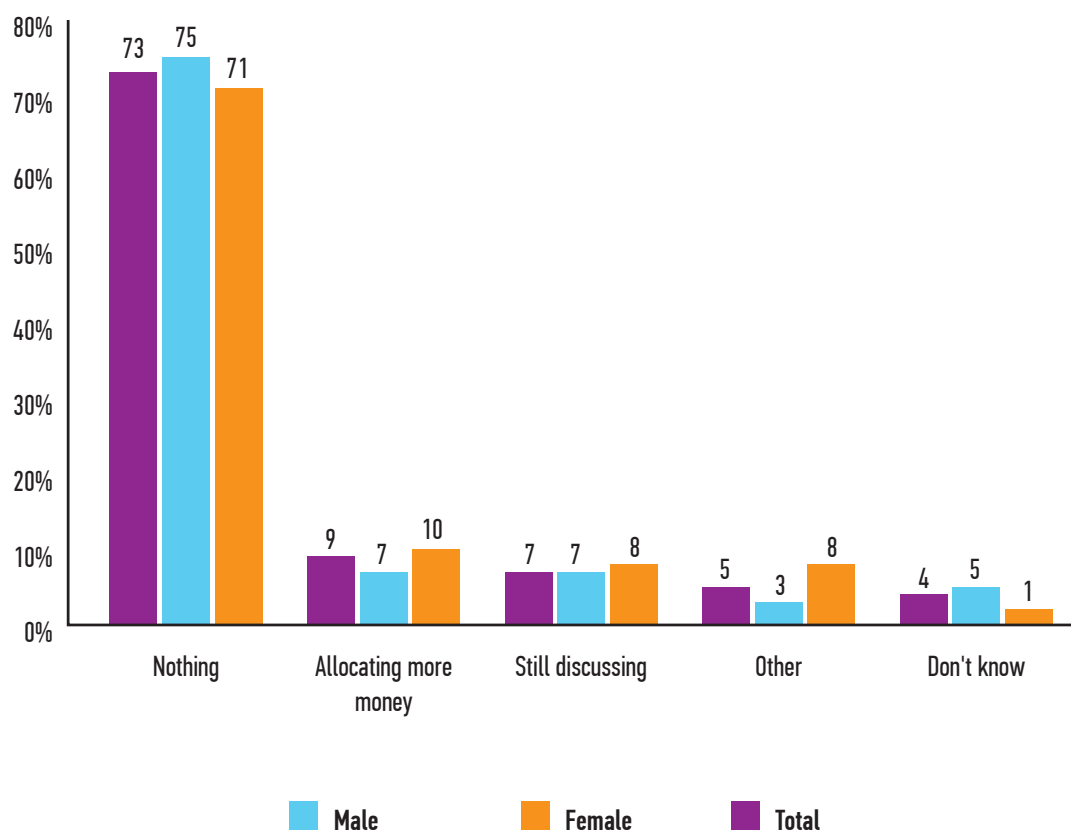
There are no specific applications or tailoring of project proposals to fit the proposed purpose of the funds. The allocation decisions are made far away from the local scene and the allocations when made frequently bear little resemblance to the requests that were put forward. In fact the development funds are seen as a “common pot” from which shortfalls in the Union or State development funds can be filled. Thus they are neither locally managed nor incremental in any sense to addressing local needs, but rather are part of the parcel of funds that will be made available through the normal centralized process of decision-making. Some staff suggested that an improvement would allow for a budget managed by township administration and relying on the decisions of the TDSC/VTDSC for its expenditure.

Understanding of how to use participatory methods in pursuing township and departmental development objectives is needed.

Additionally, there is an institutional and individual capacity development issue that is insufficiently addressed. The civil servants at the township level lack basic understanding of what participation and representation means and how to make use of participatory methods in pursuing development objectives. There is insufficient knowledge of the concepts and methodologies that are normally discussed in poverty reduction, rural development and public sector service delivery. It also appears that there are inadequate strategies for capacity development and related funding to improve the civil servants skills and orientation towards development of public service delivery.

Although there are many programmes which seem to have the right policy orientation (establishment of TDSCs, TMACs and TMCs, improvements of land registration procedures, using locally generated taxes for development purposes, focus on appropriate technologies for rural water supplies, training of volunteer village level auxiliary midwives) the implementation of these projects is affected by the lack of experience of the civil servants at township level. It is also observed that the senior officials responsible for implementation of the new development agenda are not fully able to identify the gaps in institutional capacity needed to create and maintain interactions with local groups. While it is not at all true that government is “doing nothing” to resolve development problems, this perception among ordinary people is part of the consequence of a lack of trust between the people and the authorities. Majority of the respondents (68%) answered that the township administration or the government in general is aware of the most important problem in the community but 73 percent believed that they did nothing to resolve the problem.

Figure 29: Government responsiveness: what is government doing to resolve the main problem in the village tract/ward?



4.3 Information, transparency and accountability

The TDSC, TMAC and W/VTDSC are the institutions mandated to gather and inject local need and participation into the planning processes. This system provides the framework within which local governance is practiced. Key to the quality of the emerging new local governance structure will be how access to information and transparency will be managed. This forms the cornerstone of the accountability framework at the local level. This section reviews the different levels of the development process – township management, the TDSC/TMAC development committees and the ward and village tract structures – and looks at the current contributions they make to providing information and improving the awareness of how new governance structures affect local people. The section also looks at information levels of the citizens and accountability mechanisms for dispute resolution.

4.3.1 Information at township level

The primary vehicle for information sharing at present is the weekly meetings chaired by the TA involving line departments, the TDSC and TMAC members and the WA/VTAs. In interviews with the TAs all but one (as already noted)⁶⁶ said they held regular weekly meetings with the development committees where challenges and progress are reviewed. This form of regular contact and face to face communication is important, but there is little if any written information that is shared or updated regularly that would provide assistance to the development committees to allow them to perform better.

At the same time, there was no real evidence of any periodic written analysis or reporting on progress in important areas of management of the new development processes or impact of the creation of new rural and urban assets. Without such documentation, township administration cannot understand their own performance and certainly not their relative performance compared to other townships. With the problems on vacancies already outlined earlier the township management has neither the numbers of staff nor the required skills to undertake this task. Thus they cannot encourage analysis or reflection on the need for improvements amongst their staff, the development committees or the general population.



A recent effort has been made to look at issues of progress and performance within the planning department. In Myitkina there is a new effort by the Ministry for National Planning and Economic Development where a new internal report entitled “2014/15 Financial Year – First Half Yearly Report for National Planning” has been produced for internal use.. (See pictures). The report is apparently distributed to every PO, District Officer and every MoNPED department.

66. In Putao, the TA conducts twice monthly meetings with the WA/VTAs and relies on this mechanism to give feedback to the community and to hear any reports that are offered.

The table of contents includes the following:

1. Progress in Reforms (6 pages)
2. Macroeconomic performance (18 pages)
3. Social economic situation (14 pages)
4. Fiscal policy and budget (12 pages)
5. Sectoral plans and implementation (128 pages)
6. Regional plans and implementation (88 pages)
7. Private sector development (1 page)
8. Special economic zones (11 pages)
9. Loans and Grants (7 pages)
10. Economic relations with the international community (two pages)
11. Conclusions

နိဒါန်း	စာမျက်နှာ
အခန်း(၁) ပြုပြင်ပြောင်းလဲမှုများ	၁၈
1. Progress in Reforms (6 pages)	
အခန်း(၂) မေဓရိစီးပွားရေးအခြေအနေ	၂၄
2. Macroeconomic performance (18 pages)	
အခန်း(၃) မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ၏စီးပွားရေးနှင့်လူမှုရေးအခြေအနေ	၄၂
3. Social economic situation (14 pages)	
အခန်း(၄) ငွေကြေးမူဝါဒ၊ ဘဏ္ဍာရေးမူဝါဒ၊ ရသုံးမှန်းခြေငွေစာရင်း	၅၆
4. Fiscal policy and budget (12 pages)	
အခန်း(၅) ကဏ္ဍစီမံကိန်းများအကောင်အထည်ဖော်နိုင်မှုအခြေအနေ	၆၈
5. Sectoral plans and implementation (128 pages)	
အခန်း(၆) ဒေသန္တရစီမံကိန်းများအကောင်အထည်ဖော်နိုင်မှုအခြေအနေ	၁၉၆
6. Regional plans and implementation (88 pages)	
အခန်း(၇) ပုဂ္ဂလိကကဏ္ဍဖွံ့ဖြိုးတိုးတက်မှု	၂၈၄
7. Private sector development (1 page)	
အခန်း(၈) အထူးစီးပွားရေးဇုန်များနှင့်ဆောင်ရွက်မှုအခြေအနေ	၂၈၅
8. Special economic zones (11 pages)	
အခန်း(၉) ပြည်ပအကူအညီအထောက်အပံ့ရရှိမှု	၂၉၆
9. Loans and Grants (7 pages)	
အခန်း(၁၀) ပြည်ပစီးပွားရေးဆက်ဆံမှုများ	၃၀၃
10. Economic relations with the international community (2 pgs)	
နိဂုံး	၃၀၅
11. Conclusions	

This is a new initiative and while there was no review done of its quality, it would appear to represent a major attempt to provide overview within the ministry.

4.3.2 TDSCs and TMACs as accountability mechanisms

The TDSC and TMAC offer good opportunities for dialogue with township administration and represent some diversity of accountability in the decision-making process. Since the selection of their members originates in the process of the creation of a nomination committee by township administration, neither Committee is democratic and cannot accurately claim to be so. Notwithstanding this, their current role and selection process can be seen as a part of a transition which still brings useful diversity of views into the mix.⁶⁷ The committee members themselves generally report that they feel accountable to their local communities and reported that feedback and discussion with township administration has changed as a result. A well-articulated example of this came from meetings with the Committees in Momauk (see Box 6), although other townships' development committees are also of the same opinion.

TDSC and TMAC offer good opportunities for dialogue with township administration and represent some diversity of accountability in the decision-making process.

Box 6: Feedback by TMAC

Momauk committee members believed that the TMAC was an effective mechanism for consultation. Earlier the DMA operated on its own but now the committee with its inspection and supervision role, provides feedback on development works in their area. They feel that this interaction between the DMA and the TMAC has resulted in improving development interventions. They pointed out that since the DMA uses income raised from local taxes, the link through TMAC is an important evolution of the democratic structure and accountability. The committees are able to organize local people to do the day to day monitoring and they observed that the resulting quality of these works has improved as a result.

The TDSC/TMAC members point as well to their role in channeling information from government back into the communities and confirm that local communications with the community is not difficult to provide for. Since the town is small, the Committee representatives have frequent and easy contact with their constituency. During such contacts they discuss the priorities and local people's ideas of what projects should be put forward.

The Committee members also shared that there is inadequate information about funds. Information about the PRF is insufficient, and although the allocation to the State is published in the newspapers there is often no further information on how much is allocated for each township. For example, if a bridge is funded by these funds the cost of the bridge is not a matter of public knowledge. One example of the Committee's dissatisfaction was with lack of transparency on how a bridge in a nearby township was funded. It was constructed with NATALA funds and completed in 2014 and supervised by the neighboring township. No one in the community had any information about the contract or cost, and still one of their Committee members was required to certify completion certificates.

67. The Momauk TDSC members said during the selection process, a brochure was made available to help guide the elders in the nomination of community representatives. The Union level publication distributed by the township GAD made it clear that these committees were to represent a broad spectrum of interest and contain representation from CSOs, farmers, laborers, the business community and elders. In their area, 30 to 40 people were selected using the 10 household leaders system and these leaders elected five of their number to the committee.

4.3.3 WA/VTAs and W/VTSDCs

Whether acting as a spokesperson for the village, organizing community inputs into projects or providing a conduit of information on needs and approved projects, the WA/VTA is the most essential and most consistent point of contact between the township administration and the local population.

Aside from ensuring peace and security the next four important tasks of WA/VTAs according to local people all have to do with effective information channel for sparking participation in local development (see Figure 30). Whether acting as a spokesperson for the village, organizing community inputs into projects or providing a conduit of information on needs and approved projects, the WA/VTA is the most essential and most consistent point of contact between township administration and the local population.

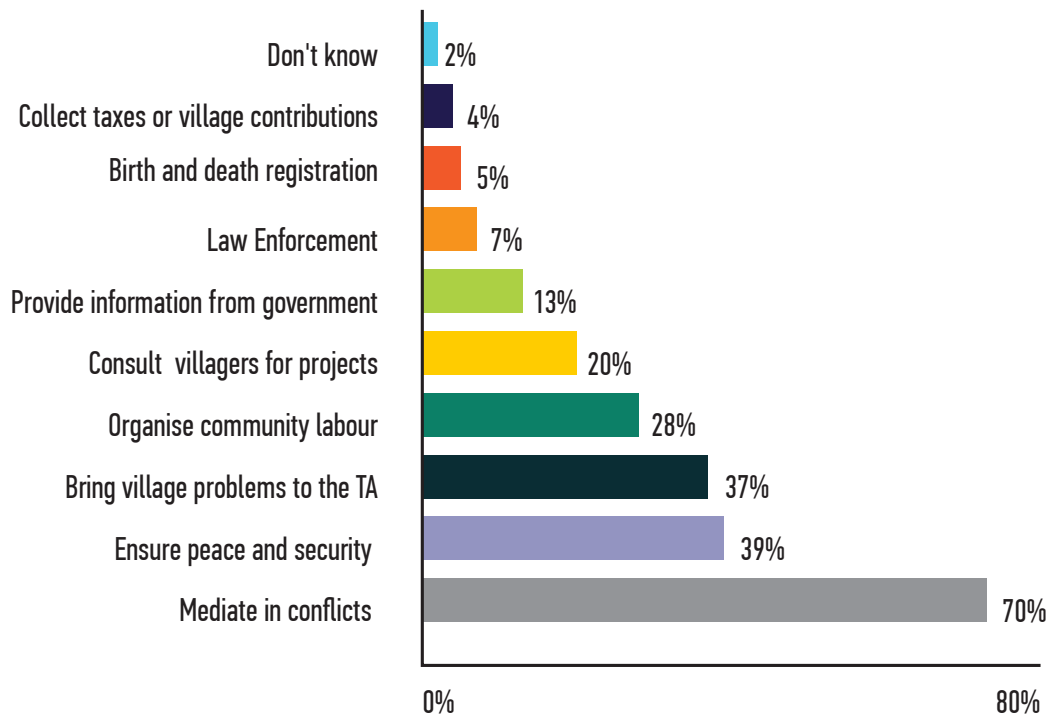


Figure 30: Functions of the W/VTA according to citizens

It is the WA/VTA who is the ward/ village resident, performing many services as can be seen in the figure above. There is a tendency amongst the TAs for the WA/VTAs to be seen primarily as a communication tool to deliver “instructions from government”. This phrase recurs quite frequently in discussions and is clearly indicative of the traditional way that the government has related to the people. Although he or she is “of the community” and benefits from that credibility, 57 percent of people say that the WA/VTAs have not been able to make a difference in response to local problems or in communications since their election to the position compared to earlier when they were appointed (see Figure 31).

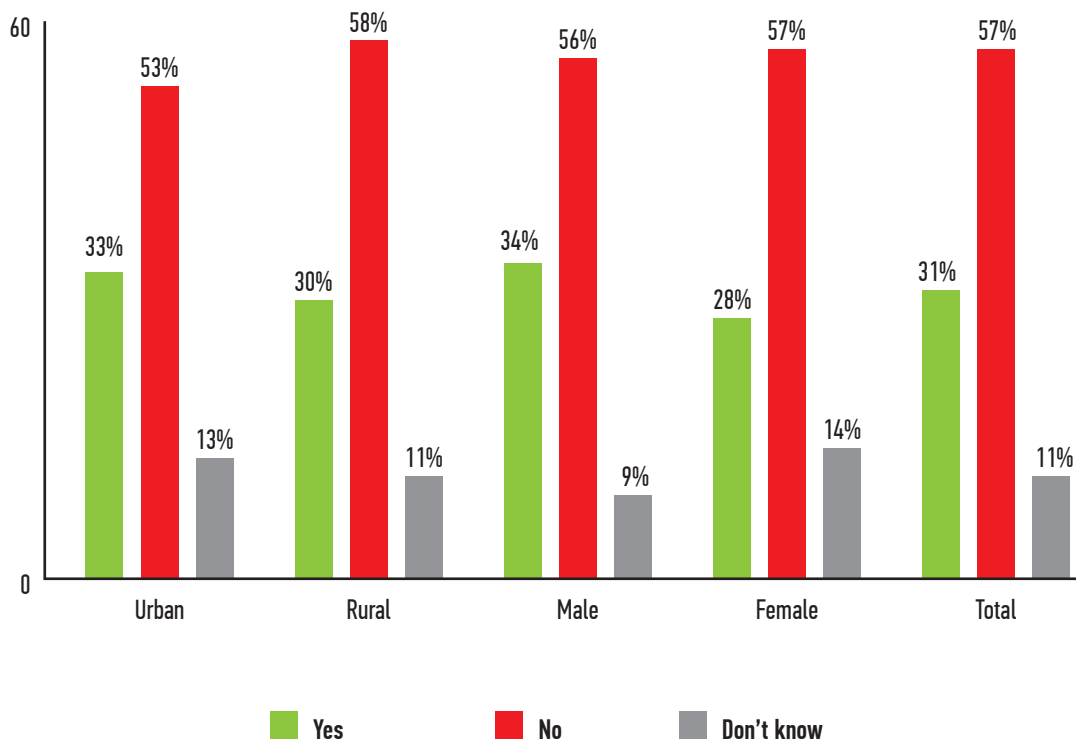


Figure 31: Change in response and communication after W/TA election?

Along with 10/100 household heads, VTA/WAs are also important sources of information for the public (see Figure 32).

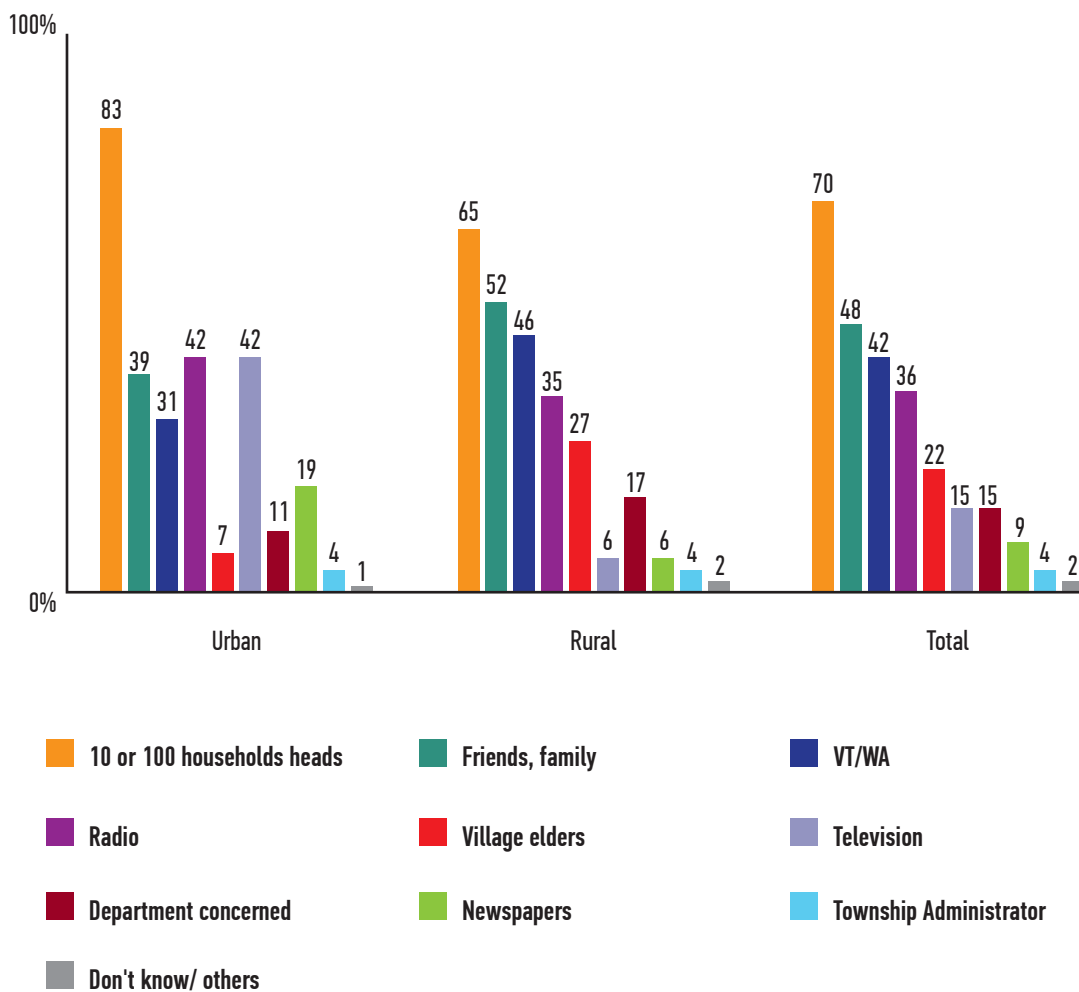


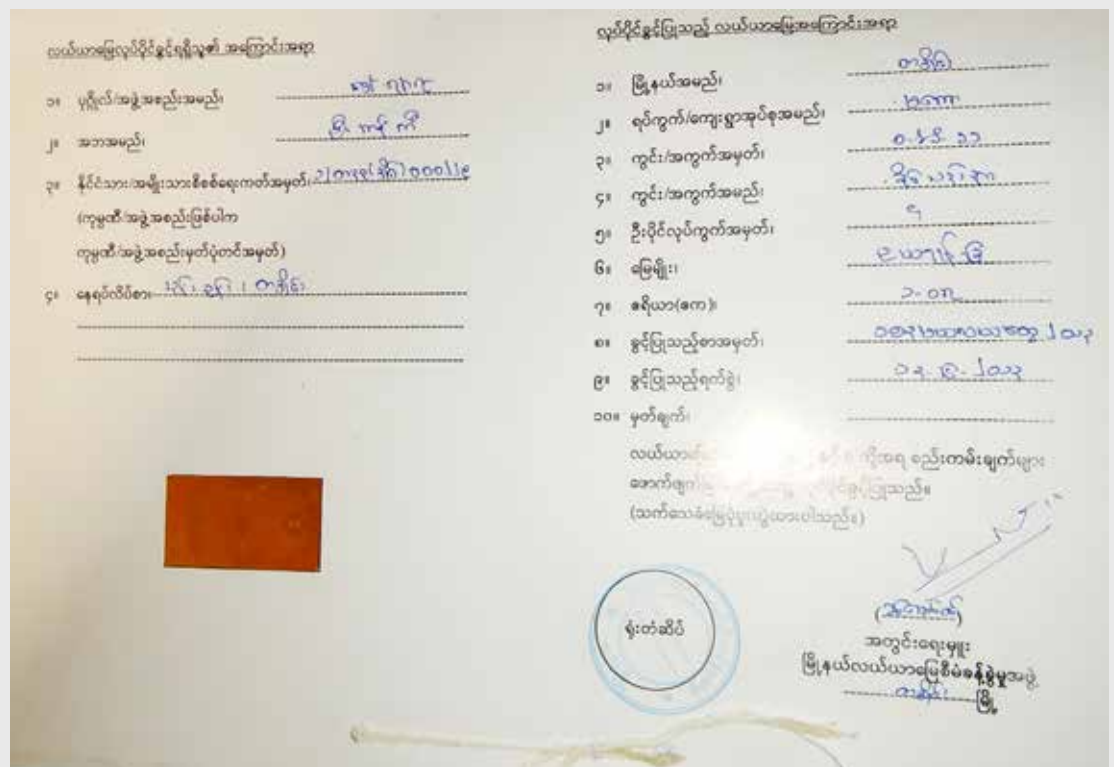
Figure 32: Source of information on new laws and directives for urban/rural people

A particular example of this is the implementation of the new legislation on land registration. The land registrars in the townships reported that they were able to make progress quickly on land registration (see details below) and were aided by the relationships with the WA/VTAs.

Box 7: Progress on the registration of land under the Land Settlement Act of 2012

Tanai's Land Officer, U Khin Zaw Win was the first in Myanmar to complete the implementation of the country's new land registration system and he and his team have earned appreciation from the Land department.

U Khin Zaw Win took up his position in 2012 just as the new Farmland Act was being put in place. Through discussions with his staff and local people he realized that there is a very low level of knowledge of land registration rules and regulations. He understood that the new Act thus provided an opportunity to play attention on the importance of land registration.



Key to the new system is the use of the new Form 7 (picture), an improvement which provides for a proper map on the reverse side showing boundaries for the land in question, removing any doubt about entitlement. In the past, land rights were testified to by the availability of yearly tax vouchers issued by the GAD but the land was not precisely described.

Thus not only the process but also information about land registration has been improved with the support of the WA/VTAs.

It can be seen that the WA/VTAs are a valuable resource both to local people and to township administration. They are a fulcrum and focal point for what happens in their areas. They also have the opportunity to condition and manage participation among their neighbours

in a myriad of ways that are appreciated by the community and by township administration. Their commitment and loyalty to their tasks needs to be cultivated by high quality and frequent communication by township administration and by the utmost efforts to deliver development initiatives in their area in a timely fashion. The WA/VTAs provide the key instrument for participation and feedback to their communities. The following duties and responsibilities were mentioned, usually quite consistently across each of the townships:

1. Assist in the implementation of local projects for the wards/ village tracts - for example roads, bridges and water supply;
2. Support immunization programmes and the activities of the Station Hospital;⁶⁸
3. Encourage parents to keep their children in school;
4. Resolve disputes;
5. Participate in regular meetings with the W/VTDSC to communicate issues and gather views and opinions;
6. Coordinate with the community to elicit development needs;
7. Coordinate with other organizations;
8. Provide administrative support to the village including monitoring of security and engaging in village patrols;
9. Organize community led projects, for example through the parent teacher associations, for fencing and toilets for schools, through voluntary contributions.

Box 8: Wider community participation in local meetings

In the village surveys, 61% of respondents (rural 64%, urban 54%) “sometimes” participated in community meetings. The reasons that participants did not participate were: “Never invited/ did not hear of one/ there are no meetings organized in this village” (43%), and “Too busy to attend or they are held at a time the respondents were not available” (43%).

Source: Kachin CRC
Analysis –Local Governance
Mapping.

The energy with which the WA/VTAs pursue their responsibilities is variable and depends on available time. In Momauk for example, the VTAs mentioned their primary involvement is in communicating and assessing needs for socio- economic development. They network with communities in neighboring areas and promote the popular desire for development interventions that do not require cash contributions from the local citizens.⁶⁹ In the past village representatives frequently had to collect money from the community for projects. This has changed and creates a big difference in the relationships.

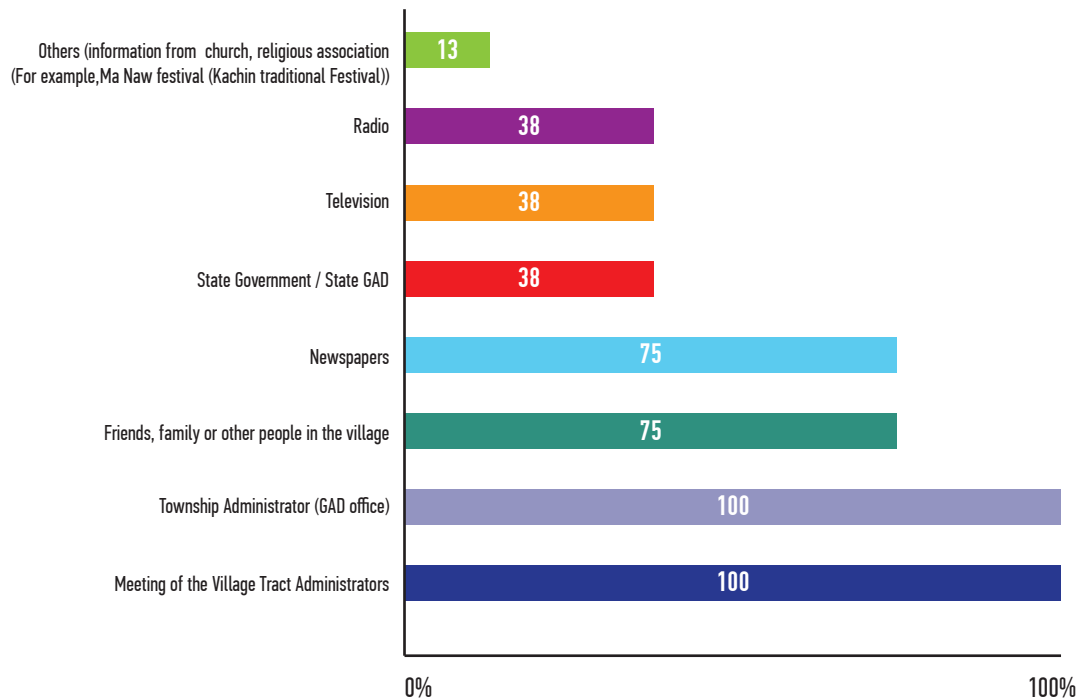
There has been an increase in transparency, as well as increases in participation of elders and cooperation with government. The WA/VTAs particularly welcomed the TA's weekly meetings (on Friday in Momauk), which they found useful for getting information from respective departments and an opportunity to provide feedback. Ad hoc meetings happen as required for example to deal with disease outbreaks or community disputes. Regular meetings between the VTA and the VTDSC happen once a month. The TDC and VTDSC meet “quite often”. They have close working relations with the FLMC at both the village and township level. The WA/VTAs believe that they are well informed about activities

68. A station hospital is a 16 bed facility located at a sub-township. Machan Baw in this case.

69. There are some government servants who believe that “participation” is achieved by villagers supplying their own labour or financial contributions to projects.

through the TA meetings and the various line departments that visit the village tracts and explain development initiatives as required. Sometimes WA/VTAs are informed through the provision of documents, especially when there are new directives or regulations coming from government. When interventions are approved, the line departments can be expected to inform them of the basic output of the project. For example the length and width of an approved road would be communicated.

Figure 33: Source of information on new laws and directives for W/VTAs



The WA/VTAs are able to pass the information on to their neighbors using the 10/100 HH representation network (see Figure 34). The WA/VTAs had several methods that they used to communicate locally. These include using a village public announcement system⁷⁰ and monthly meetings with the community. Most WA/VTAs reported having regular meetings with their communities. In some villages it is difficult to gather all the people together and the use of the notice board serves to disseminate important information. Volunteers who served as village communicators are also commonly used and information is passed by word of mouth. There is a shortage of public media in the townships and there is no local FM radio or local newspapers. The line departments and the GAD do not have any periodic newsletters and there is little effort made on public relations or information management locally.

70. The use of the village public announcements system is commonplace in Myanmar and is a common way for people to receive information.

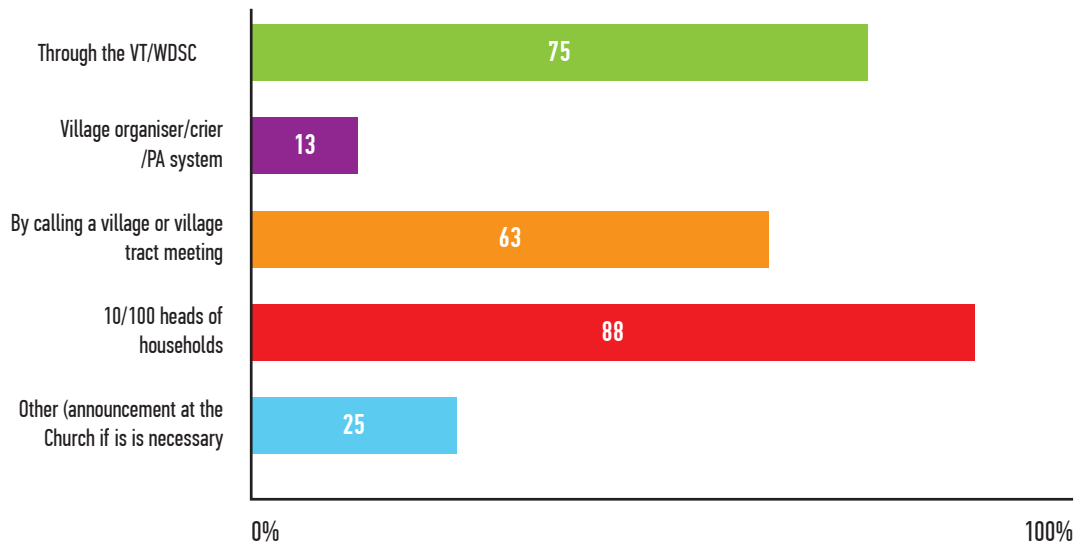


Figure 34: Channels of communication for VTAs to share information with the community

4.3.4 Grievances and disputes

A key component of good governance is to have well understood mechanisms for the resolving of grievances and disputes. The township line department officials (TMO, TEO, TPO, DRD, DMA) reported that they rarely or never receive grievances or disputes.⁷¹ There is an official/ formal dispute resolution procedure but township civil servants did not refer to it and were not able to articulate the processes (outlined in Figure 35 below).

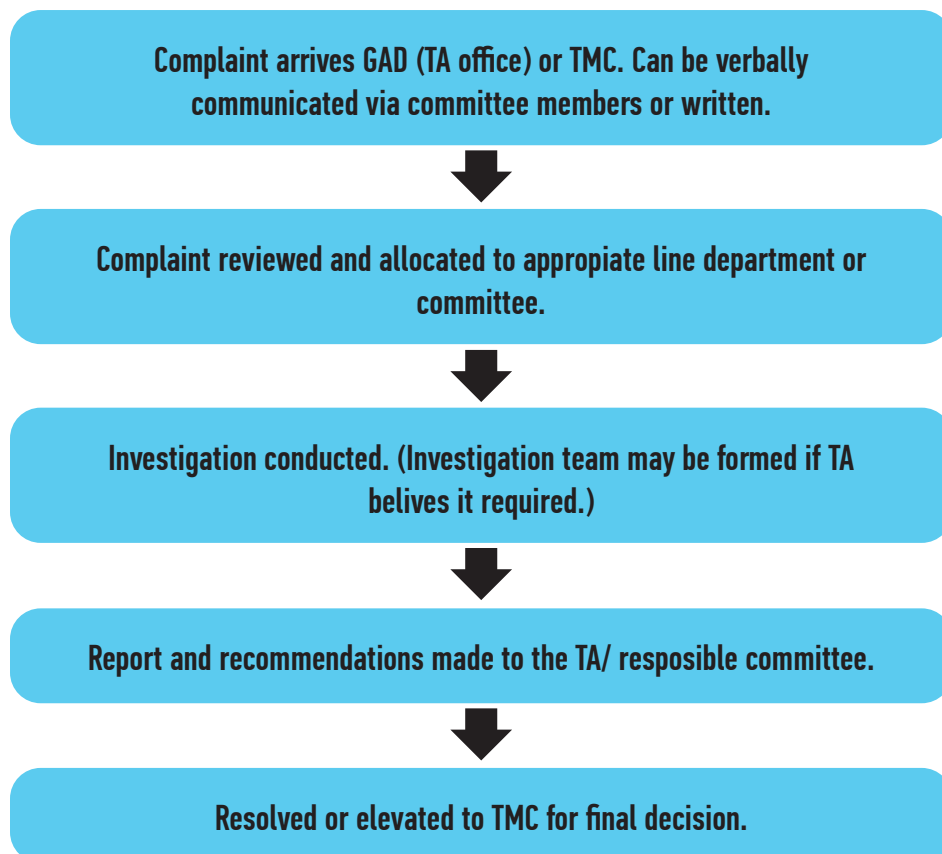
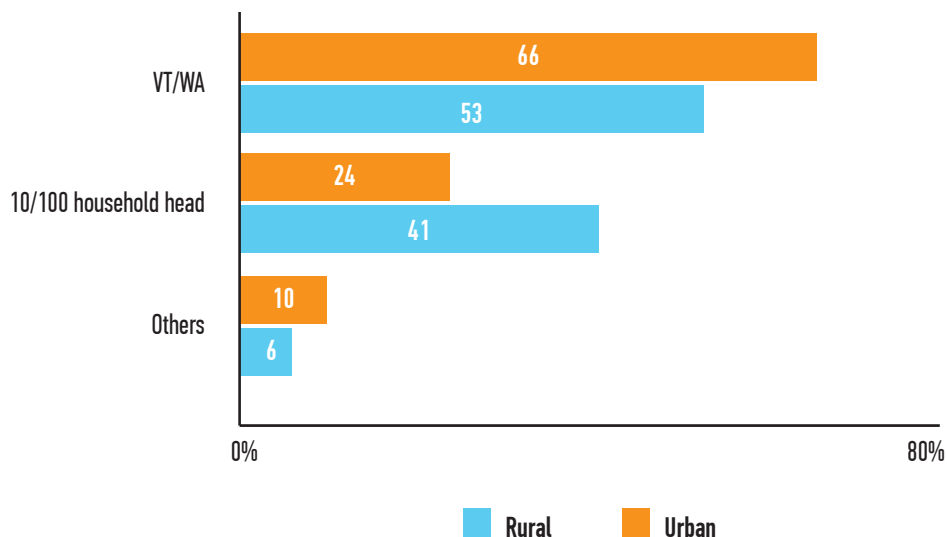


Figure 35: Grievance mechanism

71. The feeling of freedom to express one's grievances is very subjectively felt. Objectively, it is the number of disputes that arise and are registered that forms an indication both of this freedom and also of issues surrounding equity and transparency. One can surmise that in the current environment, people are only just beginning to feel that they have the opportunity to seek redress. It is important that these grievance procedures are widely known and respected for the quality of their decision-making.

The WA/VTAs play important roles in the resolution of local disputes (see Figure 36). These are normally about quarrels between individuals (61%), land issues (31%) and local violence (robbery and rape 18%). The village survey found that WA/VTAs are the first person to be consulted for 66 percent of rural inhabitants and 53 percent of urban inhabitants. The 10 or 100 household head system is also readily consulted by 41 percent of rural inhabitants and 24 percent of urban dwellers.⁷² If disputes cannot be settled at this level, 36 percent would seek the advice of the TA but only 7 percent would seek a magistrate or the court.

Figure 36: First person to approach to resolve a dispute



In discussing about the disputes, most people interviewed mentioned simple land disputes between neighbouring small landowners. Other cases reported in the press included large land seizures in some very complicated and high profile cases. For smaller land disputes the Village Tract Farm Land Management Committee (VTFLMC) and the Township Farm Land Management Committee (TFLMC) are the mechanisms used. In the first instance disputes can normally be settled at the local level and the TFLMC only has to deal with ones which are accelerated for arbitration. The TFLMC consists of the TA, planning department, clerk of the TA, farmers and elders (See Annex 1⁷³).

The TLO in Tanai reported that only 10 cases of “simple” land disputes had been seen in the past three years. When they do occur, land issues normally arise over areas under shifting cultivation. Disputes may arise because of people moving into the area who decide to use land which has been vacated as a part of a shifting cultivation cycle. Normally such disputes can be resolved easily since local people are aware of the land use history. The larger and more difficult to solve problems involve large corporations, agribusiness and mining.

72. There are many more developed nations that should be envious of this process, provided that it delivers acceptable local justice. It is important to have some mechanism with which to monitor these disputes and the acceptability of their incomes. There are qualitative monitoring and evaluation tools that can support this including for example community scorecards.

73. All townships except Putao who has not yet appointed the Planning Officer are compliant with the standards for membership. Momauk has added 2 elders.

Box 9: Tanai land registration issues

In Myanmar, land is not privately owned but the state provides the unique right to land use and its development to the user who possesses the land registration document. This land use right can also be transferred from person to person. The achievement of full land registration is complicated for Tanai Township on the one hand, because of the ongoing negotiations between central government and the KIO. About 50 percent of the township area is affected by current negotiations and is inaccessible for that reason to the land department. Of the remaining land, about 2/3 is wildlife sanctuary which reduces the challenge of registration.



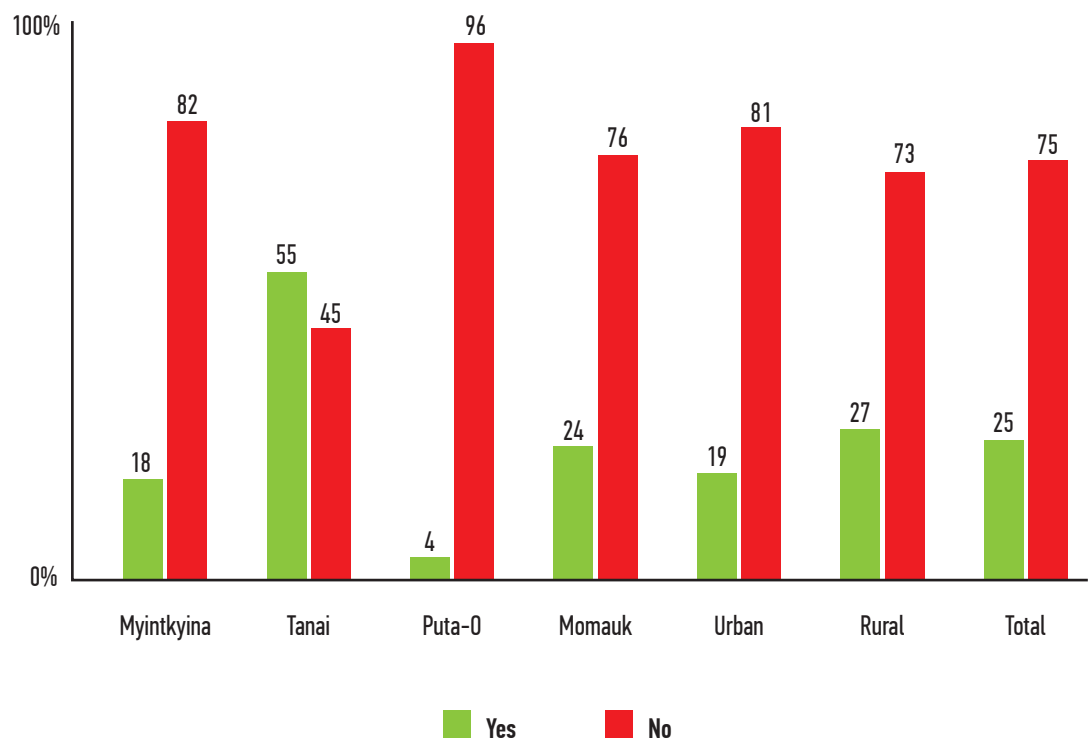
In order to comply with the new processes of land registration, the land officer conducted field surveys to explain the new procedures and registration requirements. The old vouchers and information were then used to prepare Form 7. If there was no voucher or if there was any question about the land use, The Land officer and his staff met with the local VTA to verify the occupancy and usage. Even without this new form, the land officer has found there are relatively few land disputes that come forward to the township level. He commented: “In the first instance they can normally be settled at the local level through the office of the VTA. We only have to deal with ones which are accelerated for arbitration or another opinion. In that case, the dispute is forwarded to the Township Farm Land Management Committee (TFLMC) which consists of the TA, the Land Department, clerk of the VTA, farmers, and local elders). Only 10 cases of land disputes have been seen in the past three years.” When they do occur, land issues normally arise over areas under shifting cultivation. Disputes may arise because of people moving into the area who decide to use land which has been vacated as part of a shifting cultivation cycle. Normally such disputes can be solved at the local level since local people are aware of the land use history.

Disputes related to women's inheritance of land are unheard of. "Registration in a woman's name is not difficult but only 3 percent of titles are currently registered in a woman's name. If her husband dies, the land will normally be transferred to the wife and she can apply for a change of name." This transfer is accomplished by the use of a further form that must be used - Form 9, but this form has not yet been issued by the State and there is a backlog of transfers that is unfortunately developing.

4.3.5 Citizens' awareness and freedom to express

In this environment and with the lack of feedback mechanisms people's awareness of improvements is lacking. The following Figure 37 shows the results of the mapping.

Figure 37: Citizen's awareness of government funds being spent in the villager tract or ward



Three quarters of township inhabitants (81% in rural areas) are not aware of any government funds being spent in their area. It is surprising that the more developed area of Myitkyina still has 82 percent of its local population unaware of development spending.

Projects on the ground for roads, wells, latrine construction, irrigation works, have no sign boards explaining the nature of the project, the source of the funds, the budget or the person(s) responsible. There are many small projects implemented, but a lack of visibility and information on the project and its budget.⁷⁴ (e.g. Picture of school expansion in Momauk's Ho Kho Ward.)

The plans of government to improve the level of services and standard of living throughout the country need to include the development of feedback mechanisms and accountability structures that involve local administration as well as people through civil society organizations. The objective should be to provide a forum for feedback of progress on

74. Signboards to make clear the results of local participation and partnership with government are absent.

**Additional classrooms provided at Ho Kho Ward from MOE budget in 2014.
 Note the toilets provided at the same school using CDF budget also in 2014.
 There is a plan for a well by the community on the school grounds so that
 water for flushing and hand washing need not be brought from the neighbours.**



administrative reforms and service delivery. Looking beyond the local level, there is limited awareness of who the important governance actors are (see Figure 38). Fewer than one in 10 people know the Member of Parliament who represents their interests although 75 percent of all people know the name of the President of Myanmar.

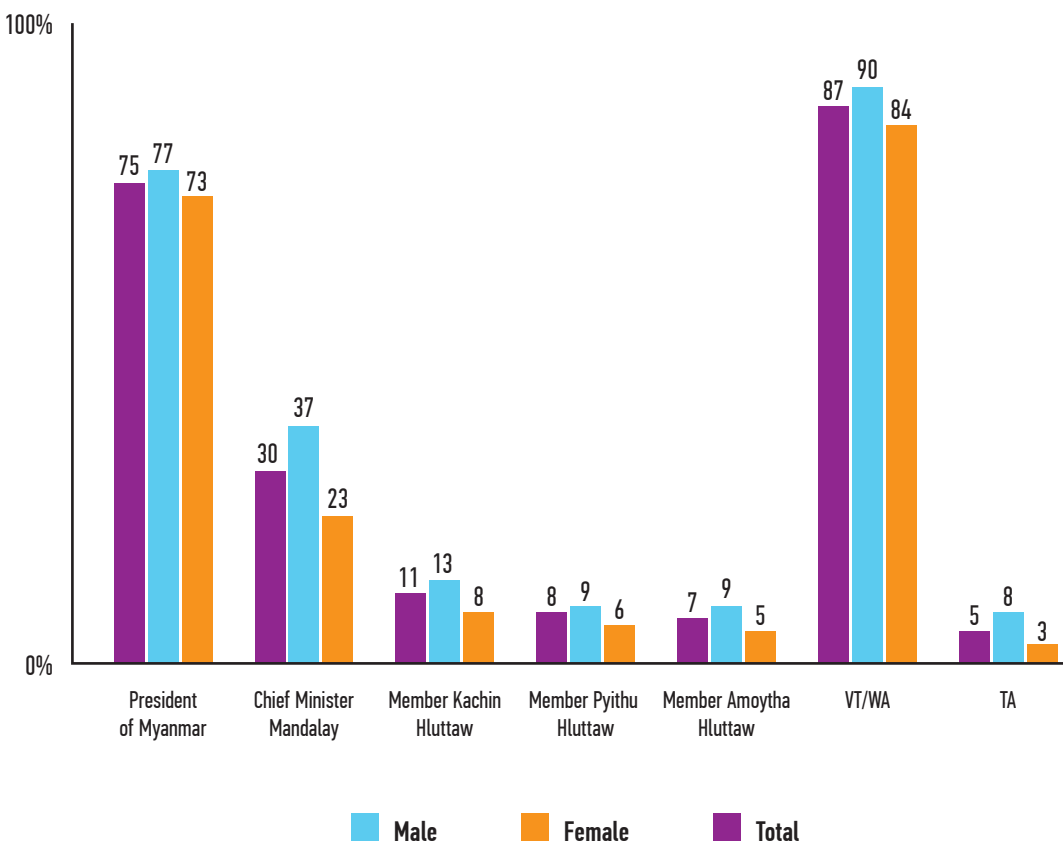
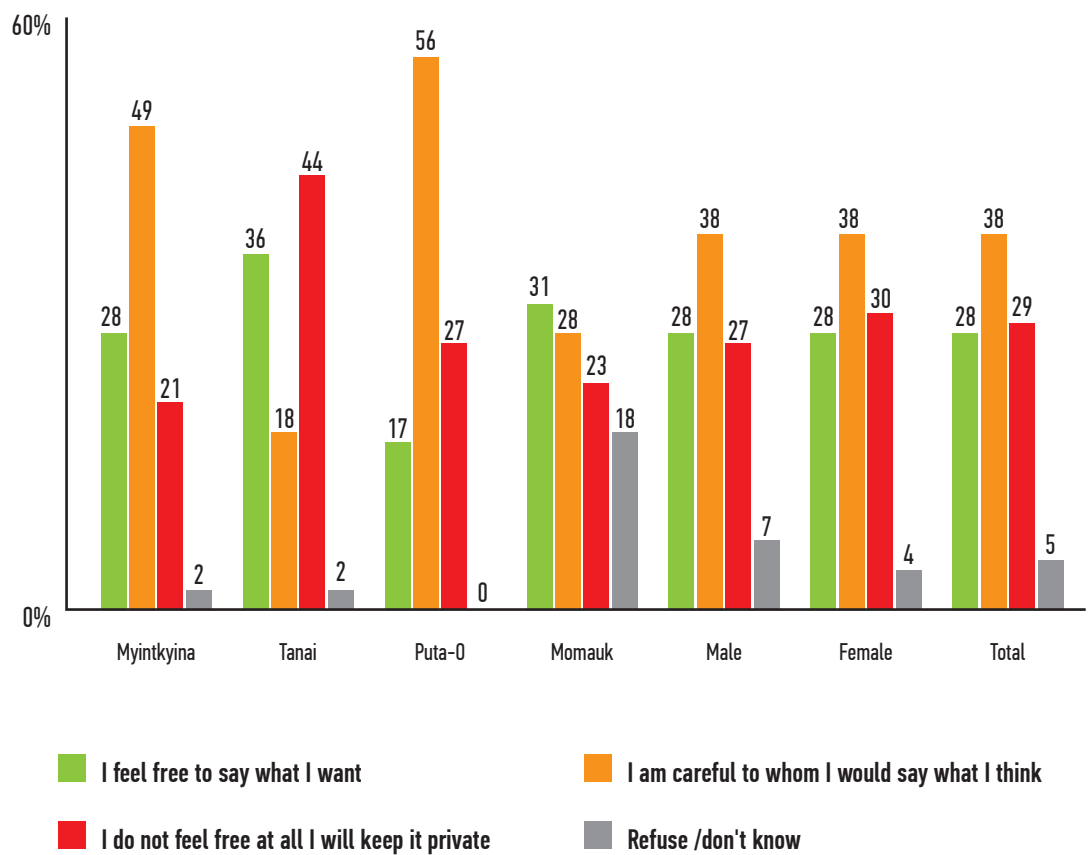


Figure 38: Awareness of government representatives

With regard to the feelings of freedom of expression, in general the findings indicate that the climate of openness has changed dramatically over the period of the institutional reforms (see Figure 39). In the discussions with township committees and local people there was unanimous agreement that the situation had changed for the better. Clearly there is a movement going on towards a more open and vocal society. There remains a strong dichotomy of view however, and almost equal numbers of people feel free or not at all free (28%/29%) to say in public whatever they want in discussions about local government. And almost 38 percent wanted to be careful about what they wanted to express openly.

Figure 39: Feeling of freedom to express opinion about government



Significantly, the percentages for men and women do not differ which would seem to indicate equal levels of personal confidence in how both women and men behave in the public space. Viewed in tandem with the appreciation of the benefits of improved opportunities for participation, it seems that there is local empowerment and growth of confidence of ordinary people.

4.3.6 Role of civil society organizations

The climate for civil society participation in Myanmar has only recently started to change and their role is expanding from a historically restricted focus on local development issues to include a broad array of activities that expands also into developing public awareness, capacity development, and creating and managing systems for community governance.

The evolution of interest in and space for civil society is just beginning and there is a “pent up demand “ that is starting to show itself. This needs to be harnessed in productive ways for local and national development but individuals and organizations who seek to use their energies in this way are facing significant challenges to organize themselves and to interact with government. Some challenges listed by the NGOs interviewed are:

1. Lack of Financial Resources – inability to find regular budget support for their work;
2. Lack of public interest – inability to create a critical mass for tackling problems; inability to generate significant contributions from the general population;
3. Lack of facilities – the lack of office space; the lack of a footprint means they also lack of visibility and credibility;
4. Lack of public awareness programs. Partly this is due to lack of budgets but also a lack of training resources in their own organizations for creating effective public awareness campaigns. There is a shortage of media that could be used and professional attention is needed;
5. Lack of a consistent climate among local administration – Many civil servants retain old patterns of behaviour and mind sets and they are more inclined to issue orders and deadlines than to engage in a community needs analysis. One TA told us that regular meetings were a very inefficient use of time. This is a further indicator of the need for comprehensive training with government on participatory processes and rationale for regular contact with citizen’s groups.

CSOs are equally critical of the lack of transparency of processes and many do not even know of the existence of the TDSC/ TMAC.



5. Conclusions

The Local Governance mapping conducted in Kachin state by UNDP and the MOHA is an important initiative to gather information about how the lives of people living in the townships of Tanai, Putao, Momauk and Myitkyina are affected by local governance institutions, State and Union government authorities and their relationships with each other. The findings will provide key baseline information for stakeholders in the government, non-government, and international sectors to plan future local governance activities in the state, and to address challenges and gaps.

The mapping focused on the core principles of local governance and the satisfaction and experiences of people using basic services provided by the administration (such as basic healthcare, primary education and water supply). The importance of the mapping lies in the fact that the views expressed are from both sides of the spectrum, the duty bearers and the rights holders, or both from the supply side and the demand side, which in a way was a cross reference on the findings and completed a multi-sided and realistic picture. In addition to the service users (the people), the service providers also expressed their views, successes, problems and recommendations focusing on the service delivery process and their interaction with citizens using the services. The findings were validated in collective discussions at the Community dialogues in the wards and the villages along with the face to face meetings with different stakeholders at the township level that included key civil servants from relevant departments and CSOs that provided information on how governance actors in different townships had interpreted and implemented the recent reforms related to good governance at the local level. Discussions held with government officials at the State level provided a further understanding of their perceptions and experiences regarding the functioning of administration at the township level, and their own role in providing support to lower level institutions. As such, within the institutional constraints of mapping of this kind in an area partly affected by conflict and non accessible, this report provides a view of local governance in Kachin from the view point of all stakeholders.

Myanmar's on-going reforms are an impressive move towards liberalizing and democratizing the mechanisms for people's participation at the local level and increasing the public space available for determining development priorities. New governance structures are in place and are continuing to evolve the necessary relationships to establish accountability for performance in key service delivery issues. The TDSC, TMAC, TMC, and W/VTDSC have all been established to achieve these purposes and the mapping revealed that these have made a positive start to support improvements in the three key service delivery areas of health, education and access to safe water. The increased budget allocations for the three service areas has also contributed to this success and shows a commitment by the union government to increase the quality of life for people living in Kachin state. The mapping shows many areas where lessons are being learned and good practices are being developed and the current priority for local and national level stakeholders is to consolidate the successes to date and make the considerable improvements that are still necessary. In this regard, issues of accountability and transparency need to be seriously pursued. The ability and practice of state and township level institutions to raise resources, and control budgets is a constraint in this regard. The mapping confirmed appreciation for increased budget allocations particularly for education and health to the local level, and the resultant improvements. More decisions making in how funds are allocated and planned can make bottom up planning and people centered development more meaningful. Institutional arrangements and capacity development of township level to improve capacity for public finance management, transparent management of increased funding, and accountability mechanisms to the people for the funds, need to be developed simultaneously.

The direct and indirect election of WA/VTAs, members of W/VTDC and to the State Hluttaw present an important opportunity to introduce and strengthen concepts of accountability to the people who elected them in to these positions. The electorate in Kachin state with its history of conflict is inexperienced in accountable representation, and the findings of the mapping can form a basis for building further concepts of accountability and their consolidation to bring peace and local development.

The mapping finds that all townships face similar kinds of challenges in expanding their local economy and improving access to basic services. Poor infrastructure, problems of resource allocation, accountability, awareness and participation combined with an unresolved conflict situation create additional challenges to local governance reforms for advancing development. At the same time, an important start has been made on developing the necessary management systems to support participatory development, as well as the creation of improvements in health, education and water supply. The increased diversity of voices that need to be heard for development in the State will present many governance challenges to which the new directions and current reforms must respond.

Despite the context of conflict in Kachin, more than half the people perceived a sense of security in their area although this varied across townships. Given the history of the state, strengthening local governance capacity through the committees and administration to provide services and reduce poverty and improve social cohesion for minorities and vulnerable groups can further consolidate the sense of security felt by the people. Strengthening institutional capacity of local administration in planning, delivering effective public services, and conflict prevention are also critical areas to be addressed. The promotion of service delivery in the entire state and capacity development in coordination with the Government and other stakeholders are also important. Without a sound strategy for institutional capacity development and individual training it is difficult to manage bottom up development processes and to be able to communicate and manage feedback. This can constrain the positive policies that are now being pursued.

In the State of Kachin, service delivery has been perceived to have improved over the last few years. The mapping found the reasons for this to be generally due to more budget allocations, increased staff and improving infrastructure. More importantly, the mapping also found instances of individual excellence by officials who were accountable to their beneficiaries and not only to their line management as is usually the case. This kind of accountability and experiences need to be disseminated widely and rewarded so that in the years to come this can become the culture of working in the state.

Accountability by elected and appointed officials can increase through meaningful participation by the citizens and a demand for services. The establishment of the various township and village level committees was to present opportunities for people's participation in development and for meaningful bottom up planning. However, the mapping found that the awareness of the committees was poor at the local level, and there was no institutionalized mechanism for informing citizens of meetings and discussions. In the community level mapping, 61 percent of people (rural 64%, urban 54%) responded that they "sometimes" participated in community meetings. Due to the history of practicing strong hierarchical methods for decision making in the state, building confidence of local level citizens to participate in meetings, and convincing them of the critical usefulness of their participation will need more effort.

In this regard, the township committees have a strong role to play in acting as a conduit between the township and village/ward administration and ordinary citizens. Thus given

that many people were not even aware of the TDSCs or TMACs, their awareness needs to be improved. In order to improve participation by the people or interest groups through the various development committees, or through their elected representative, facilities for communication are critical. At present, the WA/VTAs pass information to their neighbours using the 10/100 HH representation network, using a village public announcement system, use of the notice board, use of village volunteers and monthly meetings with the community. However, these methods are not sufficient for effective communication and accurate information sharing. The line departments and the GAD do not have any effective ways on public relations or information management locally. The committee members also shared that there is inadequate information about funds. Information about the PRF is insufficient, and although the allocation to the State is published in the newspapers there is often no further information on how much is allocated for each township. The reach of national newspapers is poor and there is a shortage of public media in the townships.

There is also an issue with the role of women as local governance stakeholders in Kachin. In the townships covered under mapping there are no women members in the TMC and TDSC and there were only two women members in the TMAC, one in Tanai and one in Putao. There are no female WA/VTAs. Members of the State Hluttaw are all men. They are also in low numbers in local administration. Interestingly, at a technical level, most health services personnel at the health facilities were female and health staff mentioned an increase in number of female health care staff in the previous three years. Therefore, it can be surmised that there are women represented in the professional services but not in management. The gender disaggregated results also showed for example, the percentages for men and women do not differ in answering the question on freedom to express opinions in public which would seem to indicate equal levels of personal confidence in how both women and men behave in the public space. In a question on awareness of the name of government representatives at national and decentralized levels, both men and women scored equally. Viewed in tandem with the appreciation of the benefits of improved opportunities for participation, it can therefore be concluded that with a certain degree of encouragement, women can assume leadership positions at the township level. Thus, sensitization to gender equality and empowerment of women should be priorities for state and local level officials.

In summary, the following concepts for strengthening local governance and service delivery in Kachin state are being emphasized:

The TA, GAD staff and all the line department managers expressed keen interest to deliver their services. Several examples of good work and good approaches that need acknowledgement and replication have been drawn out. These success stories and nascent good practices could be capitalized and further shared in other townships. In addition, there was also an environment where men and women felt free to express their views during the mapping on how services are delivered. Institutionalization of how such feedback can be regularly provided through the WA/VTAs and township level committees is important to further build confidence in local governance. The role of CSOs is also critical in this regard.

The township development planning process, affected by limited budget with funding from multiple and confusing streams, requires clear guidelines that are grounded in the needs of participatory planning. The operation of the development funds (PRF, CDF and RDF) would be strengthened by treating them as a pilot with consistent monitoring and mentoring from high-level managers. Proper guidelines, input of priorities from the local level to planning and allocation of funds, clearly announced allocations for the township and a clear statement of selection criteria need to be made available and refreshed on a yearly basis, linked to the annual planning cycle.

The TDSC/ TMAC need to continue to develop their governance functions. These include: the further development of participatory processes and transparency of planning and sharing of allocation decisions in wards and villages, improving trust between the community and the government and promoting sustainability of results. The coming years can bring additional improvements in the areas noted above through the more effective use of these mechanisms. The ongoing commitment to democratization in Myanmar at the national level must be utilized to further strengthen the township level committees and institutionalize people's participation in local development.

In general, township administration and local people are not sufficiently aware of the policies and programmes that government is creating and implementing. Although many government offices feature wall charts that speak to certain standards or objectives, these often lack the specificity of the type of initiatives that are actively sought and being implemented in the annual plans. A wall chart that also shows a clear schematic of the participatory processes that are used in creating the township development plans should be available in each line department and in the office of each WA/VTAs. Newspaper reports of the launch of initiatives and the government's rationale contain insufficient information. Better information locally on priorities and availability of funds can serve to minimize the changes that central government is frequently applying to the townships' annual plan submissions. In addition, citizens need to be aware of their rights from public facilities such as free healthcare. Local knowledge of opportunities to become involved and willingness to take advantage of them is poor. All development projects implemented with state or local development funds should have a signboard at the location that gives basic data that includes the budget, the date started and finished, the department and all fund sources supporting the project, a description of any local contributions, the contact details of the individual responsible for the project. As such, it is also important for institutions to clearly articulate where reports can be made on corrupt practices, and to have institutional arrangements in place so that people who complain are not penalized.



6. Annexes

Annex 1: Composition of township committees

The following tables shows the roles and positions of members of the township committees that are involved in local governance of development activities. Attention is drawn to instances of difference from the national guideline where they occur. The members are male unless indicated otherwise (f).

Township Management Committee – TMC

Table 1.1: Town Management Committee – TMC. Membership differs from place to place

Role	Position	Tanai (Apr 2013)	Putao (May 2014)	Momauk (Aug 2014)	Myitkyina (Apr 2013)
Chair	TA (GAD)	Y	Y	Y	Y
Member	Police Officer	Y	Y	Y	Y
Member	Planning Officer	Y	Y	Y	Y
Member	Agricultural Office	N	Y	Y	N
Member	Education Officer	N	Y	N	N
Member	Municipal Affairs Officer (DDA)	Y	N	N	Y
Member					
Jt Secretary	Revenue Officer	N	N		
Jt Secretary	Dpty TA – GAD	N	Y	Y	Y

For the TMC there are nine mandated members. The TA, Police and Planning Officers are found consistently in all four townships. Other membership varies. The Agricultural Officer is a member in two (Putao, Momauk), the TEO in one (Putao), the Municipal Affairs Officer (DDA) in two (Tanai, Myitkyina), the Deputy TA in three (all but Tanai). There are no women members.

Township Development Support Committee – TDSC

Table 1.2 : Township Development Support Committee – TDSC. Membership and members' representative nature differs from place to place. Many members are appointed rather than elected

Role	Position	Tanai (Mar 2013)	Putao (May 2014)	Momauk (Dec 2013)	Myitkyina (Apr 2013)
Chair	Citizen - elected ⁽¹⁾	N	Y	Y	Y
Secretary	Citizen – elected	Y (elder rep)	Y	Y	(Farmer rep)
Appointed Member	EO DDA	Y	Y	Y	Y
Appointed Member	Dpty TA		Y	Y	Y
Member	Rep of Business	Appointed (Chair)			Appointed
Member	Rep of Workers	Appointed	Elected(2)		Appointed
Member	Rep of CSO	Appointed	Elected(2)		Appointed
Member	Rep of Farmers	Appointed	Elected(2)		Appointed
Member	Elder			Elected(2)	
Member	Elder			Elected(2)	
Member	Elder			Elected(2)	
Member					
Total		6	7	7	7

Notes: 1. Elected according to the 10/ 100 HH system provided for in the national guidelines;
2. Elected means elected from elder nominated individuals.

Three townships have the seven mandated positions (Tanai 6). Several members are appointed which is not provided for (Tanai 4, Myitkyina 4). The citizen member acts as Chairperson as required except in Tanai where the Business Representative acts as the Chair. The representatives for farmers and CSOs are missing in Putao. The Executive Officer for DDA and Deputy TA are missing in Tanai. There are no women members.

Township Municipal Affairs Committee – TMAC

Role	Position	Tanai (Apr 2014)	Putao (2013)	Momauk (2014)	Myitkyina (Mar 2014)
Chair	Rep of Elders	Y	Y	Y	Y
Secretary	EO of DDA	Y	Y	Y	Y
Appointed Member	Rep of Business	Y			Y
Member	Engineer (Public Works)	Y			
Member	Dpty DRD Officer	Y (f)	Y		Y
Member	Elected	Y (elder)	Y (elder) (f)	Y (elder)	Y (elder)
Member	Elected		Y (elder)	Y (elder)	
Member	Elected		Y (elder)	Y (elder)	
Member	Dpty TA		Y	Y	
Member	Rep of Professionals				Y
Member	Rep of CSOs				Y
Total		6(1f)	7(1f)	6	7

Table 1.3 Township Municipal Affairs Committee – TMAC. Membership and members' representative nature differs from place to place. There is also variability in the composition and functions. 7 is standard membership

There are seven members provided for according to the regulations. Tanai and Momauk have only 6. There are two women members serving - one in Tanai and one in Putao.

The above committees are involved in the articulation of project needs.

Township Farmland Management Committee – TFLMC

The Township Farm Land Management Committee (below) is useful principally in settling disputes over land and land use.

Role	Position	Tanai	Putao	Momauk	Myitkyina
Chair	TA	Y	Y	Y	Y
Secretary	Land Office	Y	Y	Y	Y
Appointed Member	Agric Officer	Y	Y	Y	Y
Appointed Member	Veterinary Officer/ Livestock	Y	Y	Y	Y
Appointed Member	PO	Y	N	Y	Y
Appointed Member	Elder			Y	
Appointed Member	Elder			Y	
Total		5	4	7	5

Table 1.4 Township Farmland Management Committee – TFLMC. Membership differs from place to place. There is variability in the composition and functions. 5 is the standard membership

All townships except Putao who has not yet appointed the Planning Officer are compliant with the standards for membership. Momauk has added 2 elders.

Township Planning and Implementation Committee – TPIC

Table 1.5 : Township Planning and Implementation Committee – TPIC. Membership differs from place to place. There is variability in the composition and functions

Function	Office	Tanai	Putao	Momauk	Myitkyina
Chair	TA	Y	Y	Y	Y
Secretary	PO	Y		Y (f)	Y (f)
Appointed Member	Land Officer	Y		Y	Y
Appointed Member	Veterinary Officer/ Livestock	Y		Y	Y
Appointed Member	Agric Officer	Y		Y	Y
Appointed Member	Agric Mechanization	Y			Y
Appointed Member	Forestry	Y		Y	Y
Appointed Member	Wildlife	Y			
Appointed Member	Mine Industry	Y			
Appointed Member	Myanmar Economic Bank	Y			
Appointed Member	Public Works Engineer	Y			
Appointed Member	EO DDA	Y			
Appointed Member	Chair TDSC	Y			
Appointed Member	Elder	Y		Y	
Appointed Member	Elder	Y			
Appointed Member	Chairman of Transportation group	Y			
Appointed Member	Chairman of Township boats association	Y			
Appointed Member	Irrigation Officer				Y
Appointed Member	Cooperative Officer			Y (f)	Y (f)
Appointed Member	EO DA			Y	
Appointed Member	Agricultural Bank				Y (f)
Appointed Member	Transportation				Y
Appointed Member	DDA Director				Y
Appointed Member	DDA Engineer				Y
Appointed Member	TMO				Y
Appointed Member	Livestock Breeding				Y
Appointed Member	Revenue				Y (f)
Appointed Member	Telecommunications				Y
Appointed Member	Electricity				Y
Appointed Member	TEO				Y (f)
Appointed Member	Supervision of vehicles				Y
Appointed Member	Accounts				Y (f)
Total		17	N/A	9 (2f)	20 (6f)

TPIC shows a high variability of members ranging from nine in Momauk to 20 in Myitkyina. We could not determine the information from Putao.

Annex 2: Ratings from focus group discussions, members of TDSC and TMAC

Focus Group Discussions were organized and each township in order to receive feedback from key stakeholders on development and local governance. Scores were allocated as follows: 1 very bad, 2 bad, 3 satisfactory, 4 good, and 5 very good.

	Tanai ⁷⁵	Putao ⁷⁶	Momauk	Myitkyina
1. How do you rate the information the township management provides two committees, nongovernment organizations and citizens (either directly or via the village tract administrators) about:	1	2	2	4
a. Plans and budgets for the township				
b. Progress regarding the implementation of projects	1	2 ⁷⁷	2	3
2. How do you rate the involvement of the various township level support committees in the township decision-making process? Can you give examples of how the work of the committees in forms and influences policies/activities of the township management?	2 ⁷⁸	2	3	4
3. How do you rate the responsiveness of the township management to the needs of its citizens? Does it actively listen to the needs of its citizens and does it take adequate action to address these needs?	1	Unknown	3	3
4. How do you rate the interaction between the support committee members (TDSC and TMAC) and citizens in this township? Do these committee members actively engaged with citizens and do they share relevant news and information about developments in the township? What can be done to improve this?	2 ⁷⁹	4	4	4
5. The president has at various locations stressed the importance of clean government. How do you rate the activities implemented by the township management to prevent corruption in this township?	1	4 ⁸⁰	3	3
6. How do you rate the information sharing between committees especially TDSC/TMAC and TMC/TA?	5	3	4	4
7. How do you rate the overall functioning of the township management (GAD and departments together) in this township?	Bad ⁸¹			

75. Attended by two people: Chairmen of TMAC and TDSC. TMAC was slightly less negative but in the main they agreed that township management is not motivated to listen to citizens, is not sufficiently occupied with the quality of projects they oversee.

76. Attended by three people: Chairman of the TDSC and two members of the TDSC. One of the TDSC members also serves on the TMAC.

77. The members commented that town management do not listen to them and they have no chance and to present their ideas.

78. Most government servants fear to give views or opinions that are too frank in such a forum. As a consequence the committees normally hear what they would most like to hear.

79. A significant problem is the time the committee members must sacrifice from their business and family interests. In addition there is no conducive venue since meetings are normally held in the GAD office where open discussion is more problematic.

80. The meeting participants stated that there was almost no corruption.

81. Very significant improvement is that people now are expected and encouraged to express themselves and to give feedback and advice to the TA. It is early days but there are grounds for optimism.

Annex 3: Community dialogues: action plans

Village Tract/ Ward/ Township	Issue 1 (Education)	Issue 2 (Health)	Issue 3 (Information flow)	Issue 4 (Other issues)
Mar Main village tract, Putao Township	<p>The education staff will request from the township administration a better school building and teaching aids. They will also report to the ministry of education insufficient numbers of teaching staff. Citizens will contribute labor to build the school, and can provide candles when there is no electricity.</p>	<p>Health staff will request a building and medication from Township Health Department. The community can help with manpower by building health care clinic with bamboo. The community can also carry government supplied medication boxes.</p>	<p>The village administration will take a pro-active approach to carrying out duties. They will also propose to higher levels giving safety and security training to the community.</p> <p>The community will participate and collaborate actively, and attend trainings regarding safe and security when provided by the government.</p>	<p>The village administration will report to the township cases of corruption and request lower taxes for a motorcycle license.</p>
PuTaung village tract, Puta-o Township	<p>Supply side will report the needs of the education sector to township administration.</p> <p>Teachers committed they will treat children more carefully.</p> <p>It was agreed that teachers who can speak local languages will be assigned to teach kindergarten students.</p>	<p>The health staff will report in meetings with district doctors the lack of medicines.</p> <p>The community can contribute finance and labour for the housing of health staff.</p>	<p>The village administration will share information about details of project construction (such as the starting time, finishing time and the detail information of government budget) as much as they know from the upper level.</p>	<p>The village administration will inform the township level of the need to control narcotics and increase the police force near the village.</p> <p>The community will inform the police and authorities if there are narcotic users in the village.</p>
Tayon village tract, Tanai Township	<p>Education group already requested the construction of a new school building to State government.</p>	<p>The supply side agreed to report the need for suitable cash crops to State/Union government.</p>		

Village Tract/ Ward/ Township	Issue 1 (Education)	Issue 2 (Health)	Issue 3 (Information flow)	Issue 4 (Other issues)
Tainkount village tract, Tanai Township	The administration group will report the need for staff housing. Teachers will provide after-school-hour classes as requested by parents.	Health staff agreed to officially report the need for ambulance. Village administration agreed to provide necessary information about any health-related meeting in advance.		
Ah Lin Kawng Ward, Momauk Township	Supply side said they would go talk to parents when children cannot go to schools due to unrest. Parents agreed to give more support and be more involved with children's education.	The health staff agreed to provide health care to elderlies who cannot come to the clinic/health facilities by visiting their homes on Thursdays and Fridays. Both sides agreed to report their needs to higher level authority.	The village administration will provide instructions to 10/100 HH heads to inform people more effectively. Citizens will attend meetings actively and will pay more careful attention to notice boards.	People are ready to cooperate to fight against the narcotic drugs. There is already a narcotic drug committee to deal with the issue.
Ja Hkan Dat Village Tract, Momauk Township	Teachers will accept those students who want to take private classes. Parents should better teach their children about their personal hygiene and education. School principal will request to relevant department to provide them with at least 5 latrines. Community can contribute their voluntary labour in constructing new latrines.	MW will make home visits if requested by female villager or there is a female accompany during night time. MW already requested the needs of medical supplies to health department. Demand side agreed to arrange female accompany when they would like to request for home visits during nighttime.	The village administration committed that all information that comes from the township will be announced to the public via 10 and 100 household heads. Villagers will participate if authorities organize a meeting.	

Village Tract/ Ward/ Township	Issue 1 (Education)	Issue 2 (Health)	Issue 3 (Information flow)	Issue 4 (Other issues)
Tat Kone Ward, Myitkyina Township	<p>The WA would make proposals to parliamentarians during his meetings with them.</p> <p>New exam policy especially for grade 5 and grade 9 should be changed to the former one as students don't get use to it.</p> <p>The school principal would take action on teachers who are not well-disciplined.</p>	<p>People and health staff would cooperate to educate people about health awareness.</p> <p>The WA would submit the current conditions in public health to higher authorities</p>	<p>For Kachin local media to cooperate with people for improvement of information sharing mechanism.</p>	<p>Township departments should make procedures, rules and regulations clear to the people.</p>
Alam Village Tract , Myitkyina Township	<p>The citizens committed that they would try to coordinate with the teachers more to have right to study primary education and equal treatment.</p> <p>They continued that they would provide manpower for making fence and building toilets.</p>	<p>Village Administration said that they would report to recruit health staff more to health department.</p> <p>The people responded that they would offer their manpower to build rural health centers and toilets.</p>	<p>The community committed they would cooperate with village administration more than before. They said that they would attend all of the meetings in the future.</p>	<p>VTA would report to assign police outpost in the village tract.</p>



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